THE

GENERALL HISTORIE

of the Turkes, from The first beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Famile: with all the notable expeditions of the Christian Princes against them.

Together with

THE LIVES AND CONquests of the OTHOMAN Kings and Emperours

Faithfullie collected out of the best Histories, both auntient and moderne, and digested into one continuat Historie vntill this present yeare 1603:

BY RICHARD KNOLLES K

Laurence Johnson. Sculpsit.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE *IAMES*, BY THE GRACE OF GOD KING OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRAVNCE, AND IRELAND, defendor of the faith, &c.

IT may of ſome, and not without iuſt cauſe (moſt gratious and dread Soueraigne) be imputed vnto me for no ſmall preſumption, to preſent vnto your royall Maieſtie (a prince of ſo great learning and iudgement) theſe homely fruits of mine endeuours and paines taken in the Generall Hiſtorie of the Turks, and ſtrange ſucceſſe of their great and mightie *Othoman* Empire. Whereunto for all that I was the rather induced, not only by the rare and wonderfull clemencie ioyned vnto many other the great and moſt reſplendent vertues of your heroicall mind; the leaſt whereof, is ſufficient to haue cheared vp my weake and feeble ſpirits; but alſo by the encouragement of the right Worſhipfull my moſt eſpeciall friend Sir *Peter Manwood* knight, the firſt moouer of me to take this great Worke in hand, and my continuall and onely comfort and helper therein. Which to doe, I was alſo the more deſirous, ſeeing diuers little volumes and ſmall parts of the Hiſtorie preſented vnto the greateſt Princes: as the little Treatiſe of *Pau. Iouius, de Rebus Turcicis*, dedicated vnto the great and mightie Emperour *Charles* the fift: and the ſmall Hiſtorie of *Cælius Secundus, de Bello Melitenſi*, vnto her late ſacred Maieſtie, of moſt happie and bleſſed memorie, the rare Phœnix of her ſex, who now reſteth in glorie: with diuers others of like ſort, by the learned authors thereof ſtill commended ſome to one great prince of their times, ſome to others: all filling me vvith good hope, that this whole and continuat Hiſtorie of that Northerne and warlike Nation (vvhich in ſhort time by God his appointment hath brought ſuch fatall mutations vpon a great part of the world as former times haue ſildome or neuer ſeene) drawne euen from the firſt beginning thereof, and continued vnto this preſent yeare (not together to my knowledge by any one before written) ſhould with your moſt noble Maieſtie find no leſſe grace and fauour, than hath almoſt euery part thereof with other the aforeſaid and ſuch like moſt mightie and famous Princes: and the rather, for that your Maieſtie hath not diſdained in your *Lepanto*, or *Heroicall Song*, vvith your learned Muſe to adorne and ſet forth the greateſt and moſt glorious victorie that euer was by any the Chriſtian confederat princes obtained againſt theſe the *Othoman* Kings or Emperors. Beſides that, the matter and argument of this Hiſtorie and ſuch like (ſo much con-

cerning the ſtate and good of the Chriſtian commonweale in generall, neuer by any ſo much impugned or endangered, as by theſe the naturall & capitall enemies therof) of right vnto none ſo properly belongeth, as vnto your moſt excellent Maieſtie, with the reſt of the Chriſtian princes, ſitting at the helme of your Eſtates; who onely by your vnited forces (the barbarous enemies greateſt terrour) are able to giue remedie thereunto: in the chiefeſt ranke of whom, your ſacred Maieſtie for glorie, honour, ſtrength and power (God long preſerue the ſame) is now ſecond vnto none. Thus perſuaded and encouraged, I in all humble and dutifull manner doe preſent vnto your Maieſtie theſe my weake endeuours: which how vnworthie ſoeuer they be of ſo great and princely a fauour, as well for the meaneneſſe of me the Author, as for the plaineneſſe of the ſtyle; yet if for the worthineſſe of the matter, or of your owne great and infinit clemencie you vouchſafe them your Maieſties fauourable regard, they ſhall no doubt liue no leſſe fortunat than if they had beene more happily borne and brought to light: ſeruing (if to no other vſe) yet as faire warnings vnto ſuch great ones as God hath here vpon earth exalted aboue the reſt vnto the higheſt degrees of power and of ſtate, for the good gouernment and defence of his church and people. Accept them I beſeech you moſt mightie Monarch into your gratious protection, ſo ſhall I (if God ſpare life) be comforted & encouraged vnder ſo mightie a fauor to proceed to amend what ſhall be found amiſſe, and adde what future times and better helpe ſhall deſcrie and miniſter vnto me for the perfection of this Hiſtorie: and according to my bounden dutie inceſſantly in all humilitie pray vnto the great God of all might and power (by whom all kings and princes raigne) to his glory long to preſerue your moſt royall Maieſtie in bleſſed health and peace to rule and raigne ouer vs and theſe your great kingdomes, ſo happily by you vnited: and ſo likewiſe (his will ſo being) your moſt noble poſteritie after you euen to the worlds end.

Your Maieſties moſt

humble and obedient ſubiect,

Richard Knolles.

THE AVTHORS INDVCTI-
on to the Christian Reader vnto the Historie of the Turkes following.

THE *long and ſtill declining ſtate of the Chriſtian commonweale, with the vtter ruine and ſubuerſion of the Empire of the Eaſt, and many other moſt glorious kingdomes and prouinces of the Chriſtians, neuer to be ſufficiently lamented, might with the due conſideration thereof worthily mooue euen a right ſtonie heart to ruth: but therewith alſo to call to remembrance the diſhonour done vnto the bleſſed name of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſus, the deſolation of his Church here militant vpon earth, the dreadfull danger daily threatened vnto the poore remainder thereof, the millions of ſoules caſt headlong into eternall deſtruction, the infinit numbers of wofull Chriſtians (whoſe grieuous gronings vnder the heauie yoke of infidelitie, no tongue is able to expreſſe) with the careleſneſſe of the great for the redreſſe thereof, might giue iuſt cauſe vnto any good Chriſtian to ſit downe, and with the heauie Prophet to ſay as he did of Hieruſalem*: O how hath the Lord darkened the daughter of Sion in his wrath? and caſt downe from heauen vnto the earth the beautie of Iſrael, and remembred not his footſtoole in the day of his wrath? *All which miſeries (with many others ſo great, as greater there can none be) the prince of darkeneſſe and author of all miſchiefe hath by the perſecuting princes of all ages, and auntient heretickes, his miniſters, laboured from time to time to bring vpon the Church of God, to the obſcuring of his bleſſed name, and vtter ſubuerſion of his moſt ſacred word; but yet by none, no not by them all together ſo much preuailed, as by the falſe Prophet* Mahomet, *borne in an vnhappie houre, to the great deſtruction of mankind: whoſe moſt groſſe and blaſphemous doctrine firſt phantaſied by himſelfe in Arabia, and ſo by him obtruded vnto the world; and afterwards by the Saraſin Caliphes (his ſeduced ſucceſſours) with greater forces maintained, was by them together with their Empire diſperſed ouer a great part of the face of the earth, to the vnſpeakeable ruine and deſtruction of the Chriſtian Religion and State: eſpecially in Aſia and Affricke, with ſome good part of Europe alſo. But the vnitie of this great Mahometane Monarchie being once diſſolued, and it diuided into many kingdomes, and ſo after the manner of worldly things drawing vnto the fatall period of it ſelfe, in proceſſe of time became of farre leſſe force than before, and ſo leſſe dreadfull vnto the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, by whom theſe Saraſins were againe expulſed out of all the parts of Europe, excepting one corner of Spaine, which they yet held within the remembrance of our fathers, vntill that by their victorious forces they were thence at length happily remooued alſo, after that they had poſſeſſed the ſame about the ſpace of ſeuen hundred yeares. In this declination of the Saraſins (the firſt champions of the Mahometane ſuperſtition, who though they had loſt much, yet held many great kingdomes both in Aſia and Affricke, taken for the moſt part from the Chriſtians) ariſe the Turks, an obſcure and baſe people, before ſcarce knowne vnto the world, yet fierce and courageous, who by their valour firſt aſpired vnto the kingdome of Perſia, with diuers other large prouinces: from whence they were about an hundred threeſcore and ten yeares after againe expulſed by the Tartars, and enforced to retire themſelues into the leſſer Aſia: where taking the benefit of the diſcord of the Chriſtian princes of the Eaſt, and the careleſneſſe of the Chriſtians in generall, they in ſome good meaſure repaired their former loſſes againe, and maintained the ſtate of a kingdome at Iconium in Cilicia (now*

Lament. Hieremiæ, cap. ſecundo.

Granado in Spaine was recouered from the Saraſins by king Ferdinand in the yeare 1491

(now of them called Caramania) holding in their ſubiection the greater part of that fruitfull countrey, ſtill ſeeking to gaine from the Chriſtians what they had before loſt vnto the Tartars. But this kingdome of the Turkes declining alſo, by the diſmembring of the ſame, there ſtept vp among the Turkes in Bythinia one Oſman or Othoman, of the Oguzian tribe or familie, a man of great ſpirit and valour, who by little and little growing vp amongſt the reſt of his countreymen, and other the effeminate Chriſtians on that ſide of Aſia, at laſt like another Romulus tooke vpon him the name of a Sultan or King, and is right worthely accounted the firſt founder of the mightie Empire of the Turks: which continued by many diſcents directly in the line of himſelfe, euen vnto Mahomet the third of that name, who now raigneth, is from a ſmall beginning become the greateſt terror of the world, and holding in ſubiection many great and mightie kingdomes in Aſia, Europe, and Affricke, is growne to that height of pride, as that it threateneth deſtruction vnto the reſt of the kingdomes of the earth; labouring with nothing more than with the weight of it ſelfe. In the greatneſſe whereof is ſwallowed vp both the name and Empire of the Saraſins, the glorious Empire of the Greekes, the renowmed kingdomes of Macedonia, Peloponeſus, Epirus, Bulgaria, Seruia, Boſna, Armenia, Cyprus, Syria, Ægipt, Iudea, Tunes, Argiers, Media, Meſopotamia, with a great part of Hungarie, as alſo of the Perſian kingdome, and all thoſe churches and places ſo much ſpoken of in holy Scripture (the Romanes onely excepted;) and in briefe, ſo much of Chriſtendome as farre exceedeth that which is thereof at this day left. So that at this preſent if you conſider the beginning, progreſſe, and perpetuall felicitie of this the Othoman Empire, there is in this world nothing more admirable or ſtrange; if the greatneſſe and luſtre thereof, nothing more magnificent or glorious; if the power and ſtrength thereof, nothing more dreadfull or dangerous: which wondering at nothing but at the beautie of it ſelfe, and drunke with the pleaſant wine of perpetuall felicitie, holdeth all the reſt of the world in ſcorne, thundering out nothing but ſtill bloud and warre, with a full perſuaſion in time to rule ouer all, preſining vnto it ſelfe no other limits than the vttermoſt bounds of the earth, from the riſing of the Sunne vnto the going downe of the ſame. The cauſes whereof are many and right lamentable, but for the moſt part ſo ſhut vp in the counſels of the Great, as that for me to ſeeke after them, were great follie: yet amongſt the reſt, ſome others there be, ſo pregnant and manifeſt, as that the blind world taketh thereof as it were a generall knowledge, and may therefore without offence of the wiſer ſort (as I hope) euen in theſe our nice dayes be lightly touched. Whereof the firſt and greateſt, is the iuſt and ſecret iudgement of the Almightie, who in iuſtice deliuereth into the hands of theſe mercileſſe miſcreants, nation after nation, and kingdome vpon kingdome, as vnto the moſt terrible executioners of his dreadfull wrath, to be puniſhed for their ſinnes: others in the meane while, no leſſe ſinfull than they, in his mercie enioying the benefit of a longer time, calling them vnto repentance. Then, the vncertainetie of worldly things, which ſubiect to perpetuall change cannot long ſtay in one ſtate, but as the ſea is with the wind, ſo are they in like ſort toſſed vp and downe with the continuall ſurges and waues of alteration and change; ſo that being once growne to their height, they there ſtay not long, but fall againe as faſt as euer they riſe, and ſo in time come to nothing: As we ſee the greateſt Monarchies that euer yet were vpon earth haue done, their courſe being run; ouer whom, Time now triumpheth, as no doubt at length it ſhall ouer this ſo great a Monarchie alſo, when it ſhall but then liue by fame, as the others now doe. Next to theſe cauſes from aboue (without offence be it ſaid) is the ſmall care the Chriſtian princes, eſpecially thoſe that dwelt further off, haue had of the common ſtate of the Chriſtian Commonweale: whereof euen the verie greateſt are to account themſelues but as the principall members of one and the ſame bodie, and haue or ought to haue as ſharpe a feeling one of anothers harmes, as hath the head of the wrongs done vnto the feet, or rather as if it were done vnto themſelues: in ſtead of which Chriſtian compaſſion and vnitie, they haue euer and euen yet at this time are ſo deuided among themſelues with endleſſe quarrels, partly for queſtions of religion (neuer by the ſword to bee determined,) partly for matters touching their owne proper ſtate and ſoueraignetie, and that with ſuch diſtruſt and implacable hatred, that they neuer could as yet (although it haue beene long wiſhed) ioyne their common forces againſt the common enemie: but turning their weapons one vpon another (the more to bee lamented) haue from time to time weakened themſelues, and opened a way for him to deuour them one after another: Whereas with their combined forces (the greedie enemies greateſt terrour) they might long ſince not onely haue repreſſed his furie, and abated his pride, but with ſmall danger and much glorie (God fauouring their ſo honourable attempts) haue againe recouered from him moſt of thoſe famous Chriſtian kingdomes, which he by force againſt all right holdeth at this day in moſt miſerable ſubiection and thraldome; many millions of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in the meane time out of the furnace of tribulation in the anguiſh of their ſoules crying in vaine vnto their Chriſtian brethren for reliefe. By

The cauſes of the greatneſſe and increaſe of the Turkes Empire.

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ciuile diſcord the noble countrey of Græcia periſhed, when as the father riſing againſt the ſonne, and the ſonne againſt the father, and brother againſt brother, they to the mutuall deſtruction of themſelues called in the Turke, who like a greedie lyon lurking in his den, lay in wait for them all. So periſhed the kingdomes of Bulgaria, Seruia, Boſna, and Epirus, with the famous iſlands of the Rhodes and Cyprus, betraied as it were by the Chriſtian princes their neighbours, by whom they might haue eaſily beene relieued. So the moſt flouriſhing and ſtrong kingdome of Hungarie (in the reliques whereof, the fortune of the Turkiſh Empire hath longer ſtucke than in the conqueſt of any other kingdome, by it attempted, whatſoeuer) diuided in it ſelfe by the ambition of princes and ciuile diſcord, the weaker ſtill calling vnto his aid the mightie power of the Turke, is long ſince for the moſt part become vnto him a prey, the poore remainders thereof being at this day hardly defended by the forces of the Chriſtian Emperour and of the princes his confederats, ſildome times meeting together with ſuch cheerefulneſſe or expedition, as the neceſsitie of ſo great a matter requireth. Vnto which ſo great a cauſe of the common decay, may be added the euill choice of our ſouldiours emploied in thoſe warres, who taken vp hand ouer head out of the promiſcuous vulgar people, are for moſt part vntrained men, ſeruing rather for ſhew and the filling vp of number, than for vſe, and in no reſpect to be compared with the Turks Ianizaries and other his moſt expert ſouldiours, continually euen from their youth exerciſed in feats of armes. Not to ſpeake in the meane time of the want of the auntient martiall diſcipline, the wholeſome preſeruatiue of moſt puiſſant armies, which breedeth in the proud enemie a contempt of the Chriſtian forces, with a full perſuaſion of himſelfe, that he is not by ſuch diſordered and weake meanes to be withſtood. But to come neerer vnto the cauſes of the Turks greatneſſe, and more proper vnto themſelues, as not depending of the improuident careleſneſſe, weakneſſe, diſcord, or imperfections of others: firſt in them is to be noted an ardent and infinit deſire of ſoueraignetie, wherewith they haue long ſince promiſed vnto themſelues the monarchie of the whole world, a quicke motiue vnto their ſo haughtie deſignes: Then, ſuch a rare vnitie and agreement amongſt them, as well in the manner of their religion (if it be ſo to be called) as in matters concerning their ſtate (eſpecially in all their enterpriſes to be taken in hand for the augmenting of their Empire) as that thereof they call themſelues Iſlami, that is to ſay, men of one mind, or at peace among themſelues; ſo as it is not to be maruelled, if thereby they grow ſtrong themſelues, and dreadfull to others: ioyne vnto this their courage, conceiued by the wonderfull ſucceſſe of their perpetuall fortune, their notable vigilancie in taking the aduantage of euery occaſion for the enlarging of their Monarchie, their frugalitie and temperatneſſe in their diet and other manner of liuing, their ſtraight obſeruing of their auntient militarie diſcipline, their cheerefull and almoſt incredible obedience vnto their princes and Sultans; ſuch, as in that point no nation in the world was to be worthily compared vnto them: all great cauſes why their Empire hath ſo mightily encreaſed and ſo long continued. Whereunto may be added the two ſtrongeſt ſinewes of euery well gouerned commonweale, Reward propounded to the good, and Puniſhment threatened vnto the offendor; where the prize is for vertue and valour ſet vp, and the way laied open for euery common perſon, be he neuer ſo meanely borne, to aſpire vnto the greateſt honours and preferments both of the Court and of the field, yea euen vnto the neereſt affinitie of the great Sultan himſelfe, if his valour or other worth ſhall ſo deſerue: when as on the contrarie part the diſloyall or cowardly is to expect from the ſame ſoueraigne power nothing but diſgrace, death, and torture. And yet theſe great ones not contented by ſuch commendable and lawfull meanes ſtill to extend or eſtabliſh their farre ſpreading Empire, if that point once come in queſtion, they ſticke not in their diuelliſh policie to breake and infringe the lawes both of Nations and Nature. Their leagues grounded vpon the law of Nations, be they with neuer ſo ſtrong capitulations concluded, or ſolemnitie of oath confirmed, haue with them no longer force than ſtandeth with their owne profit, ſeruing indeed but as ſnares to entangle other princes in, vntill they haue ſingled out him whom they purpoſe to deuour; the reſt faſt bound ſtill looking on as if their own turne ſhould neuer come, yet with no more aſſurance of their ſafetie by their leagues than had the other whom they ſee periſh before their faces. As for the kind law of nature, what can be thereunto more contrarie, than for the father moſt vnnaturally to embrue his hands in the bloud of his owne children? and the brother to become the bloudie executioner of his owne brethren? a common matter among the Othoman Emperours. All which moſt execrable and inhumane murthers they couer with the pretended ſafetie of their ſtate, as thereby freed from the feare of all aſpiring competitors (the greateſt torment of the mightie) and by the preſeruation of the integritie of their Empire, which they thereby keepe whole and entire vnto themſelues, and ſo deliuer it as it were by hand from one to another, in no part diſmembred or impaired. By theſe and ſuch like meanes is this barbarous Empire (of almoſt nothing) growne to that height of maieſtie and power, as that it hath in contempt all the reſt, being it ſelfe not inferiour in greatneſſe and ſtrength vnto the greateſt monarchies that euer yet were vpon the face of the earth, the Romane Empire only excepted. Which how farre it ſhall yet farther ſpread, none knoweth, but he that holdeth in his hand all the kingdomes of the earth, and with his word boundeth in the raging of the ſea, ſo that it cannot further paſſe. Moued with the great-

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To the Reader.

ueſſe and glorie of this ſo mightie and dreadfull an Empire, growne for the moſt part out of the ruine of the Chriſtian commonweale, with the vtter ſubuerſion of many great and flouriſhing kingdomes, and wofull fall of many moe right puiſſant and mightie princes, not without griefe to be remembred: I long ſince (as many others haue) entered into the heauie conſideration thereof, purpoſing ſo to haue contented my ſelfe with a light view of that which might well be for euer of all good Chriſtians lamented, but hardly or neuer remedied; vntill that afterwards led with a more earneſt deſire to know the ſtrange and fatall mutations, by this barbarous nation in former time brought vpon a great part of the world, as alſo ſo much as I might to ſee ſo great a terrour of the preſent time, and in what tearmes it ſtandeth with the reſt, I had with long ſearch and much labour, mixt with ſome pleaſure and mine owne reaſonable contentment, paſſed through the whole melancholie courſe of their tragicall Hiſtorie: yet without purpoſe euer to haue commended the ſame or any part thereof vnto the remembrance of poſteritie, as deeming it an argument of too high a reach, and fitter for ſome more happie wit, better furniſhed with ſuch helpes both of nature and art, as are of neceſſitie requiſit for the vndertaking of ſo great a charge, than was my ſelfe, of many thouſands the meaneſt. Not vnmindfull alſo of that which the Poet (keeping decorum*) ſaith in like caſe, though farre leſſe matter, of himſelfe:*

Virg. Eclog. ſexta

Cum canerem reges & prælia, Cynthius aurem
Vellit, & admonuit: Paſtorem Tittere pingues
Paſcere oportet oues, deductum ducere carmen.

When I did ſing of mightie kings, or els of bloudie warre,
Apollo pluckt me by the eare, and ſaid I went too farre:
Beſeemes a ſhepheard Titterus *his fatlings for to feed,*
And for to fit his rurall ſong vnto his ſlender reed.

Beſides that, ſo many difficulties euen at the firſt preſented themſelues vnto my view, as that to ouercome the ſame, if I ſhould take the labour in hand, ſeemed to me almoſt impoſsible: for beſide the ſea and world of matter I was to paſſe through (requiring both great labour and time) full of the moſt rare example both of the better and worſe fortune in men of all ſort and condition, yeelding more pleaſure vnto the reader than facilitie to the writer, I ſaw not any (among ſo many as had taken this argument in hand) whom I might as a ſure guide or loadſtarre long follow in the courſe of this ſo great an Hiſtorie: many right worthie and learned men (whoſe memorie my ſoule honoureth) contenting themſelues to haue with their learned pennes enrolled in the records of neuer-dying fame, ſome, one great expedition or action, ſome another, as in their times they fell out; yea the Turkiſh Hiſtories and Chronicles themſelues (from whom the greateſt light for the continuation of the Hiſtorie was in reaſon to haue beene expected) being in the declaration of their owne affaires (according to their barbarous manner) ſo ſparing and ſhort, as that they may of right be accounted rather ſhort rude notes than iuſt Hiſtories, rather pointing things out, than declaring the ſame; and that with ſuch obſcuritie, by changing the auntient and vſuall names as well of whole kingdomes, countries, and prouinces, as of cities, townes, riuers, mountaines, and other places, yea, and oftentimes of men themſelues, into other ſtrange and barbarous names of their owne deuiſing, in ſuch ſort, as might well ſtay an intentiue reader, and depriue him of the pleaſure together with the profit he might otherwiſe expect by the reading thereof; whereunto to giue order, perſpicuitie, and light, would require no ſmall trauell and paine. Not to ſpeake in the meane time of the diuerſitie of the reports in the courſe of the whole Hiſtorie, ſuch as is oftentimes moſt hard, if not altogether impoſsible to reconcile. Notwithſtanding all which difficulties, with many others more proper vnto my ſelfe, hauing with long labour and diligent ſearch paſſed through the courſe of the whole Hiſtorie, and ſo in ſome reaſonable ſort ſatisfied my ſelfe therein, I thought it not amiſſe, as well for the worthineſſe of the matter, as for the zeale I beare vnto the Chriſtian commonweale, and for the ſatisfying alſo of ſome others my good friends, much deſirous of the ſame, to make proofe if out of the diſperſed workes of many right worthie men, I could ſet downe one orderly and continuat Hiſtorie of this ſo mightie an Empire, with the great and fatall mutation or rather ſubuerſion of many right ſtrong and flouriſhing kingdomes and ſtates (the proper worke of all mightie riſing Empires, ſtill encreaſing by the fall of others) wherewith this proud monarchie hath alreadie daunted a great part of the world, being ſo many and ſo ſtrange, as that moe or more wonderfull were not euer to be ſeene in any of the greateſt monarchies of auntient time or memorie, and ſo together, and as it were vnder one view and at one ſhew, to lay open vnto the Chriſtian Reader, what I was glad to ſeeke for out of the defuſed labours of many: a worke ſo long and laborious as might well haue deterred a right reſolute and conſtant mind from the vndertaking thereof, being as yet to my knowledge not vndergone or performed by any: wherein among ſuch

varietie,

varietie, or more truly to ſay, contrarietie of writers, I contented not my ſelfe, as a blind man led by his guide happily of no better ſight than himſelfe, to tread the ſteps of this or that one man, going for a while before me, and by and by leauing me againe ſtumbling in the darke: but out of the learned and faithfull workes of many, according to my ſimple iudgement to make choice of that was moſt probable, ſtill ſupplying with the perfections of the better, what I found wanting or defectiue in the weaker, propounding vnto my ſelfe no other marke to aime at than the very truth of the Hiſtorie; as that which is it ſelfe of power to giue life vnto the dead letter, and to couer the faults eſcaped in the homely penning or compiling thereof. Which the better to performe, I collected ſo much of the Hiſtorie as poſſibly I could, out of the writings of ſuch as were themſelues preſent and as it were eye-witneſſes of the greateſt part of that they writ, and ſo as of all others beſt able, moſt like alſo to haue left vnto vs the very truth. Such is the greateſt part of ſo much of the Hiſtorie of the Greeke Empire, as I haue (for the better vnderſtanding of the riſing of the Turkes) in this Hiſtorie ſet downe, gathered out of the doings of Nicetas Choniates, Nicephorus Gregoras, *and* Laonicus Chalcocondiles, *all writing ſuch things as they themſelues ſaw, or were for moſt part in their time, and neere vnto them done. Such are the wonderfull and almoſt incredible warres betwixt old* Amurath *the ſecond, and his foſter child, the fortunat prince of Epirus, of the Turks commanly called* Scanderbeg, *and by that wayward tirant at his death together with his kingdome deliuered as it were by inheritance vnto his ſonne, the great and cruell Sultan* Mahomet; *all written by* Marinus Barletius, *himſelfe an Epirot, and in all thoſe troubleſome times then liuing in Scodra, a citie of the Venetians ioyning vpon Epirus. Such is the wofull captiuitie of the imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, with the miſerable death of the Greeke Emperour* Conſtantinus Palæologus, *and the fatall ruine of the Greeke Empire, written by* Leonardus Chienſis, *Archbiſhop of Mitylene, being himſelfe then preſent, and there taken priſoner. Such is the lamentable Hiſtorie of the Rhodes, taken for moſt part out of* Ia. Fontanus *his three bookes* de Bello Rhodio, *a learned man, then preſent and in great credit with* Villerius *the Great Maſter, at ſuch time as that famous iſland, after it had by him and the other worthie knights of the Order beene moſt wonderfully of long defended, was to the great ruth of Chriſtendome taken by the great Sultan* Solyman. *Such is the moſt tragicall Hiſtorie of* Baiazet, Solyman *his youngeſt ſonne, collected out of the notable Epiſtles of* Augerius Busbequius Legationis Turcicæ, *he himſelfe then lying embaſſador for the Emperour* Ferdinand *at Conſtantinople, and preſent in* Solymans *campe at ſuch time as he himſelfe in perſon went ouer with his armie into Aſia, to countenance his eldeſt ſonne* Selymus, *who ſucceeded him in his Empire againſt his valiant yonger brother* Baiazet: *and beſide, well acquainted with the great Baſſaes* Achmet, Ruſtan, Haly, *and others, oftentimes mentioned in the Hiſtorie following. Such is alſo the Hiſtorie of the taking of the auntient citie of Tripolis in Barbarie from the knights of Malta by* Sinan *the proud Baſſa, written by* Nicholas Nicholay *lord of Arfeuile, preſent at the ſame time with the lord of Aramont, then embaſſadour for the French king vnto* Solyman. *So might I ſay alſo of the miſerable ſpoile of the fruitfull and pleaſant iſlands of the Mediterranean, made by* Lutzis Baſſa, Solyman *his brother in law and great Admirall, with the ſubmitting of the iſland of Naxos to the Turkes obeiſance, written by* Iohn Criſpe, *at that time duke of the ſame iſland. And ſo likewiſe of diuers other parts of the Hiſtorie, too long to rehearſe. But for as much as euery great and famous action had not the fortune to haue in it a* Cæſar, *ſuch as both could and would commend vnto poſteritie by writing that whereof they might truly ſay, They were themſelues a great part; many right excellent Generals contenting themſelues with the honour of the field, and their glorie there woon, leauing the honourable fame thereof to be by others reported. For lacke of ſuch moſt certaine authors, or rather (as I before ſaid) eye-witneſſes, I gathered ſo much as I could of that remained, out of the works of ſuch, as being themſelues men of great place, and well acquainted with the great and worthie perſonages of their time, might from their mouths as from certain Oracles report the vndoubted truth of many moſt famous exploits done both by themſelues and others: as might* Pau. Iouius *from the mouth of* Muleaſſes *king of Tunes, from* Vaſtius *the great Generall, from* Autia *the prince of Melphis,* Charles *the Emperour his Admirall, and ſuch others: or els out of the writings of ſuch as were themſelues great trauellers into the Turkes dominions, and withall diligent obſeruers of their affaires and ſtate, as were the phiſitions* Pantaleon, Minadoie, *and* Leunclauius *(of all others a moſt curious ſearcher of their antiquities and Hiſtories) vnto which great Clarkes and ſome others of that learned profeſſion, we may worthily attribute the greateſt light and certainetie of that is reported of a great part of the Turkiſh affairs. But theſe in the courſe of ſo long an Hiſtorie failing alſo (as by conferring that which is hereafter written, together with their Hiſtories, is eaſily to be perceiued) to perfect that I had taken in hand, I tooke my refuge vnto the writings of ſuch other learned and credible authours, as of whoſe integritie and faithfulneſſe the world hath not to my knowledge at any time yet doubted: yea for theſe few late yeares I was glad out of the Germane and Italian writers in their owne language to borrow the knowledge of theſe late affaires as not yet written in Latin, wherein if the reader find not himſelfe ſo fully ſatisfied as he could deſire, I would be glad by him to be better enformed, as being no leſſe deſirous of others to learn the truth of that I know not, than willing*

The order of the Authors proceeding in the writing of this Hiſtorie.

to

To the Reader.

to impart vnto others that little which I know. Thus much I thought good to set downe, to perſuade the Chriſtian Reader of the truth of the Hiſtorie following, wherein he ſhall find matter enough to wonder at, and no leſſe ſtrange than that whatſoeuer it is that is written of the greateſt monarchies of auntient time, vnto whom for power and maieſtie it yeeldeth litle: But ſo much the more worthy our conſideration than they, for that their periods alreadie run, and ſo their furie ouerpaſt, this in our time ſo flouriſheth, and at this preſent ſo mightily ſwelleth, as if it would ouerflow all, were it not by the mercie of God firſt, and then by the forces of ſome few of the Chriſtian princes neereſt vnto ſo great a danger with their great charge to their immortall glorie and benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale mightily checked and kept within ſome bounds and compaſſe. This Hiſtorie for the moſt part thus as is aforeſaid paſſed through, and brought to ſome good perfection, was yet by me againe laid aſide, and like ynough euen as an abortiue fruit to haue periſhed in the birth before it was growne to perfection, had I not many times fainting in the long and painefull trauell therewith, by my eſpeciall good friend Sir Peter Manwood *of* S. Stephens *in the countie of Kent knight of the honourable order of the Bath, a louer and great fauourer of learning (in whoſe keeping it ſo for the moſt part many yeares in ſafetie reſted) beene ſtill comforted and as it were againe reuiued, and now finally encouraged to take it in hand, and ſo at length as I might to perfect it: vnto whom (being the onely furtherer, ſtay, and helpe of theſe my labours) thou art for ſuch pleaſure as thou findeſt therein (if it be any) in courteſie beholden. Now what I for my part haue in this my long trauell performed, I leaue it to thy good diſcretion to conſider, contenting my ſelfe in ſo great a matter to haue bin willing to haue done ſomthing; wiſhing no longer to liue, than in ſome meaſure to be profitable to the Chriſtian commonweale, which long ſince in my nurſing mother houſe Lincolne Colledge in Oxford, where I was ſometime Fellow, I did purpoſe to performe, as it ſhould pleaſe God in time to giue me meanes and occaſion: in which mind I hope by the goodneſſe & mercie of Chriſt ſo long as I liue to continue. Only this fauor (to conclude with) I requeſt of thee That if in this ſo long and perplexed an Hiſtorie (by peecemeale of ſo many diuerſly handled) written by me in a world of troubles and cares, in a place that affoorded no meanes or comfort to proceed in ſo great a worke, thou chance to light vpon ſome things otherwiſe reported than thou haſt elſewhere read them (as I doubt not but thou maieſt) not therfore forthwith to condemne what thou here findeſt, being happily taken from a more certaine reporter than was that whereunto thou giueſt more credit; or at leaſtwiſe not written by me, as meaning in any thing to preiudice thy better iudgement, but to leaue it to thy good choice in ſuch diuerſitie of reports to follow that which may ſeeme vnto thee moſt true. By which courteſie thou maieſt hereafter encourage me to performe ſome other worke to thy no leſſe contentment. So wiſhing thee all happineſſe, I bid thee farwell. From Sandwich the laſt of September.* 1603.

Thine in all dutifull kindneſſe,

R. KNOLLES.

The names of the Authors whom we eſpecially vſed in the *collecting and writing of the Hiſtorie of the Turks following.*

ABrahamus Ortelius.
Achillis Traducci.
Æneas Syluius Pont.
Alcoranum Turcicum.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Antonius Bonfinius.
Antonius Pigafetta.
Antonius Guarnerius.
Augerius Busbequius.
Bernard de Girard.
Blondus Foroliuienſis.
Cælius Secundus Curio.
Dauid Chytreus.
Franciſcus Sanſouinus.
Henricus Pantaleon.
Iacobus Fontanus.
Ioannes Leunclauius.
Laonicus Chalcocondilas.
Lazarus Soranzi.
Leonardus Chienſis.
Leonardus Goretius.
Marinus Barletius.
Martinus Chromerus.
Nicephorus Gregoras.
Nicetas Choniates.
Nicholaus Honigerus.
Nicholaus Reuſnerus.
Paulus Iouius.
Philippus Lonicerus.
Petrus Bizara.
Sebaſtianus Monſterus.
Thomas Minadoi.
Theodorus Spanduginus.

Germanicæ Continuationes Relationum Hiſtoricarum. { Andreæ Strigelij. / Theodori Meureri. / Iacobi Franci.

A

THE GENERAL HISTORIE OF THE TVRKES, BEFORE THE RISING OF THE *OTHOMAN* FAMILIE, WITH ALL THE NOTABLE EXPEDITIONS OF THE CHRISTIAN PRINCES AGAINST THEM.

C THE glorious Empire of the Turkes, the preſent terrour of the world, hath amongſt other things nothing in it more wonderfull or ſtrange, than the poore beginning of it ſelfe; ſo ſmall and obſcure, as that it is not well knowne vnto themſelues, or agreed vpon euen among the beſt writers of their hiſtories, from whence this barbarous nation that now ſo triumpheth ouer the beſt part of the world, firſt crept out or tooke their beginning. Some (after the manner of moſt nations) deriue them from the Trojans, led thereunto by the affinity of the words *Turci* & *Teucri*; ſuppoſing (but with what probabilitie I know not) the word *Turci* or Turks, to haue beene made of the corruption of the word *Teucri*, the common name of the Trojans: as alſo for that the Turks haue of long moſt inhabited the leſſer ASIA, wherein the antient and moſt famous citie of TROY ſometime ſtood. No great reaſon in my deeming: yet giue the authors thereof leaue therewith to pleaſe themſelues, as well as ſome others, which dwelling much farther off, borrow, or rather force their beginning from thence, without any probabilitie at al; and that with ſuch earneſtneſſe, as if they could not elſewhere haue found any ſo honourable anceſtours. Otherſome report them to haue firſt come out of PERSIA, and of I wot not what citie there, to haue taken their name: neither want there ſome which affirme them to haue taken their beginning out of ARABIA, yea and ſome out of SYRIA, with many other far fet deuiſes concerning the beginning and name of this people: all ſeruing to no better purpoſe, than to ſhew the vncertaintie thereof. Amongſt others, *Philip* of MORNAY, the noble and learned Frenchman in his woorthy worke concerning the trueneſſe of the Chriſtian religion, ſeemeth (and that not without good reaſon) to deriue the Turks together with the Tartars, from the Iewes, namely, from the ten Tribes, which were by *Salmanazar* king of ASIRIA, in the time of *Oſeas* king of ISRAEL, caried away into captiuitie, and by him confined into MEDIA, and the other vnpeopled countries of the North, whoſe going thither is not vnaptly deſcribed by *Eſdras*, where among the great Hords of the Tartars in the fartheſt part of the world Northward, euen at this day are found ſome, that ſtill retaine the names of *Dan*, *Zabulon*, and *Nepthaly*, a certaine argument of their diſcent: whereunto alſo the word *Tartar* or *Tatar*, ſignifying in the Syrian tongue remnants or leauings; and the word *Turke*, a word of diſgrace, ſignifying in Hebrew, baniſhed men; ſeemeth right well to agree. Beſides that, in the Northern countries of RVSSIA, SARMATIA, and LYTHVANIA, are found greater ſtore of the Iewiſh nation than elſewhere, and ſo neere vnto the Tartarians ſtill the mo; whereunto *Io. Leunclauius* the moſt curious ſearcher out of the Turks antiquities and monuments, addeth as a farther conjecture of the diſcent of thoſe barbarous northern people from the Iewes, That in his trauell through LIVONIA into LYTHVANIA, in the coun-

Diuers opinions concerning the beginning of the Turks.

2. King. cap. 17. 4. Eſdr. cap. 13.

Io. Leunclauius Pandect. cap. 22.

trie

trie neere vnto the metropoliticall citie of RIGA, he found there the barbarous people of the Lettoes, quite differing in language from the other countrey people of the Curoes and Eſtons, no leſſe barbarous than themſelues; who had alwaies in their mouths as a perpetuall lamentation, which they with doleful moanes daily repeated abroad in the fields, *Ieru, Ieru, Maſco, Lon:* whereby they were thought to lament ouer IERVSALEM and DAMASCO, as forgetfull of all other things in their antient countrey, after ſo many worlds of yeeres, and in a deſolat place ſo far diſtant thence. And *Munſter* in his deſcription of LIVONIA repeating the like words, reporteth, That this rude people being demaunded what they meant by theſe words ſo often and ſo lamentably by them without cauſe vttered: anſwered, That they knew no more than that they had beene ſo of long taught by their anceſtors. But to leaue theſe opinions concerning their beginning, ſo diuers and vncertaine, and to follow greater probabilities as concerning the place from whence they came: it is vpon better ground thought by diuers others, and thoſe of the beſt hiſtoriographers, That this barbarous nation which hath of late brought ſuch fatall mutations vpon ſo great a part, not of Chriſtendom onely, but euen of the whole world, tooke their firſt beginning out of the cold and bare countrey of SCYTHIA: induced thereunto, both by the authoritie of the greateſt Coſmographers, as by moſt apparant reaſons. *Pomponius Mela*, the deſcriber of the world, reckning vp the people neere vnto the great riuer TANAIS (the bounder of EVROPE from ASIA Eaſtward) amongſt others maketh expreſſe mention of the Turks, in theſe words: *Geloni vrbem ligneam habitant. Iuxta Thyrſagete Turceque vaſtas ſyluas occupant aluntur que venando. Tum continuis rupibus late aſpera & deſerta regio ad Arympheos vſque permittitur.* The Geloni inhabit a citie of wood. And faſt by, the Thyrſagets and Turks poſſeſſe the vaſt forreſts, and liue by hunting. Then, a rough and deſart countrey with continuall rocks, is ſpaciouſly extended euen as far as vnto the Arympheians. *Plinie* alſo in like manner reckning vp the nations about the fennes of MÆOTIS, agreeing with that *Mela* reporteth, ſaith: *Deinde Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Meſſeniani, Coſtobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, Thuſſagetæ, Turcæ, vſque ad ſolitudines ſaltuoſis, conuallibus aſperas vltra quos Arymphei qui ad Riphæos pertinent montes.* Next vnto them, are the Euazæ, Cottæ, Cicimeni, Meſſeniani, Coſtobocci, Choatræ, Zigæ, Dandari, the Thuſſagets and Turks vnto the deſarts rough with wooddie vallies: beyond whom are the Arympheians, which border vnto the Riphean mountaines. And *Ptolomie* in the deſcription of SARMATIA ASIATICA maketh mention of the Tuſci, whom many learned men ſuppoſe to haue been the ſame nation with the Turks. Vnto which antient teſtimonies of reuerend antiquitie, adde the manners and conditions of the Turks, their antient attire, their geſture, their gate, their weapons, and manner of riding, and fight, their language and dialect, ſo well agreeing with the Scythians: and a man ſhall find matter enough ſufficient to perſuade him in reaſon, that the Turks haue vndoubtedly taken their beginning from the Scythes; whom they in ſo many things reſemble, and with whom of all other nations they beſt agree.

Now it hath beene no leſſe doubted alſo among the writers of the Turks hiſtories; at what time, and for what cauſes the Turks (to the trouble of the world) left their naturall ſeats in the cold countrey of SCYTHIA, to ſeeke themſelues others in more pleaſant and temperat countries more Southerly, than it hath beene of their originall beginning. *Blondus* and *Platina*, report them, enforced with a generall want, to haue forſaken their natiue countrey and followed their better fortune, in the yeere of our Lord 755: with whom alſo *Segonius* agreeth in the cauſe of their departure, but not in the time or place when or whereby they departed. For they (as he ſaith) iſſued out of their dwelling places in the yeere of grace 844, by the ſtraits of the mountaine CAVCASVS: whereas the other with greater probabilitie ſuppoſe them to haue come foorth by the Caſpian ſtraits: which the Turks alſo (as ſaith *Sabellicus*) affirme of themſelues, their anceſtors (as they ſay) being by their neighbours driuen out of the Caſpian mountaines. Some others there be that report them to haue forſaken their natiue countrey, neither enforced thereunto by neceſsitie, or the power of others; but for their valour ſent for by the *Sultan* of PERSIA to aide him in his wars: vnaduiſedly ſuppoſing that to have beene the cauſe of their firſt comming out, which in deed hapned long time after, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie ſhall appeare. But whatſoeuer the aforeſaid cauſes of want, or of the enemies power, might enforce them vnto, a greater power no doubt it was that ſtirred them vp, euen the hand of the Almightie, who being the author of all kingdomes vpon earth, as well thoſe which he hath appointed as ſcourges wherewith to puniſh the world, as others more bleſſed; will haue his worke and purpoſe

Sebaſt. Munſterus vniuerſalis Coſmographiæ lib. 3.

Scythia the naturall countrey of the Turks.

Pompon. Mela. lib. 1. cap. vlt.

Plinius Secundus lib. 6. cap. 7.

The great agreement betwixt the Turks and Scythians.

When and for what cauſes the Turks left their antient and naturall ſeats in Scythia, to ſeeke others in the countries more Southerly.

755

844

Sabellicus Ennead. 9. lib. 2.

A purpose full of diuine majestie, to appeare in the stirring of them vp from right small beginnings, in the increasing & establishing of their greatnesse and power, to the astonishment of the world; and in the ruine and destruction of them againe, the course of their appointed time once runne. As for the difference of the time of their comming foorth, before remembred; it may reasonably be referred vnto the diuers emotions of that people, who being not vnder the command of any one, but of their diuers gouernours, as the manner of that people was, are not to be thought to haue come foorth all at once, either for one cause; but at diuers times, some sooner, some later, and that for diuers causes. This people thus stirred vp, and by the Caspian ports passing thorow the Georgian countrey, then called IBERIA, neere vnto the Caspian sea: first ceased vpon a part of the greater ARMENIA, and that with so strong hand, that it is by their posteritie yet
B holden at this day, and of them called TVRCOMANIA; of all other, the most true progenie of the ancient Turks. In which great countrey, they of long, vnder their diuers leaders, in the manner of their liuing most resembling their ancestors, roamed vp and downe with their families and heards of cattell, after the manner of the Scythian Nomades, their countrey men, without any certaine places of abode; yet at great vnitie among themselues, as not hauing much to loose or wherefore to striue.

Armenia (now called Turcomania) the first field of the Turks after their first comming out of Scythia.

C

The first kingdome of the Turks erected in Persia by Tangrolipix, *Chieftaine of the Selzuccian family: with the successe thereof.*

D THis wandring and vnregarded people, but now the terrour of the world, thus first seated in ARMENIA: long time there liued in that wide countrey, after their rude and woonted manner (from which the Turcoman nation their posteritie in that place, euen at this day as we said much differeth not) and not onely notably defended the countrey thus by them at the first possessed, but still incroching farther and farther, and gaining by other mens harmes, became at length dreadfull vnto their neighbours, and of some fame also farther off: whereunto the effeminat cowardise of those delicate people of ASIA, with whom they had to do gaue no lesse furtherance, than their owne valour; being neuertheless an hardie rough people, though not much skilfull or trained vp in the feats of war.

The fame of these Turks togither with their fortune, thus daily encreasing, and the mightie Empire of the Sarasins as fast declining: which vnder their Chaliphes the successors of the false
E prophet *Mahomet*, hauing in lesse than the space of two hundred yeeres, ouerspread not onely the greatest part of ASIA and AFRIKE, euen vnto GADES and the pillers of *Hercules*: but also passing ouer that strait, had ouerwhelmed almost all SPAINE, and not there staying, but passing the Pyrenei had pearsed euen into the heart of FRANCE, and diuers other parts of Christendom, as namely, ITALY, SICILY, the famous Iland of the RHODES, with many others of the MEDITERRANEAN: now diuided in it selfe, and rent into many kingdomes, turned their victorious armes from the Christians vpon one another, to the mutuall destruction of themselues & their empire. Amongst other the Sarasin Sultans which forgetting their obedience vnto their great Chaliph, tooke vpon them the soueraignty of gouernment (which admitteth no partner) was one *Mahomet*, Sultan of PERSIA, a right great prince, who hardly beset on the one side
F with the Indians, and on the other with the Chaliph of BABYLON his mortall enemie, praied aid of the Turks his neighbours, who were now come euen to the side of ARAXIS, the bounds of his empire: Vnto which his request the Turks easily granted, in hope therby to find a way for them afterwards to enter into PERSIA, and so sent him three thousand hardie men, vnder the leading of one *Togra Mucalet*, the sonne of *Mikeil*, a valiant captaine and cheefe of the Selzuccian

Togra, otherwiſe called Tangrolipix ſent to aid the Perſian Sultan.

tribe or family; whom the Greeks commonly call *Tangrolipix*, and ſome others *Selduck* or *Sadock*, names (as I ſuppoſe) corrupted of the great family whereof he was deſcended. By the aide of this *Tangrolipix* (for now we will ſo call him, as by the name moſt vſed) *Mahomet* the Perſian Sultan, ouercame *Piſaſiris* the Chaliph of BABYLON, his Arabians being not able to endure the force of the Turkiſh archers. This war thus happily ended, the Turks deſiring to returne home, requeſted of the Sultan leaue to depart, and with a ſafe conuoy to be conducted vnto the riuer ARAXIS, and there to haue the paſſage of that ſwift riuer opened vnto them, which was by the Perſians ſtrongly kept by two caſtels built vpon each end of the bridge whereby the riuer was to be paſſed: But *Mahomet* loth to forgo ſuch neceſſarie men, by whom he had obtained ſo great a victorie, and purpoſing to employ them further in his ſeruice againſt the Indians, would by no meanes hearken vnto their requeſt; but ſeeming therewith to be diſcontented, commanded them to ſpeake no more thereof, threatning them violence, if they ſhould more preſume to talke of their departure. The Turks therefore doubtfull of their eſtate, and fearing further danger, ſecretly withdrew themſelues into the deſart of CARAVONITIS, and for that they were in number but few, and not able to come into the open field againſt ſo many millions of the Saraſins, liued as they might by continuall excurſions and roads which they made out of the deſert forreſt into the countries adjoyning: wherewith *Mahomet* greatly incenſed, ſent out an armie of twentie thouſand men, vnder the conduct of ten of his beſt captaines againſt them: who for want of water and other neceſſaries, doubting to enter the deſart, encamped themſelues in the ſide of the forreſt, there to conſult what courſe to take. But *Tangrolipix* who with his Turks lay a great way off in the couert of the woods and mountaines, vnderſtanding of the comming of his enemies, and of the manner of their lying; thought it beſt vpon the ſudden by night to ſet vpon the Saraſins and Perſians, if ſo happily he might ouerthrow them by policie, whom he was not able to encounter in plaine battell. Vpon which reſolution, hauing trauelled two daies long march in the deſart, the third day at night he ſuddenly ſet vpon his enemies, lying negligently in their trenches, and by his vnexpected comming, brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that they without longer ſtay betooke themſelues to flight, euerie man ſhifting for himſelfe without regard of others. This victorie ſo happily gained, and *Tangrolipix* now (beyond his hope) throughly furniſhed, with armour, horſes, and abundance of all things needfull for the wars, kept the woods and forreſts no longer as a theefe or out-law, but ſhewed himſelfe in the open field, where daily repaired vnto him numbers of roagues and vagabonds, ſeeking after ſpoile; with many other deſperat villaines, who for feare of puniſhment were glad of ſuch a refuge: So that in a ſhort ſpace his armie was growne to be fiftie thouſand ſtrong, and ſo much the ſtronger, for that they had nothing to truſt vnto, more than the valour of themſelues. Whileſt *Tangrolipix* thus encreaſeth, *Mahomet* enraged with the ouerthrow of his armie, in his furie cauſed all thoſe ten captaines that had the leading thereof, to haue their eies pluckt out, threatning alſo to attire all the ſouldiers that fled out of the battell in womens apparell, and ſo diſgraced, to carrie them about as cowards: and withall raiſed a great armie for the ſuppreſsing of the Turks. All things being now in readines, he ſet forward: when by the way the ſouldiers whom he had before ſo threatned to diſgrace, ſuddenly fled to the enemie: with whoſe comming, *Tangrolipix* greatly encouraged and ſtrengthened, reſolued to giue the Sultan battell. And ſo boldly comming on, met with him at ISPAHAN, a citie of PERSIA, where was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible battell, with woonderfull ſlaughter on both ſides. In the heat of which battell, *Mahomet* vnaduiſedly riding too and fro to encourage his ſouldiers, falling with his horſe, brake his necke: vpon which miſchance both the armies comming to agreement, by common conſent proclaimed *Tangrolipix* Sultan in his ſtead, and ſo made him king of PERSIA and of all the other large dominions vnto that kingdome belonging.

Mahomet the Perſian Sultan goeth himſelfe with an armie againſt Tangrolipix.

Tangrolipix by conſent of the ſouldiers, made Sultan of Perſia.

This was the firſt kingdome of the Turks, begun by the good fortune of *Tangrolipix*, about 214 yeeres after their comming out of SCYTHIA, in the yeere alſo of our Lord 1030; *Conſtantinus Monomachus* then raigning, or a little before (according to the Turks account) in the raigne of *Romanus Argirus*, *Conſtantine* his predeceſſour. *Tangrolipix* by rare fortune, thus of a meane captaine become king of PERSIA, foorthwith commanded the garriſon that kept the bridge ouer the riuer ARAXIS, to be remooued, and ſo free paſſage to be giuen vnto the Turks his countreymen, at their pleaſure to come ouer: who in great multitudes repaired into PERSIA, where they were by the new Sultan well prouided for, and by little and little promoted vnto the greateſt

Tangrolipix firſt Sultan of the Turks.

A greatest dignities of that kingdome; the Persians and Sarasins the antient inhabitants thereof, being by these new come guests now kept vnder, and as it were troden vnder foot. Together with this kingdome, the Turks receiued the Mahometane superstition, from which they before not much abhorred, as men vsing circumcision: So that hard it is to say, whether nation lost more; the Persians and Sarasins, by the losse of so great a kingdome, or the Turks by embracing so great a vanitie. *When the Turks first receiued the Mahometane superstition.*

Tangrolipix with his Turks thus possessed of the kingdome of PERSIA, held not himselfe therewith long content, but made war vpon his neighbour princes, especially against *Pisasiris* the Chaliph of BABYLON, whom hee in diuers battels ouerthrew; and hauing at length slaine him, joyned his kingdome vnto his owne. After that he sent *Cutlu-Muses* his cousin, with an ar-
B mie against the Arabians, by whom he was ouerthrown and put to flight. But returning by MEDIA he requested of *Stephan* the Greeke emperours lieutenant, leaue to passe with his armie by the confines of his countrey: which his request, *Stephan* not onely rejected, but also by strong hand sought to stop his passage; but joyning battell with him, was by the Turks easily ouerthrown and himselfe taken. So *Cutlu-Muses* returning to *Tangrolipix*, and recounting vnto him the successe of his wars, perswaded him to turne his forces into MEDIA, as a most fruitfull countrey, and easie to be subdued. But he highly offended with the ouerthrow giuen by the Arabians, would not hearken vnto him, but raising a new armie in hope of better fortune, went against the Arabians in person himselfe. *Cutlu-Muses* in the meane time fearing the Sultans displeasure, fled with his followers and fauorits: and taking for his refuge PASAR a strong citie of the Chorasmians, reuolted from him; which the Sultan seeming not to regard, held on his intended jour-
C ney against the Arabians, by whom he was also put to the woorst, and enforced with dishonour to returne. After that, he with part of his armie besieged *Cutlu-Muses*, who by the strength of the place and valour of his people, for a great while notably defended himselfe. In the meane time *Tangrolipix* not vnmindfull what *Cutlu-Muses* had before said vnto him, concerning the easinesse of the conquest of MEDIA (a countrey (as hee said) defended but by women) sent *Asan* his brothers sonne, surnamed the Deafe, with a conuenient armie to inuade the same: who entring into the frontiers of that prouince, was there by the emperours lieutenant ouerthrown, and himselfe with the greatest part of his armie slaine: with which losse the Sultan rather enraged than discouraged, sent *Habramie Alim* his brother, againe with an army of an hun-
D dred thousand fighting men; with which so great a power the emperors lieutenant thought it not good to encounter, vntill he had procured farther aid from the emperour, especially out of IBERIA, and therefore kept himselfe with such power as he had within his strong and fenced places: which *Alim* perceiuing, and out of hope to draw him vnto battell, roming vp and downe the countrey, at last besieged ARZEN an open towne, but full of rich merchants, by whom it was contrarie to his expectation, notably defended for the space of six daies; vntill that at length the Turks seeing no other way to win it, set fire vpon it in diuers places: by force whereof the inhabitants were enforced for safegard of their liues to flie, and to leaue the towne with an infinit wealth to the spoile of the enemie. By this time was *Liparites* gouernour of IBERIA come with a great power to the aide of the emperors lieutenant in MEDIA: whereof *Alim* hauing intelli-
E gence, without delay hasted with his armie towards his enemies: and meeting with them a little before night, had with them a cruell fight, wherein the victorie fell vnto the Christians, who had the Turks in chace a great part of the night. Neuertheless *Liparites* valiantly fighting in another wing of the battell, was there taken and so carried away prisoner: For whose ransome the emperor sent a great summe of money, with certaine presents to the Sultan; all which he sent back againe, and frankly set *Liparites* at libertie, wishing him neuer to beare armes more against the Turks. And with him sent the Seriph, a man of great place among the Mahumetans, his embassadour vnto the emperour: who comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, amongst other things proudly demanded of the emperour to become tributarie vnto the Sultan, and so to be at peace with him for euer. Which his vnreasonable demand, was by the emperour with no lesse
F disdaine scornfully rejected, and the Seriph so dismissed: which contempt of his embassadour the Sultan taking in euill part, as also not a little mooued with the death of his nephew and losse of his armie, with all his power inuaded the Roman prouinces. But being come as far as COIME without any notable harme doing, for that the countrey people hearing before of his comming, had in time conueighed themselues with their substance into their strong holds, whereof there

Cutlu Muses sent by Tangrolipix against the Arabians.

Cutlu Muses rebelleth against Tangrolipix.

The Turks embassadour condemned of the emperour.

Tangrolipix inuadeth the emperours dominions.

was great ſtore in thoſe countries; and hearing alſo that the Greeke emperour was raiſing a great power to come againſt him at CESAREA; not daring to proceed any further, leauing ſo many enemies behind him, he fretting in himſelfe returned into MEDIA, where finding the people all fled into their ſtrong townes, he laid ſiege vnto MANTZICHIERT, a citie ſtanding in a plaine champion countrey, but ſtrongly fortified with a triple wall and deepe ditches. This citie he furiouſly aſſaulted by the ſpace of thirtie daies without intermiſsion, but all in vaine, the ſame being ſtill notably defended by *Baſilius* gouernour thereof, and the other Chriſtians therein. The Sultan wearie of this ſiege, and about to haue riſen, was by *Alcan* one of his great captaines, perſuaded yet to ſtay one day, for him to make proofe in, what he were able to do for the gaining thereof: whereunto the Sultan yeelding, committed the whole charge of the aſſault vnto him. *Alcan* the next day diuiding the armie into two parts, and placing the one part vpon the higher ground, of purpoſe, with the multitude of their ſhot to haue ouerwhelmed the defendants; with the other part of the armie, furniſhed with all things needful for the aſſault, approched the wals: the Sultan in the meane time with certaine of the chiefe Turks, from an high place beholding all that was done. But this ſo forward a captaine in the middeſt of his endeuour loſt himſelfe, being ſlaine with a great number of his followers in approching the wall. His dead bodie knowne by the beautie of his armour, was by two valiant yoong men that ſalied out of the gate, drawne by the haire of his head into the citie; and his head being foorthwith cut off, was caſt ouer the wall among the Turks: wherewith the Sultan diſcouraged, and out of hope of gaining the citie, roſe with his armie, pretending himſelfe with other his vrgent affaires to be called home, and threatning withall, the next ſpring to returne with greater power, and to do great matters. But not long after, great diſcord aroſe betwixt the Sultan and his brother *Habramie Alim*, in ſo much that the Sultan ſought by diuers meanes to have taken him out of the way: which *Habramie* perceiuing, fled to his nephew *Cutlu Muſes*, and ioyning his forces with his, denounced war vnto the Sultan his brother; who meeting with them not far from PASAR, ouercame them in plaine battell, wherein *Habramie* was taken, and preſently by the commandement of his brother put to death. But *Cutlu Muſes* with his couſin *Melech*, & ſix thouſand Turks fled into ARMENIA; and by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, requeſted of the emperour *Conſtantinus Monomachus* to be receiued into his protection. But the Sultan with his armie following them at the heeles, they for their more ſafetie were glad to flie into ARABIA. The Sultan afterwards turning into IBERIA did there great harme, ſpoiling the countrey before him: againſt whom the emperour ſent *Michael Acoluthus*, a valiant captaine; of whoſe approch the Sultan hearing, and that he would vndoubtedly ere long give him battell (deeming it no great honour vnto him to ouercome the emperours ſeruant, but an eternall diſhonour to bee of him ouerthrown) retired with his armie backe againe to TAVRIS, leauing behind him one *Samuch* with three thouſand Turks to infeſt the frontiers of the emperors territories; which both he and other the Turks captaines afterward more eaſily did, for that *Monomachus* the emperour hauing prodigally ſpent the treaſures of the empire, to encreaſe his reuenue, had impoſed a tribute vpon the frontier countries of his empire, woont before to be free from all exactions: in lieu whereof, they were bound to defend the paſſages from all incurſions of the enemies; but now preſſed with new impoſitions, had diſſolued their woonted garriſons, and left an eaſie entrance for the barbarous enemies into the prouinces confining vpon them: Beſides that the emperours immediatly following, and eſpecially *Conſtantinus Ducas*, abhorring from wars, and giuen altogether to the hoording vp of treaſure, gaue little countenance and leſſe maintenance vnto men of ſeruice, which in ſhort time turned vnto the great weakning, and in fine to the vtter ruine of the Conſtantinopolitane empire. At the ſame time alſo the gouernment of the Conſtantinopolitane empire by the death of *Conſtantinus Ducas* the late emperour, came to his wife *Eudocia* with her three ſonnes, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Conſtantinus*, all verie yoong; whoſe ſex and tender yeeres the barbarous nations hauing in contempt, at their pleaſure grieuouſly ſpoiled the prouinces of the empire, namely, MESOPOTAMIA, CILICIA, CAPADOCIA, yea and ſometime as far as CŒLESIRIA. The report wherof much troubled the empreſſe, & gaue occaſion for many that loued her not, to ſay, That ſo troubled an eſtate required the gouernment of ſome worthie man. Wherefore ſhee fearing leſt that the Senat, making choiſe of ſome other, ſhe and her children ſhould be remooued from the gouernment, thought it beſt for the preſeruation of her ſtate and her childrens, to make choice of ſome notable & valiant man for her husband, that

Diſſention betwixt Tangrolipix and his brother Habramie Alim.

Cutlu Muſes flieth into Arabia.

Courteouſnes and lacke of Reward the decay of the Conſtantinopolitane empire.

Eudocia the empreſſe contrarie to her oath deſirous to marrie.

for

A for her and hers ſhould take vpon him the managing of ſo weightie affaires. But to check this her purpoſe (the onely remedie of her troubled thoughts) ſhee had at the death of the late emperour *Conſtantine* her husband, at ſuch time as the ſoueraignetie was by the Senat confirmed vnto her and her ſonnes, ſolemnly ſworne neuer more to marrie; which her oath was for the more aſſurance conceiued into writing, and ſo deliuered vnto the Patriarch to keepe. This troubled her more than to find out the man whom ſhe could thinke worthie of her ſelfe, with ſo great honor. Shee held then in priſon one *Diogenes Romanus*, a man of great renown & honorably diſcended; whoſe father hauing married the neece of the emperour *Romanus Argirus*, and aſpiring to the empire, being conuicted thereof, ſlew himſelfe for feare to be enforced by torments to bewray his confederats. This *Diogenes* was by the late emperour *Conſtantine*, for his good ſeruice againſt
B the Scythes (who then much troubled the empire) highly promoted, with moſt honourable teſtimonie in the charters of his promotions, That ſuch honours were beſtowed vpon him, not of the emperours meere bountie, but as the due rewards of his woorthie deſerts. Notwithſtanding after the death of the emperour, he ſicke of his fathers diſeaſe, and ſwelling with the pride of ambition, ſought by ſecret meanes to haue aſpired vnto the empire: Whereof the empreſſe hauing intelligence, cauſed him to be apprehended and brought in bonds to CONSTANTINOPLE, where being found guiltie of the foule treaſon, and ſo committed to ſafe keeping, was ſhortly after brought foorth to the judgement ſeat againe, to receiue the heauie ſentence of death. In which wofull plight, ſtanding as a man out of hope and now vtterly forlorne, he mooued all the beholders with a ſorrowfull compaſsion: For beſide that he was a man of exceC ding ſtrength, ſo was he of incomparable feature and beautie, adorned with many other rare qualities and vertues anſwerable thereunto: wherewith the empreſſe mooued with the reſt, or pearſed with a ſecret good liking, is hard to ſay, reuoked the ſentence of condemnation readie to haue beene pronounced vpon him, and gaue him pardon. And ſhortly after hauing ſet him at libertie, ſent for him as he was going into CAPADOCIA his natiue countrey, and made him generall of all her forces, with a ful reſolution in her ſelfe to marie him, and to make him emperour, if ſhee might by any meanes get the writing out of the Patriarches hand, wherein her oath for neuer marrying againe, was compriſed. For the compaſsing whereof, ſhe entred into a deepe deuice full of feminine policie with one of her Eunuches, whom ſhe purpoſed to vſe as her pander for the circumuenting of the Patriarch. This craftie Eunuche inſtructed by his miſtreſſe,
D comming to the Patriarch *Ioannes Xiliphilinus*, a man both for his place and integritie of life much honoured, told him in great ſecret, That the empreſſe had ſo far ſet her good liking vpon a yoong gentleman, a nephew of his called *Barda* (then a gallant of the court) as that ſhe could be content to take him to her husband and to make him emperour, if ſhee might by his holineſſe be perſuaded, that ſhe might with ſafe conſcience do it, and by him be diſcharged of the raſh oath ſhe had vnaduiſedly taken, neuer to marrie againe, whereof hee had the keeping. The Patriarch, otherwiſe a contemner of worldly honours, yet mooued with ſo great a preferment of his nephew, promiſed the Eunuch to do therein whatſoeuer the empreſſe had deſired, which he accordingly performed. And ſo ſending for the Senators one by one, in whoſe good liking the matter cheefly reſted: he with much grauitie propounded vnto them the dangerous eſtate of the
E common weale, with the troubles dayly encreaſing, and the continual feare of forreine enemies, not to be repreſſed by the weake hand of a woman, or the authoritie of yoong children, but requiring (as he ſaid) the valiant courage of ſome woorthie man. After that, hee began to find great fault with the raſh oath which the empreſſe had taken a little before the death of her huſband, neuer to marrie; and vtterly condemning the ſame, as contrarie to the word of God, and vnjuſtly exacted of her, rather to ſatisfie the jealous humour of the emperour her late husband, than for any good of the common-weale: he in fine perſuaded them, that the vnlawfull oath might be reuoked, and the empreſſe ſet at libertie at her pleaſure, by their good liking to make choice of ſuch a man for her husband, as might better vndertake ſo weightie affaires of the empire, more fit for a man, than for ſo tender a lady and three yoong children. The greater part of the
F Senat thus perſuaded by the Patriarch, and the reſt with gifts and promiſes ouercome by the empreſſe; the Patriarch deliuered vnto her the writing ſhe ſo much deſired, & diſcharged her of her oath: whereupon ſhee foorthwith calling vnto her certaine of her ſecret friends, married *Diogenes*, whom ſhe cauſed to be proclaimed emperour. Now thought *Eudocia*, after the manner of women, to haue had her husband (whom ſhe euen from the bottom of diſpaire had exal-

Diogenes Romanus of a priſoner is by the empreſſe made generall of her armie.

Eudocia marrieth Diogenes Romanus and proclaimeth him emperour.

ted

ted vnto the higheſt tipe of honour) in all things loyall and pliant: whereunto he for a while at G
the firſt forced himſelfe, but afterwards (being a man of a proud nature, and haughtie ſpirit) became wearie of ſuch obſeruance, and began by little and little to take euerie day more and more vpon him. And for that the imperiall prouinces in the Eaſt, were in ſome part loſt, and the reſt in no ſmall danger, he aſwell for the redreſſe thereof, as for his owne honour, and to ſhew himſelfe an emperour indeed, and not the ſeruant of the empreſſe, left the court and paſſed ouer into ASIA, although it were with a ſmall armie and euill appointed: for why, it was no eaſie matter for him to furniſh out the armie with all things neceſſarie, which by the ſloth and ſparing of the late emperours, had to the great danger and diſhonour of the empire, beene vtterly neglected. Neuertheleſſe the Turkiſh Sultan, who at the ſame time with a great power inuaded the prouinces of the empire, hearing of his comming, and that he was a man of great valour, and doubting H
what power he might bring with him, retired himſelfe; and diuiding his armie, ſent the one part thereof into the South part of ASIA, and the other into the North, which ſpoiled all the countrey before them as they went, and ſuddenly ſurpriſing the citie of NEO-CESARIA, ſacked it, and ſo laded with the ſpoile thereof departed. But the emperour vnderſtanding thereof, and not a little greeued therewith, drawing out certaine bands and companies of the beſt and moſt readieſt ſouldiers in his armie, and with them coaſting the countrey to get betwixt the Turks and home, vſed therein ſuch expedition, that he was vpon them before they were aware, and ſo ſuddenly charging them, brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that they betooke themſelues to their heeles, leauing behind them for haſt, their baggage and carriages, with all the priſoners and bootie they had before taken at NEO-CESARIA, and in their late expedition: yet was there no I
great number of them ſlaine, for that the Chriſtians forewearied with long trauell, were not able far to follow the chace. From thence taking his way into SYRIA, he ſent part of his armie to MELITENA, and carried himſelfe from ALEPPO, a great bootie both of men and cattell. At which time alſo the citie of HIERAPOLIS was yeelded vnto him, where he ſhortly after built a ſtrong caſtell. But whileſt he there ſtaied, newes was brought vnto him that the other part of his armie which he had ſent away, was ouerthrowne by the Turks, for the releeſe of whom, he roſe with all haſt and marched towards them: but being in number farre inferiour vnto his enemies, hee was by them as hee lay encamped, encloſed round in ſuch ſort, as that it was thought almoſt impoſsible for him to haue eſcaped. At which time alſo the gouernour of ALEPPO, traiterouſly reuolted from him, and joyned his forces with the enemie, making now no K
other reckoning, but aſſuredly to haue taken him. But whiles the Turks thus dreame of nothing but of a moſt glorious victorie, and were in mind diuiding the ſpoile; the emperour without ſo much as the ſounding of a trumpet, ſuddenly iſſuing out of his trenches, when they leaſt thought he durſt ſo haue done, and reſolutly charging them home, put them to flight, & had of them had a notable victorie, had he throughly proſecuted the ſame. After that, hauing taken diuers townes he came to ALEXANDRIA in CILICIA, and there all about in the countrey billited his armie, becauſe of the approch of winter, and ſo returned himſelfe to CONSTANTINOPLE. The next ſpring the Turks, according to their vſuall manner inuading the frontiers of the empire, did much harme about NEO-CESARIA: whereof the emperour aduertiſed, went thither with is armie, and quickly repreſsing their furie, tooke his journey to the riuer EVPHRATES, L
where leauing part of his armie with *Philaretus* for the keeping of thoſe frontiers, he himſelfe retired Northward into CAPADOCIA. But after his departure, the Turks ſetting vpon *Philaretus*, put him to flight with his garriſons: and taking the ſpoile of the frontiers entred into CAPADOCIA, waſting all as they went: and afterwards turning into CILICIA, ſacked ICONIVM a rich and populus citie, Whereof the emperour vnderſtanding, at SEBASTIA, made towards them: but hearing by the way that they had ranſackt the citie, and were for feare of his comming alreadie retired, he ſent *Chatagurio* gouernour of ANTIOCH, with part of his armie to MOPSIPHESTIA to ſtop the Turks of their paſſage. But they in the plaines of THARSVS were before diſtreſſed by the Armenians, and ſtript of all their rich prey: and hearing farther of the approch of the emperours power, fled by night, and ſo eſcaped: which the emperour vnderſtanding, and hauing now well quieted thoſe prouinces, and the yeere far ſpent, returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE. But after his departure, the Turks againe inuading the frontier prouinces, he ſent *Manuel Comnenus*, a valiant yoong man, generall againſt them; who ſo preuailed, that the emperour enuying at his honour, tooke from him a great part of his armie, and ſent him with M

The prouinces of the empire ſpoiled by the Turks.

The Turks diſcomfited by Diogenes the emperour.

A with a ſmall power into into SIRIA. But as he was vpon his way, he was by the Turks entrapped neere vnto SEBASTIA, and there taken, moſt part of his armie being at the ſame time ouerthrowne and ſlaine: with which loſſe, the emperour troubled, made great preparation to go himſelfe in perſon againſt his enemies; who encouraged with the former victorie, ceaſed not to infeſt his territories. In the meane time, by great fortune came *Manuel Comnenus* home, together with the Turke that tooke him; who being fallen into the diſpleaſure of the Sultan, fled vnto the emperor with his priſoner, of whom he was honorably entertained. All things now in a readineſſe for ſo great an expedition as the emperour had in perſon purpoſed, he ſet forward; and after long trauell hauing paſſed CESAREA, he encamped at a place called CRYAPEGA; where for ſeuere execution done vpon certaine mutinous ſouldiers, one of the legions of his ar-
B mie roſe in mutinie againſt him: whom for all that he quickly pacified with the terrour of the reſt of his armie, which he threatned to turne vpon them if they proceeded to forget their dutie: After that, remooving to THEODOSOPOLIS, he diuided his armie, and ſent *Ruſelius* one of his beſt captaines, with one part thereof againſt *Chliat*, and another part hee ſent to beſiege MANTZICIERTS, retaining with himſelfe the reſt, being of no great ſtrength. The Turks in MANTZICIERTS finding themſelues not able long to hold out, fell to compoſition, and yeelded the city. But ſhortly after, the ſouldiers left there in garriſon for the keeping therof, going out to ſeeke for forrage, were by the Turks ſuddenly oppreſſed: which the emperour vnderſtanding, ſent thither one *Nicephorus Bryennius*, with certaine companies to releiue the citie; who encountring with the Turks, and finding himſelfe too weake, ſent vnto the emperour for aid: who
C not knowing the ſtrength of the enemies, blamed him of cowardiſe, yet ſent vnto him *Nicephorus Baſilacius* with part of his armie; who joyning his forces with *Bryennius*, and giuing the Turks battell, put them to flight. But following too faſt vpon them vnto their trenches, and *Bryennius* making no great haſt after, he had his horſe ſlaine vnder him, and ſo on foot heauily laded with armour, and not able to ſhift for himſelfe, was there taken and brought to the Sultan: who honourably entreated him, and oftentimes queſtioning with him concerning the emperour, and ſhewing him his owne power, examined him alſo of the emperours.

Diogenes with a great armie againſt the Turks.

Tangrolipix was now dead, and the Sultan now in field againſt the emperour, was *Axan* his ſon, a man of great wiſedome and diſcretion: who conſidering the doubtfull euent of battell, ſent embaſſadours vnto the emperour to entreat with him of peace. But he (perſuaded by ſome of
D his captaines, that this motion made by the Sultan for peace, proceeded but of a meere feare and diſtruſt he had in his owne power, or elſe to gaine time vntill ſome greater ſtrength came) had ſmall regard of the embaſſadours or their meſſage, but proudly willed them to tell their maſter, That if he were deſirous of peace, he ſhould get him farther off, and leaue the place wherein hee lay encamped, for him to lodge in. And ſo without other anſwere commanded them away. Now had the emperour (as is before ſaid) ſent away part of his armie by *Ruſelius* againſt *Chliat*, whom he now ſent for in haſt againe: but he hearing of the approch of the Sultan, by the perſuaſion of *Tarchomates*, one of his captaines, was retired for his more ſafetie backe into the Romain frontiers, leauing the emperour deſtitute of his helpe. At which time alſo, a companie of the Scythians which ſerued in the emperours campe, reuolted vnto the Turks; not without
E ſome ſuſpition, that the reſt of their fellowes which remained, would ere long do the like. Neuertheleſſe the emperour preſuming of ſuch ſtrength as he had, or carried headlong with his owne fortune, reſolued to giue the Turks battell, and therefore putting his men in order, ſet vpon them. Who ſomewhat troubled with the emperours ſo ſudden a reſolution, as being yet in ſome hope of peace: yet hauing put themſelues in order of battell, receiued the enemies charge; ſtill giuing a little ground, as men not greatly deſirous either to fight or to flie. This fight continuing long, and the day now declining, the emperour doubting leaſt the Sultan ſhould ſend part of his armie to aſſault his campe (from which he was now drawne ſomewhat far, and had left the ſame but weakly manned) cauſed a retrait to be ſounded, and ſo began orderly to retire himſelfe with them that were about him: which others a far off in the battell beholding, and
G ſuppoſing him to haue fled, began themſelues to flie a maine. Of which ſo ſhamefull flight and ſudden feare *Andronicus* (the ſonne of *Iohn Ducas*, the late emperour *Conſtantine* his brother, and by him created *Cæſar*, who with his ſonnes ſecretly enuied at the honour of *Diogenes*) was the cauſe. For he commanding a great part of the armie, gaue it firſt out vnto ſuch as were about him, that the emperour fled: and to encreaſe the feare, turning his horſe about, fled towards the campe

Axan the Sultan ſendeth embaſſadours vnto Diogenes for peace.

Iohn Ducas a notable Traitor, cauſe of the flight of the emperours armie.

campe as fast as he could: after whom all the rest most disorderly followed: which the emperor beholding, and therewith not a little troubled, made a stand, labouring in vaine to haue staid the rest. For now the Turks encouraged with the sudden flight of the Christians, began hardly to pursue them, as men alreadie ouerthrown by the hand of God: whom for all that, the emperour with such as yet stood with him, for a space notably resisted. But being forsaken by the greater part of his armie, and oppressed with the multitude of his enemies, being wounded himselfe, and his horse slaine vnder him, he was there taken all embrued with his owne blood, and the blood of his enemies, of whom he had wounded and slaine many. The Sultan aduertised of his taking, at the first beleeued it not, supposing it rather to haue beene some other great man: vntill that he was both by them whom he had but a little before sent embassadour vnto him, and by *Basilacius* one of his captaines then prisoner with him, assured that it was vndoubtedly he, which *Basilacius* brought before him to see if he knew him, fell downe prostrat at his feet, as before his dread lord and soueraigne. The emperour brought before the Sultan, and humbling himselfe in such sort as best beseemed his heauie fortune, the Sultan presently tooke him vp and thus cheerfully spoke vnto him: *Greeue not noble emperour* (said he) *at thy mishap, for such is the chance of war, ouerwhelming sometimes one, and sometimes another: neither feare thou any harme, for I will vse thee not as my prisoner, but as an emperour*. Which he accordingly did, presently appointing him a princely pauilion, with all things answerable to his estate, setting him oftentimes at his owne boord, and for his sake enlarging such prisoners as he required. And after he had thus for certaine daies honourably vsed him, and discoursed with him of many things, he concluded a perpetuall peace with him, vpon promise of a marriage to be made betwixt their children, and so with a safe conuoy sent him away with greater honour than was at an enemies hand to haue beene expected. The emperour in Turkish attire, which the Sultan had bestowed vpon him, comming to THEODOSOPOLIS, there staid for the curing of his wounds, & afterwards accompanied with the Sultans embassadors, set forward toward CONSTANTINOPLE. But all was now there changed: for vpon the report of his captiuitie, *Iohn* the *Cæsar*, with *Psellus* one of the cheefe Senators, and others of the same faction, which alwaies enuied at the honour of *Diogenes*, presently tooke the imperiall gouernment from *Eudocia* the empresse, and thrusting her into a monasterie which shee had built neere vnto PROPONTIS, set vp *Michael Ducas* her eldest sonne, emperour, in steed of *Diogenes*: whose simplicitie, *Cæsar* his vncle, abusing with the rest, did now what they list. And hearing that *Diogenes* was now contrarie to their expectation, set at liberlie by the Sultan, and comming towards the emperiall citie, sent out letters euerie way in the new emperours name, vnto all the gouernours of the prouinces whereby hee was to passe, not to receiue him as emperour, or to doe him any honour: which *Diogenes* vnderstanding, staid at the castle of DOCIA, whether some of his friends with such power as they were able to make, resorted vnto him. Against whom, *Cæsar* with the contrarie faction first sent his sonne *Constantine*, and after that *Andronicus* his eldest sonne, both *Diogenes* his mortall enemies, with a great armie: by whom *Diogenes* with his friends and followers, were ouerthrown and discomfited. *Diogenes* himselfe flying to the citie of ADANA, was there hardly besieged by *Andronicus*, and in the end glad to yeeld himselfe, vpon condition, that he should resigne the empire, and so for euer after to lead a priuat life. For whose safetie, certaine of the cheefe of the clergie sent of purpose from *Michael* the emperour, gaue their faith. So *Diogenes* all attired in blacke, yeelded himselfe to *Andronicus*: by whom hee was brought to COTAI, then the metropoliticall citie of PHRIGIA, there to expect what further order should be taken for him from the court: during which time, he fell sicke, being as many supposed secretly poysoned. But whilst he there lay languishing, an heauier doom came from the yoong emperor, That he should haue his eies put out: which was foorthwith in most cruell manner done; the clergie men that had before for his safetie gaged their faith, crying out in vaine against so horrible a crueltie. Thus depriued of his sight, he was conueighed into the iland of PROTA, where his eies for lacke of looking to, putrifying, and wormes breeding in them, with such an odious smell as that no man could abide to come nigh him, he in short time after died, when he had raigned three yeeres, eight months. All which miserie was thought to haue hapned vnto him through the malice of *Cæsar*, without the knowledge of the yoong emperour his nephew.

Axan hearing of the miserable end of the late emperour *Diogenes*, was therewith much greeued, and the more, for that the league which he had to his good content so lately made with him, was

Diogenes the emperour taken by the Turks.

Eudocia the empresse deposed by the traitour Iohn Ducas, Psellus, and others.

Diogenes the emperour taken prisoner by Andronicus.

The miserable death of Diogenes the emperor.

Axan the Sultan seeketh to reuenge the death of Diogenes.

A was thereby come to naught: wherefore in reuenge thereof, he with great power inuaded the imperiall prouinces; not for ſpoile and bootie onely, as in former time, but now to conquer and to hold the ſame. Againſt whom *Michael* the emperour ſent *Iſaack Comnenus* his lieutenant, with a great armie: who meeting with the Turks, and joyning battell, was by them ouerthrown with all his army, and taken priſoner: and glad afterwards for a great ſumme of money to redeeme himſelfe. After which ouerthrow, the emperour ſent his vncle *Cæſar* with an other armie againſt them, who was by *Ruſelius*, that had before reuolted from the emperour, ouerthrown at the riuer SANGARIVS, and taken priſoner: whom he for all that, ſhortly after ſet at libertie againe, and joyning with him againſt the Turks, were both together by them diſcomfited and taken priſoners, but afterwards redeemed; *Cæſar* by the emperour, and *Ruſelius* by his
B wife. This *Ruſelius* was a notable traitour, who joyning with the Turks did what he liſt in the prouinces of the empire in the leſſer ASIA: for the repreſsing of whom, the emperour ſent *Alexius Comnenus*, a yoong man, but verie politike and couragious; who ſecretly practiſing with the Turks that were great with *Ruſelius*, had him at laſt by them for a ſumme of money betraied into his power: who forthwith ſent him to CONSTANTINOPLE to the emperor, by whom he was impriſoned, but afterward ſet at libertie and employed againſt *Bryennius* and his brother, then vp in rebellion againſt the emperour.

But to come neerer vnto the Turkiſh affaires. *Cutlu-Muſes* who with his couſin *Melech* and others were for feare of *Tangrolipix* their couſin fled into ARABIA, as is before declared, now in the beginning of the raigne of *Axan*, returned: and as the enuious competitours of his king-
C dome, hauing raiſed a great power of their friends and partakers, were now ready to haue tried the matter with him by plaine battell. Againſt whom alſo the Sultan on the other ſide had brought into the field his whole forces, and was now readie likewiſe to haue encountred them neere vnto the citie of ERES. But whilſt the Turks thus diuided, ſtood ready to deſtroy themſelues, the Caliph of BABYLON (from whom though the Turks had taken all temporall ſoueraignetie, yet in matters of religion ſtill held him in great reuerence and eſteeme, as their chiefe biſhop, and the ſucceſſour of their great prophet) conſidering that nothing could be more dangerous vnto his ſect and religion than that ciuile diſſention, the late confuſion and vtter ruine of the Saraſin empire, and authoritie of the Caliphs; and fearing the like effect in theſe new Saraſines, now the chiefe ſtay of the Mahometane ſuperſtition: ſetting aſide all his pontificall formalitie,
D whereby he was bound not to go out of his owne houſe, came with all ſpeed, euen as the armies were now ready to joyne battell, and thruſting himſelfe into the middeſt betwixt them; what with the reuerence of his perſon, what with his effectuall perſuaſion, wrought ſo much and preuailed ſo far with both parties, that they were content to lay downe their weapons, and to ſtand to his order and judgement: which was, That *Axan* the Sultan ſhould ſtill enjoy his kingdome and territories, whole and entire vnto himſelfe as he did: and that *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſonnes, aided by him, and ſo inuading the prouinces of the Conſtantinopolitane empire, ſhould thereof ſubdue ſo much as they could vnto themſelues, and to be thereof accounted the onely lords and gouernours. Which order as it was vnto the Turks, and for the maintenance of the Mahometane ſuperſtition, verie wholeſome & commodious; ſo was it vnto the Chriſtian com-
E mon weale and religion moſt dangerous and hurtfull, as in proceſſe of time by proofe it appeared. For by this meane, in ſhort time after, *Cutlu-Muſes* with his couſin and ſonnes ſubdued all MEDIA with a great part of ARMENIA, CAPADOCIA, PONTVS, and BYTHINIA, and ſo a great part of the leſſer ASIA. By the aid of this *Cutlu-Muſes* & the fauour of the ſouldiers, *Nicephorus Botoniates* aſpiring vnto the empire of CONSTANTINOPLE, diſplaced his maſter the emperour, *Michael Ducas*, after he had raigned ſix yeeres and ſix months, and in the habit of a munke thruſt him into an abbey: which vſurper by the juſt judgement of God, was at length requited euen with the ſame meaſure, and in like manner ſerued by *Alexius Comnenus*; who thruſting him out, ſucceeded himſelfe in the empire. Much it was that this *Cutlu-Muſes* with his ſonnes and kinſmen did for the enlarging of the Turkiſh empire, by the helpe of the great Per-
F ſian Sultan: whoſe forces, together with their owne, in diuers countries conducted by theſe worthy leaders his nigh kinſmen, and doing great matters, gaue occaſion for themſelues to be accounted Sultans, though in deed they were none, neither their names ſuch as are by ſome antient writers and ſome others of later time alſo reported; but vnto the Turks themſelues, by thoſe names, either for Sultans, vnknowne. Out of theſe great commanders, all borne of the Selzuccian family,

Cutlu-Muſes with his ſonnes and kinſmen take vp armes againſt Axath the Sultan.

A moſt hurtfull order for the Chriſtian common weale.

The ground of the error of diuers writers about the ſucceſſours of Tangrolipix, otherwiſe of them called Sadoch.

family, hath *Aithonus*, and others following his report, deriued their *Dogriſſa*, *Aſpaſalemus*, *Meleclas*, and *Belchiaroc*, whom they ſuppoſe to haue orderly ſucceeded *Zadoc*, otherwiſe called *Tangrolipix*, in the Turkiſh empire, and to haue done great matters: whereas both by the report of the Turks themſelues, and the relation the Greeks, it appeareth plainly, *Axan* (more truely called *Ax-Han*, that is to ſay, the White king) to haue beene the ſonne of *Tangrolipix*, and to haue ſucceeded him in the empire: and that by him the emperour *Diogenes* was taken, and not by *Aſpaſalemus* as they vainely imagine. As for *Aſpaſalemus*, whom the Turks by that name know not either any thing of his doings, it ſeemeth to haue beene a name corrupted of *Aſpam Sallarius*, the brother of *Tangrolipix* and *Habrami*, and not his ſonnes ſonne as they would haue it. In like manner *Meleclas* alſo ſeemeth to haue beene forged of *Melech* the ſonne of *Habrami*, *Tangrolipix* his brother, and not of *Aſpaſalemus*, as ſome without any good ground report. Whom they finding to haue beene all great men in the Selzuccian family, with ſome others alſo, haue both corrupted their names, and giuen vnto them an imaginarie ſoueraignetie and ſucceſsion in the Turks firſt empire, ſuch as beſide that the Turks themſelues acknowledge not, is eaſily to be refelled out of the hiſtories of the Greeks, who had with them ſtill much to doe. Wherefore leauing theſe ſuppoſed princes of the Turks, with their imaginarie ſucceſsion, and doings, vnto the authors thereof, following more certainties, to returne againe vnto the courſe of our hiſtorie. *Axan* the Sultan at the ſame time that he had by the mediation of the Chaliph (or not long after) fallen to agreement with his couſin *Cutlu-Muſes*: to encreaſe the honour of his nation and the bounds of his empire, gaue vnto *Ducat* and *Melech*, two of his nigh kinſmen, the gouernment of DAMASCO and ALEPPO, with that part of SIRIA which joyneth vnto them, of purpoſe that way to encroch vpon the Aegyptian Chaliph, who then had vnder his juriſdiction all as far as LAODICEA in SIRIA; yet not with ſo large priuiledges as had *Cutlu-Muſes*, vnto whom and his poſteritie he had yeelded the abſolute honour of a Sultan or king, ouer ſuch countreis and prouinces as they ſhould winne from the Chriſtians: but vnto theſe others his kinſmen, he gaue the gouernment of the aforeſaid cities of DAMASCO and ALEPPO in the frontiers of his dominion in SIRIA, conditionally that they ſhould ſtill remaine his vaſſals, and hold of him as of their ſoueraigne, whatſoeuer they had: who neuertheleſſe in ſhort time mightily preuailed vpon the Aegyptian, ſtil increaſing the Turkiſh territorie with the loſſe of the Saraſins, whoſe name together with their empire, was now by the Turks almoſt quite driuen out of ASIA.

But theſe proud branches of the Turkiſh empire, thus ouerſpreading the leſſer ASIA, with the greateſt part of SIRIA, were in ſhort time after by the mercie of God, and the valour of the moſt Chriſtian and religious princes of the Weſt, cut ſhorter, and brought againe into ſome better order. The full diſcourſe whereof, worthie eternall memorie, by others inrolled in the antient records of fame, I purpoſe not at large to follow, but in briefe to touch, for the orderly continuation of the preſent hiſtorie, haſting to the doings of this victorious nation of later times, wherein we are to make a longer ſtay, as more pertinent vnto the dangerous eſtate of the preſent time.

Peter a French herm t goeth on pilgrimage to Ieruſalem.

It fortuned that whileſt *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſonnes, ſupported by the Sultan *Axan* their kinſman, thus mightily preuailed againſt the Chriſtians in the leſſer ASIA on the one ſide, and *Melich* with his couſin againſt the Aegyptian Caliph in SIRIA on the other: that one *Peter* a French Heremite mooued with a deuout zeale, according to the manner of that time, went to viſit the ſepulcher of our Sauiour, with the other holy places at IERVSALEM: who comming into SIRIA, then for the moſt part poſſeſſed by the Turks and Saraſins, diligently noted by the way as he trauelled, the manners and faſhions of theſe barbarous nations, their gouernment, their cities, their power and ſtrength; but aboue all, the grieuous miſeries of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians, that there liued in moſt miſerable thraldom amongſt them, without hope of releaſe: all which, he in the habit of a poore pilgrim, at libertie ſafely viewed, in the midſt of theſe miſcreants, being withall a little low hard fauoured fellow, and therefore in ſhew more to be contemned than feared. Yet vnder ſuch ſimple & homely feature, lay vnregarded a moſt ſubtill ſharp and pearcing wit, fraught with diſcretion and ſound judgement, ſtill applying to ſome good vſe what he had in his long and painfull trauell moſt curiouſly obſerued. He comming to IERVSALEM, and performing his deuotions there, ſaw the grieuous miſerie of the poore deuout Chriſtians, ſo great and heauie, as that greater or more intollerable could none be: wherewith not a little

The deſcription of Peter the Heremit.

A little grieued, he entred into a deepe discourse thereof with *Simon* the Patriarch and Abbot of the monasterie of the Christians (there before built by certaine deuout Italian merchants) and with the master of the Hospitalars, by whom he was fully enformed thereof, as of whatsoeuer else he required. After much graue conference, it was at length agreed vpon amongst them, That the Patriarch and the Grand-master, should in their owne, and the names of the other oppressed Christians, write their letters vnto the Pope and the other Christian princes, concerning their miseries; and to craue their aid for the recouerie of those holy places out of the hands of those cruell infidels: of which letters, the deuout hermit promised himselfe to be the trustie carrier, and of their petitions the most carefull soliciter. Whereupon the Patriarch and Grand-master
B in the name of the poore oppressed Christians, wrote their letters vnto this effect:

The letters of Simon Patriarch of Ierusalem, and of the Grand-master of the Hospitalers vnto the Pope and other Christian princes, in the behalfe of the oppressed Christians in Ierusalem.

We the citizens of the Holy citie, and countreymen of Christ Iesus, dayly suffer those things which Christ our king suffered but once, in the last daies of his mortalitie. We are dayly buffeted, scourged, and pierced: euerie day some of vs are brained, beheaded, or crucified. We would flie from citie to citie vnto the remotest parts of the earth, and remooue out of the middle of that land, where Christ our Sauiour wrought our redemption, to lead a poore exiled and vagrant life; were it not impietie to leaue the land (sacred with the birth, doctrine, death, resurrection, and assention of our Sauiour) without inhabitants and priests: and that there should first lacke such as would endure death and martyrdome, than such as would inflict the same: and that there should not be which would willingly die
C *for Christ, as in battell, so long as there were any that would fight against them. These things truly we most miserably suffer: yet was there a time when as our ancestors feared no such thing, either to themselues or their posteritie. And now perhaps the Christian kingdomes of the West, liue likewise without the least suspition of feare: but let them bee mooued by our example and testimonie. The strength of the Turks is dayly encreased, & ours diminished: The continuall gaining of new kingdoms giueth them courage: They haue already deuoured the whole world, in hope. The forces of the Turks are fiercer and stronger than the forces of the Sarasins, their policies deeper, their attempts more desperat, their endeuours greater, and their successe fortunater. Yet haue the Sarasins attempted both* ROMES; *they haue besieged* CONSTANTINOPLE, *and haue wasted not only the Sea coasts of* ITALY, *but euen the heart of the land also. Then why should the kingdomes of the West presume*
D *themselues to stand in safetie and out of all perill, when as the chiefe fortresses of the world haue beene so endangered? What may the rest of Christendome promise vnto it selfe, seeing that* IERVSALEM *(the seat and spectacle of the Christian religion) hath beene besieged, taken, sacked, rased, and triumphed vpon? Seeing that of the Christian profession, remaine but the poore and weake reliques, in comparison of the ancient whole entire bodie? This land, which is dayly besprinkled with our blood, yea the blood it selfe crieth out for reuenge. And we your most humble suppliants, prostrate at your feet, call vpon the helpe, aid, mercie, faith, and religion, of you most blessed Father, of the kings, princes and potentates; Christians not in name and profession onely, but in heart, soule and spirit. Before the tempest thunder, before the lightning fall vpon you, auert from you and your children the storme hanging ouer your heads: defend vs your poore suppliants: deliuer your religion from most wicked and accurs-*
E *sed slauerie. You shall in so doing, deserue immortall fame, and God shall requite your so great valour in this world with terrestriall kingdomes, and in the world to come with eternall blisse, whose sacred inheritance you shall haue defended from the rage of hell.*

Rome, and Constantinople, which was also called Noua Roma, or new Rome.

With these letters, and plentie of other secret instructions, the deuout hermit returning into ITALY, and comming to ROME, deliuered his letters vnto *Vrban* the second of that name, then Pope, with a full discourse of the miseries of the Christians vnder the Turkish thraldome, which he had seene at IERVSALEM, and other places as he trauelled; requesting his holy care for the redresse thereof: with whom he so preuailed, that shortly after, he calling a Councell at CLAREMONT in FRANCE, among other things, propounded the miserie of the poore op-
F pressed Christians at IERVSALEM, as an especiall matter to be considered of. And hauing caused the aforesaid letters, directed vnto him and the other Christian princes, to bee openly read in the Counsell, wherunto three hundred and ten bishops were then out of diuers parts of Christendome assembled, with the embassadours of all countries, much mooued the whole assembly to compassion: at which time also the hermit, whose flowing eloquence fully countervailed what wanted in his feature, standing vp in the midst of the Counsell, deliuered his

The Councell at Claremont in France.

message in the name of the afflicted Christians, with their heauie gronings and teares: which as they could not be in letters expressed, so were they not hardly by the religious hermit (as by him who hauing but lately seene, both the miserie of the men, and desolation of the places, and at the heart touched with the greife thereof) so liuely represented, as that it mooued the whole assembly with the like simpathie of heauinesse and greife. Which the Pope perceiuing, tooke thereupon occasion to enter into a large discourse concerning that matter, with many effectuall reasons perswading the fathers and princes there present, of the necessitie of so religious a war to be taken in hand, for the deliuerance of their oppressed brethren out of the thraldome of the infidels; and now as well with their present decree, as afterwards at their returne home into their countries, by all meanes to further the same. Which notable perswasion, with the heauie complaint of the hermit, and the equitie of the cause, so much mooued the whole counsell and the rest there present, that they all as men inspired with one spirit, declared their consent by their often crying out, *Deus vult, Deus vult*, God willeth it, God willeth it: which words so then vttered by way of applause, was in the great and most sacred expedition following, much vsed of the deuout Christians, as the fortunate signall of their cheerfull forwardnesse, euen in their most dangerous enterprises. Strange it were to tell, and hardly to be beleeued (but that the antient histories beare witnesse of the like) how far in one daies space the report of this religious decreed war, was by flying fame dispersed.

An expedition agreed vpon by the Counsell, for the releise of the Christians oppressed in the Holy land.

The Counsell dissolued, and the reuerend fathers returning euerie man home into his owne countrey; it pleased God by their effectuall perswasions so to worke with the rest of the Christian princes, and people in generall, that in all countries and prouinces in Christendome, were shortly to be seene men of all sorts in great number, with redcrosses on their brests (the cognisance of that sacred expedition) readie of themselues to spend both life and goods for the defence of the Christian religion, and recouerie of the Holy land. The number of whom is of diuers diuersly reported, but of most supposed to haue beene three hundred thousand fighting men: of whom the chiefe commanders were *Godfrey* Duke of LORRAINE, with his two brethren *Eustace* and *Baldwin*, all of the honourable house of BUILLON; *Hugh* surnamed the Great, brother to *Philip* then the French king; *Raymond* and *Robert*, earles of FLANDERS; *Robert* duke of NORMANDIE, *William* the Conquerours sonne; *Stephan de Valois* earle of CHARTIERS; *Ademar* bishop of PODIE, the Popes legat; and *Peter* the hermit, not to be numbred amongst the least, as chiefe author of this most famous expedition: vnto whom many other honourable princes joyned themselues as partakers of their trauels, though not with like charge.

The chiefe commanders of the Christians in their expedition into the Holy land.

The first that set forward in this expedition, was one *Gualter Sensauier*, a noble gentleman, with a great band of men: not long after whom, followed *Peter* the hermit, with fortie thousand mo: who both, trauelling thorow GERMANIE, HVNGARIE, and BVLGARIA, were glad oftentimes, especially in the further part of HVNGARIE and BVLGARIA to open themselues a way with the sword; and so with much labour, and no lesse losse, came at length to CONSTANTINOPLE: where they were not greatly welcome vnto the emperour *Alexius Comnenus*, who guiltie vnto himselfe of the vnlawfull meanes whereby he had extorted the empire from *Nicephorus* his predecessour, had that expedition of the Christians into the East, in distrust, as purposed against himselfe: vntill that fully resolued to the contrarie, by the hermit and others; and that a far greater power was comming after, for the inuasion of the Turks and recouerie of the Holy land, he was content to relieue them now wearie of their long trauell: & afterward to make roome for thē that were to come, shipped thē ouer the strait of BOSPHORVS into ASIA; who marching forward into BITHINYA, encamped their armie in the countrey not far from the citie of NICE. In the meane time *Godfrey* with his brethren, and diuers other princes that had joyned themselues vnto him, with the Germaines and Loranois, and the greatest part of the armie, followed the same way that the hermit had taken before him. At which time also *Hugh* the French kings brother, with the Legate, the two *Roberts*, (the one duke of NORMANDIE, and the other earle of FLANDERS) and the rest of the French commanders, passing ouer the mountaines into ITALY, came to ROME, with a wonderfull great armie: where taking their leaue of the Pope, because they would be lesse troublesome vnto the cities and countries whereby they were to passe, they diuided their great armie into three parts; whereof the one part went to BRVNDVSIVM, and the other to BARY, and the

A the third to HYDRVNTVM, vnto whom alſo *Bohemund*, one of the great princes of APVLIA, joyned himſelfe with twelue thouſand good ſouldiers that followed him. From theſe three ports the Chriſtian armie departing, and croſsing the ADRIATIKE, arriued in ſafetie at DIRRACHIVM, and nigh thereabout, vpon the coaſt of DALMATIA: from whence they trauelled by land thorow MACEDONIA to CONSTANTINOPLE, where they met with the duke *Godfrey*, and the reſt of the armie: whom alſo at the firſt, *Alexius* the emperour is reported to haue but coldly entertained, as jealous of his owne ſtate; vntill that better perſuaded of their deſignements and good meaning towards him, confirmed by many rich preſents ſent vnto him from theſe ſtrange princes, he joyned with them in league: wherein it was agreed, That the emperour during the time of this expedition, ſhould furniſh them with new ſupplies of men, armour, victuals, and whatſoeuer elſe they ſhould want: in regard whereof, the princes on the other ſide, promiſed to reſtore againe vnto the empire, what prouinces, countries, or cities they ſhould happily gaine out of the hands of the Turks and Saraſins, the citie of IERVSALEM onely excepted: which agreement was afterward on the ſuſpicious emperours part, but ſlenderly performed. Neuertheleſſe this league ſo made, he graunted them paſſage, and ſo tranſported them ouer the ſtrait into ASIA; onely *Bohemund*, for an old grudge betwixt the emperour *Alexius* and his father, would not come to CONSTANTINOPLE, but marching with his armie thorow the vpper MISIA and THRACIA, came ſooner than any man had thought vnto the ſtrait of HELLESPONTVS, and ſo paſſed.

Godfrey duke of Buillon and the other Chriſtian princes meet together at Conſtantinople.

Now had *Gualter*, and the hermit *Peter*, with their armie, lyen two months in the countrey
C about NICE, expecting the comming of the reſt of the Chriſtian princes: for why, they thought it not good, before their comming, to attempt any thing againſt the enemie, whom they knew to lie not far off verie ſtrong. But the common ſouldiers, wearie of ſo long lying, and naught doing, and pinched with ſome wants; and withall diſliking of *Gualter* their chiefe commander, and the hermit *Peter*, of whoſe integritie and holineſſe they had a greater opinion than of his proweſſe and direction; riſe vp in mutinie, and diſplacing *Gualter*, made choiſe of one *Raymund*, a valiant Germain captaine, for their generall: by whoſe conduct they tooke EXORGVM, a towne of purpoſe forſaken of the Turks. For they long before vnderſtanding what a tempeſt of war was growing vpon them out of EVROPE, ſought by all meanes to cut off theſe that were alreadie come ouer, as the forerunners of a greater armie following, and therefore had left them this
D towne, as a bait to traine them out of their trenches. And after that the Chriſtians were thus poſſeſſed of the towne, hauing laid certain ſtrong ambuſhes, they draue out certaine heards of cattell the more to allure them: all which, certaine companies of the Chriſtians brought in, without any loſſe, the Turks ſtill winking thereat. With which bootie the Chriſtians encouraged, went out (three thouſand of them) to take in a tittle towne not far off, who were by the Turks cut off and ſlaine euerie mothers ſon, as they were about to haue diuided the ſpoile: which ouerthrow reported into the towne, diſcouraged euen the chiefe commanders of the armie, ſo that they reſolued no more to try the fortune of the field, before the comming of their friends. Neuertheleſſe the common ſouldiers, condemning them of cowardiſe, choſe them a new generall, one *Godfrey Burell*, whom they now requeſted not, but enforced to go out to reuenge the death of their fel-
E lowes: which their raſhneſſe not long after turned to their owne deſtruction. For ten thouſand of them going out of EXORGVM, to forrage the countrey, were by the Turks entrapped, and almoſt all ſlaine, except ſome few which by ſpeedie flight eſcaped. The Turks proſecuting their victorie, laid hard ſiege to them in the towne alſo, vntill they had partly with famine, and partly with the ſword conſumed the moſt part of them. The hermit with the poore remainder of his armie tooke his refuge to CINITE, a towne not far off, before abandoned by the Turks; where with much adoe he defended himſelfe, vntill the comming of duke *Godfrey*, and the reſt of the princes.

Cutlu-Muſes the Turke was now dead, hauing left vnto his ſon *Sultan Solyman* many large
F countries & prouinces, altogether gained from the Chriſtians in ASIA, whom he held in great ſubjection & thraldom. This warlike prince hauing diſcomfited, and almoſt brought to naught the hermits forces, was no leſſe carefull for the withſtanding of the great army following: which now being come into BYTHINIA, & lying before NICOMEDIA, remooving thence laid ſiege to the citie of NICE, called in antient time ANTIGONIA of *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Philip* that built it, and afterwards NICEA, of *Nicea* the wife of king *Liſimachus*. In this citie dwelt ma-

Nice beſieged by the Chriſtians.

ny deuout Greeks, Chriſtians; but in ſuch thraldom vnto the Turks, as that they could not do G
any thing for the deliuerie of themſelues. This ſiege endured longer than the Chriſtian prin-
ces had at the firſt ſuppoſed: who although they to the vttermoſt of their power, forced the
citie on three ſides, yet was it ſtill notably defended; new ſupplies ſtill comming from the
Turks by the lake of ASCANIVS joyning vpon the other ſide of the citie. But after that the
Chriſtians poſſeſſed of the lake, began on that ſide alſo to lay hardly vnto the citie, the Turks
diſcouraged, and ſeeing themſelues beſet round with their enemies, yeelded vp the citie the fift
1097 of Iuly, in the yeere 1097, after it had beene fiftie daies beſieged. But whilſt the Chriſtians thus
lay at the ſiege, the Turks aſſailed that quarter of the campe where the Legat lay; by whom
they were notably repulſed, and with great loſſe enforced to retire vnto the mountaines. In
this citie amongſt the reſt of the Turks, was taken *Solymans* wife, with two of her children, H
whom the princes ſent priſoners to CONSTANTINOPLE. This citie ſo woon, was according
to the agreement before made, reſtored vnto *Alexius* the emperour, whoſe fleet had in that ſiege
done good ſeruice, by taking the lake from the Turks.

The citie of NICE thus woon, the Chriſtian princes remooving thence with their armie; and
marching thorow the countrey, came the fourth day after vnto a riuer which watred many rich
paſtures: where, as they were about to haue encamped for the commodiouſneſſe of the place,
and refreſhing of the armie, ſuddenly newes was brought into the quarter where *Bohemund* lay,
now buſie in caſting vp his trenches, That the Turks with a great army were ready euen at hand
to charge him. For *Solyman* hauing raiſed a great power of his owne, and aided by the Sultan of
PERSIA his kinſman, was now come with an armie of threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, to giue the I
A cruell battell fought betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians. Chriſtians battell: of whoſe approch *Bohemund* aduertiſed, left the fortifying of his trenches,
and putting his ſouldiers in array, ſet forward to meet him, ſending word to the reſt of the prin-
ces that lay a far off, to be readie as occaſion ſhould require, to relieue him. Theſe two armies
conducted by their moſt reſolute chieftaines, meeting together, joyned a moſt fierce and terrible
battell, where in a ſhort ſpace the Turks lay ſlaine vpon heapes, in ſuch ſort that they ſerued the
Chriſtians in ſteed of bulwarks. But whilſt *Bohemund* thus preuaileth in the battell, certaine
of the Turks horſemen wheeling about, brake into *Bohemunds* campe; (not as then altogether
fortified, & but ſlenderly manned) where among the women, & other weake perſons there left,
they raiſed a great tumult & outcry, to the great appauling of them that were fighting in the bat-
tell: which *Bohemund* perceiuing, withdrew himſelfe with certaine companies vnto the campe, K
from whence he with great ſlaughter repulſed the enemie. But returning againe into the battell,
he found there a great alteration: for his ſouldiers whom before he had left, as it were in poſſeſ-
ſion of a moſt glorious victory, were now ſo hardly laid vnto by the Turks, as that they were rea-
die to haue turned their backs and fled. Neuertheleſſe by his comming in, the battell was no-
tably reſtored, and againe made doubtfull: when the enemie perceiuing how much the aſſault-
ting of the campe had troubled the Chriſtians in battell, ſent out certaine troupes of horſemen
againe to aſſault the ſame: and had not failed vndoubtedly to haue taken it, being as aforeſaid
not yet fortified, had not *Hugh* the French kings brother come in good time to the reſcue: who
comming in with thirtie thouſand horſemen, after he had relieued the campe, entring directly
into the battell, was notably encountred by a ſquadron of freſh ſoldiers of the Turks, by them of L
purpoſe reſerued for ſuch euent. There began a battell more terrible than the firſt, with moſt
doubtfull victorie. But at the length, the Turks wearie of the long and cruell fight, and ſeeing
moſt of their fellowes ſlaine, began by little and little to giue ground, and ſo retired into the
mountaines, which were not far off. In this battell which continued a great part of the day, were
ſlaine of the Turks fortie thouſand, and of the Chriſtians about two thouſand. The next mor-
ning *Bohemund* with the French kings brother, came againe into the field, in ſuch order, as if
they ſhould preſently haue giuen or receiued battell: where after they had ſtaid a great while, and
ſaw no enemie to appeare, they fell to the honeſt buriall of their dead: which were eaſily known
from the Turks, by the red croſſes vpon their garments, the cogniſance of their ſacred warfare.
Solyman flieth. *Solyman* flying with the remainder of his armie, notably diſſembled his loſſe, giuing it out that M
he had got the victorie: yet by the way as hee went, he burnt vp the countrey villages, and
deſtroyed or carried away whatſoeuer elſe he thought might ſtand the Chriſtians in any ſteed,
if they ſhould further follow after him, leauing nothing for them but the bare ground.

After this victorie, *Bohemund* and the Chriſtian princes, without reſiſtance marching
through

A through the hot and drie countreis of the leſſer ASIA, came to ANTIOCHIA, a citie of PISIDIA, which they tooke with ſmall labour: & ſo marching vnto ICONIVM the principal citie of CILICIA, neere vnto the mountaine TAVRVS, were there alſo of the citizens courteouſly receiued, where they ſtaid certaine daies for the refreſhing of the armie. From thence they ſet forward toward HERACLEA, where a great power of the Turks were reported to be aſſembled. But they together with the garriſon ſouldiers vpon the approch of the victorious armie of the Chriſtians forſooke the citie and fled. The citizens being Chriſtians (as they were yet generally in all the prouinces of the leſſer ASIA, but in great ſubjection to the Turks) and now rid of their cruel maſters the Turkiſh garriſons; came foorth, and meeting the princes, gladly yeelded themſelues with their citie vnto them, as vnto their deliuerers. Here the Chriſtian princes fully inſtru-
B cted of the great feare and deſperation of the Turks, who now in no place durſt abide their comming; for the more ſpeedie taking in of thoſe countries but lately oppreſſed by the Turks, diuided their armie into two parts, leauing the one part thereof with *Baldwin* and *Tancred* in CILICIA, for the full ſubduing thereof (who in ſhort time tooke the cities of TARSVS, EDISSA, and MANVSSA, with all the reſt of the countrey, the Turks not daring any where to abide their comming:) the other part of the armie in the meane time entring into the leſſer ARMENIA, tooke the ſame from the Turks, which the princes gaue to one *Palmurus* an Armenian, who had in that expedition done them great ſeruice. From thence they tooke their way into CAPADOCIA, which they alſo ſubdued, driuing out the Turks in euerie place, and tooke the cities of CESAREA and SOCOR, where they ſtaid a few daies for the refreſhing of the armie: with like ſuc-
C ceſſe they paſſed through the reſt of the prouinces of the leſſer ASIA, of late poſſeſſed by the Turks, ſtill chaſing them out before them, and ſetting at libertie the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians of thoſe countreis. Whereof *Solyman* (crauing aid of *Axan* the Perſian Sultan his couſin) grieuouſly complained by his letters to him directed in this ſort. *The famous citie of* NICE, *with the countrey of* ROMANIA, *which we by your aid and power haue gotten from the kingdome of the Greeks, and of your bountie poſſeſſed: the Chriſtians of the kingdome of* FRANCE *haue againe taken from vs.* Thus was the late erected kingdome of the Turks in the leſſer ASIA, by theſe valiant Chriſtian champions againe brought low, and they glad to retire themſelues farther off into the mountaines and more Eaſterne countries, vntill this heat was ouerpaſt; and that they, taking the benefit of the troubled ſtate of the Greeke empire (afterwards rent in ſunder by ambition and
D ciuile diſcord, the ruine of the greateſt monarchies) recouered not onely their former ſtate, but became alſo dreadful vnto the Greeke emperours themſelues: vpon whom they dayly gained in one corner or other, ſtill maintaining the honour of their eſtate, vntill the riſing of the *Othoman* familie, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie ſhall God willing be declared.

Antioch in Piſidia taken by the Chriſtians.

Heraclea yeelded.

Sultan Solymãs his letters vnto the Perſian Sultan Axan.

Theſe victorious princes then, and to the worlds end famous, not contented to their immortall praiſe, to haue thus driuen the Turks out of the leſſer ASIA, and recouered ſo many countries; bound themſelues, as well the princes as the common ſouldiers, by ſolemne oath, neuer to return againe into their countries, vntil they had accompliſhed that facted war, with the conqueſt of the Holy citie. So mounting together the high mountaine TAVRVS, and diſcending thence as into another world, they came to the citie MARESIA, which they tooke without reſiſtance,
E the Turks there in garriſon, being by night before for feare fled: where the Chriſtians for the refreſhing of themſelues, certaine daies ſtaid. In the meane time *Robert* earle of FLANDERS with a thouſand men at armes, was ſent out to giue ſummons vnto a citie called ARTASIA, about fifteene miles diſtant from ANTIOCH: when as the citizens beholding the enſignes of the Chriſtians, ſuddenly tooke vp armes againſt the Turks there in garriſon, which had of long holden them in ſubjection, and preuailing vpon them, ſlew them euerie mothers ſonne: whoſe heads they preſented vnto the earle, and receiued him into their citie. The Turks to reuenge the death of their friends, and to recouer againe the citie before the comming of the reſt of the armie, ſent out about ten thouſand men out of ANTIOCH; for thither was aſſembled a great power of
F them to haue hindred the farther proceedings of the Chriſtians: and being come neere to ARTASIA, they ſent before certaine ſtragling companies, of purpoſe to draw the new come Chriſtians out of the citie, lying in the meane time in ambuſh with the reſt, of purpoſe to entrap them. With theſe ſtragling companies, the Flemings ſallying out luſtily, encountred, & eaſily put them to flight; the Turks in deed flying of purpoſe to bring them within the danger of the other, lying in Ambuſh. After whom the Flemings eagerly following, were before they were aware en-

The Chriſtians bind themſelues by oath, neuer to returne vntill they had wonne the Holy citie.

cloſed round with their enemies, and there had vndoubtedly periſhed, had not the citizens be- G
ing Chriſtians, preſently ſalied out, and right woorthily relieued them.

Shortly after the Chriſtian princes marching forward with their armie, were encountred by the Turke at the riuer ORONTES, who had there thought to haue ſtaid their farther paſſage: with whom *Robert* duke of NORMANDIE, who had the leading of the vauntguard, had a hard conflict, vntill that the Turks diſcouraged with the ſight of the armie ſtill comming on, forſooke the bridge, and betooke themſelues to flight. So the Chriſtians paſsing the riuer, came and encamped with their armie before the famous citie of ANTIOCH the one and twentith day of October, in the yeere 1097: the gouernour whereof vnder the Perſian Sultan, was one *Caſsianus* (of ſome alſo honoured with the name of a king) who at the comming of the Chriſtians, had with him in the citie ſeuen thouſand horſemen, and twentie thouſand foot of the Turks, with H
great ſtore of victuals, and all manner of other prouiſions neceſſarie for the defence thereof. This citie called in antient time EPIDAPHANE, or EPIPHANE, and of the Hebrewes, REBLATHA, ſometime the ſeat of the Sirian kings, and afterwards the Metropoliticall citie of SYRIA, hauing vnder it an hundred and fiftie biſhops (famous for many things, and amongſt others, for that it was the ſeat of the bleſſed Apoſtle Saint *Peter*, and firſt place whereas the profeſſours of the Chriſtian religion tooke the name of Chriſtians) is ſituate vpon the riuer ORONTES, about twelue miles from the ſea, and was then ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, being compaſſed about with a double wall; the vttermoſt whereof was of hard ſtone, and the other of bricke, with 460 towres in the ſame, and an inpregnable caſtle at the Eaſt end thereof, whereunto was joyning a deepe lake, comming out of the great riuer which watred the South ſide of the citie. I
Round about this ſtrong citie (one of the moſt aſſured refuges of the Turks) although it were in circuit great, lay the Chriſtian princes encamped, except on that ſide which being defended with the high broken mountaines, is not there to be beſieged. Vpon whom the Turks out of the citie, duing the time of the ſiege, made many a fierce & deſperat ſally, being ſtil by the Chriſtians moſt valiantly repulſed: eſpecially at the bridge which the Chriſtians had made of boats for their more commodious paſſage too and fro ouer the riuer. In this ſort was the ſiege continued, vntill the beginning of Februarie, with many a bloodie skirmiſh. At which time ſuch abundance of raine fell, as that hardly could a man find any place to lie drie in: and the ſcarſitie of victuall grew ſo great in the campe, that many (horrible it is to ſay) to aſſuage their hunger, were glad to eat the dead bodies of their late ſlaine enemies. In theſe extremities, many died of hunger and cold; yea K
their horſes alſo periſhed for want of meat, ſo that in the whole campe were ſcarcely left two thouſand horſes fit for ſeruice, the reſt being either all dead, or brought ſo low, as that they were altogether vnſeruiceable. Theſe miſeries dayly increaſing diuers men of great account whom no terrour of the enemie could haue diſmaid, began ſecretly to withdraw themſelues out of the campe, with purpoſe to haue ſtolne home; among whom were *Peter* the heremit, authour of this war, and *Tancred* the nephew of *Bohemund*, who taken by the way, and brought backe with the reſt as fugitiues, were ſharply reprooued by *Hugh* the French kings brother, as cowards, and traitors to their brethren and fellow ſouldiers, and ſo enforced to take a new oath for their fidelitie and perſeuerance. *Bohemund* in the meane time going to ARETHVSA, a towne not far off, by good fortune cut off a great part of the Turks there in garriſon: who after their vſual manner L
ſallying out to haue cut off the forrages of the Chriſtians, were now themſelues caught tardie: whereby the countrey for a time was more open for the diſtreſſed Chriſtian ſouldiers to ſeeke abroad for reliefe. But this libertie ſo lately gained, laſted not long, when newes was brought vnto the campe, That the Turks in great number out of the prouinces about ALEPPO and DAMASCO, were comming to the reliefe of their beſieged friends in ANTIOCH. Neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians truſting vnto their owne ſtrength, & the ſtrength of the place wherein they were encamped, lay ſtill, and at their comming ſo encountred them that they ſlew 2000 of them, and put the reſt to flight: In which conflict the Chriſtians got great ſtore of prouiſion & victuals, which the Turks had thought to haue put into the citie. The heads of the ſlaine Turks the Chriſtians ſet vpon ſtakes before the citie, to the more terrour of the defendants. This ouerthrow of M
the Turks, wherein *Caſsianus* had loſt his eldeſt ſonne, with others of his beſt captaines, ſo daunted the beſieged, that they requeſted a truce for a time of the Chriſtian princes: which granted, they of the citie came oftentimes into the campe, and they of the campe likewiſe into the citie: *Caſsianus* ſtill expecting reliefe from the Perſian Sultan. Whilſt the Chriſtian princes were

Antioch in Siria beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The deſcription of the famous citie of Antioch.

thus

A thus busie in ASIA, the Venetians with a great fleet of two hundred gallies scouring the seas, vnder the conduct of *Henrie Contarenus* the bishop, and of *Vitalis* the dukes sonne, meeting with the gallies of *Pisa* at the RHODES, and falling out with them, had with them a great fight, wherein the Venetians hauing the vpper hand, tooke eighteene of their gallies, and in them fiue thousand souldiers: whom they seeing to be marked with the red crosse, the cognisance of the sacred warre, they presently set at libertie together with the gallies, detayning onely thirtie of the better sort as hostages. After that, the Venetians sayling into IONIA, tooke the citie of SMYRNA, and spoiled all along the coasts of LYCIA, PAMPHILIA, and CILICIA, before for feare abandoned by the Turks.

The truce before taken betweene the Turks and the Christians at the siege of ANTIOCH, be-
B ing in short time after broken by the death of one *Vollo* a French man, slaine by the Turks: the war was againe begun, and the citie more hardly laid vnto than before. At which time the gouernour who in the time of this long siege, which had now continued nine months, had lost most part of his best souldiers, was glad for the defence of so great a citie to vse the seruice of diuers Christians, then dwelling in the citie. Amongst whom was one *Pirrhus*, a citizen of great reputation, vnto whom he had committed the guarding of a tower, called the two Sisters, but afterward saint *Georges* tower. This *Pyrrhus* had secret intelligence with *Bohemund* prince of TARENTVM, with whom he agreed to giue him there entrance into the city, vpon condition, That he should of the other Christian princes procure the gouernment of the citie vnto himselfe; and that he, with the rest of the Christian citizens in the citie might be at his hands well vsed: Which thing being
C easily obtayned, and all things agreed vpon, *Bohemund* with his souldiers were by night by *Pyrrhus* let into the citie, who made way for the rest of the armie to enter. The citie thus taken, many of the Turks fled into the castell, the rest were put vnto the sword, man, woman, and child; and amongst them also many of the Christians, the furious souldiers taking of them no knowledge. Great wealth was there found, but small store of victuals. *Cassianus* the late gouernour flying out of the citie to saue himselfe, in wandring through the mountaines, fell into the hands of the Christian Armenians, who lately thrust out of IERVSALEM were fled thither for refuge, by whom he was there slaine. In the citie were slaine about ten thousand persons. Thus was the famous citie of ANTIOCH, which the Turks had long before by famine taken from the Christians, againe recouered the third day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord God 1098. The
D poore oppressed Christians in IERVSALEM hearing of this so notable a victorie, gaue secret thanks vnto God therefore, and began to lift vp their heads in hope that their deliuerie was now at hand. Of this victorie, the princes of the armie by speedie messengers and letters certified their friends in all countries, so that in short time the fame thereof had filled a great part of the world. Amongst others, *Bohemund* prince of TARENTVM, vnto whom the citie was deliuered, sent the joyfull newes thereof vnto *Roger* his brother prince of APVLIA: whose letters, as the most certaine witnesses of the historie before reported, I thought it not amisse here to set downe.

Antioch betraied vnto the Christians.

Cassianus gouernour of Antioch in flying slaine.

1098

The letters of Bohemund prince of Tarentum, to his brother Roger prince of Apulia, concerning the winning of Antioch.

I suppose you to haue vnderstood by the letters of your sonne Tancred, *both of the great feare of*
E *some of vs, and the battels which we haue of late with our great glorie fought. But concerning the truce, and the proceeding of the whole action, I had rather you should be certified by my letters, than the letters of others. King* Cassianus *had required a time of truce: during which, our souldiers had free recourse into the citie without danger, vntill that by the death of* Vollo *a Frenchman, slaine by the enemie, the truce was broken. But whilst it yet seemed an hard matter to winne the citie, one* Pyrrhus *a citizen of* ANTIOCH, *of great authoritie and much deuoted vnto me, had conference with me concerning the yeelding vp of the citie; yet vpon condition, That the gouernment thereof should be committed to me, in whom he had reposed an especiall trust. I conferred of the whole matter with the princes and great commanders of the armie, and easily obtained that the gouernment of the citie was by their generall consent alotted vnto me. So our armie entring by a gate opened by* Pyrrhus, *tooke the citie. Within a few daies after, the towne* ARETVM *was by vs assaulted, but not without some losse*
F *and danger to our person, by reason of a wound I there receiued. I assure you much of the valour of your sonne* Tancred, *of whom I and the whole armie make such account and reckoning, as is to be made of a most valiant and resolute generall.* *Farewell from* ANTIOCH.

Whilst the Christians thus lay at the siege of ANTIOCH, *Corbanas* (the Persian Sultan his lieutenant)

Edeſſa in vaine beſieged by the Turke.

lieutenant) with a great armie beſieged EDESSA, with purpoſe after the taking thereof, to haue G
reliued the citie of ANTIOCH. But this citie being notably defended by *Baldwin* left there of
purpoſe with a ſtrong garriſon for the defence thereof; the Turke fearing in the meane time to
looſe ANTIOCH, the ſafeſt refuge of the Turks in all thoſe parts, riſe with his armie and ſet for-
ward againſt the Chriſtians: where by the way it was his fortune to meet with *Sanſadolus*, *Caſ-*
ſianus his ſonne, but lately fled from ANTIOCH, by whom he vnderſtood of the loſſe of the
citie, and by what meanes the ſame was moſt like to be againe recouered: vpon which hope,
Corbanas with his mightie armie kept on his way, with a full reſolution to ſet all vpon the for-
tune of a battell. Whoſe comming much troubled the Chriſtians; for that although they were
poſſeſſed of the citie, yet was the caſtell ſtill holden by the Turks. Neuertheleſſe leauing the earle
of THOLOVS in the citie with a competent power for the keeping in of them in the caſtell, H
they tooke the field with the whole ſtrength of the armie, and ſo in order of battell expected the
comming of their enemies: who couragiouſly comming on as men before reſolued to fight,
ioyned with them a moſt terrible and bloodie battell. Neither were they in the citie in the mean
time idle; for that the Turks in the caſtell hauing receiued in vnto them certaine ſupplies from

Corbanas the Sultans lieutenant, with a great armie commeth to recouer againe the citie of Antioch.

Corbanas, ſallied out vpon them that were left for the ſafegard of the citie, and had with them a
cruell conflict. Thus both within the citie and without was to be ſeene a moſt dreadfull fight of
reſolute men, with great ſlaughter on both ſides: yet after long fight and much effuſion of blood,
the fortune of the Chriſtians preuailing, the Turks began to giue ground, and afterwards be-
tooke themſelues to plaine flight, whom the Chriſtians hardly purſuing, made of them a woon-
derfull ſlaughter. In this battell were ſlaine of the Turks aboue an hundred thouſand, and of the I
Chriſtians about foure thouſand two hundred. There was alſo taken a great prey: for beſides
horſes and other beaſts for burden, were taken alſo fiue thouſand camels with their lading. The
next day, being the 28 of Iune, the caſtell was by the Turks (now diſpairing of releife) yeelded vp
vnto the Chriſtians.

ANTIOCH thus taken, *Hugh* the French kings brother, ſurnamed the Great, was ſent from
the reſt of the princes to CONSTANTINOPLE, to haue deliuered the citie vnto *Alexius* the
emperour, according to the agreement before made. But he, guiltie in conſcience of his owne
foule dealing with them, vnto whom he had ſent no reliefe at all during the long and hard ſiege
of ANTIOCH; neither performed any thing of that he had further promiſed, and therefore
knowing himſelfe hated of them; had in diſtruſt ſo great an offer of the princes, ſo euill deſer- K

Bohemund choſen prince of Antioch.

ued, and therefore refuſed to accept thereof. Whereupon *Bohemund* by the generall conſent of
the whole armie was choſen prince, or (as ſome call him) king of ANTIOCH.

The plague in the Chriſtian armie.

After this long ſiege and want of victuals, enſued a great plague in the armie of the Chriſti-
ans, the Autumne following, whereof it is reported fiftie thouſand men to haue died, and
amongſt them many of great account. But the mortalitie ceaſing, the Chriſtians, in Nouember
following, by force tooke RVGIA, and ALBARIA, two cities, about two daies journey from

Diſcord ariſing vpon emulation betwixt Bohemund and Raimund.

ANTIOCH: where diſſention ariſing betwixt *Bohemund* & *Raimond*, who of all others only en-
uied at his preferment vnto the principalitie of ANTIOCH: *Bohemund* for the common cauſes
ſake, gaue way vnto his aduerſarie, & retired with his ſoldiers backe againe to ANTIOCH; after
whom followed the duke *Godfrey*, and the earle of FLANDERS with their regiments. The reſt L
of the princes wintred ſome at RVGIA, ſome at ALBARIA, from whence *Raimund* made ſun-
drie light expeditions further into the enemies countrey: But the ſpring approching, the Chriſti-
an princes with all their power tooke the field againe. *Bohemund* with them that remained with
him, departing from ANTIOCH, beſieged TORTOSA. *Raimund* in the meane time with the
reſt, beſieging the citie of TRIPOLIS: who become much more inſolent than before, by rea-
ſon of ſome fortunate roads he had made vpon the enemies the laſt winter, ceaſed not ſtill to ma-
ligne *Bohemund* and his proceedings: matter enough to haue diuided the whole power of the
Chriſtians, & to haue turned their weapons vpon themſelues: which *Bohemund* wel conſidering,
riſe with his armie; and becauſe he would not with his preſence trouble the proceeding of the
religious war, retired himſelfe to ANTIOCH. After whoſe departure, *Godfrey* and the earle of M
FLANDERS, tooke GABELLA, a citie about twelue miles from LAODICIA, and from thence
returned againe to the ſiege of TORTOSA, whether *Raimund* came alſo with his armie, hauing
before driuen the gouernour of TRIPOLIS to ſuch compoſition as pleaſed himſelfe, and to
furniſh him with ſuch things as he wanted. Thus was TORTOSA hardly on three ſides beſieged

by

A by the Christians, but so notably defended by the Turks, that after three months hard siege the Christians were glad to depart thence: and marching alongst the sea side, spoiled the countrey about SIDON. But forasmuch as that citie was not easily to be woon, they left it,& encamped before PTOLEMAIS, which they also passed by: the gouernor thereof sending them out victuals, with such other things as they wanted; and vpon summons giuen, promising to yeeld the citie after they had once woon the citie of IERVSALEM. From thence they came to CESARIA in PALESTINE, where they solemnly kept the feast of Whitsontide, and so to RAMA, which they found for feare forsaken of the Infidels. Marching from RAMA, and drawing neere to IERVSALEM, they in the vantgard of the armie, vpon the first descrying of the Holy citie, gaue for joy diuers great shouts and outcries, which with the like applause of the whole armie
B was so doubled and redoubled, as if therewith they would haue rent the verie mountaines and pearced the highest heauens. There might a man haue seene the deuout passions of these most woorthie and zealous Christians, vttered in right diuers manners: Some, with their eies and hands cast vp towards heauen, called aloud vpon the name and helpe of Christ Iesus; some, prostrat vpon their faces, kissed the ground, as that whereon the Redeemer of the world sometime walked; others, joyfully saluted those holy places which they had heard so much of, and then first beheld: In briefe, euerie man in some sort expressed the joy he had conceiued of the sight of the Holy citie, as the end of their long trauell.

The exceeding joy of the Christians vpon the first descrying of the Holy citie.

This most antient and famous citie, so much renowmed in holy writ, is situat in an hillie countrey; not watred with any riuer or fresh springs, as other famous cities for most part be;
C neither yet was it well seated for wood, or pasture ground: But what wanted in these, and such other benefits of nature, was by the extraordinarie blessings of the most highest, so supplied, as that the Iewes there dwelling, so long as they kept the ordinances of the Lord, were of all other people in the world justly accounted the most happie and fortunate. Yet in those so blessed times, was this citie for the sinne of the people oftentimes deliuered into the enemies hand, and the glorie thereof defaced: as well appeareth by the whole course of the historie of holy Scripture, as also by the antient and approoued histories as well of the Iewes themselues, as others. Neuertheless, it still rise againe (though not in like glorie as before in the time of king *Dauid*, *Salomon*, and the other next succeeding kings) and so was still repeopled by the Iewes, vntill that at last according to the foretelling of our Sauiour Christ, it was with a great and of all others
D most lamentable destruction, vtterly rased and destroyed by the Romans, vnder the leading of *Vespatian* the emperour, and his noble sonne *Titus*, fortie yeeres after our Sauiour his pretious death and passion. Sithence which time, it was neuer vntill this day againe repaired, or yet well inhabited, by the Iewes; but lying buried in the ruines of it selfe, all the raigne of *Domitian*, *Nerua*, and *Trajan*, vntill the time of the great emperour *Aelius Adrianus*, it was againe by him reedified about the yeere 136, and after the name of him called ÆLIA; who together with the name changed also in some part the antient situation of the citie. For whereas before it was seated vpon the steepe rising of an hill, in such sort that towards the East and the South it ouerlooked the whole ground, hauing onely the temple and the castle called ANTONIA, in the highest part of the citie: *Adrian* translated the whole citie vnto the verie top of the hill, so that the place
E where our blessed Sauiour suffred his most bitter passion, with the sepulcher wherein he was also laid, and from whence he in glorie rise againe, before without the citie, were then enclosed within the walles thereof, as they are at this day to be seene. Yet for all that the emperour being dead, in processe of time this new built citie recouered againe the antient name of IERVSALEM, whereby it hath euer since, and is at this day yet known. This citie so reedified, the emperour first gaue vnto the Iewes, whom he afterwards againe thrust out for their rebellion, and gaue it to the Christians to inhabit: ouer whom, one *Marke*, first bishop of the Gentiles there, had the charge. But forasmuch as the Romane emperours were at that time altogether idolaters and persecutors of the poore Christians, the church also at IERVSALEM, with others endured sun-
F drie and many grieuous persecutions, vnder the emperors *Antoninus*, *Commodus*, *Seuerus*, *Maximinus*, *Valerianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Diocletianus*, and *Maxentius*, vntill that at length *Constantine* the Great conuerted vnto the faith of Christ, about the yeere of Grace 320, suppressing the Pagan idolatrie, gaue generall peace vnto the afflicted church: whereby the Christian church at IERVSALEM, for the space of three hundred yeeres after, happily flourished vnder the Greeke emperours, vntill the time of the emperour *Phocas*; who hauing most cruelly slaine the good empe-

Ierusalem re-edified by the great emperour Aelius Adrianus.

A briefe discourse of the state & fortune of the Holy citie of Ierusalem, from the destruction thereof, vnder Vespatianus the emperor and Titus his sonne, vntill it was now againe recouered out of the hands of the Infidels by Godfrey of Buillion and the other Christian princes of the West.

rour;

rour *Maurice* with his children, and ſo poſſeſſed himſelfe of the empire, gaue occaſion thereby vnto *Choſroe* the Perſian king, in reuenge of the death of *Maurice* his father in law, with all his power to inuade SIRIA: who as a tempeſt bearing downe all before him, tooke alſo by force the citie of IERVSALEM, hauing that yeere, which was about the yeere ſix hundred and ten, ſlaine almoſt an hundred thouſand chriſtians. But *Phocas* the vſurper being by them of his guard moſt cruelly ſlaine, and *Heraclius* ſucceeding in his ſteed, *Choſroe* was by him againe driuen out of SIRIA, and the Holy citie againe recouered, about the yeere 624. In theſe great wars againſt the Perſians, *Heraclius* had vſed the helpe of the Arabians, called Scenite, a warlike people of ARABIA DESERTA, altogether giuen to the ſpoile: who, the wars now ended, expecting to haue receiued their pay, were contrarie to their expectation, and without all reaſon rejected by them that ſhould haue paid them, with verie foule and contumelious words; as, that there was not money enough to pay the Chriſtian ſoldiers of the Latines and the Greeks, much leſſe thoſe vile dogs (whom they ſo called, for that they had but a little before receiued the damnable doctrine of the falſe prophet *Mahomet*, the great ſeducer of the world, who euen in that time flouriſhed.) Vpon which diſcontentment they at their returne reuolted from the empire, and joyned themſelues vnto their great prophet, and ſo afterwards vnto the Caliphs his ſucceſſors, extending his doctrine, together with his ſoueraigntie to the vttermoſt of their power: and that with ſo good ſucceſſe, that in ſhort time they had ouerrun all AEGYPT, SIRIA, the land of promiſe, and taken the Holy citie. With theſe (the diſciples of *Mahomet* and his ſucceſſors, the Saraſins, for ſo now they would be called) the Greeke emperors enſuing, had for certaine yeeres diuers conflicts, with diuers fortune, for the poſſeſsion of SIRIA. But at length wearied out, & by them ouercom, they left the aforeſaid countries wholy vnto their deuotion. Hereby it came to paſſe, that the Saraſins for the ſpace of 370 yeeres following held thoſe countries, with many others, in great ſubjection, oppreſsing ſtill the poore Chriſtians in IERVSALEM with moſt grieuous tributes and exactions: vnto whom they yet left a third part of the citie for them to dwell in, with the temple of the Sepulcher of our Sauiour, and mount SION; not for any deuotion, either vnto them, or thoſe places, but for that it yeelded them a great profit by the recourſe of deuout Chriſtians trauelling thither: reſeruing in the meane time vnto themſelues, the other two parts of the citie, with the temple of *Salomon*, before reedified by the Chriſtians. Now whilſt the Saraſins thus triumph it in the Eaſt, and not in the Eaſt onely, but ouer a great part of the Weſt alſo, contenting themſelues with ſuch tributs as they had impoſed vpon the ſubdued nations and countries: vp ſtart the Turks, a vagrant, fierce, and cruell people; who firſt breaking into ASIA (as is before declared) and by rare fortune aſpiring vnto the kingdome of PERSIA, ſubdued the countries of MESOPOTAMIA, SIRIA, with the greateſt part of the leſſer ASIA, and IVDEA, together with the Holy citie: who both there and in all other places held the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians in ſuch ſubjection and thraldom, as that the former gouernment of the Saraſins ſeemed in compariſon of this to haue beene but light and eaſie. Neither was there any end or releaſe of theſe ſo great miſeries to haue beene expected, had not God in mercie by the weake meanes of a poore heremit, ſtirred vp theſe moſt woorthie princes of the Weſt to take vp armes in their defence, who hauing with their victorious armies recouered the leſſer ASIA, with a great part of SIRIA, were now come vnto this Holy citie.

Ieruſalem beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The gouernour of IERVSALEM vnderſtanding by his eſpials, of the proceedings of the Chriſtians, had before their approch, got into the citie a verie ſtrong garriſon of right valiant ſouldiers, with good ſtore of all things neceſſarie for the holding out of a long ſiege. The Chriſtians with their armie approching the citie, encamped before it on the North; for that towards the Eaſt and the South, it was not well to be beſieged, by reaſon of the broken rocks and mountaines. Next vnto the citie lay *Godfrey* the duke, with the Germans and Loranois: neere vnto him lay the earle of FLANDERS, and *Robert* the Norman: before the Weſt gate lay *Tancred*, and the earle of THOLOVS: *Bohemund* and *Baldwin* were both abſent, the one at ANTIOCH, the other at EDESSA. The Chriſtians thus ſtrongly encamped, the fift day after gaue vnto the citie a fierce aſſault, with ſuch cheerfulneſſe, as that it was verily ſuppoſed, it might haue beene euen then woon, had they beene ſufficiently furniſhed with ſcaling ladders: for want whereof, they were glad to giue ouer the aſſault and retire. But within a few daies after, hauing ſupplied that defect, and prouided all things neceſſarie, they came on againe afreſh, and with all their power gaue vnto the citie a moſt terrible aſſault, wherein was on both ſides ſeene great valour, policie,

A licie,& cunning,with much ſlaughter,vntill that at length the Chriſtians wearie of the long fight, and in that hot countrey,and moſt feruent time of the yeere fainting for lacke of water,were glad againe to forſake the aſſault, and to retire into their trenches: onely the well of *Siloe* yeelded them water, and that not ſufficient for the whole campe; the reſt of the wels which were but few,being before by the enemie either filled vp or elſe poyſoned.

Whilſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of IERVSALEM, a fleet of the Genowaies arriued at IOPPA; at which time alſo a great fleet of the Egyptian Sultans lay at ASCALON, to haue brought reliefe to the beſieged Turks in IERVSALEM: whereof the Genowaies vnderſtanding, and knowing themſelues too weake to encounter them at ſea, tooke all ſuch things out of their ſhips as they thought good, and ſo ſinking them, marched by land vnto the campe. There was B amongſt theſe Genowaies diuers enginers, men (after the manner of that time) cunning in making of all manner of engines fit for the beſieging of cities: by whoſe deuice, a great mouing tower was framed of timber and thick plancks,couered ouer with raw hides,to ſaue the ſame from fire: out of which the Chriſtians might in ſafetie greatly annoy the defendants. This tower being by night brought cloſe vnto the wall, ſerued the Chriſtians in ſteed of a moſt ſure fortreſſe in the aſſault the next day: where whilſt they ſtriue with like valour and doubtfull victorie on both ſides, from morning vntill midday, by chance the wind fauouring the Chriſtians, carried the flame of the fire into the face of the Turks, wherewith they had thought to haue burnt the tower; with ſuch violence,that the Chriſtians taking the benefit thereof, and holpen by the tower, gained the top of the wall: which was firſt footed by the duke *Godfrey*, and his brother *Euſtace*, C with their followers, and the enſigns of the duke there firſt ſet vp,to the great encouraging of the Chriſtians; who now preſsing in on euerie ſide, like a violent riuer that had broken ouer the banks,bare downe all before them. All were ſlaine that came to hand,men,women,and children, without reſpect of age, ſex,or condition: the ſlaughter was great, and the ſight lamentable, all the ſtreets were filled with blood,and the bodies of the dead,death triumphing in euerie place.

The Genowaies come to the ſiege.

Yet in this confuſion, a woonderfull number of the better ſort of the Turks, retiring vnto *Salomons* temple there to do their laſt deuoire, made there a great and terrible fight, armed with diſpaire to endure any thing; and the victorious Chriſtians no leſſe diſdaining,after the winning of the citie, to find there ſo great reſiſtance. In this deſperat conflict, fought with woonderfull obſtinacie of mind, many fell on both ſides: but the Chriſtians came on ſo fiercely, with deſire D of blood, that breaking into the temple, the foremoſt of them were by the preſſe of them that followed after,violently thruſt vpon the weapons of their enemies,and ſo miſerably ſlaine. Neither did the Turks thus oppreſſed,giue it ouer, but as men reſolued to die, deſperatly fought it out with inuincible courage, not at the gates of the temple onely, but euen in the middeſt thereof alſo, where was to be ſeene great heaps, both of the victors and the vanquiſhed, ſlaine indifferently together. All the pauement of the temple ſwam with blood, in ſuch ſort,that a man could not ſet his foot,but either vpon ſome dead man,or ouer the ſhooes in blood. Yet for all that,the obſtinate enemie ſtill held the vaults and top of the temple, when as the darkneſſe of the night came ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians were glad to make an end of the ſlaughter, and to ſound a retrait. The next day (for that proclamation was made, for mercie to be ſhewed vnto all ſuch as E ſhould lay downe their weapons) the Turks that yet held the vpper part of the temple, came down & yeelded themſelues. Thus was the famous citie of IERVSALEM with great bloodſhed, but far greater honor, recouered by theſe worthie Chriſtians,in the yeere 1099, after it had beene 1099 in the hands of the infidels aboue foure hundred yeeres.

A moſt cruell and bloodie fight betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, euen in the Temple of Ieruſalem.

The next day after, hauing buried the dead and cleanſed the citie, they gaue thanks to God with publicke praiers, and great rejoycing. The poore Chriſtians before oppreſſed, now ouercome with vnexpected joy, welcomed their victorious brethren with great joy and praiſe; and the ſouldiers embracing one another, ſparing to ſpeake of themſelues, freely commended each others valour. Eight daies after,the princes of the armie meeting together,began to conſult about F the choice of their king: amongſt whom was no ſuch difference, as might well ſhew which was to be preferred before the others. And although euerie one of them for proweſſe and deſert, ſeemed woorthie of ſo great an honour; yet by the generall conſent of all, it was giuen to *Robert* duke of NORMANDIE: who about the ſame time hearing of the death of the Conqueror his father, and more in loue with his fathers new gotten kingdome in ENGLAND, in hope thereof, refuſed the kingdome of IERVSALEM, then offered vnto him: which at his returne he found

found poſſeſſed by *William Rufus* his yoonger brother, and ſo in hope of a better refuſing the G
woorſe, vpon the matter loſt both.

Godfrey duke of Buillon by the generall conſent of the Chriſtian armie choſen firſt king of Ieruſalem.

After whoſe departure, *Godfrey* of BVILLON duke of LORAINE (whoſe enſigne was firſt diſplaid vpon the wals) was by the generall conſent both of the princes and the armie, ſalu-
ted king. He was a great ſouldier, and endued with many heroicall vertues, brought vp in the
court of the emperour *Henrie* the fourth, and by him much emploied. At the time of his inau-
guration, he refuſed to be crowned with a crowne of gold: ſaying, That it became not a Chri-
ſtian man, there to were a crowne of gold, where Chriſt the ſonne of God had for the ſaluation
of mankind, ſometime worne a crowne of thorne. Of the greateſt part of theſe proceedings of
the Chriſtians, from the time of their departure from ANTIOCH vntill the winning of the Holy H
citie, *Godfrey* by letters briefly certified *Bohemund*, as followeth.

Godfrey *of Buillon to* Bohemund *king of Antioch, greeting.*

After long trauell, hauing firſt taken certaine townes, we came to IERVSALEM: *which citie is enuironed with high hils, without riuers or fountaines, excepting onely that of* Solomans, *and that a verie little one. In it are many ceſterns, wherein water is kept, both in the citie and the countrey thereabout. On the Eaſt are the Arabians, the Moabits, and Ammonits: on the South, the Idumeans, Aegyptians, and Philiſtians: Weſtward alongſt the ſea coaſt lie the cities of* PTOLEMAIS, TIRVS, I
and TRIPOLIS: *and Northward,* TIBERIAS, CESAREA, PHILIPPI, *with the countrey* DECAPOLIS *and* DAMASCO. *In the aſſault of the citie, I firſt gained that part of the wall that fell to my lot to aſſaile, and commanded* Baldwin *to enter the citie: who hauing ſlaine certaine companies of the enemies, broke open one of the gates for the Chriſtians to enter.* Raymond *had the citie of* Dauid, *with much rich ſpoile, yeelded vnto him. But when we came vnto the temple of* Soloman, *there we had a great conflict, with ſo great ſlaughter of the enemie, that our men ſtood in blood aboue the ancles: the night approching, we could not take the vpper part of the temple, which the next day was yeelded, the Turks pitifully crying out for mercie: and ſo the citie of* IERVSALEM *was by vs taken, the fifteenth of Iuly, in the yeere of our redemption* 1099, *39 daies after the beginning of the ſiege, 409 yeeres after it fell into the hands of the Saraſins in the time of* Heraclius *the emperour. Beſides* K
this, the princes with one conſent ſaluted me (againſt my will) king of IERVSALEM: *who although I feare to take vpon me ſo great a kingdome; yet I will do my deuoir, that they ſhall eaſily know me for a Chriſtian king, and well deſeruing of the vniuerſall Faith. But loue you me as you do. And ſo farewell from* IERVSALEM.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing at IERVSALEM, ſuch a multitude of the Turks, and
Saraſins their confederats (now in their common calamitie all as one) were aſſembled at AS-
CALON (a citie about fiue and twentie miles from IERVSALEM) to reuenge the injuries they
had before receiued, as had not before met together in all the time of this ſacred war. Againſt
whom, *Godfrey* (the late duke, and now king) aſſembled the whole forces of the Chriſtians in L
thoſe countries, and leauing a ſtrong garriſon in the new woon citie, ſet forward: and meeting
with them, joyned a moſt dreadfull and cruell battell, wherein (as moſt report) were ſlaine of the
An hundred thouſand Turks and Saraſins ſlaine. Infidels an hundred thouſand men, and the reſt put to flight. The ſpoile there taken, far exceeded all that the Chriſtians had before taken in this long expedition. *Godfrey* after ſo great a victorie, returning to IERVSALEM, gaue vnto God moſt humble thanks. The reſt of the princes returned either to their charge, as did *Bohemund* to ANTIOCH, *Baldwin* to EDESSA, *Tancred* into GALLILEY, whereof he was created prince: or elſe hauing now performed the vttermoſt of their vowes, returned with honour into their owne countries. This was of all others
the moſt honourable expedition that euer the Chriſtians tooke in hand againſt the Infidels, and
with the greateſt reſolution performed, for the moſt part, by ſuch voluntary men, as mooued with M
a deuout zeale, to their immortall praiſe, ſpared neither life nor liuing in defence of the Chriſtian
Godfrey of Buillon firſt Chriſtian king of Ieruſalem, dieth of the plague. faith and religion; all men woorthie eternall fame and memorie. Not long after enſued a great
peſtilence (the readie attendant of long war and want) whereof infinit numbers of people died,
and among the reſt *Godfrey*, the firſt Chriſtian king of IERVSALEM, neuer to be ſufficiently
commended: who with the generall lamentation of all good Chriſtians, was honourably buried

A ried in the church of the ſepulchre of our Sauiour on the mount CALVERIE, where our Sauiour ſuffred his paſsion: in which the Chriſtian kings ſucceeding him, were alſo afterwards buried. He departed this life the eighteenth of Iuly, in the yeere of our Lord 1100, when he had yet ſcarce raigned a full yeere. Whoſe tombe is yet at this day there to be ſeene with an honourable inſcrption thereupon. 1100

After the death of *Godfrey*, the Chriſtians made choice of *Baldwin* his brother, countie of EDESSA; who leauing his former gouernment to *Baldwin* ſurnamed *Burgenſis*, his neere kinſman, came to IERVSALEM honourably accompanied, and was there by the Patriarch on Chriſtmas day with all ſolemnitie crowned king, in the yeere 1101. He aided by the Venetians and Genowaies at ſea, and by *Bohemund* king of ANTIOCH by land, tooke from the Infidels the citie of B CESAREA STRATONIS, ſtanding vpon the ſea ſide; and ouerthrew certaine companies of the Aegyptian Sultans at RAMA. But vnderſtanding that the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt were comming to his aid with a new power; he glad thereof, went to meet them, and ſafely conducted them to IERVSALEM alongſt the ſea coaſt, by the cities of BERYTVS, SIDON, TIRE, and PTOLEMAIS, all yet holden by the enemies. At which time the Turks at ASCALON hauing receiued great aid from the Arabians and Aegyptians, inuaded the countrey about RAMA: where betwixt them and the Chriſtians was fought a moſt cruell battell, wherein the Chriſtians receiued a moſt notable ouerthrow; many of their great commanders being there ſlaine, and among the reſt *Stephen* earle of CHARTERS (but lately returned home from the former expedition, and now come backe againe) and *Stephen* earle of BVROVNDIE and THOLOVS: yea the king himſelfe hardly eſcaped the enemies hands, and after many dangers came at length to IOPPA after it had beene conſtantly before reported him to haue been in that battell alſo ſlaine. Who hauing there in haſt repaired his armie, came againe ſpeedily vpon his enemies, fearing as then nothing leſſe; and ouerthrew them with ſuch a ſlaughter, as that they had ſmall cauſe to rejoyce of the former victorie. Neither were the reſt of the Chriſtian princes in the other parts of SIRIA and PALESTINE, in the meane time idle, but ſought by all meanes to enlarge their territories. *Tancred* prince of GALLILIE, hauing raiſed a great power, tooke APAMEA, the Metropoliticall citie of CŒLESYRIA, and after much toile woon alſo the citie of LAODICEA. *Baldwin* alſo gouernour of EDESSA beſieging the citie of CARRAS, had brought the beſieged Turks to ſuch extremitie, that they were about to haue yeelded the citie: when ſuddenly hee was ſet vpon by a great armie of the Turks ſent from the Perſian Sultan, for the reliefe of the beſieged; and being there ouerthrown, was himſelfe there taken, with *Benedict* the biſhop, and one *Ioſcelin* his kinſman: who after fiue yeeres captiuitie, found means with the Turke that had taken them, to redeeme themſelues, to the great offence of the Perſian Sultan, & of the Sultan *Solyman*.

Baldwin countie of Edeſſa, and brother to Godfrey ſecond king of Ieruſalem.

1101

King *Baldwin* after the late victorie, liued for a ſeaſon at ſome good reſt in IERVSALEM, vnmoleſted by his enemies: but knowing his greateſt ſafetie among ſuch warlike people, to conſiſt in armes, he vpon the ſudden raiſed the whole ſtrength of his kingdome, and laid ſiege to PTOLOMAIS, otherwiſe called ACON, a citie of PHŒNICIA ſtanding vpon the riuage of the ſea; where he found ſuch reſiſtance, that he was glad to raiſe his ſiege and depart, hauing done nothing more than ſpoiled the pleaſant places without the citie. By the way in his returne backe E againe, it fortuned him to meet with certaine companies of the enemies aduenturers, by whom he was in a skirmiſh mortally wounded, although he died not thereof in long time after: for albeit that the wound was by his ſurgeans healed vp, yet was the griefe thereof ſo great, that at length it brought him to his end. Yet he notwithſtanding the former repulſe, the next yeere, encouraged by the comming of the Genua fleet, laid hard ſiege againe to PTOLOMAIS both by ſea and land, which after twentie daies ſiege was by compoſition yeelded vnto him.

King Baldwin mortally wounded.

Ptolomais woon by king Baldwin.

Shortly after, the gouernour of ALEPPO with certaine others of the Turks great captaines in thoſe quarters, hauing joyned their forces together and ſo inuaded the countrey about ANTIOCH, were by *Tancred* (whom *Bohemund* at his departure into ITALY, had left gouernour of F that citie) notably encountred and put to flight. At which time alſo the Caliph of AEGYPT ſending great forces both by ſea and land againſt the king of IERVSALEM, was in both places diſcomfited, at land by the Chriſtians, and at ſea by tempeſt.

Bohemund in the meane time, with a great armie of voluntarie men, and others (wherein he is reported to haue had fiue thouſand horſe, and fortie thouſand foot) returning towards the Holy land, in reuenge of many injuries done by *Alexius* the emperour, vnto the ſouldiers of

this ſacred war, contrarie to his faith and promiſe to them before giuen: by the way landed his G
men in EPIRVS, and grieuouſly ſpoiled the countrey about DIRRACHIVM, part of the empe-
rours dominion. Neither made he an end of ſpoiling, vntill he had enforced the emperour for
redreſſe of ſo great harmes, to make peace with him; and againe by ſolemne oath to promiſe all
ſecuritie and kindneſſe, vnto all ſuch Chriſtian ſouldiers as ſhould haue occaſion to trauell too
or fro through his countries, during the time of this religious war. After which agreement hee
put to ſea againe, and ſo returned for IERVSALEM. But whileſt he ſtaid at ANTIOCH, hee
Bohemund dieth at Antioch. ſhortly after there died in the yeere 1108, leauing the principalitie thereof vnto his yoong ſonne
Bohemund, a child vnder the tuition of his nephew *Tancred*.

Yet were the cities of BERYTVS, SIDON, and TIRE, alongſt the ſea coaſt, in the enemies H
poſſeſsion: for the gaining whereof, *Baldwin* the king raiſed a great armie, and ſo came and laid
ſiege to BERYTVS, which after many ſharpe aſſaults he at length woon, the three and twentith
day of Aprill in the yeere 1111, and put to ſword moſt part of them that he found therein. The
1111 ſame yeere alſo he, aſsiſted by a fleet ſent vnto him out of NORWAY, beſieged the citie of SI-
Sidon woon. DON: which the citizens ſeeing themſelues now beſet both by ſea and land, at length yeelded
vnto him by compoſition, the nineteenth day of December. After which victorie he diſmiſſed
the fleet, and returned himſelfe in triumph to IERVSALEM. Now of all the famous cities alongſt
the ſea coaſt of PHŒNICIA and PALESTINE, from LAODICEA to ASCALON, was one-
ly the citie of TYRE that remained in the hands of the enemies: which citie *Baldwin* alſo hard-
ly beſieged; neuertheleſſe, it was ſo well defended by the Turks, that after he had all in vaine lyen I
before it by the ſpace of foure months, he was glad to riſe with his armie and depart.

It fortuned, that within two yeeres after, the Turks with a mightie armie ſent from the Per-
ſian Sultan, inuaded the countrey of CŒLESYRIA, where ſpoiling all before them as they
went, they came and encamped vpon the ſea coaſt neere vnto TYBERIAS. Againſt whom
Baldwin gathered the whole ſtrength of his kingdome, with whom alſo *Tancred* (who now raig-
ned in ANTIOCH, the yoong *Bohemund* being dead) with the countie of TRIPOLI, and the
reſt of the Chriſtian princes, joyned their forces: who altogether marching forward, came and
encamped, not far from the enemie, being in number far moe than they. *Mendus* generall of
the Turks armie (for ſo I find him called) vnderſtanding of their approch, ſent out certaine com-
panies of his men to skirmiſh with them: againſt whom the Chriſtians alſo ſent out others; who K
encountring them, eaſily put them to flight, being before commanded ſo to do, of purpoſe to
draw the Chriſtians into the danger of a greater ſtrength, lying in ambuſh to intrap them: which
according to the Turks deſire fell out. For the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing the flying enemie,
fell into the ambuſh, and ſo before they were well aware, were beſet on euerie ſide with their ene-
mies: vnto the reſcue of whom, other companies of the Chriſtians comming in, and others
likewiſe from the Turks, both the great armies were at length drawn into the field, where be-
twixt them was joyned a moſt fierce and terrible battell, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. But
at length the multitude of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians were put to the woorſe, and ſo
glad to flie: after whom the fierce enemy hardly followed, not without great ſlaughter. In which
flight the king himſelfe hardly eſcaped, with *Arnolphus* the Patriarch. Whileſt *Baldwin* was L
thus buſied abroad, the Turks & Saraſins from ASCALON, came & beſieged IERVSALEM, be-
ing then but weakly manned: but hearing of the kings comming, & that the armie of the Chri-
ſtians dayly increaſed with new ſupplies out of the Weſt by ſea, they retired home againe, ha-
uing burnt certaine ſtorehouſes full of corne, and ſpoiled ſuch things as was ſubject to their furie.

Long it were to recount all the hard conflicts and combats this king had with the Saraſins
and Turks, which for breuitie I paſſe ouer, contented to haue briefly touched the greateſt. In
the laſt yeere of his raigne, hauing for certaine yeeres before liued in ſome reaſonable peace, he
made an expedition into AEGYPT, where he with much difficultie woon PHARAMIA, a ſtrong
citie vpon the ſea coaſt, which he joyned vnto his owne kingdome. After that he went to the
mouth of the riuer NILVS, and with great admiration, learned the nature of that ſtrange riuer. M
And hauing therein taken abundance of fiſh, returned into the citie, and there with the ſame fea-
ſted himſelfe with his friends. But after dinner he began to feele the griefe of his old wound; and
growing thereof ſicker and ſicker, returned with his armie toward IERVSALEM, where by the
way neere vnto a citie called LARIS, he died (to the great griefe of all the Chriſtians) in the
1118 yeere 1118. His dead bodie being brought backe vnto IERVSALEM, was there roially buried,

neere

neere vnto his brother *Godfrey*, after he had raigned eighteene yeeres: whose ſepulchre is yet there alſo to be ſeene, faſt by the ſepulchre of his brother.

The late king thus dead and buried, the Chriſtians with one conſent made choiſe of his couſin *Baldwin* ſurnamed *Brugenſis*, gouernour of EDESSA: who by the name of *Baldwin* the ſecond, was the ſecond of Aprill in the yeere 1118, ſolemnly crowned king of IERVSALEM. He was of ſtature tall and well proportioned, of countenance comely and gratious, hauing his haire thinne and yellow, his beard mingled with ſome gray haires hanging downe to his breaſt, his colour freſh and liuely for one of his yeeres. He was a man of great courage, and therefore no leſſe redoubted of his enemies than beloued of his ſubjects, who had in him repoſed great hope both for the defence and enlarging of that new gained kingdome. Againſt him the ſame Sommer the Caliph of AEGYPT, aided by the king of DAMASCO and the Turks, in reuenge of the loſſe he had in the expedition the yeere before receiued, raiſed a great power to inuade him both by ſea and land. Againſt whom *Baldwin* alſo oppoſed himſelfe with his whole ſtrength, and ſo came and encamped within the ſight of his enemies. In which ſort, when both armies had lyen the one facing the other by the ſpace of three months, they both riſe: the Chriſtians fearing the multitude of the Turks, and the Turks the valour of the Chriſtians, and ſo retired without any notably thing doing.

Baldwin Brugenſis choſen king of Ieruſalem.

1118

This yeere died *Alexius* the Greeke emperour, who euen from the beginning of this ſacred war, ſecretly repined at the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in SIRIA, although his empire were thereby greatly enlarged: after whome ſucceeded *Calo Ioannes* his ſonne, who all the time of his raigne right woorthily defended his territories in the leſſer ASIA againſt the inuaſion of the Turks.

Not long after, *Gazi* one of the greateſt princes of the Turks in the leſſer ASIA, with the king of DAMASCO, and *Debeis* king of ARABIA, joyning their forces together, with a great armie inuading the countrey about ANTIOCH, came and encamped not far from ALEPPO: againſt whom *Roger* prince of ANTIOCH, not expecting the comming of *Baldwin* and the other Chriſtian princes his confederats, but preſuming of his owne ſtrength, went foorth with greater courage than diſcretion, whereunto his ſucceſſe was anſwerable: for encountring with them at too much ods, he was by them in a great battell ouerthrown, wherein he himſelfe was ſlaine with moſt part of his armie. Of which ſo great a ſlaughter, the place wherein this battell was fought, was afterward called, The field of Blood. But whilſt the Turks after ſo great a victorie, careleſly and at pleaſure roame vp and downe the countrey, *Baldwin* ſetting vpon them, ouerthrew them with a great ſlaughter, and ſo put them to flight. After this victorie gained by the Chriſtians the fourteenth of Auguſt, in the yeere 1120, king *Baldwin* in great triumph entred into ANTIOCH, and ſo joyned that principalitie vnto his owne kingdome.

1120

The yeer following, the Turks with another armie, inuaded the ſame country again: for repreſſing of whom, whilſt *Baldwin* with the other Chriſtian princes were making their preparations, it fortuned that *Gazi* their great commander ſuddenly died of an Apoplexie; vpon whoſe death they retired without further harme doing. Neuertheleſſe the next Spring, the king of DAMASCO aided by the Arabians, entred againe with a great power into the countrey about ANTIOCH, and there did ſome harme: for the Antiochians now deſtitute of their owne prince, and *Baldwin* (who had taken vpon him their protection) being far off, and otherwiſe buſied at IERVSALEM, were much more ſubject vnto the inrodes of their enemies (ſtill at hand) than before when they had a prince of their owne ſtill preſent amongſt them. But *Baldwin* aduertiſed thereof, was making towards them with a puiſſant armie, ſooner than they had thought it could haue beene poſsible. Of whoſe approch the Turks vnderſtanding, retired againe out of the countrey: after whom, the king thinking it not good to make further purſuit, turned a little out of the way, and tooke by force GARAZE, one of the ſtrongeſt caſtels of the kings of DAMASCO, built but the yeere before; which becauſe it was not without great charge and danger to be holden, he raſed downe to the ground.

1122

Baldwin notwithſtanding that hee had many times thus honourably repulſed his enemies, wiſely conſidering how he was on the one ſide beſet with the Turks, and on the other ſide with the Saraſins (which yet raigned in AEGYPT, the kingdome of IERVSALEM lying as it were in the mouth of them both) thought it good betime to pray aid of the Chriſtian princes of EVROPE, and to that purpoſe had ſent diuers his embaſſadors vnto diuers of them, but eſpecially

vnto the Venetians; whom of all others he thought fitteſt at his need to yeeld him reliefe by ſea. G
It fortuned in the meane time, that *Balac* the Perſian Sultan with a great armie of the Turks, inuaded the countrey about ANTIOCH, whereof *Baldwin* vnderſtanding (although he certainly knew he ſhould ere long receiue aid from the other Chriſtian princes his friends, but eſpecially from the Venetians,& might therfore with great reaſon haue protracted the war vntil their comming, yet being therewith much mooued, or elſe his deſtinie ſo requiring) raiſed ſuch forces as he had of his owne, and without longer ſtaying for his friends, with greater courage than good ſpeed,ſet forward: and ſo joyning battell with the enemy,was therein ouerthrown,with the greateſt part of his armie,and himſelfe taken priſoner in the fight,with certaine other of his beſt commanders; who altogether were carried away captiues vnto CARRAS. H

Ioppa beſieged by the Saraſins.

Vpon the report of this ouerthrow, and taking of the king, the Caliph of AEGYPT on the other ſide tooke occaſion with all his power to inuade the kingdome of IERVSALEM; and hauing in himſelfe purpoſed the vtter ruine thereof, beſide the great armie which he ſent thither by land, which lay encamped not far from ASCALON, he put to ſea an huge fleet alſo, of ſeuen hundred ſaile,for the diſtreſsing of the ſea townes, which he well knew were not otherwiſe to be woon. This fleet of the Saraſin kings (for AEGYPT with the kingdomes of TVNES and MOROCCO were yet in poſſeſsion of the Saraſins) ariuing at IOPPA,there put a ſhore their land forces,and hardly beſieged the towne both by ſea and land. But whilſt they thus lay in great hope to haue woon the towne, *Dominicus Michael*, duke of VENICE, ſtirred vp by *Calixtus* then biſhop of ROME, was come to CIPRVS with a fleet of two hundred ſaile, for the I
reliefe of the Chriſtians in SYRIA, and the Holy land: And hearing of the diſtreſſe of IOPPA, nothing diſmaid with the number of the enemies fleet, haſted thither, and came ſo ſuddenly vpon them, that he had (as ſome report) ouerthrown them, before they could put themſelues in order,or be in readineſſe to fight: or as ſome others ſay, after a great and doubtfull fight, hauing ſunke or taken a great number of them,and put the reſt to flight,he obtained of them a moſt glorious victoritie. With like good fortune alſo, were the Saraſins ouerthrown in a notable battell at land, neere vnto ASCALON, by the lord *Euſtace*, vnto whom the defence of the kingdome was committed after the taking of the king,who not long after ſo great a victorie died.

IOPPA relieued (as is aforeſaid) the duke of VENICE trauelled by land to IERVSALEM, where he was honourably receiued by *Guarimund* the Patriarch, and the confederation before K
made betwixt king *Baldwin* & the Venetians,vpon the ſame conditions ſolemnly againe renued.

Tyre beſieged by the Chriſtians.

The Saraſins thus notably diſcomfited both by ſea and land, and the Chriſtians thereby not a little encouraged, and joyning their forces together with the Venetians, came and the firſt of March laid ſiege vnto the antient and ſtrong citie of TYRE: which they hauing beſet both by ſea and land, gaue thereunto many a ſharpe aſſault: which the Turks as men fighting for their liues, and wiues, right valiantly repulſed. In which ſort the ſiege was continued longer than the Chriſtians had at the firſt thought ſhould haue needed: yet at length, after foure months ſiege, the Turks ſore weakned with often aſſaults, and hardly pinched with want of food, all their ſtore being ſpent,yeelded the citie by compoſition. Thus was the citie of TYRE (the moſt famous port of PHOENICIA) yeelded vnto the Chriſtians the nine and twentith of Iune, in L
1124 the yeere 1124. The third part of this citie was giuen vnto the Venetians,according to the compoſition made betwixt them and the kings of IERVSALEM, That of all ſuch cities as were by their helpe woon from the Infidels in SYRIA, they ſhould haue a third part, with one ſtreet, and free traficke in all the reſt of the cities of the kingdome of IERVSALEM. Shortly after was king *Baldwin* ſet at libertie for the ranſom of an hundred thouſand ducats, after he had beene eighteene moneths priſoner among the Turkes.

The duke of VENICE hauing now ſpent almoſt three yeares in this ſacred expedition,& well confirmed the ſtate of the Chriſtians in SYRIA, returning home, by the way tooke the iſlands of CHIOS, RHODUS, SAMOS, MITYLEN, and ANDRUS, with the citie of MODON in PELOPONESUS; all, places belonging vnto the Greekes empire. Which hee did in reuenge of the M
injuries done by the emperour, in the time of his abſence, who enuying at the ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in SYRIA, as had his father *Alexius* before him, had in the abſence of the duke,infeſted the territories of the Venetians,for the which he was now juſtly requited with the loſſe of a good part of his owne.

Baldwin alſo not vnmindfull of the injuries vnto him before done by the Turkes, in requitall thereof,

thereof, inuaded the countrey about DAMASCO, and there in three notable battels ouerthrew the king, and spoiled the countrey: wherin he tooke so great a prey, that therewith he redeemed his daughter, whom he had at the time of his deliuerance left in hostage with the Turks for the payment of his ransom. He also ouerthrew the Sarasins at ASCALON, who aided by the Caliph of AEGYPT, had sundrie times inuaded the countrey about IERVSALEM. And so hauing well represſed his enemies, for a space liued in peace.

Not long after, *Hugh Paganus* first master of the Templars, (an order of knights first begun in the raigne of this *Baldwin*) before sent to craue aid of the Christian princes of the West, against the Turks and Sarasins, returned with a great number of zealous Christians, readie to lay downe their liues for defence of the Christian faith and religion: with whom *Baldwin* and the other Christian princes of SYRIA joyning their forces, set forward and besieged DAMASCO, the regall seat of the Turks in those quarters. But such was the strength of this citie, with the valour of the defendants, and contagiousnesse of the aire, that the Christians (the heauens as it were then fighting against them) were glad to raise their siege in vaine begun, and so to retire. *Damasco in vaine besieged by the Christians.*

Whilst things thus passed in SYRIA, *Fulke* countie of TVRIN, MAYN, and ANIOV, a man almost of threescore yeeres, hauing as he thought best disposed of his things at home, had for deuotion sake taken vpon him an expedition into the Holy land. In the time of which his preparations, embassadours came vnto him from king *Baldwin*, offring him in marriage *Melisenda* (or as some call her *Margaret*) his eldest daughter, with the succession into the kingdome of IERVSALEM in dowrie, if he should suruiue the king; and in the meane time to content himselfe with the cities of TYRE and PTOLEMAIS: of which offer he accepted, and so held on his journey before intended. It fortuned about three yeeres after, that the king fell dangerously sicke, and feeling his death drawing on, hauing laid aside all regall dignitie, caused himselfe to be remooued out of his owne palace, into the Patriarchs house, which was neerer vnto the temple of the Sepulchre: and there calling vnto him *Fulke* the countie, his sonne in law, with his daughter, and his sonne *Baldwin*, then but two yeeres old, in the presence of the Patriarch, and diuers other princes & great commanders, commended vnto them the gouernment and defence of the kingdome, appointing *Fulke* to succeed him. And taking vnto himselfe the habit and profession of a munke, if he should haue longer liued, presently after gaue vp the ghost the two and twentith day of August, in the yeere 1131; whereof he raigned with much trouble thirteene yeeres, and was solemnly buried in the temple vpon mount CALVARIE, with the other two kings *Godfrey* and *Baldwin*, his predecessors. *The death of Baldwin the second, the third king of Ierusalem.* 1131

The kings funerall ended, the princes of the kingdome with one accord made choise of *Fulke* the old countie, earle of ANIOV, for their king: who the sixteenth day of September, was with all solemnitie by *William* the Patriarch crowned in IERVSALEM. This man in the beginning of his raigne, besides his troubles abroad, was also vext with domesticall and intestine discord: *Pontius* countie of TRIPOLIS, seeking by force of armes to haue rent the dukedome of ANTIOCH from the kingdome: and *Hugh* countie of IOPPA, for feare of due punishment for his treason, joyning himselfe with the Sarasins of ASCALON, and so with them infesting the territories of IERVSALEM, to the great hurt of the Christian state, and aduantage of the infidels. Which troublesome broiles were yet afterwards by the king, partly by force, partly by the mediation of the Patriarch & other princes (who seeing the danger like thereof to ensue, had interposed themselues) well againe appeased. Vengeance yet neuertheless still following both the aforesaid traitours: *Pontius* being shortly after slaine by the Turks, and *Hugh* dying in exile.

Besides these domesticall troubles, the Turks also inuaded the countrey about ANTIOCH, where they were by the sudden comming of the king ouerthrown, with the losse of their tents, and exceeding great riches. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the disquieting of the state of that new erected kingdome, not long after, *Iohn* the Constantinopolitan emperour (together with the empire, inheritour also of his fathers malice, against the proceeding of the Christians in SYRIA) with a puissant armie passing through the lesser ASIA, and by the way taking by force TARSVS the metropoliticall citie of CILICIA, with the whole prouince thereunto belonging, came and besieged ANTIOCH; which *Fulke* but a little before had together with *Constance*, the daughter and heire of the late duke of ANTIOCH, giuen in marriage to *Raymund* countie of POITV, for that purpose sent for out of FRANCE. But in this so dangerous a state of that Christian kingdome, the other zealous Christian princes interposed themselues as me-

diatours betwixt the emperour (pretending the ſame to belong vnto his empire) and *Raymund* G
that was in poſſeſsion thereof. And in fine brought it to this end, That *Raymund* for the preſent
ſubmitting himſelfe vnto the emperour, ſhould from thenceforth hold his dukedome of him
as of his lord and ſoueraigne: vpon which agreement the emperour returned vnto TARSVS,
where he wintred, and ſo afterwards vnto CONSTANTINOPLE.

Much about the ſame time, *Sanguin* one of the Turks great princes, inuading the countrey
about TRIPOLIS, beſieged the caſtell of MONTE-FERRAND: vnto the reliefe whereof,
Fulke comming with his armie, was by the Turks ouerthrown; and for the ſafegard of his life,
glad to take the refuge of the caſtell, the countie himſelfe being in that battell taken priſoner.
After which victorie, the Turks laid harder ſiege vnto the caſtell than before: the beſieged in the H
meane time being no leſſe pinched within with famine, than preſſed without by the enemie. In
this the kings hard diſtreſſe, the other princes hauing raiſed the whole power of the kingdome,
were comming to his reliefe: whereof the Turke vnderſtanding, offred of himſelfe to giue them
all leaue freely to depart, and to ſet the countie at libertie, ſo that they would deliuer vnto him
the caſtle: of which his offer they gladly accepting, yeelded vp the ſtrong hold, and ſo departed.
The king by the way meeting with the armie, thanked his friends for their forwardneſſe, and ſo
returned to IERVSALEM.

Calo Ioannes the Greeke emperour ſeeketh to haue ſurpriſed the citie of Antioch.

About foure yeeres after, *John* the Conſtantinopolitan emperour, with a great armie
came againe into SYRIA, with purpoſe to haue vnited the famous citie of ANTIOCH vnto
his empire, and ſo to haue made a way into the kingdome of IERVSALEM, whereafter hee I
had now a good while longed. But comming thither, in hope to haue found the Cilicians
and Syrians readie to haue receiued him, he was deceiued of his expectation, being ſhut out by
the Latins, and not ſuffred to enter, but vpon his oath, and that with ſome few of his followers;
and ſo after due reuerence done vnto him, quietly to depart without any ſtir or innouation in the
city. In reuenge of which diſgrace, at his departure he gaue the ſuburbs of the city as a prey vnto
his greedie ſouldiers; pretending the ſame to be done for want of victuals: who made hauocke
of whatſoeuer came to hand, not ſparing the verie fruit trees, but cutting them downe to dreſſe
their meat withall. Hauing thus vnder colour of neceſsitie, reuenged the diſgrace receiued, he
returned into CILICIA, and there wintred: where one day for his diſport, hunting of the wild
boare; and hauing wounded him with his boare ſpeare, the wild beaſt therewith inraged, and K
with all his force bearing forward vpon the weapon, forced the emperours hand backward vp-
on the point of a poyſoned arrow, that was hanging in a quiuer at his backe, and ſo was there-
with lightly wounded. Neuertheleſſe, as light as the wound was, ſuch was the ſtrength of the
poyſon, that the griefe thereof ſtill increaſing, and his hand and arme more and more ſwelling,

The death of Calo Ioannes the Greeke emperour.

there was no remedie to be found, but that his arme muſt be cut off; which deſperat and vn-
certaine cure he abhorring, and in the extremitie of his paine oftentimes pleaſantly ſaying, That
the Greeke empire was not to be gouerned with one hand: ouercome with the ſtrength of the
poyſon died. In whoſe place ſucceeded his yoongeſt ſonne *Emanuel*, *Alexius* and *Andronicus* his
two elder ſonnes being both dead at his ſetting foorth vnto this ſo vnhappie an expedition.

The miſerable death of Fulke, fourth king of Ieruſalem.

It fortuned about this time alſo, the kingdome of IERVSALEM being now at peace, that L
Fulke the king with the queene his wife, lying at the citie of PTOLEMAIS in the time of Au-
tumne, it pleaſed the queene for her diſport, to walke out of the citie, vnto certaine pleaſant foun-
taines thereby in the countrey; for whoſe companie the king would needs go alſo, with certaine
of his courtiers, where by the way it chanced that certaine boyes running along the field, put
vp an hare that was ſitting in a furrow: after which, all the courtiers on horſebacke galloped a
maine, with notable outerie and hallowing. Amongſt the reſt, the king to be partaker of the
ſport, forcing his horſe to the vttermoſt of his power, in the midſt of his courſe fell, together with
his horſe foundring vnder him, and in falling, chanced to fall with his head vnder the horſe:
with whoſe waight, and the hardneſſe of his ſaddle, he was ſo cruſhed, that the braines came
out both at his noſe and eares. In this pitifull caſe being taken vp for dead, and with great hea- M
uineſſe carried backe; he yet breathing, lay ſpeechleſſe three daies, and ſo died the thirteenth of
Nouember, in the yeere of Grace 1142. His dead bodie afterwards brought to IERVSALEM,
was there with great magnificence, and the generall lamentation of all his ſubiects, buried with
the other kings his predeceſſours.

Now had the late king left behind him two ſonnes, *Baldwyn* about the age of thirteene yeeres,

and

A and *Almerike* about the age of seuen. Of the elder of these two, the Christian princes made choice, who by the name of *Baldwyn* the third, was together with *Melesinda* his mother, partner with him in the kingdome, vpon Christenmas day with great solemnitie crowned king of HIERUSALEM, in the yeere 1142. About which time *Sanguin* the Turke, taking hold of the discord betwixt *Raymund* prince of ANTIOCH, and *Ioscelin* countie of EDESSA, came and with a great power besieged EDESSA, the countie being at the same time absent: And did so much, that at length he tooke the citie by vndermining of it, where the bloodie Turke exercised all manner of crueltie vpon the poore Christians in the citie. By the losse of this famous citie, so large a territorie fell againe into the hands of the Turkes, as that three archbishopricks were therby drawne B from the church of ANTIOCH. The Turke encouraged with this victorie, straightwaies after besieged COLOGENBAR, another strong towne of the Christians: where one night drinking liberally with his friends, he was by one of them in his drunkennesse stabbed, and so slaine, and the siege raised. In whose stead *Noradin* his sonne succeeded.

Baldwyn in the first yeere of his raigne, recouered from the Turkes the castle of SOBAL, a strong hold beyond IORDAN, which hee notably fortefied, for the defence of that side of his kingdome against the incursions of the Turks. But the next yeere vndertaking an expedition against the king of DAMASCO, he was by *Noradin* the Turke, the kings sonne in law, so hardly beset in his returne, as that it was accounted a thing miraculous, how he with his armie escaped his hands.

C The report of the losse of EDESSA with the miseries there endured by the Christians, being bruted through all parts of Christendome, greatly mooued the Christian princes of the West. Whom *Eugenius* the third, then bishop of Rome, ceased not both by himselfe and by his Legates to stirre vp to take that sacred warre in hand. And therein wrought so effectually, that almost in everie prouince of Christendome preparation was made for the reliefe of the distressed Christians in SYRIA. Of all others, *Conrade* the third then emperour of GERMANIE was most forward, who aided by the Germane princes and others, with an incredible number of voluntarie men out of all parts of Christendome, had raised a most puissant armie, and therewith set forward on this sacred expedition. Of this his deuout purpose he had before certefied *Emanuell* the Grecke emperour, through whose countries hee was to passe, craving that hee might by his D good fauour so doe, and for his money to be relieued with victuals, and other such things as hee should haue need of for himselfe or his people; promising in most quiet and peaceable manner to passe, without any harme doing vnto his territories or subjects. All which the Greeke emperour, commending his zeale, seemed in most large tearmes willingly to condiscend vnto. Neuertheless he inwardly repined thereat, wishing indeed no better successe vnto the Christians in this so honourable an expedition, than did the infidels themselues, as by the sequell of his doings well appeared. For *Conrade* with his populous armie, indeed a terrour vnto the Greekes, entring into the frontiers of the Constantinopolitane empire, found all things in shew friendly (for why *Emanuell* had before giuen out strait command, that good store of victuals and all other necessaries should be readie at all places to be sold as the armie was to passe:) but they were not farre come E into the countrey, but that in the taile of the armie still followed certaine strong companies of the Greeks, to keepe the souldiors from straggling from their ensignes, roming about in the countrey, now and then cutting them short, as they tooke them at aduantage. And still the further that they trauelled, the more it was to be seene in the countenances of the discontented Greekes, how vnwelcome guests they were. Yet still on they went through the countries of their dissembling friends, little differing from open enemies, vntill they came to PHILIPPOPOLIS: in departing from whence, such contention rise betweene them that were in the rereward of the armie, and the Greekes that followed them, that it was like to haue come to plaine battell, had not those broiles, by the discretion of some of the wiser sort, been in good time appeased. So marching on they came to ADRIANOPLE, & in a few daies after to the plaine called CHEROBACHI, through F which the riuer MELAS hath his course; which in Summer being almost drie, in Winter or any other great downefall of water, right suddenly ouerfloweth his bankes, and so drowneth the whole countrey, that then it seemeth no more a riuer, but a sea; and swelling with the wind, is not to be passed ouer, but by great boats: This riuer then suddenly rising by night, by reason of the great raine that then fell, in such abundance, as if the flood-gates of heauen had ben opened, so ouerflowed the place wherein the armie lay encamped vpon the side thereof, that with the violence

Baldwin the third of that name, fift king of Ierusalem.

1142

Conrade third emperor of Germanie taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holyland.

violence of the water were carried away not onely manie weapons, ſaddles, garments, & ſuch other the ſouldiors neceſſaries: but euen the horſes and mules, with their burdens, yea and great numbers of armed men themſelues alſo, a moſt miſerable and lamentable thing to behold. Many valiant men there fell without fight, and died no man killing them: to be tall, helped not; neither did valour ſtand them in any ſtead, they periſhed like hay, and were caried away like chaffe, with ſuch outcries and lamentation, that they which ſaw it, verely ſaid, That the wrath of God was broke into the campe: ſuch a ſuddaine inundation had ouerwhelmed all, that happie was hee could make ſhift for himſelfe, without regarding one another. This misfortune ſore troubled the emperour with his whole armie. Neuertheleſſe, the water being againe fallen, and all put in ſo good order, as in ſuch a confuſion was poſsible, he marched on vnto the imperiall citie: which the ſuſpicious and malicious Greeke, had before notably fortefied and ſo ſtrongly manned with armed men gliſtring upon the wals, in ſuch ſort as if it ſhould haue preſently been aſſaulted.

Conrade the emperour not ſuffred to enter into Conſtantinople.

Conrade approching the citie, was not ſuffered to enter, but perſuaded by the Greeke emperor forthwith to tranſport his armie ouer the ſtrait, with promiſe to ſupplie his wants with whatſoeuer he ſhould require. Which was done with ſuch haſt, as if nothing had beene farther to haue been regarded, but onely to haue them ſhipped ouer: in which ſeruice the Greekes ſpared no labour, or kind of veſſell, that might ſerue to tranſport them. The Greeke emperour in the meane time, by men ſecretly appointed for that purpoſe, keeping account of the number that paſſed, vntill that they wearied with the multitude, ceaſed farther to number them. But when they were once ſhipped ouer, then began the couert mallice of the Greeke emperour forthwith to appeare. For beſides that they truſting vnto his promiſes, had brought little or no prouiſions ouer with them, the countrey people by his appointment brought nothing unto them to ſell, as before: and they of the townes and cities ſhut their gates againſt them as they marched, not affoording them any thing, but at an extreame rate, for which they would firſt receiue their money by ropes caſt downe from the wals, and then deliuer them what they pleaſed therefore, yea and oftentimes nought at all. Amongſt many other vile practiſes, not beſeeming Chriſtians, the miſcheeuous Greekes, to poyſon the ſouldiors, mingled lime with the meale which they ſold vnto the armie, whereof many of the hungrie ſouldiors greedily feeding, died. Whether the Greeke emperour were priuie thereunto, or no, is not certainely knowne; but certaine it is, that he cauſed counterfeit money to be coined, of purpoſe to deceiue them: and in breefe, that there was no kind of miſchiefe to be practiſed againſt them, which either hee himſelfe deuiſed not, or ſet not others to deuiſe; to the intent that their poſteritie, terrified by this ſo vnfortunat an expedition, might for euer be afraid to take the like in hand againe. And that nothing might be wanting that mallice could deuiſe, he had ſecret intelligence with the Turkes themſelues, concerning the ſtrength of the armie, plotting vnto them the meanes how the ſame might beſt be defeated: whereby it came to paſſe, that ſome part thereof was by *Pamplano*, a captaine of the Turkes, ouerthrowne neere BATHIS, and many ſlaine. But attempting to haue done the like vnto that part of the armie that marched through PHRIGIA, they were themſelues ouertaken in their own deuiſe, and ouerthrowne, with a great ſlaughter. After which, the Turkes in great number, to ſtay the Chriſtians further paſſage, kept the riuer of MŒANDER, encamping vpon the farther banke of that winding riuer, with a moſt huge armie. There theſe worthie Chriſtians right well declared, that it was but their patience, that the Grecian legions that had before ſo long followed them, with their countries and cities they had paſſed by, were not vnto them become a prey. For the emperour comming vnto the riuer ſide, where was neither bridge nor boat to paſſe ouer, and finding the great armie of the Turkes on the other ſide, readie to giue him battell if hee ſhould aduenture the riuer, with their archers ſtanding vpon the verie banke ſide: he retired a little out of the danger of the ſhot, and there encamping, commanded his ſouldiors to refreſh themſelues and their horſes that night, and to be readie againſt the next morning to ioine battell with their enemies they were ſo farre come to ſeeke for. Little reſt ſerued him that night, early in the morning before day he aroſe, and arming himſelfe, put his whole armie in order of battell: as did alſo the enemie on the other ſide of the riuer, with their battalions orderly placed, and their archers vpon the banke ſide, readie to giue the firſt charge vpon the Chriſtians, if they ſhould aduenture to come ouer. Both armies thus ſtanding in readineſſe the one in ſight of the other, and nothing but the winding riuer betwixt them, the emperour before reſolued to fight, with cheerefull countenance and ſpeech encouraged his men as followeth:

The Turkes with a great armie ſeeke to ſtay Conrade his further paſſage at the riuer Meander.

That

A notable speech of Constantine the emperour to encourage his soldiers to aduenture the riuer Meander.

That this expedition was of vs taken in hand, for Christ his sake, and for the glorie of God, and not of man, you know right well fellow souldiers. For, for this cause hauing contemned a pleasant life at home, voluntarily seperated from our neereſt and deereſt friends, we endure miseries in forren contries; we are exposed vntò dangers; we pine with hunger; we quake with cold; we languish with heat; we haue the earth our bed, the heauen our couering: and although we be noble, famous, renowmed, rich, ruling ouer many nations; yet weare we alwaies our gorgets as necessarie bonds, and are with them and our armor loaded, as was the greateſt seruant of Christ, Peter, *surcharged with two chaines, and kept with foure quaternions of souldiers. But these Barbarians (diuided from vs by this riuer) to be the enemies of the crosse of Christ, whom we of long haue desired to encounter withall, in whose blood (as* Dauid *saith) we haue vowed to wash our selues: Who is there that knoweth not, except he be altogether blockish, and will not with open eies see, nor open eares heare? If we wish to ascend straight way into heauen, (for neither is God vniust, that he knoweth not the cause of this our iourney, or will not in recompence giue vnto vs the immortall fields, and shadie dwellings of Paradice, which hauing forsaken our owne dwellings, haue chose rather for his sake to die than to liue) if we call to remembrance what things these men of vncircumcised hearts do commit against our friends and countreymen, if we remember what grieuous tortures they inflict vpon them, or if we be any thing touched with the compassion of their innocent blood, vnworthily spilt; stand now couragiously, and fight valiantly, and let not any feare or terrour daunt vs. Let these Barbarians know, that by how much Christ our master and instructer doth excell their false prophet and seducer, author of their vaine impietie; so much are we superiours vnto them in all things. Seeing therefore we are an holy campe, and an armie gathered by the power of God, let vs not cowardly loose our selues, or feare for Christ his sake honourably to aduenture our liues. For if Christ died for vs, how much more right is it that we for him should die also? vnto this so honourable an expedition, let vs also giue an honourable end: let vs fight in Christs name, with a most assured hope of an easie victorie. For none of them (I trust) shall be able to abide our force, but shall all giue way, euen to our first charge. But if we shall die (which God forbid) there shall be an honourable place of our buriall, whereſoeuer we shall for Christ fall. Let the Persian archer for Christ his sake, strike me, I will die in an assured hope; and with that arrow, as with a chariot, I will come vnto that rest, which shall be to me deerer than if I should with a base ordinarie kind of death in my sinnes end my daies in my bed. Now at length let vs take reuenge of them, with whose impure feet our kinsmen and Christian brethren troden downe, are gone into that common sanctuarie, in which Christ our Sauiour, equall and associat to his father, is become a companion of the dead. We are those mightie men, we all haue drawne our swords, which stand about the liuely and diuine sepulchre, as about* Solomons *bed. Wherefore we that be free borne, let vs take out of the way these Agarens, the children of the bondwoman; and let vs remooue them as stones of offence out of the way of Christ: whom I know not why, the Grecians feed vp as greedie wolues to their owne destruction, and with shame fat them with their blood; when as with couragious minds and thoughts beseeming wise men, they ought so to haue beene driuen from their prouinces and cities, as rauening wild beasts from their flocks. Now for as much as this riuer, as it seemeth, is not, but by some aduenture to be passed ouer, I my selfe will shew you the way, and be the first that shall take it. Let vs, serred together, forcibly breake into the riuer, and we shall well enough ride through it. I know that the water beaten backe by our force, will be at a stand, and breake the course, returning as it were backward. By not vnlike meanes the Israelits in antient time on foot passed ouer* IORDAN, *the course of the riuer being staid. This attempt shall be spoken of in all posteritie, it shall by no tract of time be worne out or forgotten, but still remaine in fresh remembrance, to the great dishonour of the Turks, whose dead bodies ouerthrown at this riuer, shall lie like a mountaine, and be seene as a Trophey of our victorie, vnto the worlds end, and our immortall praise and glorie.*

Hauing thus said, and the signall of battell giuen, euerie man hauing before by deuout praier commended himselfe vnto almightie God: he was the first that put spurs to his horse, and tooke the riuer; after whom followed the rest, so close and so forcibly, with such a terrible outerie, that the course of the water, being by the force of their horses staid, and as it were beaten backe towards the fountaine, the whole armie passed ouer with lesse trouble than was feared. And then charging the Turks, alreadie discouraged to haue seene them so desperatly, and contrarie to their expectation, to haue passed the riuer; after some small resistance put them to flight, wherein such infinit numbers of them fell, the Christians like fierce lyons pursuing the chace, that all the vallies

The Turks ouerthrowen by the Christians with a woonderfull slaughter.

lies ran with blood, and the fields were couered with the bodies of the dead. Many of the Italians G were wounded with the Turks arrowes, and but few or none ſlaine. But what a multitude of the enemies there fell, the ſundrie and hugie heapes of bones, to be compared vnto great hils, did long time after well declare; whereat euerie man that trauelled that way did woorthily woonder, as did I my ſelfe (ſaith *Nicetas Choniates*) in reporting this hiſtorie. Not much vnlike that, is reported of the Cimbers, ſlaine by *Marius* in ſuch number, that of their bones the countrey people about MARCELLIS where the field was fought, long time after made wals for the defence of their vineyards.

Nicetas Choniates Annali primo rerum à Manuele Comneno Imperatore geſtar. fol. 139. *Iconium in vaine beſieged by the Chriſtians*

After this ſo great a victorie, the Chriſtians without reſiſtance came to ICONIVM, the chiefe ſeat of the Turkiſh kings in the leſſer ASIA, which they hardly beſieged. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch H was the ſtrength of the citie, being ſtrongly fortified both by nature and art, together with the valour of the defendants; that lying there long, they little preuailed, preſſed in the meane time with greater extremities and wants in the campe, than were the beſieged in the citie: whereupon enſued ſuch a mortalitie, people dayly without number dying in the armie, that the emperour was glad to raiſe his ſiege and to returne into his countrey. The chiefe cauſe as well of this ſo great a mortalitie, as of the ouerthrow of ſo notable an action, moſt men aſcribe vnto the malice of the Greeks; who not without the priuitie of their emperour (as it was commonly bruited) mingled lime with the meale which they brought to ſell into the armie, whereof the hungrie ſouldiers deſirouſly feeding, were therewith poyſoned, and ſo miſerably died. Of the certaine time of this journey of the emperours into ASIA, authors agree not; howbeit moſt refer it vn- I
1146 to the yeere 1146.

This expedition, though not ſo fortunat as was at the firſt well hoped of, yet profited the Chriſtian common weale in this, That the Turks therewith throughly buſied, and doubtfull of the euent thereof, *Baldwin* in the meane time fortified GAZA (ſometimes a famous citie of the Philiſtines, but as then ruinous) which ſerued as a moſt ſure bulwarke for the defence of that part of his kingdome toward ÆGYPT; and alſo for the diſtreſsing of ASCALON, the onely refuge of the Ægyptians, then left in that country: which ſtrong citie ſtanding vpon the ſea ſide, he with all the power of his kingdome afterward beſieged both by ſea and land; vnto the reliefe whereof, the Caliph of ÆGYPT, after it had beene fiue moneths by the Chriſtians beſieged, ſent a ſtrong fleet of threeſcore and ten gallies. At which time alſo on the other ſide *Noradin* the K Turke, who had now got into his hand all the kingdome of DAMASCO, to withdraw the Chriſtians from the ſiege of ASCALON, beſieged PANEADA, from whence he was by the valour of the citizens repulſed, as was alſo the Caliphs fleet at ſea, and the ſiege at ASCALON continued. Where at length the Chriſtians after long batterie had made a breach in the wall, but giuing thereunto an aſſault, they were with great loſſe of their men repulſed, and the breach againe by the enemie repaired; who to the greater deſpite of the Chriſtians, hanged ouer the walles in roaps the dead bodies of their ſlaine: with which ſpectacle, the chiefe commanders of the armie were ſo mooued, that they with all their power returned againe to the aſſault, with a full reſolution to gage thereon their whole forces: which they ſo couragiouſly performed, that the beſieged diſcouraged with the great ſlaughter of their men, and now with true valour ouercome, craued L parley; and ſo couenanting that they might with their liues in ſafetie depart, agreed to yeeld vp the citie, which they accordingly performed. The ſpoile of the citie was giuen to the ſouldiers, and the gouernment thereof vnto *Almericke*, the kings brother, earle of IOPPA. By this victorie, great ſecuritie was gained vnto that ſide of the kingdome, the enemie hauing now no place left in thoſe parts whereon to ſet his foot.

The honourable expedition of Lewis the French king, by the malice of the Greeks, and armie of other Chriſtian princes of Syria fruſtrated and brought to naught.

About the ſame time alſo (or as ſome write euen at the ſame time together with the empe- rour) *Lewis* the French king, the eight of that name, tooke vpon him the like expedition for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in the Holy land: who ſetting forward with all the chiualrie of FRANCE, and accompanied with diuers other great princes, with a right puiſſant armie came to CONSTANTINOPLE, where he was by *Emanuel* the emperour honourably receiued, with M all the outward ſhews of faigned courteſie that could be deuiſed. But hauing paſſed the ſtrait and landed in ASIA, he found nothing anſwerable to that the diſſembling Greeke had before moſt largely promiſed. And to diſtreſſe him the more, was by falſe guides before corrupted by the emperour, conducted through the moſt deſolate and barren countries, where by the way a wonderfull number of his ſouldiers periſhed of hunger and thirſt: many of them alſo being cut off in the

the ſtrait and difficult paſſages, or as they ſtraied from the armie by the Greeks themſelues, appointed by the malicious emperour for that purpoſe. Yet after many dangers paſſed, and his armie ſore waſted, he came at length into SYRIA, and laid ſiege vnto DAMASCO, the royall ſeat of *Noradin* the Turkiſh king; which he ſo notably impugned that the defendants were almoſt out of hope to be able for any long time to hold him out. Neither had it otherwiſe hapned, had not enuie the inſeperable attendant of all honourable actions, fruſtrated ſo great an hope: for the beſieged Turks being brought to great extremitie, and now euen at the point to haue yeelded the citie, certaine of the Chriſtian princes of that countrey, vnderſtanding that the king had promiſed the gouernment of that ſo famous a citie vnto *Philip* earle of FLANDERS, if it ſhould be woon; and ſecretly grudging to haue a ſtranger preferred before themſelues; corrupted alſo (as ſome ſay) with the Turks gold, fraudulently perſuaded the king to remoue from that part of the citie where he lay and might in fine haue taken the ſame, vnto another far ſtronger: where, after he had lyen a great while, ſtriuing with no ſmall extremities, he was inforced for want of victuals, to raiſe his ſiege and to depart. And ſo without any thing done woorth the remembrance, returned againe into FRANCE, deteſting the verie name of *Emanuel* the Greeke emperour; by whoſe ſiniſter dealing, ſo notable an expedition was brought to be of none effect, to the great diſcouraging of all other Chriſtian princes for taking the like againe in hand. 1147

Damaſco ſiege vainebeſieged by Lewis the French king.

Now had the ſtate of the Chriſtians in SYRIA for certaine yeeres after the aforeſaid expeditions, reſted in good peace: when *Noradin* the Turke (mooued with ſome injuries done by the Chriſtians vnto the Turks and Arabians, who by the leaue of king *Baldwin* dwelt in the forreſt of LYEANVS) came and ſtraightly beſieged PANEADE, a citie of the Chriſtians there by: vpon whom the Chriſtians in the citie, now brought vnto great extremitie, made a moſt deſperat ſally, and had with the Turks a ſharpe and cruell fight: but oppreſſed with the multitude & enforced to retire, they were ſo hardly purſued, that the Turks together with them entred the citie, and put to ſword all that came in their way. Neuertheleſſe, the greater part of the citizens (by good fortune) had in good time before retired themſelues into the caſtle, which was of great ſtrength, and there ſtood vpon their guard. Of whoſe diſtreſſe, with the taking of the citie, *Baldwin* hearing, raiſed a great armie, & ſo ſet forward to relieue thē. But *Noradin* hearing of his comming, & doubtfull of his owne ſtrength, after he had takē the ſpoile of what he could, ſet fire on the citie & ſo departed. The citizens thus deliuered, repaired againe the wals of the citie, the kings power ſtill defending them. *Noradin* with his power all the while lying cloſe in the woods not far off, ſtill awaiting the offer of ſome good opportunitie to take the Chriſtians at aduantage, which ſhortly after fell out according to his owne deſire: For the king doubting no ſuch matter, but ſuppoſing him to haue been quite gone, hauing at his returne ſent away all his footmen, followed after himſelfe accompanied onely with his horſemen, and they alſo not verie ſtrong: but as he was paſsing the riuer IORDAN, he was ſuddenly ſet vpon by *Noradin* and the Turks, and after a ſharpe conflict ouerthrown. The king himſelfe with ſome few hardly eſcaped to SAPHET, a towne therby; moſt part of his nobilitie being there either ſlaine or taken priſoners: amongſt the reſt, *Bertrand* of BLANQVEFORT, maſter of the Templars, with diuers others of great name fell at that time into the enemies hands, and ſo were carried away priſoners.

Paneade taken and ſacked by the Turks.

Paneade againe repaired by the Chriſtians.

After this victorie, *Noradin* ſtrengthened with new ſupplies from DAMASCO, came againe and beſieged PANEADE, in good hope that the citizens diſcouraged with ſo great an ouerthrow of the king, and out of hope to be by him relieued, would now either yeeld the citie, or elſe not be able long to hold it out. But the king contrarie to his expectation, had in ſhorter time than was thought poſsible, raiſed a great power; and aided by the prince of ANTIOCH and the countie of TRIPOLIS was marching to the reliefe of his citie: of whoſe approch *Noradin* vnderſtanding, although he had made diuers breaches in the wals, & brought the citizens almoſt vnto vtter deſpaire, riſe with his armie and departed. And ſo *Baldwin* hauing now twice relieued the beſieged citie, returned alſo to IERVSALEM.

Many an hard conflict with the Turks had this young king afterwards, during the fortunate time of his raigne: wherein that troubleſome kingdome happily flouriſhed amidſt the miſcreants, all which to recount, were long and tedious. Yet among other things, it is woorth the remembrance, how that *Noradin* the Turke, then king of DAMASCO, beſieging SUETA, a caſtle belonging to the kingdome of HIERUSALEM, was in a ſet battell by *Baldwin* ouerthrowne and put to flight, with the loſſe of the greateſt part of his armie. King *Baldwin* had before married

ried *Emanuell* the Greeke emperours neece: and now the ſame emperour by *Guido Stephanus*, G
and *Triſillus* his embaſſadours, requeſted to haue giuen him againe in marriage one of the kings
nigh kinſwomen. Vnto whom the king after mature deliberation had concerning that matter,
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But leauing the kingdome of HIERUSALEM, with the greater part of SYRIA, thus victo-
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and

and ſo to accompanie him vnto CONSTANTINOPLE, where he was together with the emperour moſt honourably receiued, with all the ſignes of joy and triumph that could poſsibly be deuiſed. The emperour no leſſe rejoycing to be ſued vnto by ſo great a prince, than did the Sultan at his ſo honourable entertainment.

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Another fooliſh Icarus.

Nicetas Choniates rerum ab imperat. Manuele Comneno geſtar. lib. 3. fol. 143.

The ſolemnitie of the triumph ouerpaſſed (which by an ominous earthquake at the ſame time happning, was ſomewhat obſcured) the emperour to ſhew his wealth, and to gratifie the Sultan, gaue vnto him many rich and royall preſents, with ſuch a maſſe of treaſure, as that he much woondred thereat. In requitall whereof, and in token of his thankfulneſſe, he againe honoured the emperor with the name of his Father, and tearming himſelfe by the name of his Sonne, promiſed to reſtore vnto him the citie of SEBASTIA, with the territorie thereunto belonging, then part of *Dadune* his inheritance. Neuertheleſſe, all this was nothing elſe but meere diſſimulation, as afterward by proofe appeared. For returning home, hee thruſt *Dadune* indeed out of SEBASTIA, which he ſpoiled with the countrey thereabout; but forgetfull of his promiſe, kept it wholy to himſelfe: and by force tooke alſo from him the citie of CESARIA, with the countrey of AMASIA, by him before but lately poſſeſſed. In like manner, he bent his forces alſo vpon *Iagupaſan* his other brother, who in the very preparation of thoſe wars died: by whoſe vntimely death the citie of ANCYRA, with all his dominions in CAPADOCIA, fell into the Sultans hands. Who now poſſeſſed of all his fathers kingdom, and ſwelling with pride, forgetting all former curteſies, inuaded the emperours territories, and tooke from him the citie of LAODICEA in PHRIGIA, where he did great harme; as alſo in the countrey thereabouts, killing the people as he went, or elſe carrying them away with him captiues. For the repreſsing of which outrages, the emperor with a ſtrong armie paſſed ouer into ASIA, and there in the frontiers of his territories fortified DORILEVM againſt the incurſious of the Turks. In performing whereof, he to the example and ſtirring vp of others, carried the firſt basked of ſtones himſelfe vpon his ſhoulders; and vſed ſuch farther diligence, that in ſhort time the citie was compaſſed about with ſtrong wals, and deepe ditches, maugre the Turkes, who ceaſed not with continuall alarms and skirmiſhes to haue hindred the worke. With like care and for like purpoſe he alſo fortified SVELEVM, another ſtrong hold: and leauing in either place a ſtrong garriſon, returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE. Neuertheleſſe the Turks ceaſed not with continuall inroads to do what harmes they might vpon the frontiers of the empire, though not altogether

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The ſolemnitie of the triumph ouerpaſſed (which by an ominous earthquake at the ſame time happning, was ſomewhat obſcured) the emperour to ſhew his wealth, and to gratifie the Sultan, gaue vnto him many rich and royall preſents, with ſuch a maſſe of treaſure, as that he much woondred thereat. In requitall whereof, and in token of his thankfulneſſe, he againe honoured the emperor with the name of his Father, and tearming himſelfe by the name of his Sonne, promiſed to reſtore vnto him the citie of SEBASTIA, with the territorie thereunto belonging, then part of *Dadune* his inheritance. Neuertheleſſe, all this was nothing elſe but meere diſſimulation, as afterward by proofe appeared. For returning home, hee thruſt *Dadune* indeed out of SEBASTIA, which he ſpoiled with the countrey thereabout; but forgetfull of his promiſe, kept it wholy to himſelfe: and by force tooke alſo from him the citie of CESARIA, with the countrey of AMASIA, by him before but lately poſſeſſed. In like manner, he bent his forces alſo vpon *Iagupaſan* his other brother, who in the very preparation of thoſe wars died: by whoſe vntimely death the citie of ANCYRA, with all his dominions in CAPADOCIA, fell into the Sultans hands. Who now poſſeſſed of all his fathers kingdom, and ſwelling with pride, forgetting all former curteſies, inuaded the emperours territories, and tooke from him the citie of LAODICEA in PHRIGIA, where he did great harme; as alſo in the countrey thereabouts, killing the people as he went, or elſe carrying them away with him captiues. For the repreſsing of which outrages, the emperor with a ſtrong armie paſſed ouer into ASIA, and there in the frontiers of his territories fortified DORILEVM againſt the incurſious of the Turks. In performing whereof, he to the example and ſtirring vp of others, carried the firſt basked of ſtones himſelfe vpon his ſhoulders; and vſed ſuch farther diligence, that in ſhort time the citie was compaſſed about with ſtrong wals, and deepe ditches, maugre the Turkes, who ceaſed not with continuall alarms and skirmiſhes to haue hindred the worke. With like care and for like purpoſe he alſo fortified SVELEVM, another ſtrong hold: and leauing in either place a ſtrong garriſon, returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE. Neuertheleſſe the Turks ceaſed not with continuall inroads to do what harmes they might vpon the frontiers of the empire, though not altogether

Vnkindneſſe betwixt the emperour and the Sultan.

with ſo good ſucceſſe as before, being many times cut off by the garriſons of the late fortified townes: which grieuances ſtill encreaſing, cauſed the emperour to expoſtulate with the Sultan, as with an vnthankfull man, and forgetfull of ſo great kindneſſe before done vnto him, as the eſtabliſhment of him in his kingdome came vnto: who with no leſſe vehemencie vpbraided him againe with vnconſtancie and breach of promiſe, as well for fortifying the aforeſaid places contrarie to the league betwixt them, as for that hauing promiſed much more, he had thereof performed nothing. Thus vnkindneſſe dayly growing vpon euerie trifle, as it commonly falleth out among men of great ſpirit, and jealous of their owne honours: it was dayly expected when the matter ſhould fall out into open & bloodie war; both of them being men of great valour, and apt to reuenge the leaſt injurie to them offred. Yet was it the Sultans maner warely to mannage his wars by his politike and expert captaines: whereas the emperour being of an hotter nature, and couragious aboue meaſure, commonly in all his great expeditions aduentured his owne perſon, without reſpect what danger might thereof enſue vnto himſelfe or his ſtate. Long it was not but that the emperour fully reſolued to be reuenged of ſo many wrongs done vnto him and his ſubjects by the Turks, raiſed the whole power of his empire both in EVROPE and ASIA, in ſuch ſort as if he had therewith purpoſed, not onely to haue raſed to the ground ICONIVM, the regall ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultan, but euen vtterly to haue deſtroied the whole nation of the Turks. Thus with a moſt puiſſant and populous armie, well appointed of all things neceſſarie, he paſſed ouer into ASIA, and ſo in good order marching through PHRYGIA, LAODICEA, CHONAS (called in antient time PASSAS) S. ARCHANGEL, LAMPIS, CÆLÆNAS (where the head of the great and famous riuer MÆANDER riſeth, whereinto the riuer MARSYAS falleth) and from thence to CHONIA, he with euill lucke, and woorſe ſpeed, paſſed by MYRIOCEPHALON, an old ruinous caſtle, ominous by the name thereof, as by the euent in ſhort time after it prooued. And albeit that he marched verie circumſpectly, ſtill intrenching his armie in euerie place where he lodged; yet could he make but ſmall ſpeed, by reaſon of the multitude of his carriages, and of the baſe people that attended the ſame. The Turks in the meane while oftentimes ſhewing themſelues in troupes, and in places of aduantage, skirmiſhing ſometime with one part of the armie and ſometime with another, but neuer daring to aduenture the fortune of a juſt battell: yet by ſuch meanes were the victualers of the armie oftentimes cut off, and the paſſages for the emperour made verie dangerous. And the more to diſtreſſe the Chriſtians in their long trauell, they found the countrey before them of purpoſe deſtroied by the Turks, and the water in many places poyſoned, whereof the Chriſtians vnaduiſedly drinking, fell into many grieuous diſeaſes, eſpecially the flix, and thereof died in great number. The Sultan in the mean time, although he had in readines a right puiſſant armie of his owne, & had procured great aid from the Perſian Sultan his kinſman and chiefe ſupporter: yet fearing the doubtfull euent of war, and loath to aduenture his whole eſtate vpon the fortune of a battell, ſought by his embaſſadours (ſent for that purpoſe) to grow to ſome peace with the emperour, and that vpon ſuch honourable conditions, as by the wiſer ſort were thought not to bee at any hand refuſed: which large offers, the Sultan as deſirous of peace, made vnto him not once, but againe and againe; which the emperour neuertheleſſe (repoſing great confidence in his owne power, and prickt forward by the gallants of the court, better acquainted with the braue triumphs of peace than the hard wars of the Turks) proudly rejected; and ſo diſmiſsing the embaſſadours, ſcornfully willed them to tell their maſter, That he would giue him anſwere vnto his requeſts vnder the wals of ICONIVM. Which cauſed the Sultan, now out of all hope of any reconciliation to be made betwixt the emperour and him, with all his power to take the ſtraits of ZIBRICA, whereby the armie of the Chriſtians, departing from MYRIOCEPHALON muſt of neceſſitie paſſe. The entrance into theſe ſtraits was by a long valley, on either ſide encloſed with high mountaines, which toward the North riſing and falling according as the hils gaue leaue, opened into diuers large vallies, which by little and little growing againe ſtraighter and ſtraighter, with high and craggie rocks hanging ouer on either ſide, and almoſt touching one another, gaue vnto the painefull traueller a moſt hard and difficult paſſage.

A great ouerſight of the emperour.

Into this ſo dangerous a valley, the emperour not fearing the enemies force, deſperately entred with his armie, hauing neither prouided for the cleering of the paſſages, or ſafetie of his carriages, in no other order than as if hee had marched through the plaine and champain countrey, although it were before told him (that which he ſhortly after, but too late, ſaw) that the enemie

A enemie had ſtrongly poſſeſſed both the ſtraits and the mountains,to hinder his farther paſſage. The vauward of his armie was conducted by *Iohn* and *Andronicus*, the ſonnes of *Angelus Conſtantine*,accompanied with *Macroducas Conſtantine* and *Lapardas Andronicus*: In the right wing was *Baldwin*,the emperours brother in law; and in the left *Maurozomes Theodorus*: After them followed the drudges and ſcullions, with an infinit number of carters and other baſe people,attending vpon the carriages,with the baggage of the whole armie: Next vnto theſe came the emperour with the maine battell,conſiſting for the moſt part of right valiant and worthie ſouldiers: The rereward was ſhut vp by *Andronicus Contoſtephanus*, with a number of moſt reſolute men. They were not farre entred into theſe ſtraits,but that the Turks from the mountains
B and broken cliffes,ſhewed themſelues on euery ſide, deliuering their deadly ſhot from the vpper ground vpon the Chriſtians below,as thicke as haile. Neuertheleſſe the ſonnes of *Angelus* with *Macroducas* and *Lapardus*, and the vauntguard,caſting themſelues into a three ſquare battell in forme of a wedge,with their targuets in manner of a penthouſe caſt cloſe together ouer their heads, and their archers on euery ſide luſtely beſtowing their ſhot amongſt the thickeſt of their enemies,by plaine force driue them out of the ſtraits they had before poſſeſſed, and cauſed them to retire farther off into the mountaines; and ſo hauing made themſelues way, with little or no loſſe paſſed thoſe dangerous ſtraits: vntill that at length hauing recouered the top of an hill,very commodious for their purpoſe,as the caſe ſtood,they there ſtaied,and preſently encamped themſelues. And happely, with like good fortune might the reſt of the armie haue paſſed alſo, had
C they in like order,and with like courage,preſently followed after. But failing ſo to doe, and troubled with the multitude of their carriages, which could not poſsibly make any way through thoſe ſtrait and rough paſſages(but troubled themſelues one another, as alſo the whole armie) they were from the vpper ground miſerably ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh archers, whoſe arrowes fell as thicke vpon them from the mountaines, as if it had been a perpetuall tempeſt or ſhoure of haile,to the great diſordering & diſmaying of the whole armie:which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged, in great numbers came downe from the mountaines where they had before houered ouer the heads of the Chriſtians, and forcibly entring the plaine ground,and comming to handy blowes,firſt ouerthrew the right wing;where *Baldwin* himſelfe ſeeking to reſtore his diſordered companies,and to ſtay the furie of the enemie,
D (now raging in the blood of the Chriſtians)with a troupe of valiant horſemen breaking into the thickeſt of them,as became a worthie captaine, was there compaſſed in with the multitude of his enemies,and ſlaine,together with all his followers, and the greateſt part of the whole wing by him commanded. With this victorie the Turkes were ſo encouraged, that comming down with all their power,they ſtopped all the waies whereby the Chriſtians were to paſſe, who as men couped vp in thoſe dangerous ſtraits,were not able either to defend themſelues,or to helpe one another: but incloſed as deere in a toyle,and one troubling another, were the cauſe both of the deſtruction of themſelues and others. For by reaſon of the ſtraitneſſe of the place, neither could they that were before,retire,either they that were behind in the rereward,come forward to relieue the one the other,as need required: the carriages alſo, which were many, and in the
E middle of the armie, ſeruing them to no other purpoſe than to the hurt of themſelues. There were the beaſts that ſerued for burden, together with the ſouldiours, ouerwhelmed with the Turkes ſhot, the vallies lay full of dead bodies, the riuers ran mingled with the blood of men and beaſts,in ſuch terrible manner,as is not by pen to be expreſſed. For the Chriſtians not able either to goe forward,or retire, were there in thoſe ſtraits ſlaine like ſheepe: if any courage or ſparke of valour were by any ſhewed againſt the enemie,fighting at ſo great aduantage, it was but loſt,ſeruing to little or no purpoſe. And to increaſe theſe miſeries,the Turks in ſcorn ſhewed vpon the point of a launce the head of *Andronicus Bataza*, the emperours nephew, who comming with an armie out of PAPHLAGONIA, and HERACLEA PONTICA, againſt the Turks of AMASIA, was now by the way by them ouerthrowne and ſlaine. The report whereof,confirmed by the ſight of his head,and the conſideration of the deſperat danger wherin the whole
F armie preſently ſtood, ſo troubled the emperour that hee was at his wits end: and with drie teares (if it may be ſo ſaid) diſſembling his inward greefe,as one out of comfort, ſtood doubtfull which way to turne himſelfe. For the Turks hauing ſuffred the vauntguard to paſſe,with all their power charged the emperours maine battell, as his cheefe ſtrength, nothing doubting, but that hauing once ouerthrowne it, they ſhould eaſily and at pleaſure ouerthrow the reſt. Oftentimes

Baldwin ſlaine.

The miſerie of the Chriſtians by the Turks incloſed in the ſtraits.

The emperour in great perplexitie.

had the emperour attempted to haue driuen the enemie out of thoſe ſtraits,and ſo to haue ope- G
ned a way for his armie to haue paſſed,but all in vaine,the power of the Turkes ſtill increaſing,
and they at great aduantage notably maintaining the paſſages before by them taken. Neuerthe-
leſſe,ſeeing no leſſe danger in ſtaying ſtill,than in going forward,he with a few of his beſt ſouldi-
The deſperate reſolution of the emperour. ers,armed with deſpaire, and reſolued to die (vnto which kind of men nothing is terrible)ſet for-
ward directly vpon his enemies,willing the reſt with like reſolution euery man to make for him-
ſelfe the beſt ſhift he could.And ſo with many wounds and ſturdie blows both giuen & receiued,
he by plaine force and might of hand brake through the thickeſt of his enemies, and ſo eſcaped
out of thoſe ſtraits, as out of a trap. But yet not without many wounds receiued in his perſon,
and himſelfe ſo wearied as that he was not able to lift vp his helmet, being beaten cloſe to his H
head,and in his targuet were found ſticking thirtie of the Turkes arrowes or thereabouts, the
manifeſt tokens of his danger.The other legions ſeeking to follow the emperour (for other way
they had none) were on euery ſide hardly aſſailed by the Turkes, and infinit numbers of them
ſlaine; beſide many others that periſhed in thoſe ſtraits,ouerborne and troden to death by their
owne fellowes. Yea ſuch as had the fortune to eſcape out of one of theſe perrillous ſtraits,were
forthwith ſlaine in the next: for this ſo dangerous a paſſage through the mountaines, was deui-
ded (as is aforeſaid) into ſeuen vallies,which giuing faire and broad entrances, the farther a man
went,grew ſtill ſtraiter and ſtraiter,all which ſtraits the Turkes had before ſtrongly poſſeſſed. At
which time alſo,the more to increaſe the terrour of the day, the light ſand raiſed with the feet of
the men and horſes,was with the violence of a moſt tempeſtuous wind which then blew,carried I
ſo forcibly and thicke,that both the armies grapling together, as if it had been in the darkeneſſe
of the night, killed whomſoeuer they met withall,without reſpect of friend or foe,by which er-
rour many were euen of their owne friends ſlaine. In euery place lay great heapes of the Turks
ſlaine together with the Chriſtians,and with them great numbers of horſes and other beaſts for
carriage, ſo that thoſe vallies where this bloodie conflict was, ſeemed to bee nothing els but a
large burying place of the Turkes and Chriſtians with their horſes: But the greater number was
of the Chriſtians that periſhed,and they not altogether of the common ſort, but euen of the bra-
A moſt miſerable ſpectacle. ueſt captaines,and the emperours neereſt kinſmen.The violence of the wind ceaſing and the day
cleering vp, there was of all others to bee ſeene (a moſt wofull ſpectacle) men yet aliue, ſome
wounded,ſome whole,couered ſome to the middle, ſome to the necke, with dead carkaſſes, in K
ſuch ſort,as that they were not able with any ſtrugling to get out: who with their hands caſt vp
towards heauen,with ruthfull voices cried out for helpe to ſuch as paſſed by; but all in vaine, for
euery man poſſeſſed with the common feare, and by their danger meaſuring their owne, paſſed
by them without compaſsion,as more carefull of their owne ſafetie, leauing them yet liuing as
men to be numbred among the dead.

The emperour in danger to haue been taken,notably defendeth himſelfe. The emperor himſelfe,as a man almoſt now ſpent,being got out of the danger,ſtood a while
to breath himſelfe vnder the ſhaddow of a wild peare tree, without any page or man to attend
him;whom a poore common ſouldior eſpying,and mooued with compaſsion, came vnto him,
and offring him the beſt ſeruice he could,helped him vp with his helmet, and buckled vp his ar-
mour,which before hung dangling here and there about him: when in the meane while a Turke L
comming in vpon him,had taken his horſe by the bridle,in hope to haue led him away priſoner:
whom for all that,the emperour as wearie as hee was, with the trunchion of his broken launce
which he had yet in his hand, ſtrucke downe to the ground,and ſo cleered himſelfe of him. Pre-
ſently after came alſo another ſort of the ſtragling Turkes, readie alſo to haue ceized vpon him
and to haue taken him priſoner, of whom he ſlew one with the aforeſaid horſemans ſtaffe, and
with his ſword ſtrucke off the head of another of them, and ſo kept them off vntill that by the
comming in of ten of his owne ſouldiors hee was relieued. Departing thence with purpoſe to
haue joined himſelfe vnto the legions that were gone before in the vauward, hee had not gone
farre but that he was much troubled by other Turkes that hee met, and the heapes of the dead
bodies that lay in his way: yet at laſt, hauing with much labour and more danger paſſed thoſe M
ſtraits,and a riuer running thereby,being glad in many places to ride ouer the dead bodies of his
owne people,and ſome other of his owne ſouldiors now reſorting vnto him; he there ſaw *Iohn Cataczene*,a noble and right valiant gentleman that had maried his neece,fighting alone againſt
a great number of the Turkes, to be compaſſed in and ſlaine;whom he was no way able to re-
lieue. Which Turkes alſo ſeeing him paſſe by, followed after him as after a moſt rich prey, in
hope

A hope to haue either presently taken or slaine him : whom neuertheless hee (encouraging the small companie he had about him) notably repulsed; and so sometime marching forward, and againe as occasion required, making a stand, came at length long looked for but most welcome, vnto the legions that were gone before, not so sorrie for their owne hard estate, as carefull of his danger.

But before he could come to those his legions, he readie to faint for thirst, commanded water to be brought him out of the riuer that ran fast by; which after he had tasted, and by the vnpleasant taste thereof, perceiued the same to be infected, he fetting a deepe sigh, said, *O how vnfortunately haue I tasted Christian bloud :* whereunto an audacious and malapert souldior there pre-
B sent, and more bitter than the cruell time it selfe, replied; *Emperour, thou didst not now, thou didst not now, I say, first, but long since, and oftentimes, drinke the bloud of the Christians, euen vntill thou wast drunke againe, at such time as thou didst with most grieuous exactions vex and deuour thy poore subiects.* Which reprochfull speech the emperour put vp in silence, making as if hee had not heard it. With like patience he also forbare the same rayling companion, at such time as he seeing his treasures hardly beset and in danger to be taken by the Turks, to animate his souldiors, willed them to doe what they could to rescue the same, and to take it for their labour. *This treasure* (said this impudent fellow) *should before haue been giuen vnto thy souldiors, rather than now when as it cannot be recouered but with great danger and bloodshed: and therefore, if thou be a man of valour, as thou wouldest bee accounted, and as the present case requireth, valiantly charge the*
C *Turkes (now readie to carrie it away) thy selfe, and so recouer thine euill gotten goods.* Whereunto the emperour answered no more but, *Good words souldior*, and so put it vp, as did *Dauid* the railings of *Shimei*. Shortly after the comming of the emperour vnto these legions of his vauntguard (the onely remainder of his armie that was left whole and vnbroken) came also *Andronicus Contostephanus*, who had the leading of the rereward, with diuers others of great place, who had by good fortune escaped the furie of the Turks. The miseries of that day (not well to be expressed) being ended by the comming on of the night, the Christians sat in the campe oppressed with a generall heauinesse, leaning their heads vpon their elbowes, and considering the present danger wherein they were, scarcely accounted themselues among the liuing : the Turks in the meane time to increase their feare, all the night running about the campe, & crying aloud
D vnto such of their countrimen in the campe, as had abjured their religion, or for other respects had taken part with the imperials, that they should that night get them out of the campe, whereas otherwise if they staied vnto the morning they should be all but lost men. In this so great an extremitie the emperour not knowing what to do, calling together his chiefe commanders, declared vnto them the desperate danger they were in, together with his resolution : which was, secretly himselfe to flie, and to leaue the rest, euery man to make what shift he could for himselfe. Which his base determination, so foule as fouler could not be, they all wondering at, as proceeding from a distraughted mind : and by chaunce ouerheard by one of the common souldiors, that stood without the tent, the same souldior fetching a deepe sigh, in detestation thereof, cried out with a loud voice, *What meanes the emperour* : and so turning himselfe vnto him, said : *Art*
E *not thou hee that hast thrust vs into this desolat and strait way, and cast vs headlong into destruction ? and hast as it were in a morter enclosed vs in these rockes and mountaines, readie as it were to ouerwhelme vs. What had we to doe with this vaile of mourning, and mouth of hell? Wherefore came wee into these mischieuous and rough straits ? What can wee particularly complaine of the Barbarians, which in these inextricable windings and straits haue thus entangled and beset vs ? Was it not thou that broughtst vs hither ? And wilt thou now as sheepe appointed to the slaughter, thy selfe betray vs?* With which so sharpe a reprehension the emperour throughly pierced, changed his former determination for flight, resoluing now to stand by it, whatsoeuer happened. But what should hee now doe beset with his enemies, still readie to deuour him ? helpe he saw none, either in himselfe or to be expected from others; nought remained but death and despaire. In this extremitie, all
F mans helpe now failing, it pleased the most mightie (which chastiseth and healeth againe, which striketh and yet giueth life, and suffereth not the staffe of the sinners alwaies to rage into the portion of the just) with mercifull eye to looke downe vpon these distressed men, and with an vnwonted kind of clemencie to touch the Sultans heart, in such sort, as that he which but the other day stood in dread of the emperour, and now hauing him as it were in his power, was ouercome with his miserie : or as in times past hee by *Husai* ouerthrew the counsell of *Achitophell*, and

The malapert speech of an insolent souldiour to the emperour.

The great patience of the emperour.

The fearfull resolution of the emperour.

A sharpe reprehension of a common souldior vnto the emperour.

changed the mind of *Abſolon* to follow ſuch aduiſe as ſhould bring him to deſtruction: ſo then G
alſo he turned the mind of the Turkiſh Sultan, that (perſuaded by certain of the chiefe men about him, who in time of peace had vſed to receiue great gifts and preſents from the emperor) he of his own accord by his embaſſadors offred peace vnto the emperor, before that he in ſo great diſtreſſe ſued vnto him for any; & that vpon the ſelfeſame conditions they had made their leagues before. The Turks in the meane time ignorant of the Sultans reſolution, early in the morning were readie to aſſault the emperours campe, in hope at once to haue ouerthrowne his whole power; and with a barbarous outcrie ſtill riding about it, came ſo nigh, that with their arrowes they ſlew diuers of the Chriſtians within their owne trenches: Againſt whom the emperour ſent out *Iohn* the ſonne of *Conſtantinus Angelus*, and after him *Macroducas Conſtantinus*, but to little or H
no purpoſe. In the meane time came one *Gabras*, a man of the greateſt reputation among the Turkes, embaſſadour from the Sultan, by whoſe commandement the Turks ceaſed farther to aſſault the campe. This *Gabras* comming vnto the emperour, and after the manner of the Barbarians, honouring him with reuerence done euen downe to the ground: Firſt preſented him with a goodly horſe, whoſe furniture was all of ſiluer, as if it had beene for triumph, and a faire two edged ſword. Afterwards falling into a large diſcourſe concerning a peace to be made, and with many kind words, as with an enchantment, appeaſing the emperours heauineſſe conceiued of his late loſſe; he among other pleaſant conceits then vttered, ſeeing the emperor in a rich roab of yellow ouer his armour, told him, That that colour was not fit for war, as ominous and portending euill lucke: whereat the emperour a little ſmiling, gaue it him with the fortune thereof: I
and receiuing the horſe and ſword ſent him from the Sultan, ſigned the peace. Amongſt other conditions of the peace (which the dangerouſneſſe of the time ſuffred not the emperour curiouſly to examine; one was, That DORILEVM and SVBLEVM before by him fortified, and the ground of this vnfortunate war, ſhould be againe raſed. Peace thus beyond all hope being concluded, and the emperour deliuered of a great feare, purpoſed another way to returne home to auoid the ſight of the ſlaine: yet was he by his guides, euen of purpoſe as it was thought, lead backe the ſame way, to behold with his eies thoſe miſerable ſpectacles of the ſlaine, which could not with any teares be ſufficiently lamented: for the ſtraits were made plaine, the vallies were raiſed into hils, and the forreſt lay couered with the carkaſſes of the ſlaine: no man paſſed by, but with heauineſſe and griefe, calling by name vpon their friends and familiars there loſt. K
Hauing again paſſed thoſe dolefull ſtraits, the Turks were againe in the taile of the armie: for it was reported, that the Sultan repenting himſelfe to haue ſuffered his enemies ſo to eſcape out of his hands, had giuen leaue vnto ſuch as would, to purſue them, but followed not himſelfe with his whole power as before; for moſt of the better ſort of his ſouldiers loaded with the ſpoile, were now returned home. Yet theſe that followed after the armie, ſlew many, eſpecially ſuch as were weake or wounded, and ſo vnable to follow the reſt: although the emperour to helpe the matter, had for the repulſing of them, placed the beſt of his captaines and ſouldiers in the rearward. Being come to CHONAS, and now out of feare of his enemies, he gaue vnto euerie one of his hurt ſouldiers money to pay for the curing of their wounds, and to bring them into their countries. And comming to PHILADELPHIA, there ſtaid for the refreſhing of himſelfe after ſo great L
miſeries. In his returne he raſed SVBLEVM according to his promiſe, but not DORILEVM: whereof the Sultan by his embaſſadors complaining, he anſwered, That what he had, enforced thereunto by neceſsitie, promiſed, he greatly forced not to performe. In reuenge whereof, the Sultan ſent out one of his moſt valiant captaines, called *Atapacke*, with foure and twentie thouſand good ſouldiers, choſen out of his whole armie, with ſtrait charge to waſte and deſtroy all the emperours prouinces and townes, euen vnto the ſea ſide, without ſparing man woman or child; and in token thereof, to bring with him ſome of the ſea water, an oare, and ſome of the ſea ſand: who according to his charge, ſpoiled PHRIGIA with the cities along the riuer MEANDER, euen vnto the ſea ſide. And ſo returning with a rich prey, by the way ſpoiled what before he had left vntouched. But in paſsing the riuer MEANDER, when he feared leaſt, he fell in- M
to the hands of *Iohn Bataza* the emperours nephew, and of *Ducas Conſtantine*, a moſt valiant captaine, of purpoſe ſent againſt him by the Emperour with a great power; where he was by them ſlaine together with all his armie, and the rich bootie hee had taken all againe recouered. Many other hard conflicts paſſed after this betwixt the Imperials and the Turks, the one continually ſeeking to anoy the other; all which for that therein nothing fell out much woorth the remembrance,

The emperour returneth.

The emperour altogether performeth not what he had promiſed to the Sultan.

Atapacke with all his armie ſlaine.

A remembrance, I for breuitie willingly paſſe ouer. In theſe endleſſe troubles died *Emanuel* the Greeke emperour, when he had by the ſpace of eight and thirtie yeeres woorthily gouerned that great empire, hauing in the time of his ſickneſſe but a little before his death taken vpon him the habit of a monke, in token he had forſaken the world. All the time of his raigne he was no leſſe jealous of the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt than of the Turks in the Eaſt, and therefore euer dealt with them vnkindly. In time of war he was ſo laborious, as if he had neuer taken felicitie but in paine; and againe in peace ſo giuen ouer to his pleaſure, as if he had neuer thought of any thing elſe. After whoſe death the Turkiſh Sultan, without reſiſtance inuading the frontiers of the empire, tooke SOZOPOLIS with diuers townes thereabout in PHRIGIA; and long beſieged
B the famous cittie of ATTALIA, and ſo dayly encroched more and more vpon the prouinces of the empire, joyning the ſame vnto his owne, which was no great matter for him to doe, the Greeke empire being then no better gouerned than was the charriot of the Sunne (as the Poets faigne) by *Phaëton*, far vnfit for ſo great a charge: for *Alexius Comnenus*, otherwiſe called *Porphyrogenitus*, being then but a child of about twelue yeeres old, ſucceeding his graue father in the empire, after the manner of children altogether following his pleaſure; his mother with his fathers kinſmen and friends, who aboue all things ought to haue had an eſpeciall care of his education, neglecting the old emperors truſt in them repoſed, followed alſo their owne delights, without regard of the ruine of the common weale. Some enamoured with the beautie of the yoong empreſſe, gaue themſelues all to brauerie, and the courting of her: otherſome in great au-
C thoritie with no leſſe deſire in the meane time, with the common treaſures filled their emptie cofers: and a third ſort there was (of all the reſt moſt dangerous) who neither reſpecting their ſenſuall pleaſure, neither the heaping vp of wealth, looked not ſo low, ayming at the verie empire it ſelfe. As for the common good, that was of all other things of them all leaſt regarded. Amongſt theſe third ſort of the ambitious, was one *Andronicus*, the couſin of the late emperour *Emanuel*, a man of an haughtie and troubleſome ſpirit, whom he the ſaid emperor *Emanuel* had for his aſpiring, moſt part of the time of his raigne kept in priſon, or elſe in exile, as he now was, being by him not long before, for feare of raiſing of new troubles, confined to liue far off from the court at
OENUM: who now hearing of the death of the emperour *Emanuel*, of the factions in court, *Andronicus aſpireth.*
D of the childiſhneſſe of the yoong emperour *Alexius*, giuen wholy to his ſports; and the great men put in truſt to haue ſeene to his bringing vp and to the gouernment of the empire, ſome like bees to flie abroad into the countrey, ſeeking after money as the bees do for honie; ſome others in the meane time like hogs, lying ſtill and fatting themſelues with great and gainefull offices, wallowing in all exceſſe and pleaſure, to haue no regard of the honour or profit of the common weale: thought it now a fit time (in ſuch diſorder of the ſtate) for him to aſpire vnto the empire, after which he had all his life time longed. That he was generally beloued of the Conſtantinopolitans, yea and of ſome of the nobilitie alſo, he doubted not: for them he had long before by his popular behauiour gained, together with the diſtruſt of the late emperor, jealous of his eſtate; which as it coſt him his libertie, ſo miſſed it not much but that it had coſt him his life alſo: but now that he was dead, wanted nothing more than ſome faire colour for the ſhadowing of his
E foule purpoſe. Amongſt many and right diuers things by him thought vpon, was a clauſe in the oath of obedience which he had giuen vnto the emperour *Emanuel* and *Alexius* his ſonne, (which oath he had deliuered vnto him in writing) That if he ſhould ſee, heare, or vnderſtand of any thing dangerous or hurtfull to their honour, empire, or perſons, he ſhould foorthwith bewray it, and to the vttermoſt of his power withſtand it: which words (not ſo to haue beene wreſted) as beſt ſeruing for his purpoſe, he tooke firſt occaſion for to worke vpon. And as he was a ſtout and emperious man, thereupon writ diuers letters vnto the yoong emperour his couſin, vnto *Theodoſius* the Patriarch, and other ſuch as he knew well affected vnto the late emperour *Emanuel*: wherein among other things which he wiſhed to be amended in the preſent gouernment, he ſeemed moſt to complaine of the immoderat power and authoritie of *Alexius*, *Ambition couered with the zeale of the commonweale.*
F then preſident of the Counſell: who in great fauour with the yoong emperour, and more inward with the empreſſe his mother than was ſuppoſed to ſtand with her honour, ruled all things at his pleaſure, in ſo much, as that nothing done by any the great officers of the empire, or by the emperour himſelfe, was accounted of any force, except his approbation were thereunto annexed: whereby he was growne vnto ſuch an exceſsiue pride, hauing all things in his power, as that no man could without danger, as vpon the venemous Baſiliske, looke vpon him. Of which his ſo

exceſsiue

exceſsiue and inſolent power *Andronicus* by his letters now greatly complained, mooued there- G
unto (as he would haue it beleeued) with the care he had of the yoong emperours ſafetie, which
could not (as he ſaid) long ſtand with the others ſo great power, which he therefore (as in dutie
bound) wiſhed to be abridged: agrauating withall the infamous report of *Alexius* his too much
familiaritie with the empreſſe, which firſt muttered in court, afterwards flew (as he ſaid) through-
out the whole world. The reformation of which things, as tending to the danger of the perſon
of the emperour, and diſhonour of the ſtate, he forſooth as one in conſcience bound, with great
grauitie and eloquence (being a verie learned man) both in open ſpeech and writing moſt ear-
neſtly deſired: and thereby ſo wrought, as that he was generally accounted for a man of great
experience (as indeed he was) and a faithfull counſellor to the ſtate, a thing much to haue beene H
wiſhed. Wherefore leauing OENUM, the place whereunto he was by the emperour *Emanuel*
in a ſort baniſhed, trauelling towards CONSTANTINOPLE, he gaue it out in euerie place where
he came, what he had ſworne, and what he would for his oaths ſake do: vnto whom men deſi-
rous of the change of the ſtate, & ſuch as gaue credit vnto the report long-before giuen out, That
he ſhould at length become emperour; flockt in great numbers, as birds about an owle to ſee
him, and with vaine praiſes to chatter about him. In this ſort he came as farre as PAPHLAGO-
NIA; in euerie place honourably receiued, as if he had beene a deliuerer of his countrey ſent
from God. And in the imperiall citie he was not longed for of the vulgar people onely, as their
light and load ſtar: but diuers of the nobilitie alſo by ſecret meſſengers and letters, perſuaded him
to haſten his comming, and to take vpon him the gouernment; aſſuring him that there would be I
none to reſiſt him, or to oppoſe themſelues againſt his ſhadow, but all readie to receiue him:
Eſpecially *Marie* the yoong emperours ſiſter by the fathers ſide, with her husband *Cæſar* (who
being a woman of a great ſpirit, and grieuing much to ſee her fathers empire made a prey vnto
Alexius the preſident, and the empreſſe her ſtepmother, whom ſhe naturally hated) had raiſed a
great and dangerous tumult in the citie againſt them both, which was not without much blood-
ſhed appeaſed: and now ceaſed not by often and moſt earneſt letters (to her owne deſtruction
and her husbands, as it afterwards fell out) to pricke forward *Andronicus* and to haſten his com-
ming: who by letters and meſſengers dayly comming vnto him from the court, ſtill more and
more encouraged, leauing behind him the countrey of PAPHLAGONIA, came to HERA-
CLEA in PONTUS, and ſtill on towards the imperiall citie, with great cunning and diſſimula- K
tion winning the hearts of the people as he went. For who was ſo ſtonie hearted, whom his
ſweet words and abundant teares flowing from his gratious eies, as from two plentifull foun-
taines downe by his hoarie cheeks, might not haue mooued? All that he did or deſired was (as
he ſaid) for the common good and libertie of the emperour. By which meanes he had drawne
vnto him a woonderfull number of the rude countrey people by the way as he came. But com-
ming into BYTHINIA, he was by *Iohn Ducas* gouernour of the great citie of NICE, ſhut out
as an enemie to the ſtate, and ſo at NICOMEDIA alſo. Neuertheleſſe, paſsing by thoſe cities,
he held ſtill on his way, vntill at length he was neere vnto a caſtle called CHARACE, encountred
by *Andronicus Angelus*, ſent with a great power againſt him, by the great preſident *Alexius*;
who otherwiſe as an effeminat man giuen ouer to his pleaſure, ſpending the greateſt part of the L
night in rioting by candle light, and moſt part of the day in his bed, with courtaines cloſe drawn
as if it had beene night; yet doubtfull now of the comming of his enemie, left nothing vndone
which he thought might helpe for the aſſuring of his eſtate. Many of the nobilitie of whom he
ſtood in doubt, he gained vnto him by meanes of the emperors mother; who by her rare beau-
tie, ſweet words, and gratious behauiour, as with a line drew all men vnto her: Other ſome he
ouercame with gifts and great ſummes of money, whereof he now made no ſpare: And ſo
wrought the matter that no man of any account or marke, went ouer to *Andronicus*. Who ne-
uertheleſſe with ſuch followers as he had, joyning battell with *Angelus* (ſent againſt him, as is
before ſaid) ouerthrew him and put him to flight. Wherewith *Alexius* much troubled, in
great diſpleaſure and without reaſon, called *Angelus* (now fled to CONSTANTINOPLE) to an M
account for the money deliuered vnto him for the defraying of the charges of that vnfortunat
war: who ſeeing his misforturne to be ſo taken as if he had framed it himſelfe, and of purpoſe
betraid the armie committed to his charge; by the counſell of his ſix ſonnes, being all men of
great valour and wiſedome, firſt tooke the refuge of his owne houſe: but finding himſelfe there
in no ſafetie, with his wife and his ſaid ſonnes (two of which came afterwards to be emperours)

Andronicus departeth from Oenum towards Conſtantinople.

preſently

A presently fled ouer the ſtrait to *Andronicus*: Who ſeeing of him comming towards him, is reported to haue vſed this text of Scripture, *Behold I will ſend mine Angell before thy face, to prepare thy wayes*, alluding to his name of *Angelus*, as the preſage of his good ſucceſſe. Wherefore encouraged with the cõming of theſe noblemen his kinſmen, he without longer ſtay marched directly vnto the ſea ſide, and there a little aboue CHALCEDON encamped almoſt right ouer againſt CONSTANTINOPLE: cauſing many great fires (moe than needed) to be made in his armie, to make it ſeeme vnto them of the citie greater than indeed it was; and with the ſight thereof to keepe the citizens in ſuſpence, with the doubtfull expectation of ſome great matter to enſue. Wherein he was no whit deceiued, for they hauing him now as it were in ſight, leauing their worke, ran ſome to the ſea ſide, ſome vp to the hils & high towers to behold his armie a far B off, willing with their friendly looks, if it had ben poſsible, to haue drawn him ouer the ſtrait into the citie. *Alexius* knowing himſelfe not able by land to encounter with ſo ſtrong an enemie (for now ſome which on foot could not goe ouer to *Andronicus*, were ſecretly in heart alreadie with him, otherſome thought themſelues ſufficiently to ſhew their fidelitie vnto the emperor, if ſitting ſtill at home, they ſhould take part with neither: for ſo haue ſubtill heads & aſpiring minds for the furtherance of their deſires taught the cõmon people both to ſay & thinke) thought it beſt by ſea to auert the preſent danger: And therefore commanded all the emperours gallies (being before rigged vp and readie) to be ſtrongly manned and put to ſea, for the keeping of PROPONTIS and the ſtrait of BOSPHORUS, that *Andronicus* ſhould not that way paſſe. Now had hee determined to haue made eſpeciall choice of ſome aſſured friend of his owne for to bee generall of this C fleet, as he had done of the captaines and maſters, being all his owne kinſmen or domeſticall ſeruants: but as he was about to haue ſo done, *Contoſtephanus* (ſurnamed the Great captaine) oppoſed himſelfe againſt it, challenging that place as due vnto himſelfe, before all others: So that ouercome by his authoritie (which it was no time for *Alexius* now to diſpute) he was glad to commit the charge and truſt of the whole fleet vnto him, as generall. Thus hauing (as he thought) made the ſea ſure, he ſent ouer vnto *Andronicus*, as from the emperour (for all was done in his name) one *George Xiphilinus*, with letters and other inſtructions, wherof the effect was, To command him forthwith in peace to returne vnto the place from whence he came, and not farther to trouble the ſtate: promiſing him in ſo doing, the emperours fauour, with many great honors and D preferments to bee afterward beſtowed vpon him; which otherwiſe might turne to his vtter deſtruction. Which letters *Xiphilinus* hauing deliuered, and done his meſſage, is reported to haue ſecretly aduiſed *Andronicus* to proceed in his purpoſe, and not in any caſe to yeeld to that which was of him required: wherewith *Andronicus* encouraged, proudly rejected the graces offered, and willed the meſſenger to tell them that ſent him, That if they would haue him to returne vnto the place from whence he came, they ſhould firſt diſplace the proud preſident *Alexius*, and call him vnto an account for the villanies he had done; Then the emperours mother they ſhould depriue of her honours, and ſhut her vp as a Nun into ſome cloyſter, there to learne to amend her life; And laſt of all, that the emperour according to his fathers will, ſhould take vpon himſelfe the gouernment, and not be ouertopt by others, by whoſe too much authoritie, his majeſtie & honour E was (as he ſaid) too much impaired. But within a few daies after, *Contoſtephanus*, the great captaine and generall, carried ouer all the gallies to *Andronicus*, leauing nothing but their names for the preſident in his rolls to looke vpon: whoſe reuolt aboue all other things encouraged *Andronicus*, and caſt *Alexius* euen into the bottome of deſpaire. For now *Andronicus* his friends flocked together in the citie, not ſecretly as before, but openly in all places: and ſuch as wiſhed a change in the ſtate, impudently ſcoffing at *Alexius*, paſſed ouer the ſtrait to CHALCEDON in great numbers to *Andronicus*, where hauing filled their eyes with the beholding of his goodly perſon, his cheerefull countenance, and reuerend age, and their eares with his ſweet words and great promiſes, returned home merrie and joyfull as if they had been in ſome terreſtriall paradice, filling the citie with his praiſes. After that *Andronicus* his two ſonnes, *Iohn* and *Manuell*, with diuers others, whom the preſident had caſt in priſon, were ſet at libertie, and other of his chiefe fauourits laid faſt in their roomes. As for *Alexius*, the preſident himſelfe, with all his friends and faction in the court, they were taken and committed to the keeping of the guard: a right ſtrange alteration. But about midnight *Alexius* himſelfe was ſecretly conueyed out of the court vnto the Patriarchs houſe, & there kept with a ſtronger guard than before. A wonderfull change and worth the marking, a man ſo honourably borne, but yeſterday in greateſt honour attended vpon

Andronicus encampeth in ſight ouer againſt Conſtantinople.

Xiphilinus ſent ouer to Andronicus, dealeth faithfully in delyuering his meſſage.

The proud anſwer of Andronicus.

Contoſtephanus reuolteth to Andronicus.

Alexius in deſpaire.

Alexius and his friends apprehended.

A ſtrange alteration.

vpon with many thouſands, all at his command, hauing the power to ſpill or ſaue: to day in bonds, in diſgrace, in miſerie and deſpaire, and not ſo much as a page to wait vpon him. Which he taking very grieuouſly, yet complained of nothing more, than that they which had the keeping of him, would not ſuffer him to ſleepe nor take any reſt. Of whoſe miſerie, the Patriarch taking pitie (although he had of him very euill deſerued) yet cheered him vp with comfortable words, perſuading him with patience to endure his hard fortune, and not with ſuch ſpeeches as fitted not his preſent ſtate, to prouoke his keepers to vſe him euill. Within a few dayes after early in a morning, he was brought out of the Patriarchs houſe, and ſet vpon a very little bad jade, and ſo with a ragged clout vpon the top of a reed in manner of an enſigne, carried before him in deriſion, was brought to the ſea ſide; and there caſt into a little boat, was ſo brought to *Andronicus*, by whoſe commandement, with the generall conſent of the nobilitie, he for his euill gouernment ſhortly after had his eyes put out. This was the miſerable end of the immoderat power, or rather of the inſolent ſoueraigntie of *Alexius*: who, had hee with more moderation and vigilancie gouerned, might both haue kept *Andronicus* out of the citie, and himſelfe from ſo great miſerie; hauing at his command all the emperours treaſure, his gallies, with moſt part of the ſtrength of the empire. Now came the noble men ouer apace to *Andronicus*: the laſt that came, was the reuerend Patriarch *Theodoſius*, with the chiefe of the cleargie: of whoſe approch, *Andronicus* hearing, went out of his tent to meet him, and falling downe (as great as he was) flat at his horſes feet, and in a while after ariſing againe, kiſſed the Patriarkes foot, calling him, The emperours ſauiour, The louer of vertue, The defender of the truth; and comparing him with the famous father *Iohn Chriſoſtome*, omitted not any honourable title he could poſsibly deuiſe to giue him. But the deuout Patriarch, that had neuer ſeene *Andronicus* before, hauing now well viewed him, and marked his ſterne countenance, his ſubtill nature, his craftie and diſſembling manners, his exceeding ſtature, being almoſt tenne foot high, his ſtately gate, his proud looke, his continuall ſeueritie, and melancholie ſilence: as it were pitying them that to their owne deſtruction had called ſuch a man in, ſaid: *Hitherto I haue heard, but now I haue alſo ſeene, and plainely knowne:* and fetching a deepe ſigh, adjoyned thereunto that ſaying of the Prophet *Dauid: As wee haue heard, ſo haue we alſo ſeene.* In which words, he couertly quipped the diſſembled meeting and ſubmiſſion of *Andronicus*: and withall called to remembrance the words of the emperour *Emanuell*, wherewith he had many times ſo painted foorth *Andronicus* vnto the Patriarch, as if hee would moſt liuely haue repreſented him vnto his view.

Alexius brought to Andronicus, hath his eyes put out.

The meeting of the Patriarch & Andronicus.

All things in the citie and in the pallace ſet in order according to *Andronicus* his mind, by his two ſonnes, and leaue giuen vnto the emperours friends to come ouer vnto him, and to bee acquainted with him; at length *Andronicus* himſelfe departing from DAMALUM, in a gallie croſſed the ſtrait, oftentimes by the way merrily ſinging that ſaying of the heauenly Pſalmiſt: *Returne my ſoule into thy reſt, becauſe the Lord hath done well vnto thee, hauing deliuered my life from death, mine eyes from teares, and my feet from falling.* The emperour with his mother *Xene*, then lay not in the pallace at CONSTANTINOPLE, but at another princely houſe of his in the countrey neere vnto PHILOPATIUM, as *Andronicus* had appointed: whether *Andronicus* firſt went, and comming vnto his preſence, moſt humbly proſtrate before him, with ſobbing and teares, as his deceitfull manner was, kiſſed his feet. As for the empreſſe his mother, he lightly ſaluted her, and as it were but for faſhion ſake, not diſſembling in his countenance the old grudge he bare againſt her. And ſo without longer ſtay went vnto his tent prouided for him not farre off, round about which, all the great noble men had pitched their tents alſo, flocking vnto him as chickens ſeeking for refuge vnder the hens wings. Hauing there ſtaied with the emperour a good while, he was deſirous to goe vnto the imperiall citie, and to ſee the late Emperour *Emanuell* his couſins graue. Where entring into the monaſterie of our Ladie, where he was buried, and comming to his tombe, hee wept bitterly, and roared as it were mainely out. So that diuers of the ſtanders by, ignorant of his diſſembling nature, by way of admiration ſaid: *O what a wonderfull thing is this! O how he loued the Emperour, his couſin, although his fierce and cruell perſecutor!* And when one of his kinſmen would haue pulled him from the tombe, ſaying that he had ſorrowed for him ynough; he would not be remoued, but requeſted them to ſuffer him yet a little to tarrie by the tombe, for that he had ſomething in ſecret to ſay vnto the dead. And ſo with his hands caſt vp and cloſe together, as if he had prayed, and his eyes faſt fixed vpon the tombe, he mooued his lips, and ſecretly ſaid ſomething, but what, no man could tell. Some ſaid it was

Andronicus paſſeth ouer the ſtrait.

was ſome charme or incantation. But others more pleaſantly conceited, ſaid (and as it afterward appeared more truly) that *Andronicus* did then triumph ouer the dead emperour *Emanuell*, and reuell with his ghoſt, with theſe or like words: *I haue thee now faſt, my cruell perſecutor, by whome I haue been driuen vnto many great extremities: and hauing wandred almoſt all the world ouer, haue thereunto beene made by thee a common by-word. But now this tombe riſing vp with ſeuen tops, and priſon, out of which thou canſt not ſtart, holdeth thee oppreſſed with a dead ſleepe, out of which thou ſhalt not be awaked, but by the ſounding of the laſt trumpe. And now will I be reuenged of thy poſteritie, and ſatisfie my ſelfe as a lyon with a fat prey; and take ſharpe reuenge of all the wrongs thou haſt done mee, when I haue once poſſeſſed my ſelfe of this royall citie.*

Andronicus taketh vpon him the gouernment.

After that, viſiting all the emperours ſtately houſes, but ſtaying in no place long, hee diſpoſed of all matters of ſtate, according to his owne pleaſure. Vnto the young emperour hee allowed hunting, and other his vaine delights, with keepers joyned vnto him, to watch not onely his going in and out, but alſo that no man ſhould talke with him of any matter of importance. For all the gouernment of the ſtate he tooke vnto himſelfe: not for that he wiſhed ſo well thereunto, aboue others, but ſo to driue from the court all them of the contrary faction to himſelf, that were able to doe any thing, and had before borne ſome ſway. The ſouldiors, whoſe helpe he had vſed in aſpiring to the gouernment, he rewarded with great bountie; all great offices & preferments he beſtowed either vpon his owne children, or other his great fauourits; diuers of the nobilitie, of whom he liked not, were by him in ſhort time driuē into exile: ſome were by him depriued of their ſight, & ſome others caſt in priſon, not knowing any cauſe why, more than that they were by him ſecretly cōdemned for that they were of the nobilitie, or had done ſome good ſeruice for the ſtate, or excelled for their perſonage, or ſome other thing that grieued *Andronicus*, or els for the ſparke of ſome old diſpleaſure which yet lay hidden as fire raked vp in the aſhes. So that the ſtate of that time began to grow moſt miſerable: & the trecherie, euen of men neereſt in blood, ſeeking the deſtructiō one of another, for to ſerue their own turns, or to gratifie *Andronicus*, moſt horrible: not only one brother betrayed another, but euen the father his ſon, & the ſon his father, if *Andronicus* would haue it ſo. Some accuſed their neereſt kinſmen, that they had derided *Andronicus* his proceedings; or that without regard of him, they more fauored *Alexius* the yong emperor, then, a great offence. Yea (ſuch was the miſchiefe of the time) that many in accuſing others, were themſelues accuſed; & charging others of treaſon againſt *Andronicus*, were thēſelues charged by them whom they accuſed, & ſo clapt vp both together in one priſon. Neither were they of the nobilitie only, which were enemies to *Andronicus*, thus hardly dealt withall; but euen ſome of his great fauorits and followers alſo: For ſome whom but yeſterday he had vſed moſt kindly, and enrolled amongſt his beſt friends, vpon them to day he frowned and tyranized moſt cruelly: ſo that you might haue ſeene the ſame man the ſame day (as it is reported of *Xerxes* his admirall) to be crowned and beheaded, to be graced and diſgraced. Inſomuch, that the wiſer ſort deemed *Andronicus* his praiſings, to be the beginning of a mans diſgrace; his bountie, his vndoing; and his kindneſſe, his death. The firſt that taſted of his tyrannie, was *Mary*, the daughter of *Emanuell* the emperour, who for the hatred ſhe bare vnto *Alexius* the late preſident, and the empreſſe her mother in law, had (as is aforeſaid) aboue all other, wiſhed for his comming: but was now by one *Pterigionites* (ſometime an Eunuch of her fathers, corrupted by *Andronicus*, hauing in his aſpiring mind purpoſed the vtter deſtruction of all *Emanuels* poſteritie) cunningly poyſoned; as was her husband *Cæſar*, who liued not long after her, poyſoned alſo (as was ſuppoſed) with the ſame cup that his wife was. Now amongſt others of the late emperors houſe, none had euer ſtood more in his light, than had the faire empreſſe *Xene*, the young emperours mother, whom now he ceaſed not moſt bitterly (though wrongfully) to accuſe, as an vtter enemie both vnto the emperour and the ſtate; making as if he would leaue all, and againe depart, if ſhe were not remooued from the emperour her ſonne: and by his cunning ſo incenſed the giddy headed vulgar people againſt her, that they came flocking vnto *Theodoſius* the good Patriarch, readie to teare him out of his clothes, if he conſented not vntō the remoouing of the empreſſe, as *Andronicus* had deſired. So a counſell being called of ſuch his fauorits and others, as were not like indifferently to heare her cauſe; but aſſuredly to condemne her; the guiltleſſe empreſſe after many things falſely laid to her charge, was accuſed of treaſon: as that ſhe ſhould by her letters haue ſolicited *Bela*, king of HUNGARIE, her brother in law, to inuade BRANIZOBA & BELLIGRADE, two ſtrong places belonging to the empire. Whereupon ſhe was condemned, and ſhamefully caſt

Andronicus tyrannizeth.

A miſerable ſtate of a commonweale.

Mary the daughter of Emanuell with her husband Cæſar, poyſoned by Andronicus.

Xene the empreſſe accuſed of treaſon, and condemned.

caſt into a moſt filthie priſon neere vnto the monaſterie of S. DIOMEDE. Amongſt other noblemen called vnto this wicked counſell, were *Leo Monaſteriotes*, *Demetrius*, *Tornicius*, and *Conſtantinus Petrenus*: who not yet altogether deuoted to *Andronicus*, being asked their opinions concerning the empreſſe, ſaid, They would be glad firſt to know, Whether that counſell againſt his mother, were called by the emperors conſent or not? With which ſpeech, *Andronicus* pearſed to the heart as with a ſword, in great rage ſtart vp and ſaid, Theſe are they which encouraged the wicked preſident to all his villanies, lay hands vpon them. Whereupon they of his guard in threatning manner ſhooke their weapons and ſwords at them, as if they would euen preſently haue ſlaine them: And the tumultuous common people, catching them by their cloaks as they came out, pulling them ſome one way, ſome another, were ſo fierce vpon them, as that they had much adoe to eſcape out of their hands with life. Now lay the faire empreſſe (but the other day one of the greateſt princes of the Eaſt, and honoured of all her ſubjects) in great miſerie and diſpaire, ſcorned euen of her baſe keepers, euerie houre expecting the deadly blow of the hangman. Yet was not the crueltie of *Andronicus* againſt her, ſo any thing aſſuaged, but greeuing that ſhe yet breathed, ſhortly after aſſembled againe the former counſell, the miniſters of his wrath, demaunding of them, What puniſhment was by law appointed for ſuch as betraied any towne or prouince of the empire? wherunto anſwere being giuen in writing, That it was by the law, death: he could no longer hold, but that he muſt in great choller breake out againſt the poore empreſſe, as if it had ben ſhe that had done it. And therupon the wicked counſellers crying out with one voice, that ſhe was to be taken out of the way, as they had before agreed: by & by without longer ſtay, a damned writing was ſubſcribed by the yoong emperor her ſon, as if it had been with the blood of his own mother, whereby ſhe was (I abhor to write it) moſt vnworthily condemned to die. The men appointed to ſee this moſt horrible and cruell execution done, were *Manuel*, *Andronicus* his eldeſt ſon, & *Georgius Auguſtus*, his neere kinſman; who both diſmaied at the very mentioning of the matter, not regarding the emperors cōmand, ſaid plainly, That they neuer before conſented vnto the death of the empreſſe, but had cleane hands of ſo hainous an offence, and therefore would now much leſſe ſee her innocent bodie diſmembred in their ſight. At which vnexpected anſwere *Andronicus* much troubled, with his fingers oftentimes pluckt himſelfe by the hoarie beard, and with burning eies caſting ſomtime vp his head, & ſomtime downe, ſighed at his owne moſt miſerable tyrannicall eſtate, fretting inwardly that they which were neereſt vnto him, whom he thought he might euen with a becke haue commanded to haue done any miſchiefe, abhorring his crueltie ſhould refuſe to doe the thing he ſo much deſired to haue done: yet repreſsing his anger for a while, within a few daies after he againe commanded her to be ſtrangled; which was accordingly done by *Conſtantinus Trypſychus*, and *Pterigionites* the vngracious eunuch; by whoſe helpe he had before poyſoned *Mary* the emperours daughter, with *Cæſar* her husband, as is before declared. Thus periſhed this great empreſſe, cruelly ſtrangled in priſon, by theſe two wicked men, the mercileſſe executioners of *Andronicus* his wrath. Her dead bodie lately adorned with all the graces of nature, euen vnto the admiration of the beholders, was without more adoe ſecretly raked vp in the ſand faſt by the ſea ſide: a poore ſepulchre for ſo great a perſon.

Dangerous to ſpeake the truth to a tyrant.

A wicked counſell.

The miſerable death of the empreſſe.

What might not *Andronicus* now do to others, that durſt thus cruelly to deale with the yoong emperours owne mother, and neereſt friends? yet was all couered vnder the pretence of the common good, and ſafetie of the ſtate and empire. And the more to ſhadow *Andronicus* his ſecret purpoſes, as not proceeding of any priuat or hidden malice, or aſpiring humour, from which he of all men would ſeeme moſt free; and the more to manifeſt his deuotion and loyaltie vnto the yoong emperour his couſin, he was the onely perſuader vnto the reſt of the nobilitie, to haue him ſolemnly crowned (which as yet by reaſon of his tender age he was not;) & at the time of his coronation, with his owne ſhoulders ſupported him vp, as he was (after the manner of that ſolemnitie) carried vnto the great church, and ſo backe againe; the Crocodils teares ſtill plenteouſly running downe his aged face, as if it had beene for exceeding joy: which many of the meaner ſort beholding, and deeming thereof the beſt, highly commended his kindneſſe, accounting the yoong emperour thrice happie, in ſo graue a gouernour, and faithfull a counſellour; who in loue and kind affection towards him, ſeemed not inferiour vnto his naturall father: ſo cunningly had he vnder the vaile of pietie, ſhadowed his moſt execrable treacherie; as that in the very plotting thereof, he was accounted moſt louing and kind. But hidden treaſon, be it neuer

ſo

A ſo well diſſembled, muſt at length ſhew it ſelfe. So *Andronicus* hauing got into his power both the emperour and the empire, and the chiefe friends of the late emperour *Emanuel* being taken out of the way or elſe driuen into exile, thought it now high time for himſelfe to aſpire vnto that high ſoueraigntie after which he had ſo many yeares longed. Wherfore calling together a Coun- *The ſlie preſtiſe of Andronicus in aſpiring to the empire.*
cell of his flatterers & fauourits, whom he had for ſuch purpoſe promoted vnto the higheſt places of ſtate (all or moſt part of the graue councellers and friends of the late emperour *Emanuel* being now diſplaced, or otherwiſe taken out of the way) he as a man onely carefull of the common good, declared vnto them the dangerous ſtate of the empire, by reaſon of a rebellion raiſed in BYTHINIA at NICE, by *Iſaack Angelus*, & *Theodorus Catacuzenus*; and another at PRUSA, by
B *Theodorus Angelus*; requiring their graue aduice for the ſuppreſsing therof: who not ignorant of their lords purpoſe (as thereof before ſufficiently inſtructed) anſwered with one conſent, That of ſuch great miſchiefes there would be no end, except he were joyned in fellowſhip of the empire together with *Alexius*, by his grauitie and deepe wiſdome to ſupply what wanted for the good gouernment of the ſtate in the yong emperor his couſin. At which ſpeech, the by-ſtanders (being in number many, and for the moſt part the followers of *Andronicus* his flatterers) gaue a great ſhout, & as if it had beene alreadie graunted, with one applauſe cried out, *Long liue Alexius and Andronicus the Greeke emperours*; and that with ſuch a vehemencie, as if they would therewith haue rent the verie heauens. The bruit thereof flying abroad into the citie, foorthwith you might haue ſeene euerie ſtreet and corner of the citie full of the vulgar people, with ſome alſo of better ſort, ſwarming together like bees, and ſounding the praiſes of *Andronicus* (who now was
C come out of his houſe into the court, with a world of people following him) and crying out, *Long liue the Emperours Alexius and Andronicus*: with which loud acclamation mixt with the heauie ſighings of many good men (for all were not mad of that frenzie) the yoong emperour awaked, and ſeeing the court full of people, and *Andronicus* by them ſaluted his fellow in the empire: knowing now no other remedie, thought it beſt to yeeld vnto the time, and ſo with the reſt flattering the old tyrant, welcomed him full ſore againſt his will, by the name of his Fellow and companion in the empire: which he now in diſſembling manner ſeeming vnwilling to take vpon him, and refuſing the place offred; was by the rout of his flattering fauourits enforced to his owne great contentment, to yeeld to their requeſt: ſome of them with both their hands car-
D rying him vp, vntill they had as it were againſt his will placed him in the imperiall ſeat, prepared for him faſt by the yoong emperour: others in the meane time, no leſſe buſied in pulling off his priuat attire, and putting vpon him the imperiall roabs.

The next day, when this participation of the empire ſhould be publiſhed, and they both proclaimed emperours, the name of *Andronicus* was ſet before the name of *Alexius*: whereof his fauourits (though ſome others interpreted it otherwiſe) gaue this reaſon, That it fitted not with the majeſtie of the empire, that the name of a boy ſhould be ſet before the name of ſo reuerend, graue, wiſe, and excellent a man as was *Andronicus* his companion in the empire. Shortly after, *Andronicus* being brought into the great temple to be crowned, then firſt began to ſhew vnto the people a cheerfull countenance, and ſetting aſide his ſterne looke, after his long deuotion done,
H filled the vaine peoples heads with many large promiſes of a more happie forme of gouern-
E ment than before. All which prooued nothing but meere diſsimulation and deepe deceit, that cheerfulneſſe of countenance and ſpeech ſeruing but for a while to couer his inward and couert moſt inhumane crueltie. And the more to deceiue the world, the ceremonies of his coronation paſt, at ſuch time as he ſhould for the conſummation and confirmation of all, receiue the ſacred and dreadfull myſterie, the pledge of our redemption, not without due reuerence to be named, much leſſe with impure hands touched: after he had receiued the bread and taken the cup in his hand, he with a moſt deuout countenance framed of purpoſe to deceiue, & his eies caſt vp to hea-
F uen, as if his ſoule had there alreadie beene (the faireſt maske of hypocriſie) ſwore by thoſe dread-full myſteries, and moſt deeply proteſted in the hearing of the people ſtanding by, that he had taken vpon him the fellowſhip of the empire, for no other end or purpoſe but to aſsiſt *Alexius* his couſin in the gouernment, and to ſtrengthen his power: whereas his ſecret meaning was nothing leſſe, as ſhortly after appeared. For after a few daies ſpent in faigned deuotions for the proſperous beginning of his empire, he foorthwith turned his mind vnto other his more ſecret but moſt wicked and execrable deſignes. And hauing aboue all things purpoſed the death of the yoong emperour, he called together them of the counſell, his owne creatures and corrupt mini-

ſters of his wickedneſſe, who had now oftentimes in their mouths that ſaying of the Poet: G

Eſt mala res multos dominarier: vnicus eſto,
Rex dominuſq; ———————

An euill thing it is to be ruled by many,
One king and one lord, if there be any.

and that the old age of an Eagle was better than the youth of a Larke. So by the generall conſent of that wicked aſſembly, vnworthie the name of a graue counſell, a decree was made, That H
Alexius ſhould as a man vnfit for the gouernment of the ſtate, be depriued of all imperiall dignitie, and commanded to liue a priuat life. Which diſloyall decree of the conſpirators was yet ſcarcely publiſhed, but that another more cruell, came out of the ſame forge, That he ſhould forthwith be put to death, as one vnwoorthie longer to liue. For the execution of which ſo horrible a ſentence, *Stephanus Hagiochriſtophorites* (one of the chiefe miniſters of *Andronicus* his villanies, and by him promoted euen vnto the higheſt degrees of the honours of the court) with *Conſtantinus Trypſicus*, and one *Theodorus Badibrenus*, captaine of the tormenters, were ſent out; who entring his chamber by night, without compaſsion of his tender age, or regard of his honour, or innocencie, cruelly ſtrangled him with a bow ſtring: which deteſtable murder ſo performed, *Andronicus* ſhortly after comming in, ſpurned the dead bodie with his foot, railing at his father, the I
late emperor *Emanuell*, as a forſworne and injurious man, & at his mother, as a common whore. The head was forthwith ſtrucke off from this miſerable carkaſſe (the mirrour of honours vnſtabilitie) and left for the monſtrous tyrant to feed his eyes vpon: the bodie wrapped vp in lead, was in a boat carried to ſea, by *Io. Camaterius*, and *Theodoſius Chumenus*, two of *Andronicus* his noble fauourits; who with great joy and glee, returned with the ſame boat to the court, as if they had done ſome notable exploit. But long continueth not the joy of the miſchieuous, vengeance ſtill following them at the heeles, as it did theſe two; who not long after, with the reſt that conſpired the innocent emperours death, all or moſt part of them came to ſhamefull or miſerable end. Thus periſhed *Alexius* the emperor, not yet full fifteen yeeres old: in the third yeare of his raigne, which time he liued more like a ſeruant, than an emperour, firſt vnder the command of his mother, and afterwards of the tyrant which brought him to his end. K

Alexius depriued of the empire

Alexius condemned to die.

Alexius the emperour cruelly ſtrangled.

An vnequall mariage.

Who joyeth now but old *Andronicus*, made young againe as ſhould ſeeme by his new gained honours: for immediatly after the murder committed, he married *Anne* the French kings daughter, (as ſome report) before betrothed to yong *Alexius*; a tender and moſt beautifull ladie, not yet full eleuen yeeres old, an vnfit match for threeſcore and tenne. And in ſome ſort as it were to purge himſelfe and his partakers of the ſhamefull murder by them committed, and to ſtop the mouths of the people, he by much flatterie and large promiſes, procured of the biſhops a generall abſolution for them all, from the oath of obedience which they had before giuen vnto the emperour *Emanuell* and *Alexius* his ſonne: which obtained, he for a while had the ſame biſhops in great honour, and ſhortly after in greater contempt, as men forgetfull of their duties and calling. L
After that, he gaue himſelfe wholly vnto the eſtabliſhing of his eſtate, neuer reckoning himſelfe thereof aſſured ſo long as he ſaw any of the nobilitie, or famous captaines, that fauoured *Emanuell* the late emperour or *Alexius* his ſonne, aliue: of whom ſome he ſecretly poyſoned, as *Marie* the emperour *Emanuels* daughter, with her husband *Cæſar*; ſome, for light occaſions he depriued of their ſight, as he did *Emanuell* and *Alexius*, the ſonnes of the great and noble captaine *Iohn Comnenus*; *Andronicus Lapardas*, whoſe good ſeruice he had oftentimes vſed; *Theodorus Angelus*; *Alexius Comnenus*, the emperour *Emanuell* his baſe ſonne: Some he hanged, as *Leo Syneſius*, *Manuell Lachanas*, with diuers others: Some he burnt, as *Mamalus*, one of the emperour *Alexius* his principall ſecretaries; all men of great honour and place. For colour whereof, he pretended himſelfe to be ſorrie for them, deepely proteſting, that they died by the ſeueritie of the law, M
not by his will, and by the juſt doome of the Iudges, whereunto he was himſelfe (as he ſaid) to giue place; and that with teares plentifully running downe his aged cheekes, as if he had ben the moſt ſorrowfull man aliue. O deepe diſsimulation, and Crocodiles teares, by nature ordained to expreſſe the heauineſſe of the heart, flowing from the eies as ſhoures of raine out of the clouds: in good men the moſt certaine ſignes of greateſt griefe, and ſureſt teſtimonies of inward torments;

Andronicus ſeeketh by tyrannie to eſtabliſh his eſtate.

but

A but in *Andronicus* you are not ſo, you are far of another nature, you proceed of joy, you promiſe not vnto the diſtreſſed pitie or compaſsion, but death & deſtruction! How many mens eies haue you put out? how many haue you drowned? how many haue you deuoured? Moſt of the nobilitie that fauoured the late emperour *Emanuel* & *Alexius* his ſon, thus taken out of the way by *Andronicus*, ſtrook ſuch a feare into the reſt, that for ſafegard of their liues, they betook themſelues to flight, ſome one way ſome another, neuer thinking themſelues in ſafetie ſo long as they were within the greedie tyrants reach; wherof ſhortly after enſued no ſmall troubles, to the ſhaking of the ſtate of the whole empire. *Iſaack Comnenus*, the emperour *Emanuels* nigh kinſman, tooke his refuge into CIPRVS, & kept that iſland to himſelfe. *Alexius Comnenus*, *Emanuels* brothers
B ſon, fled into SCICILIA, & there ſtirred vp *William* king of that iſland againſt *Andronicus*: who with a great army landing at DYRRACHIVM, tooke the city, & ſo from thẽce without reſiſtance paſsing through the heart of MACEDONIA, ſpoyling the countrey before him as he went, met his fleet at THESALONICA; which famous city he alſo tooke by force, & moſt miſerably ſpoiled it with all the countrey therabout, in ſuch ſort, as that he brought a great feare euen vpon the imperiall citie it ſelfe: vnto which ſo great euils *Andronicus* (entangled with domeſticall troubles, & not knowing whom to truſt) was not able to giue remedie, although for ſhew he had (to no purpoſe) ſent out certaine of his moſt truſty miniſters with ſuch forces as he could ſpare. For the maieſtie of his authoritie growing ſtill leſſe & leſſe, & the number of his enemies both at home and abroad daily encreaſing, & the fauor of the vnconſtant people (who now began to ſpeake hardly
C of him) declining: he vncertain which way to turne himſelfe, reſted wholy vpon tyrannie, proſcribing in his feare, not only the friends of ſuch as were fled, & whom he diſtruſted, but ſomtimes whole families together, yea & that for light occſions, ſomtime thoſe who were the beſt of his fauourits, whoſe ſeruice he had many times vſed in the execution of his crueltie. So that now no day paſſed, wherin he did not put to death, impriſon, or torture, one great man or other. Wherby it came to paſſe, that the imperiall citie was filled with ſorrow & heauineſſe, euery man hanging the head, and with ſilence couering his inward griefe, not without danger to haue been then vttered. Amongſt many others appointed to this ſlaughter, was one *Iſaack Angelus*, a man of great nobilitie, whom *Hagiochriſtophorites* (the chiefe miniſter of *Andronicus* his tyrannie, and for the ſame by him highly promoted) ſuſpecting, as one that bare no good will to the emperour,
D (cauſe enough of death) came to his houſe to apprehend him; & finding him at home, after ſome few hot words, commanded him to follow him. Whereat the noble man making ſome ſtay, and abhorring the verie ſight of the wretch, as vnto him ominous and fatall: *Hagiochriſtophorites* himſelfe began to lay hands on him, reuiling his followers, that they had not foorthwith drawn him out of his houſe by the haire of his head, vnto the priſon by him appointed. For they touched with the honour of the man, and mooued with compaſsion, forced him not, but ſtood ſtill as beholders. *Iſaack* ſeeing himſelfe thus beſet, and no way now left for him to eſcape, reſoluing rather there preſently to die than ſhortly after to be murdred in priſon, drew his ſword as the reſt were about to haue laid hands vpon him, and at the firſt blow cleft the wicked head of *Hagiochriſtophorites* downe to his ſhoulders: and ſo leauing him wallowing in his owne blood, and
E like a deſperat man laying about him amongſt the reſt, made himſelfe way through the middeſt of them. And ſo embrued with blood, with his bloodie ſword yet in his hand, running through the middeſt of the citie, told the people what he had done; and crying vnto them for helpe in defence of his innocencie, fled into the great temple, there to take the refuge of the ſanctuarie: where he had not long ſit, in the place where the guiltie flying thither for refuge, vſed to ſit, & confeſsing their offence, craue pardon of ſuch as go in and out; but that the temple was filled with the multitude of people flocking thither out of all parts of the citie, ſome to ſee the nobleman, ſome to behold what ſhould become of him: for all men thought that he would before the going downe of the ſunne (notwithſtanding the reuerence of the place) be drawne thence by *Andronicus*, & put to ſome ſhamefull death. Thither came alſo *Iohn Ducas*, *Iſaacks* vncle, and his ſonne *Iſaack* to in-
F creaſe the tumult; not for that they were any thing guiltie of the death of *Hagiochriſtophorites*, but for that they had before become ſureties vnto the ſuſpitious tyrant, for their kinſman *Iſaack*, & he likewiſe for them; by whoſe treſpas they well knew themſelues now brought into no leſſe danger than if they had been abettors therunto. And beſide them alſo, many other there were, which ſtanding in doubt of their owne eſtate, & fearing the like might happen to themſelues, prickt forward with hard ſpeeches the common people flocking thither, inſtantly requeſting them to ſtay

Exceeding crueltie.

Iſaack Angelus taketh ſanctuary

there,and to ſtand by them now at their need,being ſo injuriouſly wronged,whoſe pitifull com- G
plaints moued right many to take part with them. At which time alſo,no man yet comming from
the emperor(being as then out of the citie) to repreſſe the ſedition,nor any of the nobilitie oppo-
ſing themſelues, no friend of *Andronicus* appearing, none of his bloodie miniſters or officers
ſhewing themſelues,nor any that did ſo much as ſpeake a good word in his behalfe, or in diſlike
of the tumult,the boldneſſe of the ſeditious people increaſed, euerie man in ſo great libertie, ſay-
ing what he liſt, and after their rude manner one encouraging another. So ſpent *Iſaack* that
long night,not thinking (God wot) of an empire, but ſtill expecting the deadly ſtroake of *An-*
dronicus. Yet had he with great entreating,ſo preuailed, that diuers of the aſſembly ſhutting the
church dores, and bringing lights into the church, ſtaied there with him all night, and by their H
example cauſed ſome others to ſtay alſo. The next morning by the breake of the day were all the
citizens flockt againe vnto the temple,curſing the tyrant to the deuill,as the common enemie of
mankind,wiſhing vnto him a ſhamefull death, and the honour of the empire vnto *Iſaack*. At that
time by fortune,or rather God ſo appointing it, *Andronicus* was out of the citie at his pallace of
MELVDINVM, on the Eaſt ſide of PROPONTIS, where he was by nine a clocke at night cer-
tified of the death of *Hagiochriſtophorites*, and of the tumult of the people: yet that night ſtirred
he not, either did any thing more, but by ſhort letters aduiſed the people to pacifie themſelues,
Andronicus in vaine ſeeketh to appeaſe the tumultuous people. and not by fooliſh rebellion to caſt themſelues into farther danger. In the morning, *Andronicus*
his fauourits began to ſhew themſelues,and to do what they might to haue appeaſed the tumul- I
tuous multitude; yea and preſently after came *Andronicus* himſelfe, and landed with his imperi-
all gally at the great pallace in the citie. But with the inraged people,naught preuailed either the
perſuaſions of the one,or report of the preſence of the other: for they all as vpon a ſignall giuen,
and as men inſpired with one ſpirit, or ſtirred vp with the ſame furie, flocked together into the
temple of S. SOPHIA, one encouraging another,and ſcoffing at ſuch as ſtood by as idle lookers
on,without weapons in their hands, reuiling them, and calling them rotten lyms that had no
feeling of the common harme. After that they broke open the priſons,and ſet at libertie the pri-
ſoners,as fitteſt inſtruments for the increaſing of the tumult, who were not all notable offenders
of the dregs of the people, but many of them borne of good houſes,and for ſome light fault,or
inconſiderat word(whereof euery man was in thoſe times bound to giue an account) or for ſome
friends offence againſt *Andronicus*, there laid faſt: theſe of all others moſt animated the people, K
in ſuch ſort,as that they which before for feare of the danger,did but ſoftly murmure vnto them-
ſelues againſt *Andronicus*, did now openly joyne themſelues with the reſt of the baſe ſeditious.
Then might you haue ſeene ſome with their ſwords and targuets, ſome alſo in their armour,but
the greateſt part armed but with clubs and ſtaues and other ſuch like rude weapons, armes of
furie,haſtely taken vp in their ſhops as by chance they came firſt to hand, running forth in euery
Iſaack Angelus by the people in a tumult ſaluted emperour. place. By this aſſembly of the moſt furious and promiſcuous people, was *Iſaack* hoyſed vp, and
with a generall applauſe ſaluted emperour. At which time one of the ſextons of the church,with
a ladder,tooke downe *Conſtantine* the Great his crowne of gold (which for a monument hung
ouer the holy altar) and ſet it vpon *Iſaack* his head: Which he at the firſt ſeemed vnwilling to
weare,not for that he was not deſirous ynough of the empire, but for that he feared the extream L
danger of the matter, and thought thoſe things that were then done, to be but as it were a ſicke
mans dreame,like ynough ſtraight way to vaniſh; beſide that, he feared in ſo doing, the more to
exaſperat *Andronicus*: which his vncle *Iohn Ducas* (of whom we haue before ſpoken, ſtanding
by him) perceiuing, plucking off his owne cap, and ſhewing his old bald head, requeſted the
people, that if his nephew did refuſe it,they would ſet it vpon his. Whereunto the people with
a great outerie anſwered,that they would no more yeeld their obedience vnto an old bald man,
as hauing receiued many harmes from the hoarie haires of *Andronicus*; and therefore for his
ſake,hated euery old man,more fit for *Charons* boat and his coffin,than for the empire,and eſpe-
cially if he had a forked beard or bald head,as had *Andronicus* and this *Ducas*. Thus was *Iſaack*
by the tumultuous multitude inueſted in the empire. And ſo royally mounted vpon one of the M
emperours horſes,richly furniſhed with a ſaddle and trappings of gold,which they had by chance
gotten,was by them brought from the temple vnto the court; *Baſilius Camaterus* the Patriarch
waiting vpon him, whom the headſtrong people had enforced againſt his will,to confirme with
his authoritie what was by them done for the eſtabliſhing of *Iſaack* in the empire. *Andronicus*
at his comming to the great pallace,perceiuing firſt by the confuſed crie of the tumultuous mul-

titude,

A titude, and afterward by that which he ſaw with his eyes, how the world went; calling vpon his old friends and flattering fauourits, thought firſt by their helpe to haue repreſſed the furie of the rebellious: who as friends of his better fortune, and not of himſelfe, were now for the moſt part ſhrunke from him; and thoſe which were left, ſo faintly comming on, as if in his quarrell they had had no mind to ſpend their liues: with which heartleſſe companie, *Andronicus* fearing to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the furie of the multitude, with his bow and arrowes in his hand, got him vp into the higheſt tower of the pallace (called CENTENARIA) and from thence beſtowed certaine ſhot among the people. But ſeeing that to bee to no purpoſe, and better perſuaded to doe more with them with faire words, than ſuch vaine force; he from the top
B of the tower cried aloud vnto them, That if they would hold themſelues contented, and depart, he would by their conſent reſigne the empire vnto his ſonne *Manuell*: whereat the people more inraged, ſpared not to poure foorth moſt reprochfull words in contempt both of himſelfe and his ſonne. And ſo furiouſly brake into the court, by one of the gates called CAREA: which *Andronicus* beholding, and now out of all hope, caſting from him all his habillements of honour, and diſguiſing himſelfe, fled againe vnto his gallie, accompanied onely with *Anna* his wife, and *Maraptica* his minion, and ſo returned to MELVDIVM, his pallace from whence hee came. *Iſaack* but yeſterday in the bottome of deſpaire, and ſhaddowed as it were with the hand of death, by the ſtrange change of fortune to day mounted vnto the higheſt type of worldly honour, entring the pallace, was there againe with the greateſt applauſe of the peo-
C ple that might bee, ſaluted emperour. From whence hee foorthwith ſent out certaine companies of his moſt aſſured friends and followers, to apprehend *Andronicus*: who now as a man at once forſaken both of his friends, and of his better fortune, ſecretly fled with his wife and his paragon before remembred, to CHELE, attended vpon onely with a few of his truſtie ſeruants which had of long time ſerued him before hee was emperour. There taking ſhip, with purpoſe to haue fled vnto the *Tauroſcythes* (as not thinking himſelfe ſafe in any prouince of the empire) hee was twice or thrice by foule weather put backe againe, the wrought ſea abhorring (as it ſeemed) to carrie him that had ſo polluted it with the dead bodies of the innocent by him ſlaine; and ſtill threatening (as it were) to deuour him. Thus ſtrangely ſtayed by foule weather, or more truly to ſay, by the reuenging hand of the higheſt: hee was found
D by ſuch as were ſent out to ſeeke after him; and being by them apprehended, was with two great yron chaines faſt locked about his proud necke, and heauie giues vpon his legs, caſt into the caſtle of ANEMA: and in that miſerable habit ſhortly after preſented to the emperour *Iſaack*, yet buſied in appeaſing and reforming of the diſordered citie: where by the way as hee went, he was by the people moſt ſhamefully reuiled, and injuriouſly vſed; ſome plucking him by the beard, ſome by the haire of his head, ſome other in the meane time playing with his noſe, and bobbing him in the face, with a thouſand other deſpights done vnto him; eſpecially by ſuch women, as whoſe husbands he had before murthered or depriued of their ſight. Afterward being committed to the hatefull furie of the people, he had his right hand cut off; and was againe committed to the ſame caſtle, without meat, drinke, or other comfort: where after he had laine a
E few dayes, hauing one of his eyes put out, hee was ſet vpon a foule leane cammell, with his face toward the taile thereof, and ſo as it were in triumph led through the market place, his bald head all bare, as if it had beene a dead mans ſcull taken out of a charnell houſe, in a ſhort old coat; ſo miſerable a ſpectacle, as might haue expreſſed a fountaine of teares out of the eyes of a right hard hearted man. But the bedlem and moſt inſolent cittizens, eſpecially they of the baſer ſort, as cookes, coblers, curriours, and ſuch like, flocking about him like bees (without regard that he had but the other day worne vpon his head the imperiall crowne, then honoured by them as a god, and extolled vnto the heauens; that they had not long before ſolemnely ſworne vnto him obedience and loyaltie) ran now as men out of their wits, omitting no kind of villanie they could deuiſe to doe vnto him: Some thruſt nailes into his head, ſome caſt durt in
F his face, ſome the dung both of men and beaſts, ſome prickt him in the ſides with ſpits, ſome caſt ſtones at him as at a mad dog, and otherſome opprobrious and deſpightfull words, no leſſe grieuous vnto him than the reſt. Amongſt others, an impudent drab comming out of the kitchin, caſt a pot full of ſcalding water in his face. And in briefe, their outrage ſo exceeded, as if they had ſtriuen among themſelues who ſhould do him the greateſt villanie. Hauing thus ſhamefully as in a ridiculous triumph, brought him into the theatre, they there betwixt two pillars hanged him vp by

Andronicus forſaken of his flattering fauourits.

A ſtrange chãge.

Andronicus the emperour taken and brought in bonds to Angelus.

Andronicus the emperor hanged vp by the heeles.

the heeles, where hauing ſuffred all theſe deſpightfull indignities, with many moe, not without G
offence to be named, he with an inuincible courage yet ſtill held his patience, not giuing one euill
word: but ſometimes ſaying, *Lord haue mercie vpon me*: and otherwhiles, *Why doe you breake a bruſed reed?* yet the furious people nothing mooued with the calamitie of ſo great a man, of all
others now the moſt miſerable, ſtripped him of his bad clothes as he hung, and cut off his pri-
uities. One among the reſt, to make an end of him, thruſt his ſword in at his throat vp to the
twiſt as he hung: other two with their long ſwords, prooued their ſtrength, who could ſtrike far-
theſt into his buttockes. Thus miſerably periſhed this famous emperour, after he had raigned
two yeeres. That which was left of his bodie (for many had carried away ſome peeces thereof)
being taken down from the place where he hung, was caſt into a baſe vault in the theatre, where H
it for a ſpace lay, as the lothſome carkaſſe of ſome wild beaſt, and the miſerable ſpectacle of mans
Nicetas Choniates Annal. lib. 1. fol. 161. col. 4. fragillitie: for *Iſaack* the emperour would not ſuffer it to be buried. Howbeit afterwards, the fu-
rie of the people ouerpaſſed, it was by ſome more charitable men remooued thence, and laid in
a low vault neere vnto the monaſterie of the *Ephori*: which as *Nicetas Choniates* (author of this
hiſtorie, ſpeaking of the time wherin he liued) ſayth, is yet there vndiſſolued to be ſeene. He was
a man moſt honourably deſcended, of ſtature tall, and well proportioned: in his countenance
ſat a certaine reuerend majeſtie, adorned with ſuch notable vertues, as might haue made him
worthely to haue been compared vnto the greateſt emperors of his ſtock and familie, had he not
obſcured the ſame with too much ambition and crueltie, whereof the one cauſed him to lead the
greateſt part of his life in priſon or exile, the other brought him vnto ſuch a moſt ſhamefull end. I

Iſaack Angelus his ſucceſſour, by the fauour of the people thus exalted vnto the empire, at
the firſt gouerned the ſame with great lenitie and moderation, as if he had altogether abhorred
from the effuſion of his ſubjects blood. But afterwards not a little troubled, both with forraine
enemies, and domeſticall rebellion, beſieged in the imperiall citie, by ſuch of the nobilitie as
thought themſelues no leſſe worthie of the empire than himſelfe: for repreſsing of which in-
Iſaack Angelus the emperour tyrannizeth. ſolencies, and the aſſuring of his ſtate, he became ſo ſeuere in chaſtiſing the offenders, and ſuch
others as he had in diſtruſt, that he was counted of moſt men not inferiour in crueltie to *An-
dronicus* his predeceſſor; few daies paſsing without the condemnation or execution of one great
man or other, beſides them of the meaner ſort, of whom he ſeemed to make no great recko-
ning: whereby he in few yeeres loſt the loue and fauour of his ſubjects, who before had him K
Iſaack the emperour thrust frō the empire, and deprined of his ſight, by his brother Alexius. in great honour, and became vnto them no leſſe odious than was before *Andronicus*. Vpon
which generall diſlike of the people, his ingratefull younger brother *Alexius* (by him before
for a great ſumme of money redeemed from the Turks) tooke occaſion to riſe vp againſt him,
and by the fauour of the ſouldiors, depriued him together both of the empire and his ſight:
and hauing put out his eyes, thruſt him into a Monaſterie, there to liue as it were out of the
world, as a man condemned to perpetuall darkneſſe, after he had raigned nine yeeres and eight
moneths, being not yet full fortie yeares old: Whether it were the reuenging hand of God for
the hard meaſure vſed to *Andronicus*, or not, I leaue it to the wiſer to conſider; who in his
deepe prouidence, wherewith hee beſt gouerneth all things, would haue a moderation vſed in
puniſhment of our moſt capitall enemies, as hauing alwaies before our eyes the ſlipperie ſtate L
of power and authoritie: & that as all worldly things are ſubject to change, ſo by the juſt judge-
ment of God it oftētimes falleth out, that what hurt we do vnto others, the ſame we may receiue
againe from others. In theſe ſo great and ſtrange mutations of the Conſtantinopolitane empire,
(which I haue ſomwhat more at large proſecuted, not ſo much for the noueltie of the matter, al-
though it were right ſtrange, as for that out of the loſſes and ruine thereof, the greatneſſe of the
Cizaſthlan the Turke Sultan encroacheth vpon the Greek empire in the leſſer Aſia. Turkes for the moſt part grew) *Clizaſthlan* Sultan of ICONIVM, after the death of the em-
perour *Emanuell*, found meanes to take from the empire diuers ſtrong townes and caſtles in the
leſſer ASIA, together with a great part of the countrey of PHRIGIA: *Alexius Andronicus*,
and *Iſaack* the ſucceeding emperours, troubled with dangers neerer home, hauing nothing to
oppoſe againſt him, but faire intreatie, and rich preſents; ſo redeeming for a while an vnſure M
Cizaſthlan deuideth his kingdome among ſt his foure ſonnes. peace, with no leſſe charge, in ſhort time to be renewed againe. This great victorious Sul-
tan (for ſo he may of right be called) holding in his ſubjection a great part of the leſſer ASIA,
now a man of great yeeres, dying, left behind him foure ſonnes, *Maſut*, *Coppatine*, *Reucra-
tine*, and *Catchoſroes*, all men growne. Amongſt whom he deuided his kingdome. Vnto *Maſut*
he bequeathed AMASIA, ANCYRA, DORYLEVM, with diuers other pleaſant cities of PONTVS:

vnto

A vnto *Coppatine* he aſsigned MELYTENE, CESAREA, and the colonie now called TAXARA: vnto *Reucratine* he allotted AMINSVM, DOCEA, with ſome other cities vpon the ſea coaſt: but vnto *Caichoſroes*, he left ICONIVM his regall ſeat, and with it LYCAONIA, PAMPHILIA, and all the countries thereabouts as far as COTTIANYVM. Of theſe foure, *Coppatine* long liued not after his father, for whoſe inheritance *Reucratine* prince of DOCEA, and *Maſut* prince of ANCYRA (his two brethren) fell at variance, and ſo at laſt into open war. But *Maſut* finding himſelfe too weake for his warlike brother *Reucratine*, yeelded vnto him the territories, which he ſaw he muſt needs forgo; and glad now to keepe his owne, ſo made peace with him. *Reucratine* being a man of an ambitious and haughtie ſpirit, with his forces thus doubled,
B denounced war vnto his brother *Caichoſroes*; who doubting his owne ſtrength, fled vnto the emperour *Alexius Angelus* for aid, as had his father done before him vnto the emperour *Manuel*, although not with like good fortune. For the emperour but of late hauing obtained the empire by the depoſing of his brother, and altogether giuen to pleaſure, reputing alſo thoſe domeſticall warres of the Turkes, ſome part of his owne ſafetie; ſent him home without comfort, as one ſtrong enough of himſelfe to defend his owne quarrell againſt his brother.

The ſonnes of Cliza ſilan at variance among themſelues.

Howbeit he was ſcarcely come to ICONIUM, but that he was by *Rucratine* expulſed thence, and driuen to flie into ARMENIA, where he was by *Lebune* king of that country, a Turke alſo, honourably receiued and courteouſly vſed, but yet denied of the aid he requeſted: the king pretending that he was alreadie in league with *Reucratine*, and therefore could not; or as ſome
C thought, fearing the dangerouſneſſe of the matter, would not intermeddle therein. Wherewith the poore Sultan vtterly diſcouraged, returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE, and there in poore eſtate, as a man forlorne, paſſed out the reſt of his daies.

Now hauing thus paſſed through the Turkiſh affaires in the leſſer ASIA, together with the troubled eſtate of the Conſtantinopolitan empire, no ſmall cauſe of the Turks greatneſſe; the courſe of time calleth vs backe againe before wee paſſe any further, to remember their proceedings alſo at the ſame time, and ſhortly after, in SIRIA, IVDEA, ÆGYPT, and thoſe more Southerly countries, where theſe reſtleſſe people ceaſed not by all meanes to enlarge their empire, vntill they had brought all thoſe great kingdomes vnder their obeiſance.

After the death of *Baldwin* king of HIERUSALEM, of whom we haue before ſpoken, *Al-*
D *mericus* his yoonger brother earle of IOPPA and ASCALON, being then about ſeuen and twentie yeeres old, was by the better good liking of the cleargie and people, than of the nobilitie, elected king: not for that there wanted in him any good parts woorthie of a kingdome, but for that ſome of them enuied vnto him ſo great an honour. Neuertheleſſe he was (as we ſaid) by the generall conſent of the people elected, proclaimed, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch with all ſolemnitie crowned the ſeuenteenth day of Februarie, in the yeare of Grace 1163. To begin whoſe troubled raigne, the Ægyptians firſt of all denied to pay vnto him their woonted tribute. In reuenge whereof, he in perſon himſelfe with a puiſſant armie entred into ÆGYPT; and meeting with *Dargan* the Sultan, ouerthrew him in plaine battell, and put him to flight: who to ſtay the further purſuit and paſſage of the Chriſtians, cut the bankes of the riuer NILUS, and ſo
E drowned the countrey, that the king was glad to content himſelfe with the victorie he had alreadie gotten, and ſo to returne to HIERUSALEM.

Almericus firſt king of Hieruſalem.

The next yeere, *Almericus* was againe drawn downe with his power into ÆGYPT, by *Dargan* the Sultan, to aid him againſt *Saracon*: whom *Noradin* the Turke, king of DAMASCO, had ſent as generall with an armie, to reſtore *Sanar* the Sultan before expulſed, and to depoſe *Dargan*. In which expedition *Dargan* being ſlaine, and *Saracon* hauing woon certaine townes, kept them to himſelfe: *Sanar* doubtfull of his good meaning, joyned his forces with *Almericus*, and by his helpe expulſed *Saracon* out of ÆGYPT. But whileſt *Almericus* was thus buſied in ÆGYPT, *Noradin* the Turke making an inroad into the frontiers of the Chriſtians neere vnto TRIPO-
F LIS, was by *Gilbert Lacy*, maſter of the Templars in thoſe quarters, and the other Chriſtians, when he leaſt feared, ſo ſuddenly ſet vpon, that he had much adoe by flight to ſaue himſelfe, halfe naked for haſt, moſt of his followers being at the ſame time ſlaine. In reuenge of which diſgrace, he not long after with a greater power came and beſieged ARETHUSA: For reliefe whereof, *Bohemund* prince of ANTIOCH, *Raymund* the yoonger, earle of TRIPOLIS, *Calaman* gouernour of CILICIA, and *Toros* prince of ARMENIA came with their power. Of whoſe comming the Turke hearing, raiſed his ſiege and departed. After whom theſe Chriſtian princes eagerly

Noradin the Turke diſcomfited by the Chriſtians.

gerly following, were by the Turks ſhut vp in certaine deepe and rotten fennes (whereinto they had vnaduiſedly too far entred) and there with a great ſlaughter ouerthrown. In which conflict, all the chiefe commanders of the armie were taken, except the prince of ARMENIA, who foreG caſting the danger, had retired, after he had in vaine diſſuaded the reſt from the further purſuit of the flying enemie. The prince of ANTIOCH there taken, was about a yeare after for a great ſumme of money redeemed; but the countie of TRIPOLIS was after eight yeares ſtrait captiuitie hardly deliuered. *Noradin* after this victorie returning againe to the ſiege of ARETHUSA, in few daies woon the towne: and encouraged with ſo good ſucceſſe, and the abſence of the king, laid ſiege to the citie of PANEADE, which was alſo deliuered vnto him, vpon condition H that the citizens might at their pleaſure in ſafetie depart.

At the ſame time *Saracon* generall of *Noradin* his forces, tooke from the Chriſtians two caſtels; the one in the countrey of SIDON, the other beyond IORDAN vpon the borders of ARABIA, both in the cuſtodie of the Templars: twelue of whom the king at his returne hanged vp for treaſon.

Shortly after *Saracon*, king *Noradin* his great man of war, with all the power of the Turkes, came downe againe into ÆGYPT, with purpoſe to haue fully ſubdued all that notable kingdome vnto his lord and maſter. Of whoſe power, *Sanar* the Sultan ſtanding in dread, praied aid of *Almericus*, promiſing vnto him beſide his yearely tribute, the ſumme of fortie thouſand ducats for his paines. The matter fully agreed vpon, and all things now in readineſſe; *Almericus* I ſet forward with his armie, and encountring with *Saracon* and his Turks at the riuer NILVS, ouerthrew him in a great battell: yet not without ſome loſſe, for the Turks in their flight lighting vpon the kings carriages with the whole baggage of the armie, and ouerrunning them that had the charge thereof, caried away with them a moſt rich prey: whereby it came to paſſe, that as the Chriſtians had the victorie, ſo the Turkes enjoyed the ſpoile.

Saracon after this ouerthrow hauing againe gathered together his diſperſed ſouldiers, tooke his way to ALEXANDRIA, where he was by the citizens receiued: after whom the king following, gaue no attempt vnto the citie, for that he knew to be but vaine, but encamped cloſe by the ſide of the riuer NILVS, from whence the citie was chiefly to be victualed. Whoſe purpoſe *Saracon* perceiuing, and betime foreſeeing the diſtreſſe of his whole armie for want of victuals, if he ſhould there long ſtay: leauing there his ſonne *Saladin* (or as ſome call him his nephew) with K a thouſand horſemen for the keeping of the citie, ſecretly by night departed thence himſelfe with the reſt of his armie: and paſſing through the deſerts, did great harme in the vpper parts of ÆGYPT. Of whoſe departure *Almericus* vnderſtanding, was about to haue followed him, but that he was otherwiſe perſuaded by the Ægyptian captaines to continue his former purpoſe for the gaining of the citie. Wherefore now after the departure of *Saracon*, he began to approch the wals, and with diuers engines of war to diſturbe the defendants: wherwith the citizens (better acquainted with the trade of marchandize, than the feats of war) diſcouraged, began now to conſult among themſelues for the turning out of thoſe troubleſome gueſts whom they had ſo lately receiued: which *Saladin* perceiuing, certified *Saracon* his vncle thereof, requeſting his ſpeedie reliefe in that his ſo dangerous eſtate, and with much intreatie perſuaded the citizens for a while to L hold it out, vntill he might from him receiue anſwere: of all which the Chriſtians and Ægyptians without, hauing intelligence, laid ſo much the harder vnto the citie. Gladly would *Saracon* haue done what hee was by his nephew requeſted: but perceiuing it to be a matter of no leſſe danger than difficultie, he by the means of *Hugh* countie of CESAREA, & one *Arnolphus* another noble Chriſtian, both then priſoners with him, concluded a peace with the king: whereupon the citie was foorthwith yeelded vp, and *Saladin* with his Turkes ſuffred in ſafetie to depart. At which time alſo all priſoners were on both ſides freely and without ranſom ſet at libertie. Thus *Saracon* for this time diſappointed of his purpoſe for the conqueſt of ÆGYPT, returned backe againe to DAMASCO: and *Almericus* with great glorie to ASCALON, where he arriued with his armie the 21 of September in the yeare 1167. M

Saladin left in Alexandria by Saracon, craueth aid.

Alexandria yeelded to Almericus.

1167

In this late expedition, king *Almericus* on the one ſide enflamed with the wealth of ÆGYPT, and on the other, encouraged with the weakneſſe of that effeminat people, reſting for the moſt part vpon forreigne ſtrength; had purpoſed himſelfe to inuade the kingdome, & ſo if poſsibly he might to joyne it to his owne. For colour whereof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrarie to his faith before giuen, had ſecretly ſought to joyne in league and amitie with *Noradin* the Turke,

king

A king of DAMASCO. The chiefe ſtirrer vp of the king vnto this war, was one *Gerbert* maſter of the Templars; who in reſpect of the aid by them of his order to be giuen, had obtained of the king, after the victorie gained, to haue the citie of PELVSIVM with all the rich countrey about the ſame, giuen vnto him and his brethren the knights of the order for euer: Vpon which hope, he contrarie to the mind of many of the knights, for the furtherance of that war, gaged his whole wealth and credit, with all the treaſure of his houſe. So all things now in readineſſe, for ſo great an enterpriſe, *Almericus* with his armie ſet forward in October, and hauing in ten daies paſſed the ſandie deſert, came to PELVSIVM; which citie he after three daies ſiege tooke by force, and put to ſword all them that were therein, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition: which citie he according to his promiſe before made, gaue vnto the Templars. After that, he be-
B gan alſo to beſiege CAIRE, at which time his fleet ſacked the citie of TAPIVM. In the meane time, *Sanar* the Ægyptian Sultan, conſidering the danger he was in, to ſatisfie *Almericus* his greedie deſire, offred to pay him twentie hundred thouſand duckats to withdraw his forces: and foorthwith ſent him one hundred thouſand, for the ranſom of his ſonne and his nephew taken priſoners at PELVSIVM: and for the reſt to be paid within few daies after, he gaue two of his nephews hoſtages. Neuertheleſſe the payment he deferred from day to day, of purpoſe in the meane time to raiſe the whole power of ÆGYPT, as alſo to receiue aid from the Turks by *Saracon*, which he dayly expected: of whoſe ſpeedie comming *Almericus* vnderſtanding, left part of his armie at PELVSIVM, & with the reſt went to haue met him: but miſsing him by the way,
C *Saracon* with his Turks came in ſafetie to CAIRE vnto the Sultan as he had deſired. Wherefore *Almericus* diſmaid with the multitude of two ſo great armies now joyned together, retired backe againe to PELVSIVM, and there taking with him the garriſon before left, returned home to HIERUSALEM: hauing in that expedition (begun with the breach of faith) laid the foundation of the ruine of his kingdome, as in few yeeres after it by proofe appeared, by the euill neighbourhood of the Turks, by that meanes brought downe into ÆGYPT.

Pelusium taken by Almericus.

Saracon the Turke after the departure of *Almericus*, eaſily perceiuing a moſt fit time and opportunitie to be offred for him now to obtaine that, which he had in vaine before both ſought and fought for; encamped with his armie neere vnto CAIRE, and notably counterfeited himſelfe of all others the moſt deuoted friend of the Sultans: ſo that betwixt them two paſſed all the
D kind tokens of loue and friendſhip, that could poſsibly be deuiſed: the Sultan oftentimes feaſting the Turke; and in kindneſſe likewiſe being feaſted of him: But at length going as his manner was vnto the campe to viſit him, he was by the Turks ſlaine. So *Saracon* hauing brought to paſſe what he deſired, and entring the citie with his armie, was by the great Caliph (from whom the Ægyptian Sultans, as from their ſuperiours, the true ſucceſſours of their great prophet *Mahomet* tooke their authoritie) appointed Sultan, the firſt of the Turks that euer enjoyed the ſame: which royall dignitie he had not poſſeſſed fully a yeere, but that he was taken away by death. In whoſe ſteed *Saladine* his brothers ſonne, by and by ſtept vp: who altogether a martiall man, not regarding the reuerend majeſtie of the Caliph (as had his vncle *Saracon*, & all the Ægyptian Sultans before him) with his horſemans maſe ſtrucke out his braines; and not ſo contented, vtterly
E rooted out all his poſteritie, the better to aſſure himſelfe and his ſucceſſours the Turks in the poſſeſsion of his new gotten kingdome: and after that diuided the great treaſures of the Ægyptians among his Turkes, to encourage them the more to follow him in his warres againſt the Chriſtians.

The Sultan of Aegypt vnder the colour of friendſhip ſlaine by Saracon.

This glorious kingdome ſo much ſpoken of in holy Scripture, and renowmed of the learned hiſtoriographers of all ages, after the ruine of the Romane empire, was ſomtime part of the Conſtantinopolitane empire, and a notable member of the Chriſtian common weale; vntill that about the yeere of our Lord 704, the Aegyptians wearie of the pride & couetouſnes of the Græcians, reuolted from them vnto the Saraſins, whoſe ſuperſtition they alſo receiued: and ſo vnder the gouernment of the Saraſin Caliphs, the ſucceſſors of the falſe prophet *Mahomet* liued about 464
F yeares, vntill that now being inuaded by *Almericus*, they praid aid of *Noradin* the Turke, Sultan of DAMASCO: who vnto their reliefe ſending *Saracon* with an armie, repulſed indeed the Chriſtians, but oppreſsing their libertie, tooke vnto himſelfe the kingdome, which he left vnto his nephew *Saladine*, in whoſe poſteritie it remained vntill it was from them againe taken by the Circaſsian ſlaues the Mamalukes: vnder whoſe ſeruile gouernment it was holden of long time, vntill that by the great emperor of the Turkes *Selymus* the firſt, it was againe conquered, and the Mamalukes

How the kingdome of Aegypt firſt fell into the hands of the Saraſins, with the notable alterations thereof.

gerly following, were by the Turks ſhut vp in certaine deepe and rotten fennes (whereinto they had vnaduiſedly too far entred) and there with a great ſlaughter ouerthrown. In which conflict, all the chiefe commanders of the armie were taken, except the prince of ARMENIA, who foreG caſting the danger, had retired, after he had in vaine diſſuaded the reſt from the further purſuit of the flying enemie. The prince of ANTIOCH there taken, was about a yeare after for a great ſumme of money redeemed; but the countie of TRIPOLIS was after eight yeares ſtrait captiuitie hardly deliuered. *Noradin* after this victorie returning againe to the ſiege of ARETHUSA, in few daies woon the towne: and encouraged with ſo good ſucceſſe, and the abſence of the king, laid ſiege to the citie of PANEADE, which was alſo deliuered vnto him, vpon condition that the citizens might at their pleaſure in ſafetie depart. H

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In this late expedition, king *Almericus* on the one ſide enflamed with the wealth of ÆGYPT, and on the other, encouraged with the weakneſſe of that effeminat people, reſting for the moſt part vpon forreigne ſtrength; had purpoſed himſelfe to inuade the kingdome, & ſo if poſsibly he might to joyne it to his owne. For colour whereof, it was pretended that the Sultan contrarie to his faith before giuen, had ſecretly ſought to joyne in league and amitie with *Noradin* the Turke,

king

A king of DAMASCO. The chiefe ſtirrer vp of the king vnto this war, was one *Gerbert* maſter of the Templars; who in reſpect of the aid by them of his order to be giuen, had obtained of the king, after the victorie gained, to haue the citie of PELVSIVM with all the rich countrey about the ſame, giuen vnto him and his brethren the knights of the order for euer: Vpon which hope, he contrarie to the mind of many of the knights, for the furtherance of that war, gaged his whole wealth and credit, with all the treaſure of his houſe. So all things now in readineſſe, for ſo great an enterpriſe, *Almericus* with his armie ſet forward in October, and hauing in ten daies paſſed the ſandie deſert, came to PELVSIVM; which citie he after three daies ſiege tooke by force, and put to ſword all them that were therein, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition: which citie he according to his promiſe before made, gaue vnto the Templars. After that, he be-
B gan alſo to beſiege CAIRE, at which time his fleet ſacked the citie of TAPIVM. In the meane time, *Sanar* the Ægyptian Sultan, conſidering the danger he was in, to ſatisfie *Almericus* his greedie deſire, offred to pay him twentie hundred thouſand duckats to withdraw his forces: and foorthwith ſent him one hundred thouſand, for the ranſom of his ſonne and his nephew taken priſoners at PELVSIVM: and for the reſt to be paid within few daies after, he gaue two of his nephews hoſtages. Neuertheleſſe the payment he deferred from day to day, of purpoſe in the meane time to raiſe the whole power of ÆGYPT, as alſo to receiue aid from the Turks by *Saracon*, which he dayly expected: of whoſe ſpeedie comming *Almericus* vnderſtanding, left part of his armie at PELVSIVM, & with the reſt went to haue met him: but miſsing him by the way,
C *Saracon* with his Turks came in ſafetie to CAIRE vnto the Sultan as he had deſired. Wherefore *Almericus* diſmaid with the multitude of two ſo great armies now joyned together, retired backe againe to PELVSIVM, and there taking with him the garriſon before left, returned home to HIERUSALEM: hauing in that expedition (begun with the breach of faith) laid the foundation of the ruine of his kingdome, as in few yeeres after it by proofe appeared, by the euill neighbourhood of the Turks, by that meanes brought downe into ÆGYPT.

Pelusium taken by Almericus.

Saracon the Turke after the departure of *Almericus*, eaſily perceiuing a moſt fit time and opportunitie to be offred for him now to obtaine that, which he had in vaine before both ſought and fought for; encamped with his armie neere vnto CAIRE, and notably counterfeited himſelfe of all others the moſt deuoted friend of the Sultans: ſo that betwixt them two paſſed all the
D kind tokens of loue and friendſhip, that could poſsibly be deuiſed: the Sultan oftentimes feaſting the Turke; and in kindneſſe likewiſe being feaſted of him: But at length going as his manner was vnto the campe to viſit him, he was by the Turks ſlaine. So *Saracon* hauing brought to paſſe what he deſired, and entring the citie with his armie, was by the great Caliph (from whom the Ægyptian Sultans, as from their ſuperiours, the true ſucceſſours of their great prophet *Mahomet* tooke their authoritie) appointed Sultan, the firſt of the Turks that euer enjoyed the ſame: which royall dignitie he had not poſſeſſed fully a yeere, but that he was taken away by death. In whoſe ſteed *Saladine* his brothers ſonne, by and by ſtept vp: who altogether a martiall man, not regarding the reuerend majeſtie of the Caliph (as had his vncle *Saracon*, & all the Ægyptian Sultans before him) with his horſemans maſe ſtrucke out his braines; and not ſo contented, vtterly
E rooted out all his poſteritie, the better to aſſure himſelfe and his ſucceſſours the Turks in the poſſeſsion of his new gotten kingdome: and after that diuided the great treaſures of the Ægyptians among his Turkes, to encourage them the more to follow him in his warres againſt the Chriſtians.

The Sultan of Aegypt vnder the colour of friendſhip ſlaine by Saracon.

This glorious kingdome ſo much ſpoken of in holy Scripture, and renowmed of the learned hiſtoriographers of all ages, after the ruine of the Romane empire, was ſomtime part of the Conſtantinopolitane empire, and a notable member of the Chriſtian common weale; vntill that about the yeere of our Lord 704, the Aegyptians wearie of the pride & couetouſnes of the Græcians, reuolted from them vnto the Saraſins, whoſe ſuperſtition they alſo receiued: and ſo vnder the gouernment of the Saraſin Caliphs, the ſucceſſors of the falſe prophet *Mahomet* liued about 464
F yeares, vntill that now being inuaded by *Almericus*, they praid aid of *Noradin* the Turke, Sultan of DAMASCO: who vnto their reliefe ſending *Saracon* with an armie, repulſed indeed the Chriſtians, but oppreſsing their libertie, tooke vnto himſelfe the kingdome, which he left vnto his nephew *Saladine*, in whoſe poſteritie it remained vntill it was from them againe taken by the Circaſsian ſlaues the Mamalukes: vnder whoſe ſeruile gouernment it was holden of long time, vntill that by the great emperor of the Turkes *Selymus* the firſt, it was againe conquered, and the Mamalukes

How the kingdome of Aegypt firſt fell into the hands of the Saraſins, with the notable alterations thereof.

Mamalukes vtterly deſtroied: In the gouernment of whoſe poſteritie, the mightie emperors of the Turks, it hath euer ſince remained as part of their empire, vntill this day, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie God willing ſhall appeare. G

1170 *Saladin* thus poſſeſſed of the great kingdome of ÆGYPT, and all things ſet in ſuch order as he thought beſt for the newneſſe of his ſtate, with a great armie entred into the land of PALESTINE, in the yeare 1170, and there beſieged DARON; which towne he woon, and ouerthrew ſuch as were ſent by king *Almericus* to haue relieued the ſame: with which ſmall victorie contenting himſelfe, as with the good beginning of his riſing fortune, he returned backe againe into his kingdome. Yet was his armie ſo great and populous, as that the like armie of the Turkes had neuer before beene ſeene in the Holy land. Wherefore *Almericus* conſidering in what great danger he ſtood, his kingdome now being on both ſides beſet by the Turks, ſent out his embaſſadours vnto the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, to craue their aid for the defence of that kingdome which their fathers had woon. And for the ſame purpoſe went himſelfe in perſon vnto the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, of whom he was royally entertained, and afterwards ſent backe loaded with the promiſes of great matters, as were alſo his embaſſadours from the princes of the Weſt. All which for all that ſorted vnto nothing, but vaniſhed into ſmoake. H

1171 The yeare following, *viz.* 1171, *Saladin* beſieged PETREA, the metropoliticall citie of ARABIA: but hearing that *Almericus* with a great power was comming to the reliefe thereof, hee raiſed his ſiege and retired. As he did alſo the next yeare after, hauing in vaine attempted the ſtrong caſtle of MONT-ROYALL, on the further ſide of IORDAN. In like manner alſo the third yeare he came againe into the Holy land, and ſpoiled the countrey beyond IORDAN: but hearing of the kings comming againſt him, he foorthwith returned againe into AEGYPT. All theſe light expeditions, this politike prince made not ſo much for hope of victorie, or to prooue his enemies ſtrength, as to traine his ſouldiers, eſpecially the effeminat Aegyptians, and to make them fitter to ſerue him in his greater deſignes. I

1173 Shortly after died *Noradin* Sultan of DAMASCO, and in his time a moſt notable champion of the Turks, after he had raigned nine and twentie yeares. Vpon whoſe death *Almericus* foorthwith beſieged the citie of PANEADE, in hope to haue againe recouered the ſame: but he was by the widow of the late dead Sultan, for a great ſumme of money and the deliuerie of certaine noble priſoners, intreated to raiſe his ſiege and depart. So hauing ſent away his armie, and trauelling with his ordinarie retinue to TIBERIAS, where hee had the ſummer before beene ſicke of the flix, feeling himſelfe not well, he returned on horſebacke by NAZARETH and NEAPOLIS to HIERUSALEM, where his old diſeaſe increaſing vpon him, he was alſo taken with a feuer: wherewith after he had beene ſome few daies grieuouſly tormented, hee requeſted his phyſitians with ſome gentle potion to looſe his belly, which was now ſomewhat ſtaied: which they refuſing to do, he commaunded the potion to be giuen him vpon his owne perill, hap thereon what hap ſhould: which being giuen him, and his belly againe looſed, he ſeemed therewith to haue been at the firſt well eaſed; but his woonted feauer with great vehemencie returning, before his weake & ſpent bodie could be with conuenient meats refreſhed, he ſuddenly died the tenth of Iuly, in the yeare 1173, when he had raigned about ten yeares. His dead bodie was with the great lamentation of all his ſubjects, ſolemnly buried by his brothers. Hee was a moſt wiſe prince, and withall right valiant, amongſt many moſt fit for the gouernment and defence of that troubleſome kingdome ſo hardly beſet with the infidels, if it had pleaſed God to haue giuen him longer life. K L

Baldwin the fourth of that name ſeuenth king of Hieruſalem.

Foure daies after the death of *Almericus*, was *Baldwin* his ſonne, then a youth about thirteene yeares old, by the generall conſent of the nobilitie choſen king, and by *Almericus* the Patriarch in the temple with great ſolemnitie crowned in the yeare 1173: vnto whom, as not yet by reaſon of his tender age, fit himſelfe to mannage the waightie affaires of the kingdome, *Raymund* countie of TRIPOLIS was by the whole conſent of the nobilitie appointed tutor to ſupply what was wanting in the yoong king. M

Noradin, Sultan of DAMASCO (dead as is aforeſaid) left behind him *Melechſala* his ſonne, yet but a youth, to ſucceed him in his kingdome. Whoſe gouernment the nobilitie diſdaining, ſent ſecretly for *Saladin* Sultan of Ægypt, vnto whom at his comming they betrayed the citie of DAMASCO, the regall ſeat of the Turkes in SYRIA. Whereof *Saladin* poſſeſſed, and entring into CELESIRIA without reſiſtance, tooke HELIOPOLIS, EMISSA, with the great citie of CESAREA;

A CESAREA; and in fine, all the whole kingdome of DAMASCO, the citie of ARETHUSA onely excepted. But thus to suffer *Melechsala* the young prince to be wronged, and the kingdome of DAMASCO to be joyned vnto the kingdome of Ægypt, was of the wiser sort thought not to stand with the safetie of the kingdome of HIERUSALEM, lying in the middle betwixt them both. Wherefore the countie of TRIPOLIS, gouernour of that kingdome, made out certaine forces to haue hindred his proceeding. At which time also, *Cotobed* prince of PARTHIA and *Melechsalas* vncle, sent certaine troupes of Parthian horsemen to haue aided his distressed nephew, who were by *Saladin* ouerthrowne and almost all slaine, neere vnto ALEPPO where *Melechsala* lay. As for the countie of TRIPOLIS and the other Christian princes, with whom *Saladin* in the newnesse of his kingdome had no desire to fall out; he appeased them with faire intreatie,
B and rewards: vnto the countie hee sent freely the hostages, which yet lay for his ransome at EMISSA: vnto the other princes he sent rich presents: and therewith so contented them all, that they returned without any thing doing against him. After which time, three or foure yeares passed in great quietnesse, to the great strengthening of him in those his new gotten kingdomes. At length vpon the comming ouer of *Philip* earle of FLANDERS, the Christian princes in SYRIA encouraged, consulted of an expedition to be made into ÆGIPT, whereof *Saladin* hauing intelligence, drew downe into that countrey the greatest part of his strength. But *Philip* disliking of that expedition, and the rather for that he saw no great cheerefulnesse in the countie of TRIPOLIS and the rest, thereunto; they with one consent changed their purpose for ÆGIPT, and turning their forces quite contrarie way, miserably and without resistance wasted the countrey
C about EMISSA and CESARIA.

While'st the Christians were thus busied in CALOSIRIA; *Saladin* on the other side tooke occasion out of ÆGIPT to inuade the kingdome of HIERUSALEM: of whose comming king *Baldwin* hauing intelligence, with such small forces as he had left, hasted himselfe to ASCALON. In the meane time *Saladin* with a great armie was entred into the holy land, where burning the countrey before him, and raging in the blood of the poore Christians, hee came and encamped not farre from ASCALON: and strucke such a feare vpon the whole countrey, that they which dwelt in HIERUSALEM, were about to haue forsaken the citie: As for the king himselfe, he lay close within the citie of ASCALON, not daring to aduenture vpon so strong an enemie. Wherewith *Saladin* encouraged, and out of feare of his enemies, dispersed his armie, some one way
D some another, to forrage the countrey. Which the king perceiuing, secretly with all his power issued out of the citie, if happily so he might ouertake the Sultan vnawares. Neither was he deceiued in his expectation: for comming suddainly vpon him, and secretly charging him, he had with him for a good space an hard and doubtfull battell, vntill that the victorie by the power of God, at length enclining to the Christians, *Saladin* with his Turkes fled, ouerthrown with a great slaughter, most part of his great armie being either there slaine, or lost afterward with hunger and cold. This victorie fell vnto the Christians the 25 day of Nouember in the yeare 1177, not 1177
without the mightie hand of God, the Turke hauing in his armie about six and twentie thousand horsemen, and the king not past foure hundred horse with some few footmen. After which victorie, *Baldwin* in great triumph returned to HIERUSALEM, and there shortly after with great
E care and diligence repaired the decayed wals of the citie.

Saladin in reuenge of this ouerthrow, made diuerse incursions into the frontiers of the Christians, and did great harme, especially in the countrey about SIDON. For the repressing whereof, the king put himselfe in armes, and going against him, ouerthrew part of his armie, as they were carrying away a great bootie. Of which ouerthrow *Saladin* vnderstanding, came in such hast with the rest of his armie, as if it had been a suddaine tempest vpon the Christians, then in great securitie deuiding the spoile; of whom they slew a great number, and put the rest to flight: In which so suddaine a confusion, *Otto*, grand master of the Templars, and *Hugh* the eale of TRIPOLIS his sonne in law, were both taken prisoners. The earle himselfe with a few fled to TYRE: the
F king also at the same time was glad to shift for himselfe, and by flight to saue himselfe as he might. After which victorie, *Saladin* besieged a strong castle which the king but the yeare before had built vpon the banke of the riuer of IORDAN, and giuen it to the Templars, with the countrey round about; which castle *Saladin* tooke by force, and put to sword all that were therein, except some few whom he carried away prisoners. By this victorie *Saladin* became dreadfull vnto the Christians in SYRIA, which caused them, especially such as had any charge, with more vigilan-

Saladin ouerthrowne by king Baldwin.

The Christians deuiding the spoil, ouerthrown by the Turks.

cie

cie to looke about them. Yet ſhortly after, a peace was for a time concluded betwixt the Sultan and the king; whereby their troubled eſtates breathed themſelues, almoſt the ſpace of two yeares. G

But this ſo welcome a calme was by domeſticall troubles againe by the kings friends ſuddenly troubled. For the countie of TRIPOLIS, to whom the gouernment of the kingdome was committed, comming towards HIERUSALEM, being by the ſuggeſtion of his enemies brought into ſuſpition with the king, as if he had affected the kingdome, was to his great diſgrace by the way commanded to ſtay. The cheefe authors of which diſcontentment, were the kings mother, a woman of a turbulent nature, and her brother the kings ſteward; who in the abſence of the earle had wrought the kings ſicke mind according to their owne appetites. But the reſt of the nobilitie wiſely foreſeeing vnto what great danger that diſcord might tend; in deſpight of them, with much labour, cauſed him to be ſent for againe, and ſo reconciled vnto the king: By which meanes, that dangerous fire of diſſention was for that time appeaſed, which afterwards brake out againe, to the vtter ruine of that kingdome. H

Saladin goeth out of Ægypt to Damaſco.

Saladin now wearie of the league he had before made with king *Baldwin*, as no longer ſtanding with his hautie deſignes, renounced the ſame, and raiſing a great power in ÆGIPT, ſet forward toward DAMASCO. Of whoſe comming king *Baldwin* hauing knowledge, with the whole power of his kingdome went to haue met him, not farre from the dead Sea, and there encamped at an old towne called PETRA. But *Saladin* turning out of the way, into the kings territorie, came and encamped before MOUNT-ROIALL, a caſtle which *Baldwin* had giuen vnto the Templars, about three daies march from the place where the king lay. I

Galilee ſpoiled, and the caſtle of Bury taken by the Turks.

There *Saladin* with the ſpoile of the countrey refreſhing his armie, now wearie of long trauell, ſet forward againe, and ſo without reſiſtance arriued with his armie at DAMASO. At the ſame time the Turks captaines about DAMASCO, BOSTRUM, and EMISSA, perceiuing the frontiers of the Chriſtians thereabout, to be kept but with ſmall ſtrength, paſſed ouer IORDAN, and ſpoiling a great part of GALILEY, beſieged the caſtle of BURY, at the foot of mount TABOR, not farre from the citie of NAIM; which caſtle they in few dayes tooke, and hauing there made a great ſlaughter, carried away with them about fiue hundred priſoners. *Saladin* being come to DAMASCO, called together all the garriſons of that kingdome, and joyning them vnto the forces he brought out of AEGYPT, entred into the Holy land: at which time the countie of TRIPOLIS, gouernour of the kingdome, lay ſicke of a burning feauer. Neuertheleſſe the king encouraged by the knights of the order, went out with his armie againſt him; and encountring with him neere vnto a village called FROBOLET, ouerthrew him in a great battell, wherein, and afterward in the flight, moſt part of the Sultans armie periſhed. *Saladin* himſelfe being glad by ſpeedie flight to eſcape the danger, and ſo by long marches to get him againe to DAMASCO. K

Berytus in vain beſieged by the Turks.

In reuenge of this ouerthrow, *Saladin* hauing repaired his armie, and ſent for his fleet out of ÆGIPT, came and beſieged BERYTVS both by ſea and land: at which time alſo his brother, whom he had left gouernour in ÆGIPT, beſieged DARVM, a ſtrong towne in the vttermoſt bounds of the kingdome of HIERUSALEM towards ÆGIPT. Both whoſe forces *Baldwin* being not able at once to repreſſe, by the counſell of his nobilitie thought it beſt firſt to relieue BERYTVS, as the place of greater importance. And for that purpoſe ſet forward with his armie by land, hauing alſo rigged vp three and thirtie gallies at TYRE, for the releeſe thereof by ſea. Of which preparation *Saladin* vnderſtanding, as alſo of the kings comming (by letters intercepted by his ſcouts, directed to the beſieged, for the holding out of the ſiege, with promiſe of ſpeedie reliefe) he preſently riſe with his armie, and departed: whereof the king being aduertiſed, retired to SEPHOR. L

Saladin inuading Meſopotamia, is himſelfe inuaded by the king of Hieruſalem.

Not long after, *Saladin* according to his ambitious nature, deſirous aboue meaſure to extend the bounds of his kingdome, and ſeeing the ſucceſſe of his attempts againſt the king of HIERUSALEM not anſwerable to his deſire, conuerted his forces vnto the countries more eaſtward: and paſſing the riuer EUPHRATES, and entring into MESOPOTAMIA, partly by force, partly by corruption, got into his hand the cities of EDESSA, CARRAS, and diuers others. In which time the king of HIERUSALEM tooke occaſion firſt to ſpoile the country about DAMASCO, and after that, diuers other places of the Sultans kingdome, making hauock of whatſoeuer came in his way, and ſo laded with the ſpoile of the Turkes, retired to HIERUSALEM. M

Saladin

A *Saladin* with victorie returning out of MESOPOTAMIA, in reuenge of the injuries done vnto him in his abſence, marched directly to ALEPPO, the ſtrongeſt citie of the Chriſtians in that part of SYRIA, which aboue all other he longed after: where hee had not long lien, but that it was by the treaſon of the gouernour deliuered into his hands, with all the countrie thereabouts: wherwith the Chriſtian princes were ſo diſcouraged, that they euen then began to feare greater matters to enſue. The prince of ANTIOCH ſould TARSVS, the metropoliticall citie of CILICIA, to *Rupinus* prince of ARMENIA; for that he ſaw it was not without great charge and danger to be by him defended, being ſo farre from him, and *Saladin* as it were now ſtept in betwixt him and it.

Aleppo betraied vnto the Turks.

At the ſame time king *Baldwin*, at NAZARETH fell ſicke of a feauer; the leproſie alſo his old
B diſeaſe growing dayly more and more vpon him: inſo much that diſpairing of his life, he called vnto him *Guy Luſignan* countie of IOPPA and ASCALON, vnto whom he had before eſpouſed *Sybill* his eldeſt ſiſter, and in the preſence of his mother, the Patriarch, and all the chiefe commaunders of the ſouldiers of the ſacred war, appointed him gouernour of the kingdome, reſeruing vnto himſelfe only the title of a king, with the citie of HIERUSALEM, and a yearely penſion of ten thouſand duckats: All which was done to the great diſgrace and diſcontentment of the countie of TRIPOLIS the old gouernour.

It was not long, but that *Saladin* hauing breathed himſelfe a little, after ſo great labours, came againe into the Holy land, where he tooke many caſtles and did infinit harme; in ſo much that the countrey people were glad for feare to forſake their houſes and to flie into cities. The Chri-
C ſtian armie in the meane time lying faſt by at SEPHOR, not once mooued, although many a faire occaſion were offred: For the chiefe commaunders affectionated vnto the countie of TRIPOLIS, and enuying at the preferment of *Guy* the new gouernour, were vnwilling to fight, but finding one excuſe or other, ſuffered the enemie at his pleaſure to ſpoile the countrey, and ſo in ſafetie to depart, which he had neuer before done in thoſe quarters.

Within leſſe than a moneth after, *Saladin* with a great armie well appointed with all the habilliments of war, needfull for the beſieging of a citie or ſtrong caſtle, came againe into the land of PALESTINE; and paſsing through the countrey beyond IORDAN, ſat downe at laſt before PETRA, in hope by the taking thereof, to haue made his paſſage betweene AEGYPT and DAMASCO more ſafe. Of which his purpoſe king *Baldwin* hauing knowledge, and taught by the
D euill ſucceſſe of late, to what ſmall purpoſe it was to commit the managing of his wars vnto a generall ſo euill beloued, and leſſe regarded, as was *Guy* his brother in law; ſent againſt him with his armie *Raymund* the countie of TRIPOLIS, the old gouernour, whom he had againe reſtored vnto the gouernment, and diſplaced *Guy*. Of whoſe comming *Saladin* hearing, raiſed his ſiege after he had lien there a moneth, and ſo departed.

Petra in vaine beſieged by the Turks.

A little before this expedition, the king ſtill growing ſicker and ſicker, his foule diſeaſe ſtill increaſing, by the common conſent of the nobilitie appointed *Baldwin* his nephew by his ſiſter *Sybylla*, a child but of fiue yeares old, to ſucceed him in the kingdome; and the countie of TRIPOLIS to haue the gouernment of the ſtate during the time of his minoritie. This *Sybilla* the kings ſiſter, was firſt married to *William* the yoonger, marqueſſe of MOUNT-FERRAT, who
E dying within three months after, left her with child with this his poſthumus ſonne *Baldwin*, now by his vncle deputed vnto the hope of the kingdome. After whoſe death ſhe was married to *Guy Luſignan*, countie of IOPPA and ASCALON, the late gouernour: who taking in euill part this the kings deſignement, eſpecially for the gouernment of the kingdome by the countie of TRIPOLIS; departed from the court as a man diſcontented vnto his citie of ASCALON: whereof the Patriarch and the princes of the ſacred war, fearing (and that not without cauſe) great danger to enſue, came to the king, then holding a parlament at the citie of ACON, moſt humbly requeſting him for auoiding of further danger and the ſafetie of his kingdome, to receiue againe into his fauour the countie *Guy* his brother in law, and to make an attonement betwixt him
F and the countie of TRIPOLIS. But this their requeſt ſorted to no purpoſe, ſo that the parlament was diſſolued without any thing for the good of the commonweale in that point concluded.

Diſcord in the court of Hieruſalem.

After that time the kingdome of HIERUSALEM began ſtill more and more to decline. In the old king *Baldwin* (ſicke both in bodie and mind) was almoſt no hope: in the yoong king (yet vnfit for ſo great a burthen) much leſſe: and the diſſention betwixt the two counties *Guy* and

Raymund with their fauorits, was like enough to bring great harme vnto the ſtate. Beſides that, G
the countie of TRIPOLIS fearing the power of *Guy* his enemy, was thought to haue ſecret intel-
ligence with *Saladin* the Turke, in ſo much that the king was almoſt in purpoſe to haue procla-
med him traitour. Wherefore the king now reſted onely vpon the counſell of *William* archbi-
ſhop of TYRE, and the maſters of the knights of the ſacred war: by whoſe aduiſe he ſent *Hera-*
clius Patriarch of HIERUSALEM, *Roger Molins* maſter of the kinghts of S. Iohns, and *Ar-*
nold maſter of the Templars, embaſſadours vnto *Lucius* the third, then Pope, vnto *Fredericke*
the emperour, *Philip* the French king, and *Henrie* the ſecond king of ENGLAND; to declare
vnto them the dangerous ſtate of that Chriſtian kingdome, and to craue their aid againſt the In-
fidels. Theſe embaſſadours comming to the Counſell then holden at VERONA, with great H
grauitie and diligence in the preſence of the Pope and of the emperour, declared the hard eſtate
of the Chriſtians of the Eaſt, with their humble requeſt vnto them for aid: in ſuch ſort that they
mooued them, with all the princes there preſent, to compaſsion. From thence they were by the
Pope directed vnto *Philip* the French king, with whom hauing diſpatched their affaires, they
from him paſſed ouer into ENGLAND, & afterward into GERMANIE: and had at length broght
their negotiation to ſo good paſſe, that in euerie place great preparation was made for a great
expedition to be vndertaken againſt the Turks, for the reliefe of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt: with
which good newes, the embaſſadours returning to HIERUSALEM, filled the ſicke king with
the hope of great matters. But greater quarrels ſhortly after ariſing betwixt the Pope and the
emperour; and ſharpe war likewiſe betwixt the French king and the king of ENGLAND, and I
the other Chriſtian princes alſo being at no better quiet, the notable expedition that had with
the expectation thereof ſo filled the world, was againe laid aſide and quite daſhed. Whereof
king *Baldwin* vnderſtanding both by meſſengers and letters from his friends, oppreſſed with
griefe and heauineſſe, more than with the force of his diſeaſe (a man for his proweſſe and paine-
fulneſſe not inferiour to any his predeceſſours) died without iſſue the 16 day of May, in the yeare
1185 1185, being but fiue and twentie yeares old, whereof he had raigned twelue. His bodie was after-
ward with the generall mourning of his ſubjects, ſolemnly buried in the temple neere vnto the
mount CALVARIE, together with his predeceſſours the kings of HIERUSALEM.

King Baldwin ſendeth embaſſadours vnto the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt for aid.

King *Baldwin* thus buried, *Baldwin* the fift of that name, yet but a boy, was crowned king. But
then began the ſparks, which had of long lien raked vp & hidden in the aſhes, to break out into a K
great fire: For *Raymund* countie of TRIPOLIS, contended the whole gouernment of the king-
dome, & tuition of the king, to be due vnto him, by the appointment of the late king & conſent
of the nobilitie; and did ſo much, that he had almoſt obtained it to haue beene confirmed vnto
him in open parlament. But *Sybilla*, a woman of a moſt haughty ſpirit (ſiſter vnto the late king, &
mother vnto the yoong king yet liuing) prickt forward her husband *Guy*, in no caſe to giue place
vnto his competitour *Raymund*: and ſo animated him, that by the helpe of his owne fauourits,
and the countenance of *Boniface* marqueſſe of MOVNT-FERRAT, who euen then was come
with a great power into SIRIA, he extorted from the nobilitie whatſoeuer hee deſired. But ſe-
uen moneths were ſcarce well paſſed, but that this yoong king *Baldwin* was dead and buried;
poyſoned (as was reported) by his mother, for the deſire ſhee had of the kingdome her ſelfe: L
whoſe death ſhe with all ſecrecie concealed, vntill ſhe had obtained of the Patriarch and other
princes of the kingdome, That *Guy* her husband might be proclaimed king: So by her meanes it
was ſo wrought, that vpon one and the ſelfe ſame day, the yoong king *Baldwin* was buried by his
vncle, and *Guy* the countie crowned. This yoong king *Baldwin* by reaſon of his tender yeares
and ſhort raigne, is of ſome not reckoned amongſt the kings of HIERUSALEM: howbeit, ſee-
ing he was by his vncle and the princes of that time, thought woorthy of the kingdome, let him
alſo haue his place amongſt the reſt, as the eight king of HIERUSALEM.

Guy the ninth and laſt king of Hieruſalem.

When *Guy* was thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome, the countie of TRIPOLIS ſeeing himſelfe
out of all hope of the gouernment, and highly therewith diſcontented, did what he might by all
meanes to croſſe the doings of the king: whoſe ſicke and aſpiring mind *Saladin* prickt dayly M
more and more forward, promiſing him his helping hand whenſoeuer hee ſhould need; which
courteſie the countie deſirouſly imbraced. For now the fatall period of the kingdome of HIE-
RUSALEM drew faſt on, and all things tended to deſtruction, diſcord raigning in euerie place:
which *Saladin* well perceiuing (after that he had compacted with the countie) by meſſengers ſent
of purpoſe, inuited the Turks, Saraſins, & Ægyptians, as men agreeing in one and the ſame reli-

gion,

A gion,generally to take vp armes in ſo fit an oportunitie of the diſcord of the Chriſtians,aſſuring them of great prey and ſpoile, beſides the honour of the conqueſt. The citie of PTOLEMAIS was the place by him appointed,where all this power ſhould meet: whether ſuch a multitude of the barbarous Mahometanes (partly for the hatred of the Chriſtian religion,partly for the hope of the rich ſpoile which *Saladin* had promiſed them) came flocking out of all places, that in ſhort time there was met together about fiftie thouſand horſemen, beſides an infinit number of foot. And vnto ſuch as could not ſafely paſſe by the borders of HIERUSALEM, to them the falſe countie gaue ſafe conduct, by the countries of TIBERIAS, NAZARETH, and GALILEY.

Saladin vpō the diſcord of the Chriſtians, taketh occaſion to invade the Holy land.

All the power of the infidels thus aſſembled,*Saladin* laid ſiege vnto the citie of PTOLEMAIS: *Ptolemais beſieged by Saladin.*
B which the Templars and the knights Hoſpitalers had notably fortefied and ſtrongly manned, (as before vnto them giuen by the kings of HIERUSALEM to defend againſt the infidels) and 1187
therein now were both the maſters of both thoſe honourable orders,with the whole flower of the knights of their profeſsion. Vnto this citie, *Saladin* gaue a moſt terrible aſſault vpon May day in the morning, in the yeare 1187; which was by the Chriſtians notably defended, and the enemie with great ſlaughter ſtill beaten downe. In the heat of this aſſault, the two great maſters ſallying out,with certaine troupes of their moſt readie horſemen,aſſailed the enemies campe,and bearing down all before them,raiſed there a great tumult: and by and by turning vpon the backs of them,that were aſſaulting the citie,made there an exceeding great ſlaughter. Inſomuch,that *Saladin* diſmaied, firſt with the confuſion in his campe,and now with the ſuddain danger behind
C him, was glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and to turne his whole forces vpon them: where was fought a moſt bloodie and terrible battell. Amongſt others that there fought, the countie of TRIPOLIS,now an enemie vnto God and his country,diſguiſed in the habit of a Turke,notably helped the infidels,and meeting with the great maſter of the knights Hoſpitalers,vnhorſed him, who ſurcharged with the waight of his armour, and oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies,there died. Neuertheleſſe,ſuch was the valour of theſe woorthie men,and new ſuccour ſtill comming out of the citie,that *Saladin* hauing in that battell,and at the aſſault, loſt fifteene thouſand of his Turks,was glad with the reſt to betake himſelfe to flight. Neither was this ſo notable a victorie gained by the Chriſtians without blood,moſt part of the worthie knights Hoſpitalers being together with their grand maſter there ſlaine.

D *Saladin* by this ouerthrow perceiuing, that by open force he ſhould not be able to doe much againſt the Chriſtians,thought it good vnto his forces to joyne alſo pollicie. Wherein the falſe countie of TRIPOLIS was the man he thought beſt to make choice of, as his fitteſt inſtrument to worke by. Him hee compacted withall to ſeeke for grace at the king of HIERUSALEM his hands,as of his dread ſoueraigne, and after ſo long diſcord, to ſue to be reconciled vnto him, as now weatie of the Turkes amitie, with whom he ſhould make ſhew to be vtterly fallen out. At which time alſo (to giue the matter the better grace) *Saladin* of purpoſe with a great armie came and beſieged TIBERIAS, a citie of the counties juriſdiction: for the reliefe whereof, the traiterous countie craued aid of the king and the other princes of the ſacred warre. Who with an armie,though not great,yet very well appointed,came according to his deſire, & encamped neere
E vnto the fountaine of SOPHOR: where they had not long ſtayed, but that they met with the huge armie of the Turkes, being in number one hundred and twentie thouſand horſe, and one hundred and ſixtie thouſand foot: with whome they joyned a moſt ſharpe and terrible battell: which by reaſon of the extremitie of the heat of the weather (it then beeing the twelfth of Iuly) and the approch of the night,was againe giuen ouer; both armies (as if it had been by conſent) retiring. The next day the battell was againe begun,wherein the Turkes by the treaſon and ſhamefull flight of the falſe countie of TRIPOLIS, gained the victorie. In this battell *Guy* the king himſelfe, with *Gerard* maſter of the Templars, *Boniface* marqueſſe of MONT-FERRAT, and diuers *Guy king of Hieruſalem taken priſoner.*
others,men of great marke,were taken priſoners. And to ſay the truth, in this battell was broken the whole ſtrength of the Chriſtians in the Eaſt.

F The Chriſtian commonweale by the treaſon of the falſe countie thus betrayed vnto the Infidels, *Saladin* without any great reſiſtance had the cities of PTOLEMAIS, BIBLIS, and BERITHVS deliuered vnto him: in all which places, he vſed his victorie with great moderation, not enforſing any Chriſtian (more than the Latines) to depart thence, but ſuffering them there ſtill to remaine,as before,yeelding vnto him their obedience,with ſuch tribute as he had impoſed vpon them. With like good fortune,he within the ſpace of one moneth tooke all the port townes

betwixt SIDON and ASCALON, alongſt the ſea coaſt, excepting only the auncient citie of TYRE; G
vnto the citie of ASCALON alſo he laid ſiege by the ſpace of nine daies: but loath to ſtay the courſe of his victorie, by the valour of the defendants reſolued there to ſpend their liues, hee de-
Hierusalem beſieged. parted thence, and marched directly vnto HIERUSALEM, the chiefe citie of that kingdome. And approching the ſame, gaue ſummons thereunto, perſuading the citizens yet whiles they had time to yeeld themſelues, together with the citie, vnto his mercie. Which they refuſing to doe, he in-
Hierusalem taken by Saladin. cloſed the ſame with his armie, and by the ſpace of foureteene dayes laid hard ſiege vnto it, leauing nothing vndone or vnattempted that might helpe for the gaining thereof. At which time the citizens conſidering the danger they were in, and that the ſtrength of the kingdome with the flower of their chiualrie were in the late battell loſt, and that they were not now to expect any H
forraine aid, agreed vpon certaine conditions to yeeld vp the citie: which were, That ſuch Chriſtians as would, might remaine ſtill, with their libertie and goods; and that ſuch as would not, might in ſafetie depart, with ſo much of their goods as they could carie vpon their backs. Theſe conditions being by *Saladin* granted, the holy citie was vnto him deliuered the ſecond of October in the yeare 1187; after it had been by the Chriſtians holden frõ the time that it was by *Godfrey* of BUILLON & other Chriſtians woon, about 89 yeares. *Saladin* entring into the citie, prophaned firſt the temple of the Lord, conuerting it vnto the vſe of his *Mahometane* ſuperſtition, the other churches he vſed as ſtables for his horſes; onely the temple of the ſepulchre, was by the Chriſtians for a great ſumme of money redeemed and ſo kept vndefiled. The Latine Chriſtians he thruſt out of the citie, yet with leaue to carrie with them ſuch things as they were able them- I
ſelues to beare: who trauailing with heauie burdens, but much more heauie hearts, ſome to TRIPOLIS, ſome to TIRE, ſome to ANTIOCH (for onely theſe three cities were now left vnto the Chriſtians in SYRIA) were by the falſe countie of TRIPOLIS by the way lightened of their burthens, to the increaſing of the heauineſſe of their hearts, moſt of them being by him and his followers ſpoiled of that little they had by the mercie of their enemies ſaued in the ruine of their ſtate.

Vnto the other Chriſtians that were naturall Syrians, Greekes, Armenians, Georgians, and ſuch like, *Saladin* appointed certaine places of the citie for them to dwell in, where ſome of their poſteritie were long time after to be found. All the monumenss of the Chriſtians were by the barbarous *Mahometanes* and Turkes defaced, onely the ſepulchre of our bleſſed K
Sauiour Chriſt, with the monument of *Godfrey* of BUILLON, and his brother *Baldwin*, for the reuerence of the men were by them ſpared. In theſe ſo great troubles, aboue twentie thouſand of the Chriſtians periſhed: amongſt the reſt, the countie of TRIPOLIS was ſhortly after found
The death of Raymond, the traiterous counte of Tripolis. dead in his bed, and (as ſome ſay) circumciſed, a manifeſt token of his reuolt, not from the king onely, but from the Chriſtian faith alſo.

HIERUSALEM thus woon, *Saladin* returned againe to the ſiege of ASCALON, which after he had by the ſpace of tenne dayes moſt ſtraitly beſieged, was vnto him by compoſition deliuered: wherein amongſt other things agreed vpon for the ſafe departure of the citizens, was compriſed alſo, that he ſhould freely ſet at libertie *Guy* the king, and *Gerard* maſter of the Templars, both before taken priſoners, as is before declared; which he afterward performed. L

Thus the victorious Turke ſtill vrging his good fortune, departing thence, attempted to haue taken TRIPOLIS; but hauing made ſome proofe of his owne forces, and the valour of the defendants, he was glad to giue ouer the ſiege, and to depart as he came. Marching thence with his armie, becauſe he would leaue no place vnattempted, he laid ſiege vnto the citie of TIRE, where *Conrade* marqueſſe of MONT FERRAT was a little before arriued with *Iſaack Angelus* the Greeke emperours fleet, and a ſupplie of certaine companies of good ſouldiors. Vnto which place were come great numbers of the poor diſtreſſed Chriſtians fled from HIERUSALEM, and other places, ſo that the citie was full of men.

This citie *Saladin* moſt furiouſly aſſaulted, but was by the Chriſtians notably repulſed, not without the great loſſe of his beſt ſouldiors. At which time alſo the admirall of SICILIA diſ- M
comfited his fleet at ſea, and landing his forces, came vnlooked for vpon the backe of him: ſo that hauing his hands full before by them of the towne, and charged behind by theſe newcome enemies, he was glad to retire in ſuch haſt, as that he left his tents with all that therein was, vnto the ſpoile of the Chriſtians.

Within a few daies after, *Saladin* hauing againe repaired his armie, inuaded the countrey about

A about ANTIOCH: with fire and ſword deſtroying whatſoeuer was ſubject to his furie, euen to the gates of the citie; but knowing that ſo ſtrong a citie was not without great charge and long ſiege to be woon, he thought it good to make proofe if it might by pollicie or corruption bee gained. Wherein he ſo cunningly dealt with the Patriarch, that he had by his meanes, the caſtle (otherwiſe almoſt impregnable) for gold betrayed vnto him. By meanes whereof, hee in ſhort time became lord and maſter of that famous citie, (about ninetie yeares before hardly gained by the whole power of the Chriſtians, after eleuen moneths ſiege) and with it fiue and twentie cities moe that depended of the fortune thereof, with all the prouinces belonging thereunto, alwayes deemed to haue been the third part of the kingdome of HIERUSALEM.

The famous city of Antioch betrayed vnto the Turkes.

B The loſſe of this ſo great a citie, together with the ruine of the whole kingdome, had in ſhort ſpace filled euery corner of Chriſtendome with the heauie report thereof. Wherwith the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt (namely *Frederick* the Germane emperour, with *Frederick* his ſonne duke of SUEVIA, *Philip* the French king, *Henry* the ſecond, king of ENGLAND, *Otto* duke of BVRGVNDIE, *Leopold* duke of AUSTRIA, with many other great princes and prelats of GERMANIE, ITALIE, and other places) not a little mooued, as alſo with the pittifull complaints of the embaſſadours at the ſame time ſent from the diſtreſſed Chriſtians; and the effectuall perſuaſions of *Clement* the third then Pope: promiſed, and all, or moſt part, indeed made great preparations; which they afterwards, though not all at once (as letted by other occaſions) but at diuers times imployed for the moſt part, with the danger of their owne perſons againſt the Turks, for
C the reliefe of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians, and recouerie of the holy land: but with what ſucceſſe, ſhall hereafter God willing be declared.

Of which ſo great preparations made againſt him, *Saladin* not ignorant, ſet at libertie *Guy* the king of HIERUSALEM, whom contrarie to his promiſe made at ASCALON, hee had now detained a yeare in priſon; yet before his enlargement exacting of him an oath, Neuer by force of armes afterwards to ſeeke to recouer his kingdome, or to reuenge the wrongs hee had ſuſtained: hoping thereby to ſtay the comming of the other princes in his quarell. Which oath for all that, the Pope diſpenſed withall, as extorted by conſtraint from him, at ſuch time as *Saladin* had longer detained him in priſon than of right he ſhould.

Guy now at libertie, and yet in mind a king, came to TYRE, but could not be there receiued,
D the citizens hauing before ſworn their obedience vnto *Conrade*, marqueſſe of MONT-FERRAT, by whom they had been notably defended againſt the furie of *Saladin*. Wherefore departing thence with ſuch power as he had, and the diſperſed Chriſtians daily repairing vnto him out of all parts of SIRIA, he came and beſieged PTOLEMAIS: Where he had not long lien, but that firſt came vnto him the Venetian fleet, with them alſo of PISA, and after them the Flemmings with a fleet of fiftie ſaile, who all joyned their forces together for the winning of the citie. But whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of PTOLEMAIS, came *Saladin* with a great armie to the reliefe of the beſieged: where betwixt him and the Chriſtians was fought a great battaile, wherein the Chriſtians at the firſt had the better; but afterward fainting, and readie to flie, had there vndoubtedly receiued a notable ouerthrow, had not *Geffrey Lyſignan*, the kings brother,
E (left for the guarding of the campe) in good time come in with new ſupplies: and not only ſtaied their flight, but alſo repreſſed the farther purſute of the fierce enemie, now almoſt in poſſeſsion of the deſired victorie. Neuertheleſſe, there were two thouſand Chriſtians there ſlaine, and amongſt them *Gerard*, maſter of the Templars. *Saladin* by that which was now done, perceiuing how hard a matter it would be for him by land to relieue his citie, ſent for the fleet which he had ſtrongly rigged vp at ALEXANDRIA, and ſo by force put new ſupplies both of men and victuals into the beſieged citie. Wherewith the Turks encouraged, made often ſallies vpon the Chriſtians; and in deſpight of the Chriſtian religion, whipped the image of Chriſt crucified, which they had for that purpoſe, in the ſight of the Chriſtians ſet vp vpon the top of the wall. With the ſame fleet alſo he ſo ſcoured the ſeas, that no victuals or new ſupplies of men could that way
F without great danger be brought vnto the campe; whereby ſuch ſcarcitie and want of all things began ſhortly after to ariſe among the Chriſtians, that ſome of them not able longer to indure the famine, fled vnto the Turks campe, then lying not farre off, crying out for bread. Of which diſtreſſe in the campe of the Chriſtians, *Saladin* knowing right well, both by ſuch fugitiues as daily came ouer vnto him, and by his owne eſpials, yet made ſhew as if hee vnderſtood nothing thereof: but ſuddainly riſing with his armie (as doubtfull of his owne ſtrength) departed, leauing

his campe full of all manner of victuals. Whereof the Christians vnderstanding, and supposing him to haue for feare been gone indeed, in great numbers hasted vnto the forsaken campe, as vnto a most desired prey: where, whilest they were gorging themselues, *Saladin* suddainly returning, and getting betwixt them and home, made of them a great slaughter. Neuertheless, the Christians hauing now lien before the citie six months, continued the siege all the Winter, ouercomming with patience the hardest difficulties, in hope of aid from the other Christian princes, whose comming they expected with the first of the next Spring: during which time, many an hot skirmish passed betwixt them and the Turkes both by sea and land. G

1160 *Fredericke the emperour setteth forward towards the Holy land.*

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of PTOLEMAIS, *Frederick* the emperour with diuers of the great Germane princes, and others, before resolued vpon an expedition for the recouerie of the Holy land, and the reliefe of the distressed Christians in SYRIA: hauing now raised a great armie, furnished with all things necessarie for so long a journey, set forward from RATISBONE, and so comming to VIENNA, and passing through HVNGARIA, BVLGARIA, and THRACIA, arriued at length at CONSTANTINOPLE, where he was by *Isaack Angelus* the emperour that then raigned, honourably entertained: but indeed more for feare and fashion sake than for any loue or good will: for that he after the suspicious manner of the Greekes, hauing in distrust so great a power of the Latine emperors, wished rather for his absence, than his presence. And therefore ceased not in what he might to hasten his passage ouer into ASIA, pretending for the colour thereof, The necessitie the Christians had of his present aid. So the emperour with his armie passing ouer the strait, and without resistance marching through the greatest part of the lesser ASIA, entred into LYCAONIA, where meeting with a great power of the Turks, that were come from the Sultan of ICONIVM to stay his farther passage, hee ouerthrew them in a great battell; and so marching directly on to ICONIVM, tooke it by force, and gaue the spoile thereof vnto his souldiors, in reuenge of the injuries before done vnto his vncle the emperour *Conrade*, by the Sultan of that citie. Departing thence, and marching through CILICIA, he in another battell ouerthrew the Turkes, that hauing taken the straits of the mountaines had thought to haue staied his farther passage into SYRIA. After that he tooke the citie PHILOMELA, which the Sultan had strongly fortefied, which he rased to the ground, and put to sword all the people therein, for that they contrarie to the law of nations, had slaine such messengers as he had sent vnto them for the summoning of the citie. In like manner he entred into the lesser ARMENIA, where he tooke the citie MELITENE, and subdued all the countrey thereabouts: vnto the reliefe whereof, the Turkes comming with a most huge armie, were by him with an exceeding great slaughter ouerthrowne and put to flight. After that, entring into COMAGENA, and meeting with *Saphadin*, *Saladin* his sonne, with a great armie of the Turks, he ouerthrew him in the plaine field, and discomfited his whole armie. But whilest he too eagerly pursueth the enemie he had then in chace, his horse foundring vnder him, as he passed the riuer SALEPH, he was so ouerthrowne, and his foot hanging fast in his stirrop, drawne through the deepe riuer, and almost drowned; and at the farther side of the riuer was so plunged by his horse, at his landing, that he was taken vp for dead. Yet breathing a little, and casting his eyes vp to heauen, with much adoe he vttered these few words, *Lord receiue my soule:* and so in the hands of them that tooke him vp, gaue vp the ghost, vnto the great greefe and hindrance of the Christian commonweale: for *Saladin* hearing of his approch, was so afraid of him, as that he began to doubt, not how to keepe that he had before woon in SYRIA, but how to defend himselfe in ÆGIPT. Thus miserably perished this worthie emperour, the tenth of Iune, in the yeare of grace 1190, being then of the age of seuentie yeares, whereof he had with much trouble raigned eight and thirtie. His dead bodie was caried along with the armie, and afterward with all funerall pompe buried in the cathedrall church at TYRE. H I K L

Fredericke the emperours sonne chosen generall of the Christian armie.

Fredericke the emperour thus dead, *Fredericke* his sonne duke of SVEVIA, was by the generall consent of the princes in the armie chosen generall in his steed: vpon whom with the rest of the armie, yet mourning for the death of the emperour, the Turkes gaue a sudden and fierce charge, in hope so to haue ouerthrown them: But finding greater resistance than they had before supposed, and hauing lost some of their men, they with like speed that they came, retired againe. Now began famine (one of the ordinarie attendants of great armies) to increase in the campe: for why, the Turkes for that purpose had before destroied, or carried away all that was in the countrie, leauing nothing for the Christians more than the bare ground. Wherefore M

Frede-

A *Fredericke* turning a little out of the way, came to ANTIOCH, which was easily deliuered vnto him, and his hungrie souldiers well refreshed by the citizens, being as yet for the most part Christians. But he had not there staied past fifteene daies for the refreshing of his armie, but that the plague (the handmaid of famine and another scourge of the greatest multitudes) began to rage among his souldiers, in such sort, that he was glad with his armie to forsake the citie and to get him abroad againe into the open field: where foorthwith newes was brought vnto him, that *Dodequin* generall of such forces as *Saladin* had sent for out of ÆGYPT (which were not small) was by great journeis comming towards him: against whom he in good order set forward, with his fathers corse still carried in the middest of his armie. These two armies meeting together, and *A great battell betwixt the Turks and the Christians.*
B both willing to fight, joyned a great and doubtfull battell, fortune enclining now to the one side, and by and by to the other; the Christians exceeding their enemies in valour, and they them againe in number. At length the Christians in the vauntguard began to retire, and they that seconded them were also hardly charged: when *Fredericke* mindfull of his fathers valour, with a troupe of valiant horsemen brake into the enemies battell, with such force, that the Turkes were glad to giue ground: after whom *Leopold* duke of AVSTRIA comming presently on with his footmen, brought such a feare vpon the whole armie of the Turkes, that they betooke themselues to speedie flight. In this battell were foure thousand of the enemies slaine, with small losse of the Christians; and about one thousand mo taken prisoners, with fifteene of their ensignes. After which victorie, *Fredericke* marching further in CÆLO-SYRIA, pacified LAODICEA then
C in mutinie, and like to haue been deliuered vnto the Turks. He also with a little labour tooke BERYTHVS with diuers other cities of SIRIA, which before belonging vnto the kings of HIERUSALEM, were now reuolted vnto the Turks. So afterward comming to TYRE, he there solemnly buried his father (dead, as is before said:) & from thence certified *Guy* the king (still lying with the other Christian princes at the siege of PTOLEMAIS) of his comming: who forthwith sent the Marques of MONT-FERRAT, with part of the fleet to transport him with his people that were left, by sea: for that by land he could not so safely haue come, being now but weake, for meeting with *Saladin*; who with a great armie lay still houering about his besieged citie, intentiue to all opportunitie. So was duke *Frederick* with his souldiers yet left, safely by sea conducted from TYRE to the campe at PTOLEMAIS, and there joyfully receiued by the king and
D the other princes, with the generall applause of the whole campe.

In the meane time the Turks sayling out of the citie of PTOLEMAIS, had done great harme among the Christians, by whom they were not without some losse againe repulsed. But after the comming of duke *Frederick* and his Germains, it was thought good by the generall consent of all the great commanders in the armie, that the citie should be assaulted round: and to that purpose was euery mans regiment appointed what place to assaile. The king himself with the Tem- *Ptolemais assaulted by the Christians.*
plars and the Italians from PISA, vndertooke that part of the citie which was toward the sea: vnto duke *Frederick* and his Germains was allotted all betwixt the bridge ouer the riuer BELE, and the bishops palace: the Venetians, Genowaies, and knights Hospitalers, were appointed vnto the rest of the wall as farre as the court of *Raymund:* the Frislanders, Flemings, and Hol-
E landers, tooke vp all the rest of the wall vnto the sea side. Thus was the citie at once in euerie side assailed by the Christians, with such furie, as if they had thereon purposed to gage their whole forces; seeking by a thousand wounds, and a thousand kinds of death to haue by their scaling ladders, gained the top of the wals; the Turks with no lesse courage still beating them down againe. But in the heat of this so dreadfull and desperat an assault, *Saladin* still houering aloofe, came now vpon the sudden & assailed the camp of the Christians, filling the same with feare and tumult: whose charge they that were left for the defence of the same, at the first notably receiued, but finding themselues too weake, began to giue ground; by which means the Turks tooke certaine tents with some ensignes, and fired some other of the pauilions of the Christians, hauing slaine somewhat mo than an hundred of the defendants.

F The Christians in the meane time little preuailing in the assault, & troubled with the danger of their campe, retired to the reliefe thereof. But the Turke perceiuing himselfe too weake for the whole power of the Christians, retired also; yet not with such hast, but that he had there almost lost himselfe. This notable assault was giuen the fourteenth of October: after which many light skirmishes passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks, but more for bootie than for any other great purpose.

In

In the meane time, diuers great princes of the West that had vowed themselues vnto this sa- G
cred warre came thither, whose number rather increased the want of victuals than furthered the seruice. At which time also the discord betwixt *Guy* the king (whose wife and children were now dead) and *Conrade* marquesse of MONT-FERRAT (who had married *Isabell* the late queenes sister, by whom he pretended a claime vnto the title of the imaginarie kingdome) did much harme vnto the proceedings of the Christians: So pleasing a thing these haughtie stiles be vnto the loftie minds of the ambitious. Shortly after the Christians yet lying at the siege, the contagion and famine still encreasing, it fortuned that duke *Frederick* fell sicke of the plague, whereof he died: and with the great mourning of the whole armie, was afterward solemnly buried fast by his father in the cathedrall church at TYRE. After whose death the Christians attempted no H
great matter against the citie, although they were oftentimes by the Turkes prouoked, but lay still strongly entrenched, expecting some greater aid from the princes of the West.

Now all the hope of the Christian affaires in SIRIA, and in the land of PALESTINE, rested vpon the comming of the two mightie princes, *Philip* the second of that name king of FRANCE, and *Richard* the first king of ENGLAND: who hauing agreed betwixt themselues, with their combined forces to relieue the distressed Christians of the East; and againe (if it were possible) to repaire the broken state of the kingdome of HIERUSALEM, were now met together at MARSEILLES in PROVENCE. From whence the French king first departing with his fleet for CICILIA, and with a prosperous gale for certaine daies holding on his course, & now come nigh vnto the island; was by force of a furious tempest suddenly arising, so tossed and tum- I
bled in the deepe, that many of his ships there perished, eaten vp of the sea; others by force of weather driuen vpon the sands and rocks, were there broken all to pieces; and the rest some with their masts broken, some with their tacklings and sailes rent, and all in generall sore weatherbeaten, with much adoe arriued at MESSANA the desired port: at which place king *Richard* afterwards (but with better fortune) arriued with his fleet also. Both the kings now met together, resolued there to winter: the French king enforced by necessitie so to doe, for the repairing of the late losses he had receiued, as well in his people and prouision, as in his shipping; all which was to be relieued by new supplies out of FRANCE: and the king of ENGLAND staying to take order for the dowrie of his sister *Ioan* (widdow of *William* the late king of CICILIA) with *Tancred* the base sonne of *Roger*, that had now aspired vnto the kingdome of that island. About K
which matter great stirs arise betwixt king *Richard* the queenes brother, and *Tancred* the new king, in so much that it was like to haue broken out into open warre, had it not to the good contentment of king *Richard* beene otherwise taken vp, and so the controuersie ended. But whilst these two great kings thus wintred in this fruitfull island, and oftentimes as good friends met together, sometime for their disport, and sometime to confer of their so waightie affaires; the way (as was thought) to haue appeased all former displeasure, and to haue encreased loue: it fell out cleane contrarie, jealousie and distrust, not onely reuiuing the old, but also still raising new quarrels betwixt them, to the great hinderance of the common good by them intended: which may serue for a warning to all great princes, willing to continue in amitie & to hold a good opinion one of another, Neuer to see one the other; or comming so to an interuiew, not to con- L
uerse or stay long together: which as it is not often done without the danger of their persons, so can it not possibly be long continued, but that it will engender in themselues as well as in their followers, jealousie, enuie, hatred, and mistrust (as we haue before said) and hereafter in the course of this historie may appeare.

An old grudge betwixt Philip the French king and Richard king of England

There was an old quarrell betwixt these two great kings, *Richard* and *Philip*, about *Adela* the French kings sister; whom *Richard* hauing before (his father yet liuing) affianced, had now rejected, as her whom his aged father *Henrie* the second had too familiarly vsed: and in steed of her, to the great disgrace of the French, espoused the ladie *Berengaria*, daughter to the king of NAVAR: which indignitie with diuers others, then arising betwixt the French and the English, as then with great heart burning smouldred vp in respect of the common cause then in hand, after- M
wards brake out againe, to the shamefull ouerthrow of this most honourable expedition, and lamentable disturbance of both realmes.

Winter past, and the Spring now come, the French king not altogether the best pleased: first loosed from MESSANA, and with his fleet in safetie arriued at PTOLEMAIS, where he was by the Christians, now the third yeere lying at the siege, so joyfully receiued, as if he had beene

to

A to them ſent with ſuccours from heauen. After whom, ſhortly after followed alſo king *Richard*; of whoſe fleet (by force of weather ſore beaten & diſperſed) two ſhips by the rage of the tempeſt driuen a ground vpon the coaſt of CYPRUS, were by the iſland people ſpoiled, and the men that in them had hardly eſcaped the danger of the ſea, with moſt barbarous inhumanitie, ſome ſlaine and ſome taken priſoners: the reſt of the fleet arriuing there alſo, were with like inciuilitie forbidden to land; the Cipriots readie at hand in all places to keepe them off. With which ſo great an indignitie the king juſtly mooued, and by force landing his people, with incredible celeritie and ſucceſſe ouerran the whole iſland, neuer ceaſing vntill he had made a full conqueſt thereof, and taken *Iſaack Comnenus*, commonly called the king of that iſland, and of ſome (for what reaſon I know not) emperour of the Griffons, priſoner: yet was he indeed neither king nor emperour, but
B being a man of great nobilitie and power, and of the honourable ſtocke of the *Comneni*, had in the troubleſome raigne of *Andronicus Comnenus* the emperour, his couſin, laid hold vpon that fruitfull iſland, and there tyrannized as a reputed king; vntill that now he was by king *Richard* taken priſoner, and for his vnfaithfull dealing ſent faſt bound in chaines of ſiluer into SIRIA. The king thus poſſeſſed of the whole iſland, there at LIMOZIN married the ladie *Berengaria* the king of NAVARS daughter, brought thither by *Ioan* late queene of CICILIA, the kings ſiſter. And ſo diſpoſing as he thought beſt of all things for the ſafe keeping of the iſland, ſet forward againe with his fleet towards SIRIA. Where by the way he light vpon a great ſhip of the Sultans, laded with victuals & other warlike prouiſions for the reliefe of the beſieged; all which
C became a prey vnto him. So holding on his courſe, hee at length arriued at PTOLEMAIS, where he was by the French king, and the reſt of the Chriſtians there lying, moſt honorably receiued.

King Richard reuengeth the iniurie done vnto his people by the Cipriots.

King Richard arriueth at Ptolemais.

Now had the citie of PTOLEMAIS beene three yeares beſieged by the Chriſtians, and notably defended by the Turks: during which time many an hot aſſault and bloodie skirmiſh had paſſed betwixt them. And now the eies of all men were fixed vpon the two kings of ENGLAND and FRANCE, vnto whom all the reſt offred their obedience and ſeruice. The Chriſtian campe was great, compoſed eſpecially of Engliſhmen, Frenchmen, Italians, and Almaines; not them that were left of the emperour *Frederick* his armie (for they were for the moſt part dead, or elſe returned home againe into their countries) but of ſuch as (mooued with the zeale they bare vnto
D this religious war) came dayly in great numbers thither: as did alſo many others of diuers nations, deſirous in ſome meaſure to be partakers of ſo honourable a war.

Theſe religious and venterous Chriſtians thus lying at the ſiege, had with much painefull labour vndermined one of the greateſt towres of the citie, called the Accurſed Towre, with ſome part of the wall alſo, by meanes whereof they were in hope to find a way into the citie. Wherefore all things being now in a readineſſe for the fiering of the mine, it was thought good by generall conſent, that an aſſault ſhould alſo at the ſame time be giuen vnto the citie. And thereupon euery regiment was by lot appointed which part of the wall to aſſaile, which they all with great courage vndertooke. In the heat of which aſſault, the aforeſaid vndermined towre with ſome part of the wall (the timber whereon it ſtaied, now burnt) fell down with a great fall, laying open a
E fair breach for the Chriſtians to enter. Wherwith the Turks diſmaied, forthwith craued to come to parle: which graunted, they for ſafegard of their liues yeelded foorthwith to giue vp the citie, and to reſtore vnto the Chriſtians the Holy Croſſe, with two thouſand captiues, and two hundred horſemen, ſuch as they ſhould require of all them that were in the power of *Saladin*; beſides 200000 Conſtantinopolitane duckats, to bee by him giuen vnto the two kings, for the coſt by them beſtowed in the ſiege. For payment whereof, the Turkes in the citie were to remaine as hoſtages vnder the ſafe keeping of the Chriſtians, ſo that if all the couenants aforeſaid were not within fortie daies performed by *Saladin*, they ſhould all for their liues be at the kings mercie. So was this ſtrong citie, after it had been almoſt three yeares beſieged, deliuered vp vnto the Chriſtians the 12 of Iulie, in the yeare 1191. The firſt that entred were the Germanes of Au-
F STRIA, who as if they had been the only men by whoſe valour the citie had been woon, at their firſt entrie preſumptuouſly aduaunced their enſignes vpon the top of the wals, to the great offence of all the reſt of the Chriſtian princes, but eſpecially of king *Richard*, who not vnworthely for his princely courage commonly called *Richard Cueur de Lyon*, not brooking ſo proud an indignitie, cauſed the enſignes of *Leopold* their duke, to be puld downe, and foiled vnderfoot; which ſhortly after gaue him occaſion of repentance, as ſhall be hereafter ſeene.

1191

The

The two kings poſſeſſed of the citie, deuided the ſame, with all the people and ſpoile thereof betwixt them, without regard of the reſt of the other noble Chriſtians, that had ſuſtained the whole trauaile of that long ſiege: for which cauſe moſt part of them, ſeeing themſelues ſo deluded, withdrew themſelues from them, & with one conſent ſent them word, That they would forſake them, except they were made partakers of the gaines, as they had beene of the paines. Which the two kings to content them, promiſed they ſhould. Howbeit, they delayed ſo long their promiſes, that many worthie men, conſtrained by pouertie, departed diſcontented from them into their countries. G

But long it was not, that this one citie, ſo lately gained, could containe theſe two great kings; whom two large kingdomes could not retaine in peace. For albeit that they were in bodie together preſent, and in one, and that a moſt honourable action, combined; yet were they in hearts farre aſunder, and their ſecret deſignes much different: enuie and diſtruſt ſtill reuiuing vnkindnes paſt, and miniſtring new matter of greater diſcontentments. King *Richard*, according to his noble nature, was of nothing more deſirous, than to haue the warre continued, vntill they had made a full conqueſt of SYRIA & the land of PALESTINE; and for that cauſe requeſted the French king to bind himſelfe together with him by ſolemne oath, there to ſtay yet three yeares, for the regaining of thoſe countries. But he in mind long before eſtranged from king *Richard*, and in his deepe conceit plotting matters neerer home better fitting his purpoſe, would by no meanes bee perſuaded ſo to do; but ſtill found one occaſion or other for to colour his departure. And ſhortly after (as the French Chronicles report) falling extreamely ſicke, he requeſted king *Richard* and the other Chriſtian princes to come vnto him: vnto whom being come, he in few words declared his purpoſe of returne, as followeth: H I

I cannot (my lords) longer endure the inclemencie and intemperature of the aire in this extreame hot ſeaſon. If my death might profit the Chriſtian Religion, or any one of you, or the Chriſtian commonweale; there ſhould be no diſtemperature whatſoeuer, that could ſeperate me from you, or withdraw me from hence. But more may the life of one abſent, ſerue and profit you, than the death of him preſent. I muſt of neceſſitie depart, yet at my departure I will leaue you fiue hundred men at armes, and tenne thouſand footmen, the flower and choice of all the forces of Fraunce, vnder the conduct of my couſin Odo, *duke of* BVRGVNDIE, *vnto whom I will giue pay and intertainement, with a continuall ſupplie of all things for them neceſſarie.* K

The French king ſweareth vnto king Richard, in his abſence not to inuade his territories in France.

This excuſe of the French kings, king *Richard* could not take in good part: but ſaid, That it was apparant to all men, that he abandoned the warres in SYRIA, to returne into FRAVNCE, for no other end or purpoſe, but the more eaſily to inuade the prouinces of GVIEN and NORMANDIE, now diſfurniſhed of their garriſons, and ſo ſubject to his mallice. Which point hee ſo vrged, that the French king could haue no leaue with his honour to depart, vntill ſuch time as he had by ſolemne oath bound himſelfe vnto king *Richard*, not to attempt any thing either by force or fraud againſt him, or any thing of his, vntill fiftie dayes were expired after king *Richard* his return home. Which how well it was by the French king obſerued, I leaue it to the report of the hyſtories of that time. And ſo the French king, not to be intreated longer to ſtay, leauing behind him the aforeſaid number of men he had promiſed, embarking the reſt of his armie, and accompanied with three tall ſhips of the Genowaies his friends, and *Ruffin Volta* their admirall, departed from PTOLEMAIS to TYRE, the firſt of Auguſt; and two daies after, looſing thence alongſt the coaſt of ASIA, and cutting through the Mediteranean, atriued at length in the mouth of the riuer of TYBER, and from thence went to ROME: where after he had viſited Pope *Celeſtine*, and the famous places of that moſt renowned citie, he returned againe to his fleet, and ſo by ſea arriued in ſafetie in FRAUNCE; hauing in that great expedition, ſo honourably by him intertained, performed nothing anſwerable to that the world looked for. L

After the French king, followed *Leopold* duke of AUSTRIA, with his Germans: and not long after him, the Venetians alſo, with them of PISA and GENUA. Of whoſe departure *Saladin* vnderſtanding, and that the Chriſtian forces were thereby much empaired, refuſed either to pay the money, or to reſtore the priſoners, as was promiſed at the giuing vp of PTOLEMAIS: threatning moreouer to chop off the heads of all ſuch Chriſtian captiues as he had in his power, if the king ſhould ſhew any extremitie vnto the pledges of the citie. Neuertheleſſe, ſhortly after he ſent his M

embaſſa-

A embaſſadours with great preſents vnto the king, requeſting a longer time for the ſparing of his pledges; which his requeſt, together with his gifts, the king refuſed to graunt or accept. Whereupon *Saladin* foorthwith cauſed ſuch Chriſtian captiues as were in his power, to bee beheaded: which albeit king *Richard* vnderſtood, yet would hee not preuent the time before agreed vpon for the execution of his priſoners, being the 20 day of Auguſt: vpon which day hee cauſed the Turks priſoners, to the number of 2500 (or as the French and Germans write, to the number of 7000) in the ſight of *Saladines* armie to be executed.

The loſſe of the ſtrong towne of PTOLEMAIS, much empaired the reputation of *Saladin*, euen among his owne people; as it commonly falleth out, that the euill ſucceſſe of a great commander in his affaires, altereth the good will, affection, and opinion, eſpecially of the vulgar ſort,
B which judge of all things by the euent. And albeit that his loſſes were great, and ſuch as much daunted him: yet he thought it beſt, as the caſe then ſtood, to make them greater, and with his owne hands (as it were) to ruinate and ouerthrow ſuch townes and cities as he ſaw hee could not keepe, rather than to ſuffer them whole and vndefaced to fall into the enemies hand. So carried headlong with deſpaire, he cauſed all the townes he had alongſt the ſea coaſt in SYRIA and PALESTINE, to be ſacked and ruinated, and their wals ouethrowne; eſpecially ſuch as were of moſt importance, and like to ſtand the Chriſtians in ſtead, namely PORPHIRIA, CESAREA, IOPPA, ASCALON, GAZA, and ELAM, with diuers other caſtles and citadels in the countries thereabouts; moſt part whereof were againe by king *Richard* and the Templars fortified and repeopled, although *Saladin* in the meane time did what he might to haue letted the ſame.

C Nothing more hindred the good proceeding of the Chriſtian princes, in this, and other their moſt honourable expeditions againſt the Infidels, than the diſcord among themſelues; one ſtill enuying at anothers honour, and euery one jealous of his owne. Great ſtrife and heart burning there had beene betweene the two kings of FRAVNCE and ENGLAND, during the time they were together in this ſacred expedition, to the great hinderance of the ſame: No leſſe contention had there ben betwixt *Guy* the late king of HIERUSALEM, and *Conrade* marques of MONTFERRAT, about the title of that loſt kingdome: whereby the whole power of the Chriſtians in SIRIA was deuided into two factions. *Richard* king of ENGLAND, *Baldwin* earle of FLAUNDERS, *Henrie* earle of CHAMPAINE, the knights Hoſpitalers of Saint *Iohn*, the Venetians and Piſans, taking part with *Guy*: And *Philip* the french king, *Odo* duke of BURGUNDIE, *Ro-*
D *dolph* earle of CLAREMONT, the Templers, the Genowayes, the Lantgraue of THURIN, *Leopold* duke of AVSTRIA, and *Robert* countie of NASSAU, taking part with *Conrade* the marques. But *Conrade* ſhortly after the taking of PTOLOMAIS being ſlaine, by two of the deſperate Aſſaſsins, or (as ſome others ſay) by two deſperate ruffians (ſuborned thereunto by the prince of TORONE, in reuenge of the diſpite done vnto him by the ſaid marques, by taking from him *Iſabell* his eſpouſed wife) as he was walking in his citie of TYRE and doubting no ſuch treaſon: king *Richard* ſeeing now a fit occaſion offered for the vtter extinguiſhing of that claime, and how to intitle himſelfe vnto that kingdome; perſuaded the aforeſaid *Iſabell* (the widdow of the late Marques, and in whoſe right hee had laied claime vnto the kingdome) to relinquiſh that ſo troubleſome a title, and to take to her husband *Henry* earle of CHAMPAINE, his nephew,
E vnto whom he gaue the citie of TYRE: *Guy* the king exclaiming to the contrarie, as of a wrong done vnto himſelfe. Shortly after he began alſo to temper with *Guy*, perſuading him to reſigne vnto him that little right and intereſt hee had in the kingdome of HIERUSALEM, and in lieu thereof to receiue at his hands the kingdome of CIPRUS. Which his offer the poore king was glad to accept. By which exchange *Guy* became king of CIPRUS: and *Richard*, king of HIERUSALEM; which honorable title he afterwards, as ſome report, vſed in his ſtile, as did ſome others his ſucceſſors the kings of ENGLAND after him. So *Guy* with all his wealth paſsing ouer into CIPRUS, took poſſeſsion of the kingdome, where he long liued not. Neuertheleſſe, that pleaſant kingdome continued in his familie of the Luſignans, by the ſpace of about 283 yeares afterwards:
F vntill that at length that familie failing in the poſthumus ſonne of *Iames* the baſtard, laſt king of that Iſland, it fell into the hands of the Venetians: by whom it was holden as a part of their ſeignorie almoſt an hundred yeares, vntill that it was in our freſh remembrance again from them taken by *Selymus* the ſecond, great emperour of the Turks, in the yeare 1571, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie ſhall in due place (God willing) be declared.

King Richard marcheth with his army towards Hieruſalem.

Now was king *Richard*, for the increaſe of his honour, more deſirous than before of the citie of

of HIERUSALEM, as the moſt precious and honourable prize of all that religious warre. And G
thereupon with all the power of the Chriſtians then at his command, ſet forward from PTO-
LEMAIS, and was come on his way as farre as ARSUA, a towne ſituate betwixt CÆSAREA
and IOPPE. In the vauward was king *Richard* himſelfe, with the Engliſhmen: after whom fol-
lowed *Odo*, duke of BVRGVNDIE, with his French: and in the rereward *Iaques de Auenes*, with
the Flemmings, Brabanders, and Wallons, who after the death of their countie *Philip* at the ſiege
of PTOLEMAIS, had put themſelues all vnder his regiment. *Saladin* with a great armie ſtill at
hand, and as it were attending vpon them, firſt with certaine ambuſcadoes charged the rere-
ward, and ſo afterward came on with his whole power: vpon whom *Iaques* turning himſelfe,
with his Flemmings, receiued the charge with great aſſurance, and ſo long themſelues endured H
the ſame, vntill the French came in to their ſuccours, and after them the Engliſh alſo. There was
fought a notable battell, and great valour ſhewed both on the one ſide and the other, but eſpe-
cially by them of the Turkes part; who knew well the purpoſe of the Chriſtians for the beſie-
ging of HIERUSALEM, and that thereon depended their onely hope, and that hee that could
hold the ſame, might almoſt aſſure himſelfe to carrie away the glorie of that warre. The French
and Engliſh in that battell honorably ſtroue who might ſhew the greateſt valour: neither would
the Low countrey men vnder *Iaques* their generall, ſeeme to bee any thing behind them. This
ſharpe conflict began about noone, and continued vntill the going downe of the Sunne. King
Richard (as ſome write) was there wounded with an arrow; and *Iaques* valiantly there fighting,
was ſlaine, hauing ſold his life deere, to the great admiration of the infidels, and dying left the vi- I
ctorie vnto the Chriſtians. It is reported, that in this battell were ſlaine moe Turks and Saraſins
than in any one battell within the memorie of man before: of the Chriſtians were not loſt any
great number, either any man of name, more than the aforeſaid *Iaques*, the valiant generall of
the Flemmings,

A notable battel fought betwixt king Richard & Saladin.

The next day the Chriſtians remooued to BETHLEM, a towne about the mid way betwixt
IOPPE and HIERUSALEM. But Winter now comming faſt on, and want of victuals like
ynough to increaſe, the king changing his mind for the ſiege, returned with the greateſt part of
the armie to ASCALON, which he that Winter new fortefied, the wals thereof being before by
Saladin in his deſpaire demoliſhed: the duke of BVRGVNDIE, with his Frenchmen, all that
while quietly wintering at TYRE. In the meane time, the power of the Chriſtians was that K
Winter greatly deminiſhed, ſome one way departing from the campe, and ſome another: The
Italians for the moſt part, with them of PISA (who in theſe three yeares warres had ſtriuen with
the Venetians for the honour of their ſeruice) were now returned home, as were the Venetians
themſelues alſo. Neuertheleſſe, Winter now paſt, and the Spring time come, king *Richard* took
the field againe, and came to BETHLEM: where by the way hee met with an exceeding great
number of cammels, charged with great ſtore of victuals and munition, ſent by *Saladin* out of
ÆGYPT to HIERUSALEM, all which he tooke. But purpoſing to haue gone on to the ſiege of
HIERUSALEM, he was by the backwardneſſe of the French glad to change his purpoſe, and to
returne to PTOLEMAIS: for the Frenchmen, perſuaded by the duke their generall (who well
knew the French kings mind) That if any thing woorth remembrance were done, it was to bee L
done by them, and that the glorie thereof ſhould wholly redound vnto the king of ENGLAND,
as there in perſon preſent, and to his Engliſhmen; ſhewed themſelues ſo vnwilling to the ſiege, as
that therin was nothing done; to the great griefe of that worthy prince. At which time alſo news
was brought vnto king *Richard*, How that *Philip* the French king (forgetfull of his ſolemne pro-
miſe made before his departure out of SYRIA) had now inuaded the country of NORMANDIE,
and excited earle *Iohn* (the kings brother, a man of an hautie & aſpiring nature) to take vpon him
the kingdome of ENGLAND in his abſence: as had before in like caſe *William* the yonger brother
ſerued duke *Robert* his elder brother, then abſent at his father the Conquerours death, in the firſt
ſacred expedition vnder *Godfrey* of BVILLON. Wherfore king *Richard*, beſide the preſent diffi-
culties, fearing leaſt while he was ſo far off in wars for defence of the Chriſtian commonweale, he M
might loſe his kingdome at home; thought it beſt to grow to ſome good end with *Saladin*, and ſo
to make his returne. But the politicke and watie Sultan, not ignorant of the diſcord of the Chriſti-
ans, and that their forces daily decaied in SYRIA; either of the troubled eſtate of the kings affairs
at home in his kingdome, or of his deſire to returne; would not hearken to any other conditions
of peace, but ſuch as might both for the preſent, weaken the forces of the Chriſtians in SIRIA, and

King Richard purpoſing to haue beſieged Hieruſalem, is by the backwardnes of the French enforced to retire.

King Richard glad vpon hard conditions to cõclude a peace with Saladin.

diſcourage

A discourage others that had a mind to come thither afterward, whē they should see that for naught they should trauell to conquer that, which in the end they must of necessitie restore againe. The conditions he offered, were, That the Christians should foorthwith restore whatsoeuer they had woon in those three years wars, PTOLEMAIS only excepted; and that from thenceforth for the space of fiue yeares the Turks should not in any thing molest the Christians, but to suffer them in peace to liue by them: which hard conditions (for that no better could be had) the king was glad to accept, and so concluded a peace. Wherby the labor and trauell of the two great kings, and so many nations with them, were all become frustrat and vaine; hauing now to no purpose lost their men, their money, their time, their hope, their blood, their long trauell, to gaine that they must now in one houre forgo; nothing more left vnto the poore Christians in SYRIA, than
B the cities of ANTIOCH, TYRE, and PTOLEMAIS.

This done, king *Richard* leauing the affaires of ASIA vnto the charge of *Henrie* countie of CHAMPAGNE his nephew, shipping the greatest part of his people, with his wife *Berengaria*, first for SICILIA and from thence for ENGLAND, where they in safetie at length arriued, followed shortly after with some few himselfe, where by the way by extremitie of weather, he was in the Adriatique driuen to land vpon the coast of HISTRIA: where trauelling with a small retinue homewards in the habit of a Templar, he was discouered and taken prisoner by *Leopold* duke of AVSTRIA, whom he had before disgraced at the winning of PTOLEMAIS (as is before declared:) who now glad to haue him in his power, made prize of him, and sold him to *Henrie* the emperor, for fortie thousand pounds, by whom he was kept prisoner by the space of a yeare and
C three months, and then ransomed for the summe of an hundred and fiftie thousand pounds.

King Richard returning out of the Holy land taken prisoner by Leopold duke of Austria.

About this time died the great Sultan *Saladin*, the greatest terrour of the Christians: who mindfull of mans fragilitie and the vanitie of worldly honours, commanded at the time of his death no solemnitie to be vsed at his buriall, but onely his shirt in manner of an ensigne, made fast vnto the point of a launce to be carried before his dead bodie as an ensigne, a plaine priest going before, and crying aloud vnto the people in this sort: *Saladin Conquerour of the East, of all the greatnesse and riches hee had in his life, carrieth not with him after his death any thing more than his shirt.* A sight woorthie so great a king, as wanted nothing to his eternall commendation, more than the true knowledge of his saluation in Christ Iesu. He raigned about sixteene yeares with great honour, and dying, left nine sonnes, which were all murthered by *Saphradin*
D their vncle, excepting one called also *Saphradin* Sultan of ALEPPO, who by the fauour and support of his fathers good friends, saued himselfe from the treacherous practises of his vncle. Of this *Saphradin* the vncle, discended *Meledin* Sultan of ÆGYPT, and *Coradin* Sultan of DAMASCO and HIERUSALEM: *Saladin* his great kingdome being by them now againe rent in pieces.

The death of *Saladin* in short time bruited abroad, with the discord amongst the Turks and Sarasins, about his dominions; put *Celestinus* (then Pope) in good hope, that the citie of HIERUSALEM might in that change and hurle, be easily againe recouered, and that kingdome established. But when hee had in vaine dealt to that purpose with the kings of FRANCE and ENGLAND (then altogether busied in their wars the one against the other) he perswaded *Henrie* the
E sixt, then emperor, to take the matter in hand: who (for that he well could not, or else would not himselfe in person vndertake that long expedition) sent *Henrie* duke of SAXONIE his lieutenant with a great armie into ASIA: vnto whom were joyned two Legats, *Conradus* Archbishop of MOGUNSIA another of the electours, and *Conradus* the bishop of HERBIPOLIS. At which time also many other great princes tooke vpon them that holy war, namely, *Herman* Lantgraue of THURIN, *Henrie* Palatine of RHENE, *Henrie* duke of BRABANT, *Conrad* marques of MORAVIA, *Frederick* duke of AUSTRIA, and *Albertus Hapspurgensis*, with some others: vnto whom also joyned themselues the bishops of BREME, HALBERSTAT, and
F RATISBON, with diuers other great prelates. Who hauing passed through HUNGARIE and THRACIA, and by the Greeke emperour *Alexius Angelus* relieued with all things necessarie, were by the Græcian ships transported vnto ANTIOCH, and so by land came to TYRE, and from thence to PTOLEMAIS, with purpose to haue gone to relieue the Germains besieged in IOPPE; who before their comming were all by treason slaine and the citie rased, wherefore being come to the ruins thereof, they departed thence to SIDON, which they found also abandoned by the Turks. After that they tooke BERITHUS, which citie they fortified, and so went to

beſiege TORONE; which citie when they had brought vnto the extremitie as that it muſt needs (as it was thought) either yeeld or bee taken, the Turkes came on ſo faſt to the reliefe therof, that the Chriſtians were glad to raiſe their ſiege and to be gone: which they in garriſon at BERITHUS perceiuing,& ſeeing the enemie to approch them,they abandoned the citie,and joyning themſelues vnto the reſt of the armie marched all together to IOPPE, a little before ruinated, which they now againe fortified. But the enemie comming to BERITHUS, and finding it forſaken raſed it downe to the ground,and ſo in few moneths ſpace was BERITHUS both repaired and raſed in the yeere 1197.

1197

The Turks ouerthrown by the Chriſtians.

But whileſt the Chriſtians were repairing the citie of IOPPE, the Turks proud of that they had done at BERITHUS, came now to diſturbe alſo the fortifying of that place. Of whoſe comming the Chriſtians vnderſtanding, remooued by night about fiue miles from the citie, of purpoſe to draw the Turks vnto a conuenient place for battell. The Turks thinking them to haue beene fled for feare, ſent part of their armie to aſſaile the citie: and with the other followed after them diſorderedly, as if it had beene after men they had had in chace. Vpon whom the Chriſtians turning, had with them at the firſt a ſharpe encounter, but afterwards put them to flight: in which conflict certaine thouſands of the Turks fell; of whom the Chriſtians taking the ſpoile, and hauing put the reſt to flight, returned againe vnto the fortifying of the citie. But the joy of this victorie was by the ſudden death of two of the greateſt princes in the armie,greatly diminiſhed: for the duke of SAXONIE hauing in the battell taken great paines in performing the parts both of a woorthie generall and valiant ſouldier,had ouer heated himſelfe, and thereupon without regard of his health taking cold,died of a feauer the fourth day after. The duke of AUSTRIA mortally wounded in the battell,died alſo the night following.

Ioppe repaired by the Chriſtians

About this time,or not long after,died *Celeſtinus* the pope,author of this expedition;and *Henrie* alſo the Germaine emperour: after whoſe death great troubles began to ariſe in GERMANIE about the chuſing of a new emperour. Whereof the biſhop of MOGUNSIA, then chiefe commander of the armie of the Chriſtians in SIRIA, one of the electors, and the other Germaine princes with him hauing intelligence, could not by any perſuaſion or praiers of the poore Chriſtians (in whoſe quarrell they were come) bee perſuaded longer to ſtay, but that needs home they would,& indeed home they went the ſame way that they came. After whoſe departure the Turks tooke IOPPE,hauing one of the ports betraied vnto them by one of the citie,at ſuch time as the Germains there in garriſon,after the manner of their countrey, vpon S.Martins day were careleſly making merrie together in their pots: vpon whom,ſo ſurcharged with wine,the Turks entring by the port giuen vnto them, put them all with the reſt of the Chriſtians to the ſword, and ſo afterward raſed the citie downe to the ground. Of which victorie they became ſo proud, that they had thought without ſtop to haue driuen the Chriſtians quite out of SIRIA: but by the comming of *Simon* countie of MONT-FORT (a moſt valiant and expert captaine ſent thither by *Philip* the French king with a regiment of tall ſoldiers, at the inſtance of *Innocentius Tertius* that ſucceeded *Celeſtinus* in the papacie) and by ciuill diſcord then raigning among the Turks themſelues for ſoueraigntie, their furie was repreſſed, and a peace betwixt them and the Chriſtians concluded for the ſpace of ten yeares; during which time the Turks promiſed not to moleſt the Chriſtians in TYRE or PTOLEMAIS: which hapned in the yeare 1199 (or as ſome others ſay 1198.) After which peace ſo concluded,the woorthie countie returned again with his ſouldiers into FRANCE: with whom we alſo will repaire into the leſſer ASIA (whither the courſe both of the time and of the hiſtorie now calleth vs) to ſee the other greater affaires of the Turks in thoſe Eaſtern countries; leauing for a ſeaſon theſe poore remainders of ſo many Chriſtians in TYRE and PTOLEMAIS, now for a while in peace,but to be ere long deuoured of the infidels their enemies, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall in due time and place appeare.

1199

The Germaine princes returne home.

The

The ruine of the Turks first Empire in Persia: with the succesſe of their ſecond kingdome in the leſſer Asia vnder the Aladin Kings.

Kingdomes after the manner of other things haue but their time to flouriſh in, and ſo againe decay.

AS no kingdome or Empire vpon earth (were it neuer ſo flouriſhing or great) was euer yet ſo aſſured, but that in the reuolution of time, after the manner of other worldly things, it hath as a ſicke bodie been ſubject vnto many ſtrange innouations and changes, and at length come to nothing: ſo fared it now with the Turkiſh empire, which firſt planted by *Tangrolipix* in PERSIA and the other far Eaſterne countries, increaſed by *Axan* his ſonne, and ſo by the Turkiſh Sultans their ſucceſſors (although their names and doings, as too farre off, be not vnto vs all knowne) for the ſpace of one hundred and ſeuentie yeareas continued, muſt now (I ſay) giue place vnto a greater power, and ſettle it ſelfe elſewhere, the ineuitable deſtinie thereof ſo requiring. It fortuned that about this time (when in the ſpace of a few yeares ſuch mutations as had not before of long beene ſeene, chanced in diuers great monarchies and ſtates) that the Tartars or rather Tattars, inhabiting the large, cold, and bare countries in the North ſide of ASIA (of all others a moſt barbarous, fierce, and needie nation) ſtirred vp by their owne wants, and the perſuaſion of one *Zingis* (or as ſome call him, *Cangis*) holden amongſt them for a great prophet, and now by them made their leader, and honoured with the name of *Vlu-Chan*, that is to ſay, the Mightie king (commonly called the great *Cham*) flocking together in number like the ſand of the ſea; and conquering firſt their poore neighbours of condition and qualitie like themſelues, and eaſie enough to bee entreated with them to ſeeke their better fortune, like ſwarms of graſhoppers ſent out to deuour the world: paſſed the high mountaine CAUCASUS, part of the mountaine TAURUS of all the mountaines in the world the greateſt, which beginning neere vnto the ARCHIPELAGO, and ending vpon the orientall OCEAN, and running through many great and famous kingdomes diuideth ASIA into two parts: ouer which great mountaine, one of the moſt aſſured bounders of nature, that had ſo many worlds of yeares ſhut vp this rough and ſauage people, they now paſsing without number, and comming downe (as it were) into an other world, full of ſuch natures pleaſant delights as neuer were to them before ſeene, bare downe all before them as they went, nothing being now able to ſtand in their way. Old *Zingis* their fortunate leader dead in this ſo great an expedition, *Hoccata* his ſonne, eldeſt of his twelue brethren, a man of great wiſedome and courage, tooke vpon him his fathers place: who ſending part of his great armie for the ſubduing of the countries Weſtward, turned himſelfe with a world of people towards the Eaſt: where hauing ſubdued the Bactrians and Sogdians, with diuers others he entred into INDIA, and ſubduing that rich countrey on both ſides the riuer INDUS, euen to the Eaſt OCEAN, there in the countrey of CATHAI built the famous citie of CAMBALU, in circuit eight and twentie miles about; for pleaſure and plentie of all things neceſſarie for the life of man, of all the cities of ASIA the chiefe: where the great *Cham* of TARTARIE ſtill reſiant as in his emperiall citie, commaundeth ouer one of the greateſt and ſtrongeſt empires of the world. In whoſe kingdome alſo, in the prouince of MANGY more towards the Eaſt, hee hath another moſt famous citie called QUINSAY, of all the cities in the world the greateſt, in circuit an hundred miles about, as *M. Paulus Venetus* writeth, who himſelfe dwelt therein about the yeare 1260. It is ſituate in a lake of freſh water, and hath in it twelue thouſand bridges: of which, ſome are of ſuch an heigth that tall ſhips with their ſailes vp may eaſily paſſe vnder them. In this populous citie the great *Cham* hath for the keeping thereof, alwaies thirtie thouſand men in garriſon. The Tartar kingdome thus planted in CAMBALU, *Hoccata* contenting

ting himſelfe with the rich pleaſures of INDIA, afterward mannaged his wars by his lieutenants, G
being for the moſt part his brethren, or other his nigh kinſmen; of whom hee ſent out with his armies ſome Northward, ſome Weſtward, and ſome toward the South: by whom he ſubdued the Arachoſians, Margians, and diuers other great nations, & entring into PERSIA, ſubdued the
The Turks driuē out of Perſia by the Tartars. countrey, with all PARTHIA, ASSYRIA, MESOPOTAMIA, & MEDIA. At this time in the citie BALCH or BELCH, in the countrey of CHORASAN in the fartheſt part of PERSIA, raigned ouer the Turks one *Curſumes*, of the Greekes called *Corſantes*; who finding himſelfe far too weake to ſtand before the Tartarians, fled with all his people, leauing vnto them both the citie and the countrey, which he and the Turks his predeceſſours had euer ſince the time of *Tangrolipix* poſſeſſed: which citie the Tartars raſed and tooke the countrey to themſelues. In this gene- H
rall flight of the Turks, when as euery man was glad to make what ſhift he might for himſelfe, *Curſumes* their Sultan died, the laſt of the kings of the *Selzuccian* family that raigned ouer the Turks in PERSIA: whoſe ſonne *Vgnan Chan* taking vpon him the leading of ſuch multitudes of Turks as followed his father, ceized vpon the great citie of BABYLON, now called BAGADAT, neere vnto the ruines of the old BABYLON: where hauing put to the ſword all the inhabitants thereof, he there, and in the countrey thereabout ſeated himſelfe with the Turks his followers: but long he had not there reſted, but that the Tartars hearing thereof, purſued him, tooke him priſoner, & expulſed thēce all his people. There was at the ſame time alſo another kingdom of the Turks at NACHAN a citie in PERSIA, giuing name vnto the countrey wherein it ſtood, not farre from CHORASAN: wherein then raigned one *Solyman* of the *Oguzian* family, as had I
diuers other of his progenitors before him, who terrified with this dreadfull ſtorme ſo ſuddenly riſen out of the North, and warned by the ſudden fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultan & his kingdome, of farre greater fame and power than himſelfe or his, fled alſo with ſuch his ſubjects as would follow him into the leſſer ASIA. But of him and his proceedings more ſhall bee ſaid hereafter in the riſing of the victorious *Othoman* family, as lineally from him diſcended. After this the Tartars together with their good fortune ſtill extending the bounds of their empire, conquered ARMENIA the greater, with the countries of CHOLCHIS and IBERIA: ſo that now their empire was become of all others the greateſt and moſt flouriſhing. This great conquerour (the Tartar) had in his proud conceit purpoſed to haue ſubdued all ASIA, and to haue made the ſea the
onely bounder of his empire: but ouercome with the delicacies of INDIA, hauing diuided a- K
mongſt his people thoſe great prouinces and fruitfull countries, with the rich cities and pleaſant fields, he ſo reſted, embracing the maners and ſuperſtition of the people he had ouercome. Long it were and farre from our purpoſe to recount all the famous victories and conqueſt of this bare Northren people; ſufficeth it to the hiſtorie we haue in hand, that the Turks were by them then driuen out of PERSIA, with the countries thereabouts, and their *Togran* kingdome (as they call it) firſt founded by *Tangrolipix*, there extinguiſhed, about the yeare of our Lord 1202. The
1202 Turkes thus driuen out of PERSIA and their kingdome ouerthrown, retired themſelues into the leſſer ASIA, poſſeſſed by the Turkes their countreymen, long before brought thither by
The beginning of the Aladinian kingdome in the leſſer Aſia, at Sebaſtia and Iconium. *Cutlu-Muſes* and his ſonnes (as is before declared) and by them euer ſince in ſome part, though with diuers fortune, holden. Where theſe Turkes now arriuing out of PERSIA vnder the lea- L
ding of *Aladin*, the ſonne of *Kei Huſreu*, diſcended alſo of the *Selzuccian* family in PERSIA, and taking the opportunitie offred them by the mortall diſcord of the Latines with the Greekes, and the Greeks among themſelues, ceized vpon CILICIA with the countries thereabouts, and there firſt at SEBASTIA, and afterward at ICONIUM, erected their new kingdome; which of this *Aladin* is by the Turks called the kingdome of the *Aladin* kings, although their names were not all ſo.

Now about this time, and within the courſe of ſome few yeares after, ſuch great and ſtrange mutations happened in the Conſtantinopolitane empire, as had not therein at any time before beene ſeene: whereby the whole eſtate of that great empire which ſometime commanded ouer a great part of the world, was almoſt vtterly ſubuerted, and a fit opportunitie giuen vnto the M
Turks and infidels for the ſure ſetling of themſelues, and eſtabliſhing of their kingdomes both in SYRIA and the leſſer ASIA: which briefly to run thorow ſhall not be from our purpoſe; their affaires proſpering by theſe troubles, and their proud and ſtately empire that now braueth all the reſt of the world, being raiſed out of the ruines of that Chriſtian empire; and at this preſent triumphing euen in the ſame imperiall citie wherein theſe ſo great innouations hapned through

the

A the working of ambitious heads, to the lamentable ruine and deſtruction of a great part of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Alexius the vſurper, but now emperour, not contented (as is before declared) traiterouſly to haue depriued *Iſaack* his elder brother of his empire and ſight together: ſought alſo after the life of the young prince *Alexius*, his brothers ſonne, and heire apparent of the empire: who ſeeing the villanie committed in the perſon of his father, ſaued himſelfe by flight from the furie of his vncle, and ſo accompanied with certaine great lords of the Greekes, his fathers friends, fled to craue aid of the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, whom the Grecians commonly call the Latins. And firſt he tooke his way to *Philip* the Germane emperour, who had married *Irene* his ſiſter, B the emperour *Iſaack* his daughter, by whom he was moſt honourably receiued and entertained. This great ladie, not a little mooued with the miſerie of her father, and the flight of her brother, ceaſed not moſt inſtantly to ſolicite the emperour her husband, not to leaue vnreuenged ſo great a villanie, by the example thereof, dangerous vnto himſelfe and others of like majeſtie and ſtate. She declared vnto him, what an execrable indignitie it was, to ſee her father the emperor vnworthely impriſoned, depriued of his empire, and ſight, and of the ſocietie of men, by his brother, that had by him receiued and recouered his life, his light, and his libertie: and to ſee the heire apparent of the empire baniſhed by the wickedneſſe of his vncle, to wander vp and downe here and there like a beggar: a great part of which diſgrace, as ſhee ſaid, redounded vnto her ſelfe, the daughter of *Iſaack*, and ſiſter to the young wandering prince, and to himſelfe alſo the ſonne in law vnto the C vnfortunat emperour her father. Moreouer ſhe ſaid, that the murderer *Alexius* durſt neuer haue been ſo hardie as to commit ſo great and deteſtable a villanie, if he had not lightly regarded and contemned the majeſtie of the ſaid *Philip*; whom if he had had in any reuerence or honour, or at all feared, he durſt not haue attempted ſo villanous an act. This Greeke ladie, mooued with juſt griefe, with theſe and ſuch like complaints ſo preuailed with her husband, that he promiſed her to be in ſome part thereof reuenged, which he could not for the preſent performe, letted by the wars he then had with *Otho* his competitour of the empire. At the ſame time it fortuned, that great preparations were in making in FRAUNCE and ITALIE, and diuers other places of Chriſtendome, for an expedition to be made againſt the Turks into the Holy land. The chiefe men wherein, were *Theobald* countie of CHAMPAGNE (a man of great fame, and generall of the Chriſtian D armie) *Boniface* marqueſſe of MONT-FERRAT, *Baldwin* earle of FLANDERS and HENAULT, and *Henrie* his brother earle of S. *Paul*, *Henrie* duke of LOVAINE, *Gualter* earle of BREAME, with diuers other noble gentlemen, which to name were tedious; vnto whom reſorted alſo many valiant and deuout Chriſtians out of diuers parts of Chriſtendome, ready to haue ſpent their liues in that ſo religious a war: ſo that now the number of them was great, and the armie right populous. But being thus aſſembled together, they thought it not beſt to take their way to CONSTANTINOPLE, through HUNGARIE and THRACE, and ſo to paſſe ouer into BITHINIA; for that the Greeks had ſtill in all former times ſhewed great vncourteſie vnto the Latins, in paſsing with their armies that way: and therfore they thought it much better now, by the way of ITALIE to take their journey by ſea into the Holy land; and for their tranſportation, eſpecially to vſe the helpe of E the Venetians, whom they found much the eaſier to be intreated, for that by the means of ſo great an armie, they were in hope to ſcoure the Adriaticke (then much infeſted by the Dalmatians) as alſo to recouer IADERA, with ſome other cities vpon the coaſt of SCLAVONIA, before reuolted from their ſtate to the Hungarians, as indeed they afterward did. But by the way as this armie was marching out of FRANCE, and come into PIEMONT, the noble countie of CHAMPAGNE, generall thereof, there fell ſick and died, to the exceeding griefe & ſorrow of the whole armie: in whoſe ſtead, the marqueſſe of MONT-FERRAT, a man of great nobilitie, and well acquainted with the wars of the Eaſt, was choſen generall. This great armie, tranſported by the Venetians into SCLAVONIA, took IADERA, with diuers other port townes along the ſea coaſt, and hauing there done what the Venetians moſt deſired, was about again to haue ben embarked for SYRIA, and ſo into F the holy land. But the yong prince *Alexius* in the meane time had by himſelfe and the noble Grecians (fled with him for feare of the tyrant) ſo wrought the matter with the Latine princes of the Weſt, eſpecially with *Innocentius tertius* the Pope, with *Philip* the emperour his brother in law, and *Philip* the French king, that they pittying his eſtate, & induced alſo with ſome other conſiderations more proper vnto themſelues, took him as it were into their protection, commending by letters & meſſengers for that purpoſe ſent vnto the armie (which they might cõmand) the defence

Alexius the yong prince craueth aid of Philip the emperour and the Latine princes againſt his vncle the vſurper.

Great preparation made by the Chriſtians for an expedition into the Holy land.

Alexius cõmeth vnto the armie.

both of himſelfe and his cauſe: who with the commendation of three ſo great princes, comming to the armie yet lying at IADERA (expecting but a faire wind for to haue paſſed into SYRIA) was there of them all moſt honorably receiued, as the ſonne of an emperour, and as became one vnto them ſo highly commended. And he himſelfe alſo, as one that knew his good, was not in any thing wanting vnto himſelfe, but recommended himſelfe to their protection, as a poore exiled prince in diſtreſſe, yet of a good and liuely ſpirit, gracious in ſpeech, beautifull to behold, and very yong; and withall, fully inſtructed by the noble Grecians that were with him, in all things that might ſerue to further his purpoſe. And foraſmuch as this great armie was compoſed of diuers nations, eſpecially of the French, Italians, and Venetians, not all to be by one meane moued, he fitted euery one of them with ſuch motiues as hee thought might moſt preuaile with them: Vnto the French he promiſed to pay the great ſummes of mony they had borrowed of the Venetians, for the furniſhing of themſelues in this war: Vnto the Venetians he promiſed to recompence thē for all the injuries they had ſuſtained by the late Conſtantinopolitan emperors, eſpecially by the emperor *Emanuell* (who for that they had refuſed to aid him in his wars againſt *William* king of SICILIE, did in one day confiſcat all the goods of the Venetian marchants within his empire, of a wonderfull value: & afterwards contrarie to the law of nations, ſhamefully intreated their embaſſadors ſent vnto him, amongſt whom was *Henry Dandulus*, now by fortune generall for the Venetians in the armie: who moued as well with the wrong in particular done vnto himſelfe, as with the common, deſired to be reuenged both of the one and of the other; which although he could not haue of *Emanuell* himſelfe, being long before dead, yet was he ſtill deſirous to haue it of ſome one of the Greeke emperours, whoſoeuer he were:) Vnto the Pope and the Italians, both he and the noblemen with him, had before promiſed, That the Greeke Church ſhould for euer acknowledge the ſupremacie of the church of ROME, and from thenceforth ſubmit it ſelfe therunto, as vnto the ſoueraigne judge of all the churches of Chriſtendome: which cauſed the Pope *Innocentius* by letters, by legates, by embaſſadours, and by all other meanes poſſible, to further the cauſe of the yong prince *Alexius*, ſo combined with his owne: alleadging the diuerſitie of opinions in matters of religion, betwixt the Greekes and the Latines, to haue been the chiefe cauſe that the Mahometanes had not been long agoe by their vnited forces ſubdued, or vtterly rooted out. In briefe, the young prince ſpared not to promiſe moſt bountifull rewards in generall to all that ſhould take his part againſt his vncle the vſurping emperour.

By this meanes, the deuout warre, taken in hand for the reliefe of the poore Chriſtians in SYRIA, was laid aſide, and the ſame forces that ſhould haue beene therein employed, now conuerted againſt the Greeke empire, to the great weakening of that ſide of the Chriſtian commonweale, and aduantage of the common enemie; who might then eaſily haue beene oppreſſed, had he with the vnited forces of the Chriſtians been on this ſide charged home, as he was on the farther by the Tartars. The Grecian warre thus reſolued vpon, it ſeemed beſt vnto the great commanders of the armie, to march directly to CONSTANTINOPLE, as to the head of the Grecian ſtate, and place where the tyrant whom they ſought after, was reſiant. In the mean time it was by them giuen out through all the Greeke cities which the emperour had ſtrongly manned and fortefied for the ſtaying of their paſſage, that their purpoſe was not to make warre againſt the Grecians their friends, but onely to reſtore their lawfull emperour vnto his former ſtate and honour: And that foraſmuch as euery citie and towne in ancient GREECE had appointed rewards, and almoſt diuine honors vnto ſuch as had deliuered them from tyrants, they ſhould now more fauourably receiue and intreat them that came to reſtore vnto euery citie, and to euery man in generall, their former libertie and honour. And ſo vpon the reſolution for CONSTANTINOPLE, embarking their armie, and paſsing through the Ionian ſea into the Ægeum, and ſo without let through the ſtraights of Heleſpontus into Propontis, and entring the ſtraits of Boſphorus Thracius, which deuide EUROPE from ASIA, they came to an anker euen in the face of the citie. In this fleet were two hundred and fortie ſaile of tall ſhips, ſixtie gallies, ſeuentie ſhips for burden, and one hundred and twentie ſaile of victualers: which all together made a moſt braue ſhew, couering that ſtrait in ſuch ſort, as that it ſeemed rather a wood than a part of the ſea. Thus for a ſpace they lay facing the citie, attending if happily vpon the comming and ſight of ſo great a fleet, and the report of ſo puiſſant an armie as the yong prince *Alexius* had brought with him, any tumult or ſedition might ariſe in the citie. But the warie tyrant had ſo well prouided therefore beforehand, that the citizens although they in heart fauoured the young prince, and wiſhed him

A great fleet of the Latines before Conſtantinople.

A him well,yet durſt they not once moue or ſtirre in his quarrell. Whileſt the fleet thus lay, embaſſadours came from the iſle of CRETE, in two great gallies,with three banks of oares,yeelding vnto the yong prince that goodly iſland,with all the townes and cities therein: which he foorthwith gaue vnto the marqueſſe of MONT-FERRAT, generall of the armie,thereby to encourage the other great commanders of the armie to do the vttermoſt of their deuoire,in hope of recompence and rewards anſwerable to their deſerts and valour.

Before the arriuall of this fleet, *Alexius* the emperour had with a great chaine made faſt the entrance of the hauen betwixt CONSTANTINOPLE and PERA, and appointed twentie great gallies well manned for the keeping thereof: but a great gale of wind ariſing, the generall ſent
B out the greateſt and ſtrongeſt ſhip in the fleet (of her greatneſſe and ſwiftneſſe called the Eagle) which with all her ſailes vp,carried with a full gale of wind, by maine force brake the chain,and made a way for the reſt of the fleet to enter; which the Greekes in the gallies ſeeing, for feare fled,leauing the gallies for a ſpoile vnto the Venetians, by whom they were all taken, but not a man found in them. The hauen thus gained,*Theodorus Laſcaris* the emperours ſonne in law,was preſently readie vpon the ſhore with a ſelect companie of the braueſt gallants of the citie and of the court,to haue hindered the Latines from landing;who running their ſhips a ground, landed with ſuch cheerefulneſſe and courage,and with ſuch haſt, that in one moment you might haue ſeene them leape out of their ſhips,take land, enter into the battell,and lay about them like mad men. This hote skirmiſh endured a great while,for that they were onely footmen that ſuſtained
C this brunt,for the horſes could not ſo ſoone be landed, and the Greekes were brauely mounted. All this great fight the Conſtantinopolitanes beheld, with doubtfull hearts expecting what ſhould bee the euent thereof. There were in the citie ſixtie thouſand of the flower of Greece, which brauely ſallying out,made the battell much more doubtfull; yet ſuch was the valour and reſolution of the Latines,that in fine the Greekes diſcomfited,were glad to retire themſelues againe into the citie,but with what loſſe,was not certainely knowne: eaſie it were to gueſſe, that it was right great, for that the old tyrant *Alexius* diſcouraged therewith, and doubtfull of his owne ſtate, with *Theodorus Laſcaris* his ſonne in law, and ſome few others of his truſtie friends (hard to be found in ſo dangerous a caſe) the next night following ſecretly fled out of the citie, carrying away with him a wonderfull maſſe of treaſure (which hee againſt all ſuch euents had
D cauſed to bee ſecretly hidden by his daughter *Irene*, in a monaſterie of Nuns within the citie, whereof ſhe was the abbeſſe) and ſo ſaued himſelfe.

The Latines by force enter the hauen of Conſtantinople.

A hot skirmiſh betwixt the Greekes and the Latines at their landing.

The flight of the tyrant once bruted,the next morning the Conſtantinopolitanes taking the old emperour *Iſaack* out of priſon,ſaluted him againe for their emperour, rejoycing greatly for his deliuerance,and the ſafegard of his life: and after that opened the gates of the citie vnto the Latines,calling and ſaluting them by the names of the reuengers and ſauiours of the libertie of the Greekes, as alſo of the life and majeſtie of their emperour; they requeſted them that they might ſee and ſalute *Alexius* their young prince,whom they had ſo long deſired: and ſo was the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, by the ſubmiſsion of the citizens, for that time ſaued from ſaccage and ſpoile. The old emperour thus deliuered,and together with his ſonne *Alexius* again
E placed in the imperiall ſeat,gaue the moſt heartie thanks that poſsibly he could vnto the Latine princes,for that by their bountie,charitie,and valour,the Greeke empire had beene deliuered out of a long and miſerable ſeruitude: and for his owne particular, that he had receiued of them ſo great good, that albeit his ſight could not be reſtored to him againe,neuertheleſſe,hee acknowledged his life,his libertie,his empire, his countrey,his ſonne,to haue been vnto him by them reſtored, and he likewiſe to them: for which their ſo great deſerts he could not(as hee ſaid)render them condigne thankes,or deuiſe rewards or honours anſwerable to their demerits and valour: and that therefore he did ratefie and confirme whatſoeuer his ſonne had before promiſed vnto them for his deliuerance: and not onely that, but farther promiſed, That if they were not therewith contented, hee would of his owne bountie giue them better contentment, not meaning
F they ſhould goe diſcontented, that had ſaued his life, and otherwiſe ſo highly pleaſured him. Hereupon this good old emperour began to conſult with his friends about the meanes whereby he might ſatisfie and content the Latines in ſuch things as the young prince his ſonne had vnto them promiſed. And to the intent that the citizens of CONSTANTINOPLE might the more willingly doe that he was to command them,and the more cheerefully pay ſuch impoſitions as hee was to lay vpon them, hee intreated all the Latines to retire themſelues out of the citie into their

Iſaack the old emperour taken out of priſon,and againe ſaluted emperour, together with young Alexius his ſon.

their campe or about their ships, which they accordingly did. But the impoſition being ſet G
downe, and what euery man was to pay, ſeemed vnto the Greeks (as men of long accuſtomed to
receiue tribute of others, and not to pay tribute to others) a matter moſt heauie and intollerable.
In this verie inſtant that this exaction was required, died the old emperour *Iſaack*, who hauing
of long beene kept in a darke and ſtinking priſon in continuall feare of death, and now deliuered
and reſtored to his empire, could not endure ſo ſudden and vnexpected a change, both of the
aire and of his manner of liuing, but ſo ſuddenly died.

At this exaction impoſed for the contentment of the Latines, the light Conſtantinopolitans
grieuouſly murmured and exclaimed, ſaying, That it was a villanous thing to ſee the Greeke
empire engaged and bound (by a yoong boy) vnto a couetous and proud nation, and ſo to bee H
ſpoiled and bared of coyne: That the great and rich iſland of CRETE lying in the midſt of the
ſea, was by him giuen as a gift vnto the Latines: That the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE and
the Greeke church, had by him beene enforced and conſtrained to yeeld vnto the See of
ROME, to receiue the opinions of the Latine church, to ſubmit it ſelfe vnto the obeiſance of
old ROME, from whence it had once happily departed euer ſince the time that the empire was
by *Conſtantine* the Great tranſlated thence to them. Thus euerie one ſaid for himſelfe in parti-
cular: thus all men ſaid in generall. And therof the noble men in their aſſemblies, and the vulgar
people in their meetings, grieuouſly complained: whereupon a great ſedition and tumult was
raiſed in the citie. Some preſently tooke vp armes, and the common people all enraged ran fu-
rioufly diſordered vnto the palace, with a purpoſe to haue committed ſome great outrage vpon I
the perſon of the yong emperour *Alexius*: who in that ſo ſudden an inſurrection, as might well
haue troubled a right conſtant man, without longer ſtay reſolued vpon a moſt wholeſome and
neceſſarie point for the appeaſing of the peoples furie; vnto whom (aſſembled in a woonderfull
multitude) he ſhewed himſelfe from aboue in his pallace, promiſing them to remaine in their po-
wer, and not from thenceforth to do any thing without their aduice and liking, but wholy to
depend vpon them: with which good words the people held themſelues well content, and ſo
was the tumult for that time appeaſed. But foorthwith the yoong emperour conſidering the in-
iurie done vnto him, began to burne with the deſire of reuenge and to change his purpoſe. Hee
could not together ſatisfie the citizens and the Latines: for if he would keepe his promiſe with
the Latines, he muſt of neceſſitie offend his owne people; neither was there any meanes to bee K
found to ſatisfie both the one and the other. But thinking himſelfe more bound to keepe his
promiſe with the Latines, whoſe forces he knew not how to withſtand, he ſent ſecretly to requeſt
the marques of MONT-FERRAT, generall of the armie, to ſend him about midnight certaine
companies of ſouldiers into the citie, aſſuring him to receiue them in by a gate neere vnto the
pallace, which ſhould be opened vnto them by certaine of his truſtie ſeruants there left for that
purpoſe. Of this plot *Alexius Ducas* (of his bittle browes ſurnamed *Murzuſle*, whom of a
baſe fellow the emperour *Iſaack* had promoted vnto the greateſt honours of the court) was not
ignorant, who being a man of an aſpiring mind, and in theſe troubleſome times hauing long
thirſted after the empire, tooke now this occaſion to worke vpon.

Alexis ſeeketh to bring the Latines againe into the citie.

The night following, he by his agents, men inſtructed for the purpoſe, raiſed a tumult in the L
citie, not inferiour vnto that which had happened the day before: and at the ſame inſtant, as if he
had had nothing to do in the matter, came ſuddenly vnto the yoong emperour in the dead time
of the night (which he might at all times do, by reaſon of the great confidence the emperour had
in him) and with a ſad countenance told him, That the people were vp againe in an vprore, and
eſpecially they of his guard, and that they were comming towards him to do him ſome violence
for the loue he bare vnto the Latines. With which vnexpected newes the yoong emperour
terrified, demaunded of him as of his moſt faithfull counſellor, what were beſt in that caſe for
him to doe? Who preſently embracing him in his night gowne, lead him out by a ſecret dore
into a tent hee had of his owne in the court, as if hee would there haue kept him ſafe: but far was
that from his traiterous thoughts; who departing from him, as if he had gone to appeaſe the tu- M
mult, had before taken order, That he ſhould preſently after his departure, be caſt in bonds, and ſo
be clapt vp into a cloſe ſtinking priſon. Which done, the falſe traitor openly ſhewing himſelfe,
made an oration vnto the people, wherein he ſhewed himſelfe to haue great compaſſion of the
Greeke empire, & of the Greeks his countrymen themſelues, eſpecially in that they were gouer-
ned by a youth vnfit for the gouernment, who ſuffered himſelfe to be miſſe-led according to the
pleaſure

The Conſtantinopolitans againe in an vprore.

A pleaſure of the Latines. And that it was high time for the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, the ſeat of the Greeke empire, to looke about it, and to haue an eie vnto it ſelfe, ſith it was betraied & ſold by them which ought to preſerue and keepe the ſame: that they had now need of a man that loued his countrey and countreymen, before that which yet remained of the Græcian name were vtterly extinguiſhed by the Latines.

This his ſpeech, fitted of purpoſe vnto the humour of the ſeditious, was receiued with the great outcrie and applauſe of the windie headed people. Some cried out that hee, and none but he, was to be made chiefe of the common weale that was by them to be eſtabliſhed: otherſome cried as loud to haue him made generall of the armies and forces of the ſtate: but the greateſt crie was to haue him choſen and created emperour; whereunto the reſt giuing place, hee was B by the generall conſent of the tumultuous people, without longer ſtay, choſen and proclaimed emperour.

Alexius the traitour, by no lawfull election or rightfull ſucceſsion, but onely by the furie of the tumultuous people, thus created emperour; was of nothing more carefull than how to breake the forces of the Latines, of whom onely he now ſtood in dread. And therefore to begin withall, he firſt attempted by certaine gallies filled with pitch, flax, brimſtone, and ſuch like matter apt to take fire, to haue burnt the Venetian fleet: which gallies ſo ſet on fire & carried with a faire gale of wind amongſt the fleet, had beene like enough to haue done great harme, had it not by the warineſſe of the Venetians bene preuented: who being good ſea men, & not vnacquainted with ſuch deuiſes, eaſily and without danger auoided the ſame, by keeping themſelues aloofe C one from another in the ſea. This fineneſſe ſorting to no purpoſe, he to colour the matter ſent certaine meſſengers to the generall, and other commaunders of the armie, to giue them to vnderſtand that that which was done for the firing of the fleet, had beene done without his priuitie, by the malice of the tumultuous people; and that for his part he would be glad of their fauour and friendſhip, aſſuring them likewiſe of his, and promiſing them to aid them both with men and money, and whatſoeuer elſe they ſhould haue need of in their wars againſt the infidels. Whereunto an anſwer was giuen by *Dandulus* the Venetian generall, That he would beleeue it, when *Alexis* the ſonne of the emperour *Iſaack*, whom the Latines had placed in the empire, ſhould aſſure them thereof, and intreat for the people, vpon whom the fault of that outrage was laid: D which anſwere the more mooued the traiterous tyrant, to rid himſelfe cleane of the feare of the yoong prince, by taking him out of the way; to the intent to hinder the people of the hope and great deſire they had to grow to ſome peace with the Latines, by taking him out of priſon, and receiuing him againe for their emperour: For the people (by nature mutable, and not deſirous of the good of themſelues, but according to the occurrents preſent, without any great regard of that they haue alreadie done, or ought to haue done) began now to repent themſelues of that they had done againſt the yoong emperor *Alexis* in the fauour of the tyrant, and commonly ſaid, That they muſt find ſome meanes, whatſoeuer it were, to remedie their fault together with their troubles. Wherfore *Murzuſle* fearing this ſudden mutation of the people, with his owne hands moſt villanouſly ſtrangled the yoong prince *Alexis* in priſon, hauing as yet not E raigned much aboue ſix months, and immediately after cauſed it to be bruited abroad, That the ſaid yoong prince diſpairing of his eſtate, had as a man deſperat hanged himſelfe.

Murzuſle attempteth to burne the Venetian fleet.

The tyrant in vaine hauing thus attempted the burning of the fleet, and ſtill fearing the reuenging ſword of the Latines, reſolued now by plaine force to meet them in the field, and there to dare them battell. So hauing made readie and armed the whole ſtrength of the imperiall citie, he with cheerfull ſpeech encouraged his ſouldiers, requeſting them valiantly to maintaine and defend their countrey of Greece, the monuments of their fathers, the glorie of their anceſtors, their honour preſent, and the future hope of their poſteritie: that hauing before their eies the wals of their citie, within which they were borne, nouriſhed, and brought vp in hope of great matters, they would haue pitie and compaſsion of their temples, their wiues, their children, F and in no caſe to ſuffer them to fall againe into ſo miſerable and wretched a ſeruitude, but rather to die a thouſand deaths. And the more to grace this his enterpriſe taken in hand for the defence of his countrey (as he would haue the world to beleeue it) with the colour of a ſuperſtitious deuotion alſo, hee cauſed the prieſts in their eccleſiaſtike attire and ornaments, to march foorth in the armie, with an enſigne, hauing in it diſplaied the picture of the Virgin *Marie*. So courageouſly marching forward, hee firſt charged that quarter of the campe where *Bald-*

Murzuſle encourageth his ſouldiers.

win

win the countie of FLANDERS lay, where at the firſt was fought a right fierce and doubtfull battell. But afterward the alarum running throughout all the campe of the Latines, and new ſupplies comming in on euery ſide, the Greekes were put to the worſe, and enforced againe to retire into the citie, hauing loſt a great number of men, together with their ſuperſtitious enſigne. It was a woonderfull thing to ſee, with what rare agreement the Latines, being of diuers nations, continued this expedition vndertaken againſt the Greekes. Seuentie two daies was the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE ſtraightly beſieged by the Latines both by ſea and land, without giuing any time of reſt or repoſe day or night vnto the beſieged, freſh men comming ſtill on to the aſſault, as the other fell off, and in ſuch ſort troubled the Greekes in the citie, that they knew not well what to doe or which way to turne themſelues. The Venetians, vnto whom was committed the charge to aſſault that ſide of the citie which was toward the hauen, vpon two great gallies made faſt together, built a ſtrong tower of wood, higher than the wals and rampiers of the town, out of which they both with ſhot and fire-workes much troubled the defendants, wherewith they in the time of the aſſault approching the wall, by their fine deuiſes fired that ſide of the citie: by the rage whereof, a great number of houſes were burnt, with many other ſtately buildings and antient monuments of that famous citie: and had at that preſent gained a great tower neere vnto the port, deſtitute of defendors, had not the tyrant himſelfe in good time come with new ſupplies to the reſcue thereof. In like manner, the French, with the reſt, aſſailed the other ſide of the citie by land, where they were to fight not againſt the defendants onely, but againſt deepe ditches, high and ſtrong wals, and bulwarkes alſo: neuertheleſſe, ſuch was the valour and furie of the Latines, with the deſire of victorie, as that they were not with any difficulties to be diſmaied; but preſsing ſtill on, by a thouſand dangers, at length after a moſt ſharpe aſſault they gained one of the greateſt baſtillions on that ſide of the citie, called the Angels tower, and ſo by plaine force opened a way both for themſelues and the reſt into the citie. Whereof *Alexius* vnderſtanding, and ſtrucke with preſent deſpaire both of his ſtate and life, the night now comming on, fled with *Euphroſina* the emperour *Alexius* his wife, and *Eudocia* her daughter, whome hee had married when he had raigned about a moneth and 16 daies.

Conſtantinople hardly beſieged.

Conſtantinople ſet on fire.

The tyrant, author of all this miſchiefe and of the calamities enſuing, thus fled, and the Latines furiouſly entring; the prieſts and religious men in their ſurplices, and other eccleſiaſtique ornaments, with their croſſes and banners (as in ſolemne proceſsion) met the Latines, and falling downe at the ſouldiors feet, with flouds of teares abundantly running downe their heauie countenances, beſought them, but eſpecially the captaines and commanders, to remember the condition of worldly things, and contenting themſelues with the victorie, the glorie, the honour, the empire, the immortalitie of their name, to abſtaine from ſlaughter, from burning, from ſpoiling and ranſacking of ſo beautifull a citie: And that ſeeing they were themſelues men, they would alſo haue pitie of men: and being themſelues captaines and ſouldiours, they ſhould alſo haue compaſsion vpon captaines and ſouldiours; who although they were not ſo valiant and fortunate as they were, yet neuertheleſſe were both captaines and ſouldiors: And that they would keepe and preſerue their citie, whereof (if they ruinated it not) they might haue much more pleaſure and commoditie, than if they ſhould deſtroy the ſame, which as it had been the principall ſeat of the Greeke empire, ſo might it now bee of the Latines: That ſeeing they had thereof had a carefull regard, as then belonging to another man, they ought now vpon better reaſon to haue more care thereof, being their owne: That the authors of all theſe troubles and miſchiefes, *Alexius* the elder, and *Murzuſle*, had alreadie receiued a reward anſwerable to their follies, in that they were driuen into exile: That they would haue pitie and compaſsion of an innocent and vnfortunat multitude of poore people, oppreſſed and grieuouſly tormented with the often tyrannies of their murderous lords and gouernours: That in ſo doing, God the Lord of hoaſts, the giuer and guider of battels, the God of mercie, would therefore reward them: To conclude, they humbly beſought them to pardon their citizens, to put on the hearts of gracious and mercifull lords and fathers, not of enemies and rough maſters, of forgiuers, not of reuengers: and to vnderſtand by their teares, their miſerable eſtate and woes paſſed. With this ſo humble a ſubmiſsion and complaint of the religious, ſome of the better ſort were happely mooued: but with the common ſouldiors, breathing nothing but victorie, with their weapons in their hands, and the ſpoile of an empire in their power, what auailed prayers or teares? euery man fell to the ſpoile, and in ſo great choice and libertie of all things, fitted his owne diſordered appetite, without reſpect of the wrong

or

A or injurie done to others: onely from the effusion of innocent bloud they abstained; they whose liues they sought after, being alreadie fled, together with the tyrant. Other injuries and outrages (so great, as that greater could none be) were in euery place so rife, that euery street, euery lane, euery corner of the citie was filled with mourning and heauinesse. There might a man haue seene noblemen earst of great honor, and reuerend for their hoarie haires, with other citizens of great wealth, thrust out of all they had, walking vp and downe the citie weeping and wringing their hands, as men forlorne, not knowing where to shroud their heads. Neither staied the greedie rage of the insolent souldiors within the wals of mens priuat houses, but brake out into the stately pallaces, temples, and churches of the Greekes also, where all was good prize, and nothing dedicated to the seruice of God, left vnpolluted and defaced, no place vnsought, no corner vnrifled:
B right lamentable and almost incredible it were to report all the miseries of that time. Some of the Greeke Historiographers, men of great marke and place, and themselues eye witnesses and partakers of those euils, haue by their writings complained to all posteritie, of the insolencie of the Latines at the winning of the citie, to their eternall dishonour: but that disordered souldiours in all ages in the libertie of their insolent victorie, haue done such outrages, as honest minds abhorre to thinke vpon. Thus Constantinople, the most famous citie of the East, the seat and glorie of the Greeke empire, by the miserable ambition and dissention of the Greekes for soueraignetie fell into the hands of the Latines the twelfth of Aprill, in the yeare 1204, or after the account of others, 1200. 1204

Nicetas Chõniates, annall. fol. 180.

C CONSTANTINOPLE thus taken, and the tyrants put to flight, the princes and great commanders of the armie held a counsell, to consider what were best to be done concerning the citie and the new gained empire: for after so great a victorie, they thought it not good to raise so auncient and important a citie, seated as it were a watch tower vpon the theatre of the world, ouerlooking both ASIA and EUROPE from the one to the other, as an eye of the vniuersall; and so commodiously planted, as was no other citie of the world, for the keeping vnder of the enemies of the Christian Religion: but that it were much better to place there a Latine gouernour, to establish there the Latine lawes and customes, and to vnite the Greeke church as a member vnto the church of ROME. In which consultation, some were of opinion, not to haue any moe emperours in Christendome but one, and therefore to make choice of *Philip* the Germane emperour, author of this warre, whose wife *Irene* was the onely daughter and heire of the late em-
D perour *Isaack Angelus*, vnto whom by all right the inheritance of her fathers empire belonged. But the greater part, considering that the troubled affaires of GREECE, in so great a change and newnesse of the empire, had need of the personall presence of a prince, thought it better to make choice of one among themselues, who there still resiant in that place, might at all times giue aid vnto the Latines in their sacred warres, taken in hand against the infidels: which opinion as the better, was approoued of them all. The cheefe men in this election of the new emperour, were *Baldwin* countie of FLAUNDERS and HAINAULT, *Henry* his brother, *Lewis* countie of BLOYS, *Symon de Montfort*, *Iohn de Dammartin*, *Gualter de Brienne*, *Hugh* countie of S. *Paul*, *Iohn* countie of BRENNE, *Boniface* marques of MONT-FERRAT, *Stephen* countie of PERCH, and fiue gentlemen of VENICE: vnto whom also were joyned two Bishops of SYRIA, the one of
E BETHLEM, the other of PTOLEMAIS, who had oftentimes come to the campe of the Latines to stirre them vp for the taking in hand of the sacred warre in SYRIA; with two bishops of FRANCE also, namely of SOISSON and TROY in CHAMPAGNE, & the abbot of LEMBLY. These great lords and prelats assembled into the church of the holy Apostles, after they had there with great deuotion craued of God to enspire them with his spirit, for the choice of a good and just prince fit for so great a charge; with one consent made choice of *Baldwin* countie of FLAUNDERS and HAINAULT for emperour of GREECE: a braue and valiant prince about two and thirtie yeeres old, who was afterward the sixteenth day of May in the yeare 1204 (or after the computation of others in the yeere 1205) in the great temple of S. *Sophia* solemnely
F crowned by *Thomas Mauroceno* a Venetian, first Patriarch of the Latines in CONSTANTINOPLE. From which time the Greeke church in CONSTANTINOPLE began to receiue the rites and ceremonies of the Latines, and to acknowledge the supremacie of the church of ROME.

It was not long after that CONSTANTINOPLE was thus taken by the Latines, but that they dividing their forces without any resistance, tooke in the most part of the great countries and

The Greeke empire diuided amongst the Latines.

and prouinces on EUROPE ſide, belonging to the Greeke empire in the time of *Iſaack Angelus* the late emperour: the fortune of the whole empire, as it were following the fortune of the imperiall citie. Which large countries ſo gained from the Greeks, the Latines diuided amongſt themſelues, as good prize taken from their enemies: Vnto *Baldwin* the emperour and his ſucceſſors in the empire, was aſsigned the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, and the countrey of THRACIA, with a limited ſoueraignty ouer all the reſt of the prouinces by the Latines alreadie or afterwards to be gained: Vnto the Venetians in this diuiſion of the empire, was allotted for their ſhare all the rich iſlands of the ÆGEUM, and IONIAN, with the famous iſland of CANDIE alſo; which although it were before by the yoong emperour *Alexis* in the beginning of theſe warres, giuen vnto the marques of MONT-FERRAT, yet in this diuiſion of the empire, it was taken from him (not without his good liking) and giuen to the Venetians, as for them more fit: In ſteed and lieu whereof, the marques had the citie of THESSALONICA with all the kingdome of THESSALIE, and a great part of PELOPONESUS aſsigned vnto him, with the royall title of a king. Of the aforeſaid iſlands (in number many and exceeding rich) the Venetians in the name of the ſtate fortified ſome few of the greateſt with conuenient garriſons, the reſt they left to be poſſeſſed and defended by the better ſort of the citizens at their priuat coſt and charges; who according to their abilitie, tooke into their poſſeſsion, ſome one iſland, ſome another, and ſome two or three, one, as they were able to ſet out their gallies one, two, or mo, for the keeping of the ſame: ouer all which, the ſeigniorie neuertheleſſe had a generall care, ſtill keeping a fleet with one of their admirals at ſea; by whom they not onely repreſſed the Genua pirats then buſie in thoſe ſeas, but alſo tooke in certain ſtrong townes in the maine vpon the coſt of PELOPONESUS, namely MODON and CORONE; all which they of long time after held as a part of their ſeigniorie. Some other particular places, yet parts alſo of the empire, were giuen vnto particular men; as the dukedome of ATHENS vnto one *Geffrey* of TROY in CHAMPAIGNE a Frenchman, a valiant captaine, whom they alſo made prince of ACHAIA: Another dukedome was alſo giuen to the countie of BLOYS; as were diuers other countries and townes alſo vnto other more priuat men: who neuertheleſſe were bound to hold the ſame of the emperour, as of their lord, and to pay him yearely a fourth part of the reuenue ariſing thereof towards the maintenance of his ſtate. Yea the Greekes themſelues in this ſhipwracke of their ſtate and empire, although they diſdained nothing more than the ſtrange gouernment of the Latines, yet could they not be perſuaded to joyne together in ſo common a calamitie, but after their woonted maner ſought euerie man how to ſhare out ſomething for himſelfe, without regard of the common good: one ſeized vpon one ſtrong towne or citie, and ſo likewiſe another; which for all that they held not long, driuen thence for the moſt part by a greater power, either of the Latines, or of their owne countreymen.

The man whom the diſcontented Greeks moſt looked after, was *Theodorus Laſcaris*, the emperour *Alexius Angelus* his ſonne in law: who at the taking of the citie fled to ADRIANOPLE, and afterward into BYTHINIA, where he was of the people, not of that countrey onely, but of others alſo farther off, joyfully receiued and honoured as their emperour. So taking into his hands the countries of BYTHINIA, PHRIGIA, MISIA, IONIA, and LYDIA, euen from the windings of the famous riuer MÆANDER Southward, vnto the EUXINE ſea Northward; he with the generall good liking of the people, tooke vpon him the ſtate of an emperour, and ſo in the renowmed citie of NICE made the ſeat of his empire. At the ſame time alſo *Dauid*, and *Alexius Comneni*, the nephews of the tyrant *Andronicus* (ſometime emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE) by his ſonne *Manuel*, poſſeſsing the more Eaſtern countries of PONTVS, GALATIA, and CAPADOCIA, erected vnto themſelues another empire in TRAPEZOND, where their poſteritie of the honourable houſe of the *Comneni* raigned in great glorie many yeares after, vntill their empire, together with the empire of CONSTANTINOPLE, was by the great emperour of the Turks, *Mahomet* the ſecond, ſubuerted and brought to naught, as ſhall bee afterward in due time and place declared. Thus the Greeke empire expoſed (as it were) to the generall ſpoile, was no longer one, but many empires: *Baldwin* raigning in CONSTANTINOPLE, the marques of MONT-FERRAT in THESSALIE, *Theodorus Laſcaris* at NICE, *Alexius Comnenus* in TRAPEZOND, & the Venetians in the iſlands; all in royall dignitie. Beſides whom were many other leſſer princes, which had here and there according to their abilitie ſeized vpon ſome one or other part of the empire, and there erected their Toparchies, raigning therein as

The beginning of the empire of Trapezond by the Comneni.

pettie

A pettie kings: as did *Aldebrandinus* in ATTALIA, *Michael Angelus* in EPIRVS, with diuers others too long to rehearse.

Baldwin (as is aforesaid) created emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, by the helpe of the Venetian Admirall *Dandulus*, and other great commanders of the armie, in short time brought vnder his obeisance all the cities of THRACIA, excepting the citie of ADRIANOPLE, whereunto the better sort of the discontented Greekes, together with *Theodorus Lascaris* (disdaining the gouernment of the Latines) were fled, as vnto a most safe sanctuarie: which *Baldwin* knowing, and withall desiring whilest yet he had his friends about him, to set his new empire in some good stay, without farther delay came and laid hard siege to the same. Now the Greeks
B generally euill entreated by the Latines, & grieued to be gouerned by them, were some of them fled into other their neighbours princes countries, but especially into BVLGARIA, otherwise called MISIA, a large kingdome, lying betwixt the great mountaine ÆMVS and DANVBIVS: by whose persuasion, *Iohn* king of that countrey, aided by the Scythians (a fierce Northren people, but lately come into those quarters) and by the fugitiue Greekes themselues, tooke vpon him to relieue the besieged citie: and so with a great armie approching the same, sent before certaine troupes of the Scythian archers on horsebacke, to fetch in such booties of horses or cattle as they should find neere vnto the emperours campe: and withall commaunded them that being charged by the imperials, they should foorthwith retire, so to draw them out of their trenches, into the place where the king with the greatest part of his armie lay couertly to entrap
C them. Which the Scythians (well acquainted with such seruice) so well performed vnder the leading of one *Cozas* their generall, that hauing once or twice drawn their enemies vnto some light skirmishes, and so retyring, and ere long againe with a greater number returning, they at length cunningly drew the emperour with all his armie, in hope to doe some great matter vpon them, euen as they wished into the place whereas the king with his armie lay in wait among the woods and mountaines for them; where they wearied and out of breath in the former pursuit, and now on euery side beset with fresh enemies, were ouerthrowne with a great slaughter. In which conflict, to increase the losse, *Baldwin* the emperour himselfe was taken and sent prisoner in bonds to TERNOVA: where afterwards by the commandement of the Barbarous king he was most cruelly put to death, hauing his hands and feet cut off, and so dismembred was cast
D out into a deepe valley, where he yet lay miserably breathing three daies after, and so died; leauing his bodie as fortunes scorne for a prey vnto the wild beasts and birds of the aire, no man vouchsafing to burie it. Thus perished this woorthie prince, for his vertues commended euen of the Greeks themselues, being about the age of three and thirtie yeeres, and not hauing raigned yet a full yeare, in the yeare of our Lord 1206.

Hadrianople besieged by the Emperour Baldwin.

The victorie thus gained, & the citie relieued, the barbarous king with his sauage souldiors hauing tasted the wealth of the Latins, ouerthrowne in the late battell, and the pleasures of THRACIA, now subject to their lust; greedily pursued their good fortune, without respect of all humanitie: the open countrey they ouerran, spoiling whatsoeuer came to hand, the rich and famous cities they rifled, and afterward rased them downe to the ground, namely SERRÆ, PHILIPPO-
E POLIS, APRI, RHEDESTVM, PERINTHVS, DAONIVM, ARCADIOPOLIS, MESENA, ZURVLVS, and ATHYRA: the citizens and countrey people fled into the cities for refuge, they put all to the sword, without respect of age, sex, or condition, except some few whom they carried away with them prisoners, so that of all the prouinces of that rent and ruinated empire, the countrey of THRACE, was most miserable; as first spoiled by the Latines, and now laid desolat by the Bulgarians and Scythians. Onely some few of the strongest cities, as DIDYMOTICHVM and ADRIANOPLE, valiantly defended by the Greekes and Latines, escaped this furie of the Barbarians, all the rest that fell into their hands being laid wast and desolat. 1206

In this so troubled a State of the new erected Empire of the Latines in CONSTANTINO-
PLE, the Latines made choise of *Henrie* the late Emperour *Baldwins* brother, as of all others
F the fittest to succeed him in the empire; who aided by the marquesse, now king of THESSALIE, and the other Latine princes, notably repulsed the Barbarians, and left them not vntill that at length he had recouered from them all such townes and cities as they had before taken, and driuen them quite out of the countrey, and so well established himselfe in his new empire.

Henry second emperour of the Latines in Constantinople.

But to leaue this dismembred empire, now in the hands of many, and to come neerer vnto our purpose: *Alexius Angelus* the vsurper, driuen out of the imperiall citie by the Latins, to saue

himselfe, fled into THESSALIE, and from thence vnto *Leo Scurus* (then a man of great fame among the Greekes) who tyrannising at NAUPLUS, as had his father before him, was in these troublesome times growne greater by surprising of the two famous cities of ARGOS and CORINTH: by whose meanes he cunningly entrapped *Alexius Ducas*, surnamed *Murzuphle* the traitor, and for a secret grudge not commonly knowne, put out his eyes: himselfe an exiled man being a most heauie enemie vnto the other also exiled; and himselfe thrust out of the empire, a deadly foe vnto the other, oppressed with the like calamitie. Shortly after which losse of his sight, he was by chaunce taken by the Latines, and so brought backe to CONSTANTINOPLE, where he was for murdering the young emperour *Alexius*, worthily condemned vnto a strange and horrible kind of death: for, cast off from an high tower, and tumbling heeles ouer head downeward, he was with the waight of himselfe, and violence of the fall, crushed all to pieces, and so miserably died: a death too good for such a traitour. Not long after it fortuned also, that *Alexius* himselfe wandering vp and downe in THRACIA, was by the marquesse of MONT-FERRAT going against SCVRVS, taken and stript of his great treasure, and whatsoeuer else hee had; and so sent away naked, long time after in beggers estate wandered about in ACHAIA and PELOPONESVS, now farre vnlike that *Alexius* which sometime proudly raigned in CONSTANTINOPLE: but such is the assurance of euill gotten honour. He hearing that *Theodorus Lascaris*, his sonne in law, raigned in ASIA, and there held the state of an emperour, rejoyced not thereat as a kind father in law, but inwardly greeued thereat as an enemie, sorrie that any other but himselfe should be honoured with the title of the Greeke emperour: in which malicious humour he sayling out of GREECE into ASIA ouer the Ægeum, came secretly vnto the Turkes Sultan *Iathatines* his old acquaintance, then lying at ATTALIA, (which famous citie he had not long before taken from the Christians) vnto whom he declared his heauie estate, and how his empire had been rent from him, as well by the Greekes as the Latines; requesting, that by his meanes he might be restored againe into some part thereof, especially that in the lesser ASIA, which was by *Theodorus Lascaris*, together with the honour of the Greeke emperour, vnjustly (as he said) detained from him. This *Iathatines*, now Sultan of ICONIVM, was the younger sonne of Sultan *Aladin*; who not long surviuing his father *Cai-Chosroe*, left his kingdome vnto his two sonnes, *Azadin* and *Iassadin*, of the Greekes called *Azatines* and *Iathatines*: where long it was not, but that these two brethren falling out for the soueraignetie (which admitteth no equalitie) *Iathatines* was by *Azatines* his elder brother driuen into exile, and for the safegard of his life glad to flie vnto this *Alexius*, then raigning at CONSTANTINOPLE, by whom he was honourably entertained, and as some write, conuerted and baptised. But *Azatines* the Sultan shortly after dying, this *Iathatines* returning home againe, and renouncing the Christian religion, was by the Turks receiued for their Sultan: of whom the emperour *Alexius* in like extremitie now craueth aid. The Sultan not forgetfull of his owne troubles before passed, or of the kindnesse hee had receiued, and mooued with the pittifull complaint of his old friend, together with his large offers, beside that he was in hope to share out some good part of whatsoeuer he got for himselfe; tooke him into his protection, and foorthwith sent embassadours to *Lascaris*, threatening vnto him all extremities, except he did foorthwith giue place vnto *Alexius* his father in law, vnto whom as vnto the Greeke emperour, those countries which were by him possessed, of right (as he said) appertained. With which vnexpected message, *Theodorus* was not a little troubled, as fearing both the Sultans power, and the inclination of the people to their old emperour. Neuertheless, hauing propounded the matter in counsell, and finding the minds of his subiects well affected towards him, and a readinesse in them in his quarrell to aduenture their liues; he encouraged therewith, accompanied onely with two thousand choise horsemen, together with the Sultans embassadour, without farther stay set forward to PHILADELPHIA: the Sultan at the same time with *Alexius* (whom he carried with him as a bait to deceiue the people withall) and twentie thousand Turkes, besieging the citie of ANTIOCH, situate vpon the winding banks of the riuer MEANDER. Which the emperour *Theodorus* well vnderstanding, and that the Sultan by gaining that strong citie (standing vpon the passage of the great riuer, the bounder of his empire) should open a faire way for himselfe into the heart of ROMANIA ASIATICA, to the great hazard of his whole empire, resolued with those few he had, to doe what hee might to relieue his citie. And so setting forward vpon the spurre, carrying nothing with him more than a little victuall: and now come neere vnto the citie, sent before the Sultans embassador, following him

Antioch besieged by Iathatines.

at

A at the heeles. Who comming vnto the Sultan, and telling him of the emperours approch with
so small a power, could hardly persuade him that it was so, although hee bound it with many
oathes: yet at length persuaded of the truth of the matter, and that indeed it was so, hee in all
hast put his armie in the best order he could vpon such a suddain, but not to his best aduauntage,
being hindred so to do, by the straitnesse of the place wherein he lay. Of the two thousand select
horsemen in the emperours armie, were eight hundred Italians, all most resolute men, who gi-
uing the first charge, brake through the midst of the Sultans armie, disordering his whole battell
as they went; after whom followed also the Greeks, though not with like courage: but those Ita-
lian horsemen now deuided from the rest, & in number but few, in comming back again, were by
B the disordered Turks, some on horseback, some on foot, so beset on euery side, as that there was
no way left for them to passe, but there valiantly fighting were altogether slaine, hauing both
before and at the time of their death, made such a slaughter of the Turks, as is hardly to be be-
leeued to haue been possible for so few men to haue made. The Greekes also hardly laied to by
the Turkes, and discouraged by the slaughter of the Latines, were euen vpon the point to haue
fled: when as the Sultan, now almost in possession of a certaine victorie, descrying the Greeke
emperour, and trusting to his owne great strength, singled him out, being as readie as himselfe to
meet him; when as at the first incounter, the Sultan with his horsemans mase gaue him such a
blow vpon the head, as might haue killed a bull, so that the emperour therewith astonied, fell
downe from his horse: who yet euen in the fall comming something againe vnto himselfe, and
C although dismounted, yet quickly recouering his feet, with his faulchion hoxed the hinder legs
of the mare whereon the Sultan rid, being a most beautifull beast and of a woonderfull height;
which now suddainely faultring vnder him, and so the Sultan tumbling downe as from an high
tower, before he could recouer himselfe, had his head cut off by the emperour: which by and by
put vpon a launce, and so holden vp, with the sight thereof so dismaied the Turks, that strucken
with a suddaine feare, they presently fled, leauing the victorie vnto the emperour, before more
than halfe ouercome: who for all that considering his small number, durst no farther pursue
them, but entering the citie, gaue thankes to God for so great a victorie. Vnto whom the Turks
shortly after sent their embassadours, and so vpon such reasonable conditions as it pleased him
to set downe, concluded with him a peace. *Alexius* himselfe, author of these troubles, taken in
D this battell and carried to NICE, was by the emperour his son in law, notwithstanding his euill
deserts, well intreated and vsed.

Iathatines the Sultan slaine by Theodorus Lascaris the Greeke emperour.

Whilest the Latins thus spend those forces in subuerting of the Greeke empire, which should
haue been imployed for the releese of the Christians in SYRIA; and that the Greeke emperour
Liscaris was thus troubled with the Turks; the affaires of the Christians in SYRIA and the Ho-
ly land, grew still worse and worse. Whereof the knights Hospitalers and Templars (the cheefe
champions of the Christian religion in those countries) greatly blamed *Almericus* the king of
CYPRUS, for that he being so neere at hand, and hauing married *Isabella*, the heire of that king-
dome, and so in her right taken vpon him the title of the king of HIERUSALEM, gaue himselfe
wholly to pleasure, doing nothing for the defence or reliefe of the poore distressed Christians, or
E repressing of the Turkes: who although they were yet in league with the Christians there, and
at some discord also among themselues, yet spared not, as occasion serued, still more and more to
encroach vpon them, and by building of new castles & fortresses, to cut them short. Of all which
things, the aforesaid knights by their embassadours certefied *Innocentius* the Pope, requesting his
fatherly care for the remedie therof; certefying him withall, That there was yet liuing one *Mary*,
the daughter of the marquesse of MONT-FERRAT, a ladie of rare beautie, whom they as her
tutors, had brought vp in hope of the kingdome; and now were readie to bestow her vpon some
such man as he should thinke worthie of her, together with the right she had vnto the kingdome.
Hereupon *Innocentius* discharging *Almericus* of the title of the kingdome of HIERUSALEM,
gaue it to *Iohn* countie *de Brenne* of DAULPHINIE in FRANCE, a man of great fame and va-
F lour, then in armes with the other Latin princes against the Greeks. Who now returning home,
commended his earledome to his brother, and with such power as he was able to make, setting
forward, came first to VENICE, where he was royally entertained: and from thence sayling to
CONSTANTINOPLE, was with like honour receiued by the emperour *Henry*, and so at length
the fift of September arriued at PTOLEMAIS in SYRIA, where he was with the great rejoycing
and applause of the people receiued as their king. And the last of the same moneth marrying

Iohn Brenne by Innocentius the Pope appointed king of Hierusalem.

the aforeſaid ladie *Marie* at TYRE, was there together with her with great ſolemnitie crowned G
1209 king in the yeare 1209: which *Almericus* the old king of CYPRUS hearing, ſhortly after died for griefe. Neither wanted this noble gentleman, thus honoured with the title of a kingdome, ſome that enuied at his promotion, and therfore commonly called him in diriſion, a king, but ſtill with this addition, *Sans Ville*, that is to ſay, without a towne.

Now was the ten yeares peace before taken betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians in SYRIA, at the comming ouer of *Simon* marqueſſe of MONT-FERRAT (as is before declared) almoſt expired: which had not ſo much giuen to thoſe poore remnants of the Chriſtians ſome time of reſt and breathing, as had the diſcord of the Turkes among themſelues; which hauing by the ſpace of nine yeares continued betwixt *Noradin* and *Saphadin* for the ſoueraignetie, was H now by the death of *Saphadin* ended. *Noradin* contenting himſelfe with the gouernment of ALEPPO: and *Corradin* and *Meledin*, the two ſonnes of *Saphadin*, deuiding their fathers king-
Corradin and Meledin deuide their fathers kingdome betwixt them. dome betwixt them, the one taking vnto himſelfe DAMASCO and SYRIA, and the other the great kingdome of ÆGIPT, but all enemies vnto the Chriſtians.

About this time alſo, or not long after, *Innocentius tertius*, yet Pope, ſummoned a generall counſell to LATERAN, whereunto beſides a multitude of great biſhops and other reuerend prelates, repaired alſo the honourable embaſſadours of moſt of the princes of Chriſtendome: vnto whom ſo aſſembled, among other things was propounded the dangerous eſtate of the Chriſtians in SYRIA, and how the ſame was by the helpe of the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt to bee relieued. Whereunto all the fathers and princes there aſſembled, eaſily gaue their conſent: and I thereupon were ſome appointed in euery countrey and prouince to publiſh this decree of the Counſell, for the reliefe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians, and to ſtirre vp the deuout people, for the vndertaking of ſo religious a warre. The chiefe furtherers of this ſacred expedition (to be thus taken in hand againſt the infidels) were the biſhops of GERMANIE, eſpecially the three great biſhops of METS, CULLEN, and TRIVERS, whoſe example mooued alſo many others, all which to rehearſe were tedious. Out of FRANCE alſo were ſent *Henry* the countie of NIVERS, and one *Gualter*, the kings great chamberlaine, with a great number of the gallant youths of FRANCE, and ſo out of diuers other places alſo: So that at length ſuch a number of men were met together at diuers ports of the Adriaticke, as made vp a fleet of two hundred ſaile: which with a proſperous wind carried ouer into SYRIA, arriued in ſafetie at PTOLEMAIS, the chiefe citie of K the Chriſtians, now that HIERUSALEM was loſt. After whom followed alſo *Andrew*, king of HUNGARIE, long before bound both by his fathers commandement and his owne promiſe, for the vndertaking of that ſacred expedition: with whom came alſo *Lewis* duke of BAVARIA, and *Leopold* duke of AUSTRIA, with their forces all well appointed: vnto whom alſo, *Iohn* king of HIERUSALEM joined himſelfe with his power. Great hope and expectation there was of ſome great matter to haue ben done, now that ſo great forces of the Chriſtians were thus met together. Who ſetting forward from PTOLEMAIS, & the firſt day marching into GALILEE, by the way met with certaine companies of the Turks, whom they eaſily ouerthrew & put to flight. The next day they came to the riuer of IORDAN, where they alſo diſtreſſed certaine of the Turks gariſons. There the king of HUNGARIE bathing himſelfe in the riuer, forthwith (as one diſcharged of his vow & promiſe) returned with all his power vnto PTOLEMAIS, & ſo from thence back L again into his coũtry, all the reſt of the army of the Chriſtians crying out vnto him to the cõtrary: who after the kings departure ſtill marching on, came to the mount THABOR. But ſhortly after, winter now comming on, and many of their cattell dying for cold and want of meat, they returned ſome to PTOLEMAIS, ſome to TYRE, and there wintred. King *Iohn* and the duke of AUSTRIA in the meane time tooke a caſtle betwixt CESAREA and CAIPHA, called The caſtle of Pilgrims, from whence they much troubled the Barbarians thereabouts, all that winter. Vpon the appearance of the Spring, and the armie againe met together, it was thought beſt by all the great commaunders (that for ſo much as the kingdome of ÆGYPT was the chiefe maintenance of the Mahometan ſuperſtition againſt the Chriſtians in thoſe parts; and that ſo M long as it ſtood vpright, they ſhould not be able to do any great matter in SYRIA) to attempt the conqueſt thereof, as an exploit beſt beſeeming their valour, and ſo great preparations: for that that kingdome being once ſubdued, the citie of HIERUSALEM with all the land of PALESTINE, would of themſelues without more adoe yeeld vnto them. And for as much as the famous citie of DAMIATA, called in antient time PELVSIVM, not much inferiour to ALEX-

ANDRIA,

A ANDRIA, was the firſt and moſt commodious port for their purpoſe, as neereſt vnto SYRIA; and that by the taking therof, they ſhould haue a faire entrance into the great riuer NILVS, with the command of a moſt rich and pleaſant countrey about it: they reſolued there to begin the warre: and thereupon embarking themſelues with all things neceſſarie for ſo great an enterpriſe at PTOLEMAIS, and carried with a faire wind, they in ſhort time arriued at the deſired port. Now that rich and antient citie, the key of that ſide of the kingdome, ſtood about a mile from the ſea, & ſomewhat diſtant alſo from the great riuer, enuironed with a nauigable ditch or cut, drawn out of the Nile, in manner of an iſland as a man commeth from SYRIA by land; and compaſſed about with three ſtrong ſtone wals, the worke of the good emperour *Aelius*
B *Pertinax*, and of him as ſome affirme called alſo ÆLIOPOLIS. At the mouth of this cut, as you ſhould enter vnto the citie, ſtood a ſtrong watch-towre for the defence thereof, and round about it a number of faire houſes in manner of a prettie towne entrenched. Beſide that, for the more ſafetie thereof, the ſame cut was barred with a great ſtrong yron chaine, in ſuch ſort as that it was not poſsible for any ſhip, without breaking of the ſame, to enter. The Chriſtians with their fleet entring the mouth of the riuer, and comming to this cut, by great ſtrength brake the chaine: but thinking ſo to haue made their paſſage vnto the citie, they found a greater ſtay at the watch-tower, which ſtrongly built of ſquare ſtone, and well ſtored with warlike engines of all ſorts, and a good garriſon of valiant ſouldiers, ſtaied their further paſſage, ouerwhelming them as they approched, with ſhot, fire, ſtones, timber, and ſuch like, before prouided for that purpoſe.

The ſituation of Damiata in Aegypt.

C The Chriſtians (after the manner of the fight of that time) had vpon certaine flat veſſels built certaine high towers of wood for the aſſailing of the watch-tower: in the approching whereof, they were not only troubled with the enemie, but with the tumult and ſtur of their owne people alſo; ſome crying that they ſhould yet draw neerer vnto the tower; otherſome crying out as faſt, to haue the bridges caſt out, thereby to enter: and the enemie likewiſe with much clamour encouraging one another for the repulſing of the Chriſtians. So the ſouldiers hindred the mariners to do their buſineſſe, and the mariners the ſouldiers. In the midſt of this hurly burly and tumult, one of the woodden towers ſurmounting the reſt in heigth, ouercharged with the preſſe
D of men, fell, and in falling made ſuch a noiſe, as if heauen it ſelfe had fallen, where in a moment (as it were) was preſently to be ſeene a moſt heauie ſpectacle: many ouerwhelmed with the falling of the tower lay there cruſhed to death; ſome grieuouſly hurt, and yet not dead, lay oppreſſed with the timber, crying out for helpe; others bruiſed or hurt, but not ouerwhelmed, for feare of further harme, leapt ſome into the NILE, ſome aboord the other ſhips neere by, ſome crying out of his arme, ſome of his leg, ſome of his head or other part of his bodie, to the great diſcomfiture of the reſt, in ſo much that the aſſault was for that time giuen ouer.

King *Iohn* (as well for his valour as for the title of the king of HIERUSALEM, choſen generall of the armie) after he had appeaſed this tumult, and giuen the charge of them that were maimed or hurt, vnto skilfull ſurgeons, & buried the bodies of ſuch as were found drowned or ouerwhelmed; with cheerfull ſpeech encouraged the reſt of his ſouldiers, perſuading them not to bee diſcouraged with the accident of the fall of a tower, which was neither to be imputed to
E their cowardiſe, or the valour of the enemy, but onely to the chance of war.

In the meane time *Meledin* the Ægyptian Sultan, had with a great armie encamped himſelfe within the ſight of DAMIATA, thereby to encourage the beſieged, and to fill them with hope of reliefe: ſending them oftentimes by the riuer, newes, meſſages, victuals, ſouldiers, armour, and whatſoeuer elſe they wanted. The chiefe cauſe of his ſtaying there, was to take occaſion for the ſurpriſing of the Chriſtians, if any ſhould be offered, either by chance or their owne negligence. Euery day ſome skirmiſh or other paſſed betwixt our men and the Barbarians, our men ſtill carrying away the victorie: yet could theſe Barbarians neither be drawn foorth vnto battell, neither could our men keepe them from victuals; for as much as they had the riuer of NILE at commaund, whereby victuals were out of the vpper part of ÆGYPT in great abundance con-
F ueighed into the Sultans campe: Whereas on the contrarie part, the ſame riuer diuiding it ſelfe into many armes, in ſome places here and there ouerflowing, in another cut into many ditches and channels, and in ſome other pent vp by wals and cauſies, gaue vnto our men a thouſand diſpleaſures. And therefore ſeeing that the Sultan would neither giue nor accept of battell, they reſolued againe to lay ſiege to the towre. Wherefore hauing with great cunning vpon two ſhips made faſt together, framed a towre of moſt ſtrong timber, equall in heigth vnto the watch-

towre, they brought the ſame neere vnto the Turks towre, and the ſuburbs adjoyning thereun- G
to, after which followed alſo all the reſt of the fleet well appointed for the aſſault. At which time
all the reſt of the armie at land, ſtood in battell ready ranged, as well to diſcourage them of the
towne, as that the Sultan ſhould not bee able to helpe them without the hazarding of battell.
There began a fierce and cruell aſſault; they of the ſuburbs right valiantly defending themſelues
againſt their enemies. Within theſe ſuburbs, the towre, and the trenches, dwelt not only Ægyp-
tians (the naturall inhabitants of the countrey) but alſo Arabians, Perſians, Syrians, Indians,
Moores, and Æthyopians, who were there reſiant, for that, that citie was a publike mart where-
unto all kind of marchandize were brought from farre out of the remoteſt parts of the world,
and ſo from thence in like manner tranſported alſo: which encouraged them the more to fight H
for the defence of their liues and goods, the two things which men hold moſt deare: and in
like ſort animated our men vnto the aſſault, as well in the quarrell of the Chriſtian religion,
as to inrich themſelues with the ſpoile of thoſe rich nations. The Chriſtians with their ſhips
drew as neere as poſsibly they could vnto the land, to the intent that vpon the banke of the riuer,
they might come to fight hand to hand, and man to man, and ſo come cloſe vnto their enemies.
But the Barbarians on the other ſide, ſought by ſhot and all other meanes they could to keepe
them farther off, and ſo from landing.

A deſperat act of a Chriſtian.

That which moſt feared the Ægyptians, was that as one of our ſhips by chance ran a ground
vpon that ſide of the riuer where the enemie lay, and being boorded by the enemie, thronging
in as faſt as he could, and there making a cruell ſlaughter: one of the Chriſtian ſouldiers going I
downe vnder the hatches, made there a great hole, whereby the water abundantly comming in,
ſunke the ſhip before the enemie was aware, and ſo drowned a great number of the Ægyptians,
together with the Chriſtians. At which time alſo the high towre built vpon the two ſhips, joy-
ning now cloſe vnto the watch-towre, and mating the ſame, diſmaied the defendants with the
ſtrangeneſſe thereof, as with a miracle, in ſuch ſort, that they ſtrucken with a great feare, as now
being to fight with a ſtrange, hardie, and cruell kind of men, without any great reſiſtance forſooke
the towre and fled. The watch-towre thus taken, and they that ſhould haue defended the ſame,
ſome ſlaine, and ſome fled: they in the ſuburbs diſcouraged, and flying away were many of them
wounded from aboue out of the watch-towre, but now gained by the Chriſtians. At which
time alſo the other ſhips landed the ſouldiers, who entring the ſuburbs, put all they found there K
to the ſword, euen vnto the laſt man. There was found great abundance of victuals, but farre
greater ſtore of riches, in ſo much that it ſeemed to haue beene the ſpoile of ARABIA, PERSIA,
and the rich INDIES.

Damiata in vain aſſaulted.

Now yet remained the ſtrong towne of DAMIATA, which was foorthwith aſſaulted by the
Chriſtians, more to prooue if in that heat and ſuddaine feare it would be yeelded, than for any
hope they had by force to win it. But hauing done what they could both byſcaling and by other
engines, they gained nothing but hard blowes and wounds, and ſo retired. Neuertheleſſe, they
lodged themſelues in the ſuburbs, and laied a great part of the armie betwixt the Sultan and the
beſieged citie, to the intent that no ſupplie or victuals ſhould bee brought vnto it; yet both the
enemie oftentimes attempted to haue entred the citie, and the beſieged to haue ſallied out, but L
both the one and the other were letted to doe what they would haue done, and that not with-
out the great loſſe of their men: for why, the towne was now on euery ſide ſo incloſed by the
Chriſtians, as that no man could enter in or out thereof. Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the
ſiege, it fortuned that the riuer of NILE ſwelling with a great Eaſterne wind, riſe aboue the
bankes, and ſo ouerflowed the places wherein the Chriſtians lay, that they could keepe nothing
drie, and that moſt part of their victuals were therwith ſpoiled. With which vnſeaſonable riſing
of the riuer the Chriſtians not a little troubled, by commandement of *Pelagius* the Popes legate,
gaue themſelues to faſting and prayer, by the ſpace of three daies: But the wind falling the fourth
day, and the riuer againe decreaſing, they gaue themſelues more earneſtly to prayer than before,
thanking the Almightie, that as he had put them in a great feare, ſo he had in mercie againe com- M
forted them.

Now with long lying began victuals to grow ſcant in the Sultans campe, ſo that he was glad
to ſend away halfe of his armie vp againe into the countrey of CAIRE. At which time alſo it
chanced (as if it had beene in an extreme and common danger of the Mahometan ſuperſtition)
that embaſſadors ſent from *Corradin* Sultan of DAMASCO and HIERUSALEM, vnto the prin-

ces

A ces of the Christian armie,came to sue for peace, both for himselfe and his brother the Ægyptian Sultan;promising in regard thereof againe to restore vnto them the Holy crosse,and whatsoeuer else himselfe,his father, or Sultan *Saladin* had before taken from them: of which their offer,most part of the armie liked well, saying, That they had therefore taken vp armes for the recouerie of that which had been before gotten,and gained by the valour of the worthie Christian captaines, and had of late beene taken from them; and to blot out the ignominie of the losse thereof,to the end it should not bee said,that they could not leaue whole and entire vnto their children, what their fathers had got, when they had the keeping thereof; neither hauing lost it, bee able againe to recouer it: that all these things being restored,there rested not any further occasion of warre, *A faire offer euill refused.*
B or let to stay them as most victorious conquerours to returne home. Neuertheless *Pelagius*, Pope *Honorius* his Legat (for *Innocentius* in the preparation of the wars was before dead at PERUSIUM) with king *Iohn*,the masters of the kinghts Hospitalars and Templars,the duke of AUSTRIA, and the Germains, were of opinion to the contrarie: alleaging, That this sacred warre was vndertaken generally against the infidels, and for religions sake against the Mahometan superstition,whereof the kingdome of ÆGYPT was the chiefe seat and stay; and that therefore they ought especially to impugn that. Which persuasion,together with the authoritie of the persuaders,so preuailed,that the Sultans large offers were rejected, and so the embassadours dispatched without any thing obtained of that they came for. Whereupon *Corradin* fearing that the Christians would at length come to HIERUSALEM, as the place they most desired; and doub-
C ting how he should be able to defend the same, foorthwith rased the wals thereof, and the more to deface it,ouerthrew and pluckt downe most of the goodly houses,and other stately buildings therein, sparing yet the Tower of *Dauid* and the Holy Sepulchre; which he is said to haue done at the humble request and intercession of the Christians of diuers countries, which yet dwelt there mixt with the Turks and Sarasins.

Whilest the Christians thus lay at the siege of DAMIATA, the plague began to arise in the campe, whereof so many died, that it began to repent the great commaunders of the armie that they had so much harkened to the persuasion of the Legate (a man making no profession of armes)rather than to the sound aduise of others,who by long experience taught the sudden alteration of matters of war, would willingly haue accepted of the Sultans large offers: So began
D *Pelagius* the Legate to be generally euill spoken off. There were now alreadie six moneths past since the beginning of the siege,and the Sultan lying in sight had not with him so great an armie as before, but onely the flower and choice of his people, hauing (as we haue before said) for want of victuals sent away the rest vp againe into the country. Now it fortuned that the Christians,as men wearie of the long siege,stood not so carefully vpon their guard,with watch & ward, as before,but gaue themselues more to ease: which the Sultan perceiuing, drew neerer vnto the towne, in hope vnder the couert of the silent night, to send new supplies vnto the besieged; which companies by him appointed for that seruice, couragiously set forward, in hope to haue deceiued the Christian sentinels, and so indeed came neere vnto the towne vnseene or discouered. And now the foremost of those companies were alreadie entred the towne; when the *Succours sent vnto the besieged.*
E Christians perceiuing them, and raising an alarme, put themselues in armes, and so furiously assailed the hindermost of them, and in such sort,that they which were before within, and those that were but now entred, fearing least the enemie in that hurly burly should pell mell enter in with the rest, shut them out of the gates, exposed to the butcherie, where they were all presently cut in peeces.

The Christians encouraged with this victorie,the next day leauing a great part of the armie before the town to continue the siege, presented themselues before the Sultans campe to giue him battell: who for all that well considering that the losse of a battell might endanger the whole state of his kingdome, would by no meanes be drawne out of his trenches, but lay still; wherewith the Christians, especially the Frenchmen (in their first charge naturally furious) greatly in-
F couraged, attempted to haue forcibly entred their rampiers, but not with successe answerable to their courage.For the Ægyptians perceiuing the small number of their enemies,notably repulsed them, and in fine enforced them to retire, hauing lost *Gualter* one of their chiefe commanders, with diuers others: yea king *Iohn* in assailing the camp,lost many of his men,& grieuously burnt in his face,hardly escaped himselfe with life.After which discomfiture they resolued not to thinke of any thing els but of the siege,& aboue all things to prouide that no succours should be broght

vnto

vnto the towne. They in the citie more ſtraitly beſet & beſieged than before, & now broght vn- G
to extreame neceſsitie & famine, & out of all hope of reliefe, aſſembled themſelues to conſult of their affaires, and what were beſt for them to doe in ſo dangerous a ſtate: Some one or other of them by night or otherwiſe ſecretly flying into the campe. And that more was, the citie had vndoubtedly beene yeelded by the greater part, had not the chiefe commanders within mured vp the gates, and commaunded that none of the inhabitants vpon paine of death ſhould come vpon the wals, or rampiars, to the intent they ſhould not get out or caſt themſelues from aboue ouer the wals into the ditches. The chiefe commaunders and captaines went here and there vp and downe the citie, to ſearch and view all things, eſpecially the ſhops and ſtorehouſes, where finding ſmall ſtore of Wheat, they deuided it in ſmall portions among themſelues: the com- H
mon people inforced with want, eat whatſoeuer came to hand, were it lawfull or vnlawfull, or forbidden by their ſuperſtition, wholſome or vnwholeſome, good or bad, ſalt or freſh, roſted or raw; and ſo prolonged their liues with ſuch things as they could find. Now the beſieged, not able to endure theſe extremities of the Famine (being the paſsion that moſt grieuouſly and often troubleth mankind) they were alſo attached with the wrath of God: for the Plague (the furie whereof had before attainted the campe of the Chriſtians, and afterward quite ceaſed) was now got into the citie, where it made a great ſlaughter: which mortalitie day by day in ſuch ſort increaſed, that men were not onely now no more to be found, to viſit, comfort, ſuccour, ſerue, and helpe the ſicke; but were wanting alſo to burie them, to draw them out of their beds and houſes, and to ſeperate the liuing from the dead: the ſtreets and houſes full of dead bodies, gaue foorth a moſt I
horrible ſtinke, with a moſt grieuous and infectious aire: there was not any place cleare from the plague, or any man that could boaſt that he had not beene attainted therewith, or the feare thereof; and remedie was there none. The rage and furie of theſe two deuourers, the Famine, and Plague, deuoured them without number, chuſing rather ſo to die, than to ſubmit themſelues vnto their enemies; or to humble themſelues ſo low, as to craue their fauour. That they within were thus pinched with famine, the Chriſtians knew: but that the plague ſo raged among them, they knew not. Now the Chriſtians had of purpoſe caſt vp certaine trenches and baricadoes, for the keeping in of ſuch as the famine ſhould enforce to come out of the towne; thinking that the beſieged, to eaſe their wants, would thruſt the baſer ſort of the people and vnprofitable mouths out of the citie, vnto whom the Chriſtians meant not to giue any paſſage: for they hauing long K
before ſo ſtraitly enuironed the citie, as that no reliefe could be brought vnto it, lay now ſtill expecting when the beſieged, enforced by neceſsitie, ſhould yeeld themſelues; and ſo without loſſe of any man, to become maſters of ſo ſtrong and rich a towne. It was now more than a yeare that the Chriſtians had thus lien at the ſiege of DAMIATA, when as certaine of the ſouldiours vpon a braueric aduentured with a few ſcaling ladders to mount the wall: in which doing, finding no reſiſtance, and withall hearing ſo great ſilence, as if there had beene no bodie within the citie; they ſtood ſtill a great while hearkening, but ſeeing that dumbe ſilence ſtill to continue, they returned vnto the campe, giuing the captaines to vnderſtand how the matter ſtood; who at the firſt thought it to bee ſome pollicie and fineneſſe of the deceitfull enemie: yet afterward they thought it good to aduenture certaine men, to prooue their fortune, and to cauſe certaine L
companies well appointed to ſcale one of the bulwarkes of the citie, in ſuch ſort, as if they ſhould haue gone againſt a puiſſant enemie, that had had the power to reſiſt them. And hereupon were ſcaling ladders brought foorth, and all things made readie, as for a great aſſault. So the Chriſtians courageouſly mounting the ladders, without reſiſtance tooke the bulwarke. But as they were entring farther into the towne, a ſmall companie of the Turkes and Barbarians (all the ſouldiors that the furie of the plague had left, and they alſo with the famine and infection of the aire very weake and feeble) met them, and began to make ſome ſmall reſiſtance, but to no purpoſe, being forthwith all cut in pieces. Which done, the matter wherewith the gates of the citie were mured, was preſently remooued, the gates ſet open, and the Chriſtians with enſignes diſplaied let in. But euen at the very entering in at the gates, they were attainted with a moſt greeuous and hor- M
rible ſtinke, they ſaw a faire citie diſpeopled, and that which was moſt fearefull to behold, the ſtreets couered with bodies of the dead, and ſuch a dreadfull deſolation, as might mooue euen the enemie himſelfe to compaſsion. The Chriſtians were entred, as men appointed to haue done a great execution, and to haue made the channels run with blood, as men juſtly prouoked with the long ſiege and the paines they had endured; they had their ſwords and weapons in their hands,

Damiata without reſiſtance taken by the Chriſtians.

Damiata vnpeopled by the ſiege.

A hands,but found none againſt whom to vſe them: for a man could not enter into any houſe, or goe into any ſtreet, but hee muſt paſſe ouer the dead, or others which being not yet altogether dead,were miſerably drawing toward their end. Of ſeuentie thouſand perſons in the citie, were not found aboue three thouſand aliue,and thoſe for the moſt part yet young children: for all the reſt were dead,taken away either with the ſword,famine,or the plague; the greateſt part whereof lay yet ſtinking aboue the ground vnburied. Theſe three thouſand that were left,were ſo maigre and poore,that pitie it was to behold them: vnto whom their liues were graunted,vpon condition that they ſhould make cleane the citie, and burie the dead,which they were three moneths in doing.

B Thus was DAMIATA taken by the Chriſtians the fift day of Nouember, in the yeare 1221, after it had ben more than a yeare by them beſieged. The ſpoile there taken was great,for beſides the rich marchandiſe brought thither from farre,was found great ſtore of gold, ſiluer,and precious ſtones. The Chriſtians thus enriched(and the citie made clean)ſtaied there more than a yeare after,as in a Colonie wherein they had been willing to dwell, forgetfull of their owne countrey. In the beginning of theſe warres, the princes of the armie had with one conſent agreed, That whatſoeuer citie or territorie ſhould by them be taken from the Turkes or Infidels, ſhould be giuen vnto the king of HIERUSALEM,whom after the departure of the king of HUNGARIE they had made generall of the whole armie. But now that the citie was taken, *Pelagius* the legat,pretending,That by the vertue of his legation,it belonged vnto him to diſpoſe of all things taken
C in that ſacred warre,(as a man not vnmindfull of his maſter) adjudged the citie from thenceforth to belong vnto the See of ROME: With which indignitie & wrong, the king inwardly diſcontented (and yet for the authoritie of the Legate,diſſembling the matter) withdrew himſelfe, and ſo retired to PTOLEMAIS. 1221

The yeare following,*Pelagius* wearie to ſee the armes of the Chriſtians to corrupt with ruſt, and nothing doing: conſidering the deſire and hope he had vtterly to haue ruinated the infidels, together with their ſuperſtition,commaunded,That euery man ſhould againe take vp armes for the proſecuting of this warre againſt the Sultan, and the beſieging of CAIRE. But for all that, when he had commanded what he would,or could, the ſoldiors little regarding his command, with one voice cried out,That they would not be commanded by any, but by the king of HIE-
D RUSALEM onely. So that the Legate,enforced by the ſouldiors,was glad to ſend vnto the king, to requeſt him to returne againe vnto DAMIATA, and to take vpon him the charge for the managing of that warre,taken in hand for the defence of the Chriſtian religion: who for all that excuſed himſelfe from ſo doing, one while by his owne particular affaires, another while by his owne indiſpoſition: yet in fine, preſſed and ouercome with the praiers and requeſts of the other Latine princes,he returned to DAMIATA, at the ſelfe ſame time that the duke of BAVARIA arriued there with a goodly companie of braue men, brought thither out of his owne countrey, after he had been now from thence ten moneths abſent. 1222

Pelagius the Legat perſuadeth the princes of the Chriſtian armie to proceed for the conqueſt of Aegypt.

The Legate deſirous of the proſecution of this warre, requeſted and vrged the king,with the reſt of the princes and great commanders,without delay to take the field, telling them, That the
E enterpriſe of the Holy warre was growne old,and cold,by thoſe long delaies and protracting of the time: and that they which kept wars ſo far from home, ought to make haſt to force the enemie,to take all occaſions to loſe no time but euer to be doing,and to prooue all things for the annoying of the enemie: and that that was the way, whereby the woorthies of antient times, both kings and emperours,had gained vnto themſelues empires, glorie, greatneſſe, and wealth: That it was for them that were inuaded and aſſailed, vpon whoſe liues depended the ſafetie of their countrey, their wiues, their children, and goods, to delay and prolong the time as they might,to delude the enemie,to fruſtat his deſigns, to defeat his attempts,and with delaies to dally him off,vntill that hauing thereby weakned his forces,he ſhould together with his courage looſe alſo his hope: CAIRE (he ſaid) to be indeed a great citie, but yet that the greateſt cities that euer
F were,had by warres become great deſarts,forced by the power of their puiſſant and ſpeedie enemies: And that great empires, as were thoſe of the Sultans, ought not to be inuaded or aſſailed by any forraine force,if they were not at the firſt onſet ouerthrown,or at leaſtwiſe ſo weakned,as that they could not afterwards lift vp their heads or recouer themſelues; for otherwiſe, that they which had prepared a diſtruction for others, ſhould fall into the ſame themſelues: That it behooued either not to haue attempted or aſſailed ÆGYPT at all; or elſe now after it had beene

once

once aſſailed, not ſo to giue it ouer before it were conquered. The king of HIERUSALEM, G whether it were that he were pricked with the griefe, That being called the king of the Holyland, he could not haue the citie of DAMIATA (vnder his leading and conduct woon by the Chriſtians come to the ſacred war) giuen vnto him by the Legate; or that he had before prooued that the higher countrey of ÆGYPT was not without great and manifeſt danger to be attempted; ſaid, That that he would not in any caſe go: alleaging that honorable and ſacred war to haue ben taken in hand, onely for the recouerie of the Holy land, and not for the winning of MEMPHIS, BABYLON, or THEBES in ÆGYPT; which after they were taken, would not for any long time continue in their fidelitie or alleageance, and could not poſsibly be kept by force: Whereas SYRIA, by *Godfrey* of BUILLON and the other great princes his aſſociats, entred into, conquered and poſſeſſed; and ſince his time, by diuers other Chriſtian kings and princes holden, was H in right their owne: And that therefore he greatly commended the forwardneſſe, the dilligence, the courage, the deſire, and whatſoeuer thing elſe *Pelagius* commended: but that hee ought to employ the ſame in SYRIA, and not there where no need was, or from whence no profit was to be drawne or expected. Neuertheleſſe the Legat wedded to his owne opinion, by the power of his authoritie, commanded the king of HIERUSALEM, the duke of BAVARIA, with the reſt of the great commanders and captaines, to take vp their armes and to get them into the field vpon the expedition by him appointed againſt the Sultan; threatning the paine of the high ſentence of excommunication againſt him or them, that ſhould ſhew themſelues backward or vnI willing to doe what he had commaunded. So as it were enforced by the Legat, they began with euill will and woorſe ſpeed to ſet forward in Auguſt, in the verie hotteſt time of the yeare. At which time the Sultan beholding the great armie of the Chriſtians, in number about ſeuentie thouſand, retired as a man afraid into ſuch places as he thought beſt, farther off: which the Legat ſeeing (as one not acquainted with the feats of war) rejoyced greatly, as if the victorie had beene already more than halfe gained; commending vnto the heauens them that he ſaw couragiouſly marching forward, ſaying, That fortune alwaies fauoured the valiant, and that vnto cowards all things fell ſtill out to the woorſt. By the way the Chriſtians ceized vpon a bridge, which the enemie had made ouer the NILE, and cut in peeces ſuch cómpanies as were left for the keeping thereof. So marching on, they drew neere vnto CAIRE, and there in the ſight of that great and K rich citie, encamped: where running vp and downe, the more to terrifie them of the citie, prouoked them to battell, vpbraiding vnto them their lazines, their cowardiſe, and ſloth, brauing them (if they were men) to come out: Yet for all that, they would not ſo do, but keeping themſelues cloſe and couert within the citie, let them alone to brag and boaſt at their owne pleaſure. This ſiege continued long, of purpoſe protracted ſtill from day to day by them of the citie: and the great opinion the Chriſtians had of their owne valour, with the ſmall regard they had of their enemies, made them ſo proud and careleſſe, that they remembred no more to take good care of the warre, of their dutie, their watch, or their ſentinels: their confidence was in their owne valour and good fortune, not conſidering or remembring that they were come into ÆGYPT, and that they had put themſelues within the trenches, ſallies, channels, and cuts, of a deceitfull riuer, which not only brought victuals vnto their enemies, but alſo fortified them; who by how much L they were the leſſe valiant and leſſe vnderſtood of the art of war, the more they vſed of craft and ſubtiltie for the preſeruing of themſelues. So the craftie enemies drew the Chriſtians out at length, abuſing them with many delaies and deceits; making ſemblance of great feare, to make themſelues the leſſe to be feared; and more contemptible in their doings, to the end that they knowing the paſſages and ſtraights of the countrey, and reſeruing themſelues vnto the occaſions and aduantages both of the time, and of their enemies, might circumuent them and entrap them at ſuch time as they leaſt feared any ſuch matter. The Chriſtians, at all aduenture had encamped themſelues in a low ground, within the banks and cauſies of that fennie countrey, vnder the couert thereof, thinking themſelues ſafe as in their tenches, againſt all ſudden ſallies or attempts of their enemies. But theſe places wherein they lay, were ſoft and durtie, for ſo much as the coun- M trey people vſed at their pleaſure to water them by channels & ſluces out of the riuer of NILE: which now pluckt vp and opened, the riuer began to riſe and ouerflow all. Then too late they perceiued themſelues taken as in a grin, without power to defend themſelues, or to make any reſiſtance, or by any other meanes to ſhew their valour. So the riuer ſtill ariſing and ouerflowing, gaue vnto the Turks and Ægyptians good hope of their wars, and of a victorie more deſired than

The Chriſtians encamped vnder the leaue of the riuer Nile.

A than hoped for ouer a warlike and victorious people. All the ground where the Christians lay encamped, was couered with water, so high that the victuals were corrupted, and no place left for a man to stand or lie drie in.

Now at the same time the Ægyptians had taken the high places, with the passages vpon the wals and banks in that drowned countrey, to the intent that the Christians should not be able to retire or to saue themselues out of the bogs and marishes couered ouer with water. So was their rash valour and presumptuous confidence in themselues, exposed vnto the enemies shot and furie; and when they would by force haue defended themselues, their hardinesse was ouercome by the craftie subtiltie of the weak enemie. Then began euery man to crie out against *Pelagius* the
B Legat, accusing, condemning, and railing at him: the king himselfe they blamed not, for that he had done his dutie, in dissuading of this expedition, and was contrarie to his good liking himselfe drawn into this warre, the charge whereof he had not without great intreatie taken vpon him: neither might he with his credit well complaine of this misfortune, least in so doing, he might seeme to haue had no comfort in himselfe. But as for the Legate, what counsell could he then giue, what counsell could hee then take for himselfe? They of VENICE, PISA, and GENUA, left at DAMIATA, were indeed strong at sea, but how could they come to relieue him at CAIRE? And how, or by what forces could the Christians breake out of the banks and sluces of the cuts and channels; which winding in and out with a thousand inextricable turnings, inclosed them, beset also on euery side with the victorious enemie. After they had been thus coupt
C vp, and enuironed with the waters three daies, you might haue seene the poore soldiers in euery place fall downe dead for want of food and sleepe, and so perrish in the water; the like miserable kind of death, the rest were also in short time after to expect: other helpe was there none but to yeeld vnto necessitie, and to accept of such conditions as it should please the proud enemie to propound. Now the Sultan desired not so much their liues, as the libertie of his countrey: and therefore required to haue the citie of DAMIATA againe restored vnto him, and all things else in such sort as was before the besieging thereof: and so the Christians without more adoe to depart his countrey. Hard conditions, if a man respect the hope whereupon the Christians had vndertaken this war, and were so come into ÆGYPT, with the toyle by them there endured: but vnto him that will but enter into the consideration of mens affaires, and especially in martiall
D matters, it will seeme but an accident to be yeelded vnto, the like whereof hath oftentimes happned vnto the greatest men of the world. These conditions (such as they were) were by the distressed Christians accepted of. But when they were brought to DAMIATA, and there propounded vnto the Christians there left, a great contention began to arise among them: Some said that they would not accept of them, or surrender the towne, which being kept would be a stay for all the affaires of the Christians in the East, and a most commodious place for them to haue recourse vnto; but being restored and lost, carried away with it all the hope of the Christians, and that therefore it were better to indure all extremities than to receiue such dishonourable and hurtfull a peace. Others of the contrarie opinion said, That they ought not to forsake them that were in danger before CAIRE, nor to expose them vnto the butcherie, but to haue a Christian
E compassion of so many thousands of soules as there lay distressed, seeing they might bee saued by the surrendrie of that one towne: Townes (they said) consisted of the number of men, and not men of the enclosures of wals and ditches. They that were of this opinion, for the deliuering vp of the towne, seeing the other obstinatly set downe to the contrarie, withdrawing themselues from the counsell, presently tooke vp armes, and by force entred the houses of them that were of contrarie opinion, and tooke from them their weapons, by that means and perforce to constrain them to yeeld to their desire. As soone as they that lay before CAIRE (almost drowned in the waters) vnderstood of this dissention at DAMIATA about the deliuerie of the towne, they sent them word, That if they would not yeeld the towne vnto the Sultan, they would foorthwith send to PTOLEMAIS, which would not faile to do what should be commanded, to haue it in
F steed of DAMIATA surrendred vnto the Ægyptians. So was DAMIATA againe yeeded vnto the infidels, and so great labours of the Christians taken at the siege and winning thereof, all lost. That which made the indignitie thereof more tollerable, was that *Meledin* the Sultan, hauing without bloodshed gained so great a victorie, did neither by word or deed any thing in despite or reproch of the Christians, but vsed thē with all courtesie, relieuing them also with victuals & such other things as they wanted, & by faithfull guides conducting them in safetie out of the country.

Themiserie of the Christians in the drowned land.

In

In like manner alſo, *Corradin* his brother, Sultan of DAMASCO, made truce with the Latins G
for eight yeares. Whereupon the king of HIERUSALEM went ouer into ITALIE, and there
by the perſuaſion of *Honorius* the Pope, his wife being now dead, gaue his daughter *Yolanda* (now
crowned queene of HIERUSALEM in the right of her mother) in marriage to *Frederick* king
of SICILIA and emperour of the Latines, the rather thereby to ſtirre him vp for the taking in
hand of the ſacred warre. Euer ſince which time, hee and the kings of SICILIA his ſucceſſours
haue beene called kings of HIERUSALEM, albeit that they haue euill proſecuted that their pre-
tended right and title, as ſtill buſied in more prophane wars againſt other Chriſtian princes. King
Iohn afterwards departing from ROME for FRANCE, was by the way honourably entertained
at PISA: but arriuing at the French court, he found *Philip* the French king deſperatly ſicke, who H
by his laſt will and teſtament gaue vnto the knights Hoſpitalers and Templars, ſixtie thouſand
crownes for the maintenance of their warres againſt the infidels; which money was to their vſe,
afterward paied vnto king *Iohn*. Who ſhortly after to diſcharge himſelfe of a vow he had made,
to viſit the pilgrimage at COMPOSTELLA, going into SPAINE, by the way married *Berengaria*, the king of CASTILE his daughter: and there ſtaying a great while, returned againe into
FRANCE, where he lay long expecting the ſetting forward of the emperour *Frederick* his ſonne
in law, for the recouerie of his wiues right vnto the kingdome of HIERUSALEM; which al-
though he ſolemnely vowed at ſuch time as he with all princely magnificence married the ſaid
ladie at ROME, yet otherwiſe letted with troubles neerer home, performed not the ſame, vntill
almoſt ſeuen yeares after: all which time the Chriſtians in SYRIA enjoying the fruit of the late I
concluded peace for eight yeeres, liued in great reſt and quietneſſe; where, ſo leauing them, vntill
the ariſing of new troubles, let vs in the meane time againe returne vnto the troubled affaires of
the Turkes, Greekes, and Latines, at CONSTANTINOPLE, and in the leſſer ASIA.

The death of Henry emperour of Conſtantinople. *Henry* the ſecond emperour of the Latins at CONSTANTINOPLE, after he had (as is afore-
ſaid) with much adoe repreſſed the furie of the Bulgarians and Scythes, his barbarous enemies,
and ſo giuen peace vnto the miſerable countrey of THRACIA, died, hauing raigned a moſt trou-
Peter emperour. bleſome raigne, about the ſpace of eleuen yeares. After whom ſucceeded *Peter*, countie of AUS-
SERRE, his ſonne in law, third emperour of the Latines in CONSTANTINOPLE: who in the
beginning of his empire willing to gratifie the Venetians, and to reuenge himſelfe of *Theodorus*
Angelus, a great prince of EPIRUS, competitor of his empire, beſieged him in DIRRACHI- K
VM; which ſtrong citie, the ſaid *Theodorus* had but a little before ſurpriſed, belonging to the Ve-
netian ſeignorie. At which ſiege *Peter* the emperour lying, was ſo cunningly by the wilie Greeke
vſed, that a peace was vpon moſt honourable conditions betwixt them concluded, and a familiar
kind of friendſhip joyned. Inſomuch, that the emperour at his requeſt, not well aduiſed, came
vnto him as his gueſt: who now of his enemie become his hoſte, entertained him with all the
formalities that faigned friendſhip could deuiſe. But hauing him now in his power, and fearing
no harme, regarding neither the lawes of fidelitie or hoſpitalitie, he moſt traiterouſly ſlew him,
as he was yet in the middeſt of his banquet. Of whoſe end, ſome others yet otherwiſe report, as
that he ſhould by the ſame *Theodorus* haue been intercepted about the pleaſant woods of TEMPE
in THESSALIA, as he was trauelling from ROME to CONSTANTINOPLE, and ſo afterwards L
to haue been by him cruelly put to death. Of whoſe misfortune, *Tepulus* gouernour of CON-
STANTINOPLE vnderſtanding, for the more ſafetie of the ſtate in that vacancie of the Greeke
empire, made peace with *Theodorus* for fiue yeares, and the Turks for two. Shortly after came
Robert emperor of Conſtantinople. *Robert* (the ſonne of the aforeſaid vnfortunate emperour *Peter*) with his mother to CONSTAN-
TINOPLE, and there in his fathers ſtead was ſolemnely ſaluted emperour; but not with much
better lucke than was his father before him: for ſhortly after his comming he tooke to wife a faire
young ladie, the daughter of a great rich and noble matrone of the citie, but before betrothed
vnto a gallant gentleman, a Burgundion borne: with whom the old ladie broke her promiſe, and
more carefull of her daughters preferment, than fidelitie, gaue her in marriage vnto the new em-
perour. The joy of which ſo great an honour was in ſhort time conuerted not into a deadly hea- M
uineſſe, but euen into death it ſelfe: For the young Burgundion, more enraged with the wrong
An horrible outrage committed vpon the perſon of an empreſſe. done him, than diſcouraged with the greatneſſe and power of the emperour, conſorted himſelfe
with a companie of luſtie tall ſouldiors, acquainted with his purpoſe, and awaiting his time when
the emperour was abſent, by night entred the court with his deſperat followers, and firſt meeting
with the beautifull young empreſſe, cut off her noſe and her eares, and afterward threw her old

mother

A mother into the sea: and so fled out of the citie into the woods and mountaines, with those desperat cut-throates, the ministers of his barbarous crueltie. The emperour pierced to the heart with this so great a disgrace, shortly after went to ROME, to what purpose was not certainely knowne; but in returning backe againe through ACHAIA, he there died, leauing behind him his yoong sonne *Baldwin*, yet but a child, begotten by his first wife, to succeed him in the empire: who by the name of *Baldwin* the second was crowned the fift and last emperour of the Latines in CONSTANTINOPLE. And for because he was as yet but yoong and vnfit for the gouernment, he was by the consent of the nobilitie affianced, and afterward married vnto *Martha* the yoonger daughter of *Iohn Brenne* king of HIERUSALEM, a woorthie old captaine (but as then B gouernour of RAVENNA; which citie, he being certaine yeares before sent for out of FRANCE for that purpose, by *Honorius* the Pope, he notably defended against the emperour *Frederick* his sonne in law, but that affinitie was before broken off by the death of the said emperours wife) who now sent for out of ITALIE vnto CONSTANTINOPLE, had committed to his charge and protection both the person and empire of the young emperour *Baldwin*, now his sonne in law. Which great and heauie charge he for certaine yeares after worthely and faithfully discharged, vntill such time as that *Baldwin* was himselfe grown able to take vpon him the gouernment. Now although the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, with the countries of THRACIA, THESSALIA, MACEDONIA, ACHAIA, PELOPONESUS, and the rest of the prouinces of GREECE, were all or for the most part vnder the gouernment of *Baldwin* the emperour, C the Venetians, or other the inferiour Latine princes: yet were the oppressed Greekes, the naturall inhabitants thereof, in heart not theirs, as abhorring nothing more than that their forraine gouernment; but wholly deuoted to their owne naturall princes, *Theodorus Lascaris*, & *Alexius Comnenus*, the one raigning at NICE in BITHYNIA, and the other at TRAPEZOND in PONTUS, both called by the Greekes, emperours, and so of them generally reputed. *Lascaris* of the two the better beloued, and by far of greatest power, had during the time of his raigne fought many an hard battell (as is in part before declared) and strongly fortified his cheefe citties against the inuasion of his enemies, as well the Turkes as the Latines: and so hauing as it were erected a new empire in ASIA, and there raigned eighteene yeares, died, leauing behind him one *Iohn Ducas Batazes*, that had married the faire ladie *Irene* his daughter and heire, to succeed him in the Greeke empire in ASIA. This *Iohn* was a man of a great wit and spirit, and of more grauitie, for his yeares, than was *Theodorus* his father in law; neuer vndertaking any thing before he had thereof well considered; and once resolued, not omitting or neglecting any thing for the performance therof. So that it was not vnfitly said of the Greeks, The planting of this new empire to haue required the celeritie of *Lascaris*, but the stay thereof to haue been the grauitie of *Ducas*. He in the beginning of his raigne, in very short time hauing set all things in good order, greatly augmented his legions, and shooting at a fairer marke than the empire he yet held, euen the imperiall citie it selfe, and the recouerie of all THRACIA and GRECIA out of the hands of the Latines, which could not be done without a fleet at sea, built a great number of gallies in the ports of the lesser ASIA. And so hauing rigged vp and manned a strong fleet, and scouring the E seas, in one Summer tooke in most of the Ilands of the ÆGEUM, namely, LESBOS, CHIOS, SAMOS, ICARIA, COOS, with the famous Island of the RHODES, and many others also. And not so contented to haue encreased his empire, the next spring crossing the HELLESPONT and landing his forces, first inuaded CHERSONESUS; and afterward to terrifie the Latines, forraged the countrey far and neere, euen to the gates of CONSTANTINOPLE, no man daring to oppose himselfe against him. At which time also he took many cities & strong towns alongst the sea coast, as CALLIOPOLIS, SESTUS, & CARDIA, with diuers others therabout, some by force, some by composition, the Greeks almost in euery place yeelding themselues, where they were not so oppressed by the Latines as that they could not helpe him. Now by these proceedings of the Greek emperor in EUROPE, was plainly to be seen again the ruin of the Latin empire in the East, F all things prospering in his hand according to his hearts desire, *Assan* the Bulgarian king, no small terror both vnto the Latins & the Greeks, moued with the fame hereof, by his embassadors sent of purpose vnto *Iohn* the Greek emperor, offred his daughter *Helena* in mariage vnto yong *Theodore* his son: of which offer the emperor gladly accepted. For being busied in his greater affaires, he was loth to haue so great a king as was *Assan*, his enemie, able at his pleasure to cal in the Scythes; who with their multitude, as a great flood breaking ouer the bankes, had oftentimes caried away

Baldwin the last emperour of the Latines in Constantinople.

Iohn Batazes made emperor of the Greekes in Asia.

whole countries before them. Wherefore the match agreed vpon, the two great princes by appointment met together about CHERSONESUS, where *Helena*, king *Aſſans* daughter, being then about ten yeares old, was with great joy and triumph ſolemnly married vnto yong *Theodor* the emperours ſonne, much of the ſame age. Not long after embaſſadours were alſo ſent vnto the emperour from the Sultan of ICONIUM, to confirme and prolong the league betwixt them; for the Tartars not contented to haue driuen the Turkes out of PERSIA and the farre Eaſterne countries, began now alſo to cut them ſhort in their prouinces in the leſſer ASIA: wherefore the Sultan of ICONIUM, fearing leaſt whiles he had his hands full of thoſe his moſt dreadfull enemies, of themſelues too ſtrong for him, he ſhould behind be ſet vpon by the Greeke emperour, and ſo thruſt out of all, ſent theſe embaſſadours vnto him for peace; which he for many cauſes eaſily graunted. Firſt, for that he foreſaw what an hard matter it would be for him to maintaine warre at once both in ASIA againſt the Turks, and in EUROPE againſt the Latines: then by this warlike nation, as by a moſt ſure bulwarke, to keepe his owne countries ſafe from the inuaſion of the barbarous Tartars, vnto whoſe furie he ſhould himſelfe lie open, if the Turks were once taken out of their way. Both ſufficient reaſons for the emperour to yeeld vnto the Sultan, which he did: ſo was the peace concluded, and the embaſſadors diſpatched. This peace exceedingly comforted and afterward inriched the emperours countries: for now the people generally deliuered of the feare and miſerie of continuall warre, began on all hands to fall to their fruitfull labours of peace. Yea the emperour himſelfe to the ſtirring vp of others to the like good husbandrie, cauſed ſo much land to be plowed vp for corne, & ſo many vineyards to be planted, as might plentifully ſuffice his owne houſe, and ſuch poore as he daily relieued; with a great ouerplus, which he cauſed to be carefully laid vp in ſtore. He kept alſo great heards of cattell, flockes of ſheepe, and foules of all ſorts without number. The like he cauſed his kinſmen & other of the nobilitie to doe, to the intent that euery great man hauing ſufficient for his own ſpending at home, ſhould not take any thing from the poore countreyman, that ſo euery man contenting himſelfe with his owne, might liue in peace without the grieuance of others. By which means in a few yeares euery barne and garnarie was full of corne, euery ſellar full of wines, euery ſtable full of cattell, euery ſtorehouſe full of victuals: the fields were couered with corne and cattell, and in euery mans yeard were to be ſeene all kinds of tame foules, without number. At which time alſo there fortuned a great famine among the Turkes: inſomuch, as that they were inforced to fetch their greateſt reliefe from out of the Chriſtian countries. Then might you haue ſeene euery way full of Turks, men, women and children, trauelling to and fro into the emperours prouinces for victuals: their gold, their ſiluer, their other rich commodities, they gaue vnto the Chriſtians for food; a little corne was woorth a good commoditie, euery bird, ſheepe, and kid, was ſold at a great rate: by which meanes the countrey mens houſes were full of the Turkes wealth, and the emperours cofers ſtored with their treaſure. The greatneſſe of the profit ariſing of this plentie of the Chriſtians, and penurie of the Turks, may hereby eaſily be gathered, for that of egges daily ſold, ſo much money was in ſhort time gathered, as made the empreſſe an imperiall crowne of gold, richly ſet with moſt orient pearle and pretious ſtones of great price; which the emperour called *Ouata*, for that it was bought with egge money. Thus flouriſhed the Greeke empire in the leſſer ASIA, vnder the good emperour *Iohn Ducas*. The Turks at the ſame time declining as faſt, daily pilled in one corner or another by the Tartars, and conſumed with famine at home.

Plentie enſuing of peace.

An imperiall crowne bought with egge mony.

1227 *Fredericke* the Germane emperour, had of long time vowed to take vpon him an expedition into the Holy land: for performance whereof, he was hardly called vpon, firſt by *Honorius quartus* the Pope; and afterward for his long delay, excommunicated by *Gregorie* the ninth: not ſo much for the zeale they had vnto the ſacred warre, as to buſie the emperour a farre off in warres abroad, whileſt they in the meane time, to increaſe their owne power, drew from him ſome one part or other of his empire: which he not without cauſe fearing, from day to day, and yeare to yeare, delayed the performance of his vow, ſo much vrged by the Pope; by his preſence and power, ſtill diſappointing all the ſlie deſigns of the Popes, conceiued or put in practiſe againſt him. But now at length mooued, or more truly to ſay, enforced with the thundering and lightning of Pope *Gregorie*, he reſolued to ſet forward in the yeare 1227. About which time *Iolenta* or *Yoland* his wife, the king of HIERUSALEM his daughter, died in childbed, being before deliuered of a faire ſonne. Now were met together at BRVNDUSIVM an exceeding great number of courageous

A gious and deuout ſouldiors out of all parts of Chriſtendome, eſpecially out of GERMANIE, vnder the leading of *Lodowicke* Lantgraue of THURINGE, & *Sigefride* biſhop of ANGUSTA; all ſtirred vp with the fame of ſo notable an expedition. But whileſt they there ſtaied ſomewhat long, the plague ariſe among the Germanes, whereof in ſhort time after, both the Lantgraue and the biſhop died, with many of the other beſt ſouldiors. The emperour himſelfe was vpon his way as farre as MALEA, vpon the farther ſide of PELOPONESUS, where falling deſperatly ſick of a burning feauer, and put backe with contrarie winds, he returned againe to BRUNDUSIUM, and there ſtaied a great while after. Then began the Pope againe to fret and fume, and to caſt out his excommunications againſt the emperour, as if it had beene thunder and lightening, accuſing
B him of perjurie, infidelitie, and many other grieuous crimes; of all which the emperour was readie to haue cleared himſelfe in an open aſſemblie of the princes of GERMANIE, to haue beene holden at RAVENNA, had it not beene by the Pope and the troubles of LOMBARDIE diſturbed. Neuertheleſſe, he by open proteſtations and writings fully anſwered all the Popes vniuſt accuſations wherewith he had been ſo hardly charged: And yet deſirous to performe the expedition by him taken in hand, hauing ſet all things in good order, and put himſelfe againe in readineſſe, he ſet forward from BRUNDUSIUM in Auguſt in the yeare 1228, leauing the charge of his 1228
territories in ITALIE, vnto the care of *Reynolde* duke of SPOLETO. The Pope diſpleaſed, for that the emperour at his departure had neither reconciled himſelfe, nor taken his leaue of him, and deeming therein his excommunications and fulminations to be contemned & ſet at naught;
C fell into ſuch a rage and choller, that he forbad all the Chriſtian forces that were in SYRIA to follow him, or to yeeld to him their obedience; and writ letters alſo vnto the Sultan, not to come to any agreement with the emperour, or to yeeld vnto him any part of the Holy land: which very letters the Sultan afterwards ſent vnto the emperour. Neither yet ſo contented, immediatly after his departure ran vpon his kingdome of NAPLES, and ſo filled all ITALIE with troubles. Neuertheleſſe the emperor happely arriuing at PTOLEMAIS, was there honourably receiued of the Chriſtian forces, notwithſtanding the Popes threats and curſings. Of whoſe arriuall, Sultan *Meledin* hauing intelligence, and loath to draw ſo mightie an enemie as was the emperour, vpon him, by his embaſſadours offered him moſt honourable conditions of peace: Which be-
D fore he would accept of, he by conuenient meſſengers ſent vnto the Pope, to haue his conſent & approbation. But ſuch was his rage, as that he would not ſuffer the meſſengers to come into his preſence, or vouchſafe to read the emperours letters, being brought vnto him; but like a mad man preſently rent them in peeces. All which indignities the emperour neuertheleſſe tooke in good part, and concluded a peace with the Turks for ten years, vpon theſe conditions: firſt, That he ſhould be annointed and accounted king of HIERUSALEM: then, That the holy citie, with all the land of PALESTINE, ſhould be deliuered vnto him: thirdly, That he might at his pleaſure fortefie the cities of NAZARETH and IOPPE: fourthly, That all ſuch places as were ſometime in the power of *Baldwin* the fourth king of HIERUSALEM, and taken from him by Sultan *Saladin*, ſhould be reſtored: and laſt of all, That all priſoners on both ſides ſhould be ſet at libertie without ranſome. So the peace concluded, the emperour with his armie came to the deſolate
E citie of HIERUSALEM, and there vpon Eaſter day was with great ſolemnitie crowned king thereof in the yeare 1229. And ſo hauing repaired the wals of the citie, with certaine churches, forti- 1229
fied NAZARETH and IOPPE, and furniſhed them with ſtrong garriſons, and appointed *Raynold* duke of BAVARIA his leiutenāt in SYRIA, he with two gallies only returned into ITALIE: Euer ſince which time the kings of SICILIA haue beene alſo called kings of HIERUSALEM, and haue oftentimes borne the armes of both kingdomes.

Fredericke the emperor crowned king of Hierusalem.

The next yeare Pope *Gregorie* in deſpite of the emperour *Frederick*, more than for any zeale 1230
vnto the Chriſtian religion, did by the Dominicans & Franſciſcans (two orders of friers but then lately erected) as by his trumpeters, ſtir vp a woonderfull number of zealous and deuout Chriſtians, almoſt in euery part of Chriſtendome, to take vpon them the croſſe (as they termed it) the
F cogniſance of ſuch, as had by vow bound themſelues to take vp armes againſt the Turks & Saraſins, for the recouerie or defence of the Holy land. Theſe deuout men met together in great number, vnder the leading of *Theobald* king of NAVAR, *Americus* countie of MONT FORT, *Henrie* countie of CHAMPAIGNE, and others too long to rehearſe (of purpoſe ſtirred vp to trouble the ten yeares peace before concluded betwixt the emperour and the Turks in SYRIA) ſet forward, and after long trauell paſsing the ſtrait of BOSPHORUS, not far from CONSTANTI-

The vnfortunat expedition of the king of Nauarre into the Holy land.

NOPLE into BYTHINIA, came to the riuer of SANGARIUS, and there ſtaied a while to refreſh themſelues. Afterwards paſsing through GALATIA, and ſo from countrey to countrey through the leſſer ASIA, they came at length vnto the ſtraits of the mountaine AMANUS (a part of the mountaine TAURUS) which they found before taken by the Turks, and the Sultan of ICONIUM himſelfe not far off encamped with a ſtrong armie. Neuertheleſſe the valiant countie MONTFORT, which had the leading of the vantguard, couragiouſly marching forward, by plaine force opened the paſſage of the mountaine, hauing ſlaine or put to flight the Turks appointed for the keeping thereof: the king of NAVAR in the meane time (though in vaine) aſſailing the Sultan in his campe; who fearing the great power of the Chriſtians, kept himſelfe within his own ſtrength and would not ſtir. Wherfore the king ſeeing it to no purpoſe there longer to ſtay, diuiding his armie into three parts, left the Sultan, and followed after the Countie, placing his baggage in the midſt, & the beſt of his ſouldiers in the rereward. But whileſt they thus march vp the great mountaine, the Turks better acquainted with thoſe paſſages, were ſtill at hand, aſſailing them ſometime behind, ſometime on the one ſide, ſometime on the other, as they ſaw occaſion: and at length taking them at an aduantage in a great plaine, ſet vpon them (now before almoſt ſpent with hunger and trauell) and there ſlew of them an exceeding great number. But by the comming on of the night, the battell was broken off, and the Chriſtians repairing vnto their enſignes, paſſed the ſtraits, and ſo at length arriued at ANTIOCH, hauing loſt by the way the greateſt part of the armie, with all their wealth, their victuals, & moſt part of their horſes: the remnant yet left, hauing a little refreſhed themſelues, were by ſea tranſported to PTOLEMAIS; from whence they were afterward by the Templars conducted to GAZA, where they lay, & of the ſpoile of the countrey greatly enriched themſelues. As for any other great matters they were not able of themſelues to take in hand; and help of ſuch forces as the emperor had before left at HIERUSALEM, and other places, they could haue none; hauing expreſſe charge from the emperour himſelfe, not to do any thing againſt the enemie, tending to the breach of the ten yeares league: which the Turks well perceiuing, and that they had to do but with theſe new come gueſts, and ſome few others their partakers; hauing gathered together their forces, lay in ambuſh for them in euery corner to cut them off. Neither was it long, but that theſe of GAZA going far into the countrey, and returning laded with ſpoile, were ſet vpon by the Turks; whom they (caſting away the ſpoile they had before taken) notably repulſed and put to flight, the day now drawing to an end. But early the next morning appeared a far greater number of Turks than before; which now comming on, charged the Chriſtians, who all that night had ſtood watching in their armour, and ſo joyned with them a moſt cruell battell: wherein the Chriſtians ſhewed ſo much valour as was poſsible for men to do; but wearied with long fight, and oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, they were ouercome and ſlaine almoſt euery mothers ſonne. Among the reſt, the two counties *Americus* and *Henrie*, fell: the king of NAVAR himſelfe hardly eſcaped by the exceeding ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, & by vncertaine waies wandring vp and downe the countrey, not knowing well which way to take, after two daies came by good fortune to IOPPE: ſome few others eſcaped by flight to PTOLEMAIS, the heauie meſſengers of the misfortune of their fellowes. The king afterwards viſiting the Holy places at HIERUSALEM, returned home into his counrrey, with ſome few of his followers, hauing performed nothing of that the world expected.

The Chriſtians by perſuaſion of the Templars breake their league with the Turkes

About foure yeares after, *Raynold* duke of BAVARIA, whom *Frederick* the emperour had left his lieutenant in HIERUSALEM, died: hauing by the ſpace of fiue yeares peaceably gouerned that bruiſed kingdome. After whoſe death, the Templars (who, he yet liuing, would oftentimes haue broken the league, but that they were by his authoritie and wiſedome reſtrained) now tooke occaſion to ſtir vp the people to take vp armes againſt the Turks, without reſpect vnto the league yet in force, or of the dangers like thereof to enſue. Whereof the Ægyptian Sultan hearing, raiſed a great armie, ſending alſo for the Choraſines, a warlike nation then lying neere vnto BABYLON, to come vnto his aid. Thus become verie ſtrong, he firſt laid ſiege to GAZA, but a little before repaired and fortified by the king of NAVAR and the Templars, which he at length tooke by force, and put to ſword all that were therein, as well the citizens as the garriſon ſouldiers. In like manner he dealt alſo with them of ASCALON, and other places as he went. To repreſſe this his furie, the Templars and Hoſpitalers had aſſembled the whole ſtrength of that weake kingdome, and neere vnto TYBERIAS came to haue giuen him battell. Who vpon

their

A their approch haſtely retired, as if he had for feare ſhunned battell. But whiles the Chriſtians as victors the night following lay negligently encamped along the riuer ſide, he returning backe again with his armie, came vpon them before they were well aware, halfe ſleeping halfe waking, but altogether vnarmed, with a moſt horrible outcrie. The Chriſtians now altogether awaked, and not a little troubled with the ſuddenneſſe of the matter, haſtily and diſorderly (as muſt needs in ſo great a confuſion) tooke vp their weapons, ſuch as came firſt to hand, and ſo courageiouſly oppoſed themſelues againſt their enemies. There was fought a moſt terrible and doubtfull battell, and that alſo for a long ſpace; the Chriſtians ſtill encouraging one another to do their laſt deuoir. But the Turks ſtill keeping their order, againſt the diſordered Chriſtians, and far mo
B alſo than they in number, preuailed, and there ouerthrew them with a great ſlaughter, but not without the loſſe of many thouſands alſo of their owne men, which there lay dead vpon the ground. Moſt part of the beſt commaunders both of the Templars and Hoſpitalers were there ſlaine, ſuch as eſcaped fled to TYRE.

The Sultan encouraged with ſo great a victorie, marched foorthwith to HIERUSALEM, 1234
which he tooke without reſiſtance; and there put to ſword all that he found therein, men, wo- *Hieruſalem taken and raſed by the Turks.*
men and children, without reſpect of ſex or age: and afterwards hauing rifled the ſame, raſed it downe to the ground, burning the buildings, and ouerthrowing the wals, not long before repai red by the emperour *Frederick*, and much beautified by his lieutenant *Raynold*. And carried with an infernall furie, defaced, and moſt ſhamefully polluted the ſepulchre of our bleſſed Sauiour, ne-
C uer before then violated or defiled, but of all nations vntouched & reuerenced; which for all that, may ſeeme to haue been done, not ſo much for the hatred vnto the Chriſtian religion, as for that it was the place of all others moſt deſired of the Chriſtians; and for the gaining whereof they had vndertaken ſo many hard aduentures, and ſo much troubled the Saracins and Turks

Thus by the vnfaithfull breaking of the league, the moſt antient and famous citie of HIERUSALEM, ſometime the terreſtriall ſeat of the moſt Higheſt, and glorie of the world, fell againe into the power of the Turks and infidels, in the yeare 1234, in whoſe hands it hath euer ſince remained euen vntill this day: now a poore ruinous citie, gouerned by one of the Turks Sanzacks, and for nothing now more famous than for the ſepulcher of our bleſſed Sauiour; againe repaired and much viſited by the deuout Chriſtians, and not vnreuerenced by the Turkes
D themſelues.

The loſſe of this ſo famous a citie, together with the dangerous ſtate of the Chriſtians in SYRIA, much grieued the other Chriſtian princes of the Weſt; eſpecially *Frederick* the emperor, by whom it had beene but a few yeares before gained. Howbeit he could not now remedie the matter according to his deſire, being himſelfe grieuouſly entangled with the endleſſe troubles which Pope *Gregorie* had (as it were by tradition) left vnto the other Popes his ſucceſſors, for the troubling of his ſtate, vntill at length they had depriued him of his empire, and not long after of his life alſo. Among other the great princes, careſull for the poor Chriſtians in SYRIA, was *Lewis* the French king the ninth of that name, a prince of great power, but of all others of that time moſt famous for his zeale vnto the Chriſtian religion, and for his deuout manner of life: who
E abounding in wealth and all things elſe of a great prince to be deſired; and withall oftentimes conſidering the notable expeditions many Chriſtian princes had (to their immortall glorie) made, ſome into SYRIA, ſome into ÆGYPT againſt the enemies of Chriſt, and for the reliefe of the oppreſſed Chriſtians; was many times about to haue taken vpon himſelfe the like. But in theſe his deuout motions, before he could reſolue vpon ſo great an enterpriſe, he fell dangerouſly ſicke, in ſo much that for certaine daies he lay ſpeechleſſe deuoid of ſenſe and motion, without any ſigne of life, but that hee did a little faintly breath: when comming a little vnto himſelfe (whether mooued with deuotion, or troubled with his former conceits then running in his weake braine, is vncertaine) the firſt thing he asked for, was the croſſe (the cogniſance of ſuch as vowed themſelues vnto the ſacred warre) which he ſolemnely receiued at the hands of the
F biſhop of PARIS. At which time alſo his three brethren, *Alphonſus* countie of POITIERS, *Charles* countie of ANIOU, and *Robert* countie of ARTHOIS, with *Hugh* duke of BURGUNDIE, *William* earle of FLANDERS, *Hugh* countie of S. *Paul*, and afterwards moſt of the nobilitie of FRANCE, to accompanie the king, tooke vpon them the ſame charge. Neuertheleſſe, it was not by and by taken in hand, but ſome few yeares let paſſe in the conſultation and preparation for ſo great an enterpriſe: many in the meane time diſcharging their vow, by dying before 1248

at home in peace in their owne countries. At length the deuout king ſtill reſolute in his former determination, hauing taken order with *Blanch* his mother for his affaires at home, and put all things in readineſſe for his journey, came to LYONS to take his leaue of Pope *Innocentius* the fourth (who for feare of the emperour *Frederick* then lay there for his more ſafetie) and from thence to MARCEILLES, where embarking himſelfe with his armie the fiue and twentith day of Auguſt in the yeare 1248, he the twentieth day of September following arriued in ſafetie in the iſland of CYPRUS, and was there royally entertained by *Guy Luſignan* then king of that countrey.

King Lewis ſetteth forward toward the Holy land.

Now was the French king deſirous to haue gone directly for ÆGYPT, without longer ſtay in CYPRUS, had he not beene otherwiſe perſuaded, both for that his whole fleet was not yet come, and the time of the yeare began to grow vnſeaſonable, and the weather tempeſtuous. But whileſt he there ſtaied, paſſing the winter, the plague (one of the readie attendants of great armies) began to ariſe in the campe, which dayly encreaſing, had in ſhort time taken away a great number of men, and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort. Amongſt whom were *Robert* biſhop of BEAUVAIS, *Iohn* countie MONT-FORT, the counties of VENDOSME and DREUX, *Archambaut* lord of BURBON, with diuers other knights and gentlemen, to the number of 240: ſo that by force of the infectious contagion, the king was conſtrained to diuide his armie into diuers places of the iſland, attending vntill the infection ſhould ceaſe. In the meane time the Templars hauing in ſuſpect both the French and the Turks: the Turks, for feare they ſhould ouerrun all; and the French, leaſt hauing gotten the victorie, they ſhould take all into their own hands, and ſo diminiſh their power and authoritie, wherewith they tyrannized ouer the other poore Chriſtians; ſent ambaſſadours ſecretly vnto *Meledin* Sultan of ÆGIPT, to perſuade him betimes to come to ſome good agreement for peace, ſo to auert the power of the French king from doing him further harme, or proceeding further in that war. Of which motion the Sultan well liking, ſent one of his noble men to intreat with the maſter of the Templars concerning a peace, ſo that it might be by cõſent of the Frẽch. The Templars glad of ſo honorable a meſſage, writ vnto the French king out of SYRIA, how the matter ſtood; perſuading him to accept of the peace offred, ſetting out in great words the Sultans great preparations and power. And ſo indeed had abuſed the king, had not the king of CYPRUS acquainted with his doings, perſuaded him that it was but a fineneſſe of the Great maſter, and that he had firſt ſent vnto the Sultan, and procured that noble man to be ſent: which the king vpon farther conſideration perceiuing to be true, fed the Turks embaſſadour with hope of peace, but writ vnto the maſter of the Templars vpon the price of his head from thencefoorth not to receiue any embaſſage from the enemie, or to haue any further intelligence with him.

Winter now paſt, and the plague well ceaſed, diuers noble gentlemen and great commaunders which following the king, and ſetting foorth ſomewhat late, or for feare of the plague had ſtaied by the way, and wintred ſome in one place, ſome in another, began to repaire vnto CYPRUS: as *Robert* duke of BURGUNDIE, who hauing wintred in ACHAIA, came now in the beginning of the Spring vnto the king, with a number of good horſemen; and with him *William* prince of ACHAIA, with a great fleet out of PELOPONESUS, which countrey, with moſt part of GRECIA, was then vnder the commaund of the Latines; amongſt others came alſo *William*, ſurnamed *Long-eſpie*, earle of SARISBURIE, with a band of luſtie tall ſouldiors. So the armie being met together, and all things againe in a readineſſe, king *Lewes* departing from CYPRUS, and toſſed at ſea with cõtrary winds, about fiue daies after fell with the coaſt of ÆGIPT, & there with all his fleet came before the ſtrong towne of DAMIATA, being (as we haue ſaid) the key of that kingdome. The Sultan long before vnderſtanding of the French kings purpoſe for the inuaſion of his countrey, had ſtrongly fortified his frontier townes, and put into them ſtrong garriſons, beſide the great power he kept with himſelfe in readineſſe at all aſſaies, as occaſion ſhould require. Vpon the approch of the Chriſtians, the gouernour of DAMIATA was ready vpon the ſhore, with a number of braue ſouldiers to keepe them from landing; who neuertheleſſe reſolutely before ſet downe for the performing of that they came for, manning foorth their long boats with their archers and croſſebowes to beat the enemie from the ſhore, ran a ground with their other ſmall boats made of purpoſe for the landing of men; and ſo without longer ſtay came to handie blowes, where for a while was fought a moſt ſharpe and cruell battell, the Chriſtians ſtriuing to land, and the Turkes to keepe them off, many falling on both ſides. But what

ſhould

A ſhould an handfull doe againſt ſo many? The Turkes oppreſſed with the multitude ſtill landing more and more, and hauing done what was poſsible for them to doe, fled into the towne, leauing behind them their gouernour, with fiue hundred of their beſt ſouldiors dead vpon the ſhore.

This citie of DAMIATA was exceeding rich and populous, and had in the former warres not been taken but by more than a yeares ſiege, (as is before declared) and that not ſo much by the valour of the Chriſtians as by the extremitie of the plague and famine: ſince which time it had been ſtrongly fortefied by the Turks, with deepe ditches, high wals, and ſtrong bulwarkes; and was at that time well ſtored with victuals alſo, and all things elſe for the enduring of a long ſiege. Neuertheleſſe, the ſouldiors that were left, and the citizens (diſcouraged with the loſſe of 1249

B their gouernour, and remembrance of the miſeries before endured in the former ſiege, and ſeeing the Chriſtians now readie againe to beſiege the ſame) the night following, a little before the breake of day, ſet fire euery man vpon his owne houſe, and ſo by a bridge which they had made of boats, fled ouer the great riuer, breaking the bridge when they were ouer, for feare their enemies ſhould thereby haue followed after them. The Chriſtians perceiuing their flight, without reſiſtance entred the citie, and being ſtrangers, did what they could to quench the fire and to ſaue that which the inhabitants themſelues would faine haue with fire deſtroyed; and ſo afterwards found great abundance of riches, with plentifull ſtore of all manner of victuals, wherewith the ſouldiors both enriched and refreſhed themſelues. This ſo happie & vnexpected a victorie happened vnto the Chriſtians about the beginning of October, in the yeare 1249. Sultan *Meledin*

C himſelfe, diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo ſtrong a citie, offered vnto the French king for the redeeming thereof, and to haue peace at his hands, more territorie in SIRIA and the land of PALESTINE, than the Chriſtians had of long time before: which large offer was by the French, eſpecially by the earle of ARTHOIS the kings brother, proudly rejected, and ALEXANDRIA the moſt famous port and mettropoliticall citie of ÆGIPT, further demaunded, to the great diſcontentment of the Turkes and Saraſins. In theſe troubles died *Meledin* the old Sultan, a man not much beloued of his people: in whoſe ſtead *Melechſala* (or *Melexala*, as ſome call him) a valiant and couragious prince, well beloued of his ſubjects, and but euen then returned out of SIRIA and ARABIA, where he had been to craue aid of the other Mahometane princes, was choſen Sultan. Which princes, eſpecially the Sultan of DAMASCO, although they had not of

D long been at any good accord among themſelues, or with the Ægyptian; yet in this common danger of their ſuperſtition, which by the loſſe of ÆGIPT was like to be greatly weakned, they joyned hands together, and ſo ſent him great aid.

The citizens of Damiata ſet fire vpon the citie, and ran away by the light.

The new Sultan thus ſtrengthened, drew neerer vnto the Chriſtians, which then lay encamped not farre from DAMIATA, and had with them a hot skirmiſh, wherein hee was put to the worſe, and ſo with ſome loſſe glad to retire. But the Chriſtians the next day, in hope of like ſucceſſe ſallying out againe, were ouerthrowne, with ten times more loſſe than was he the day before, and ſo faine to flie vnto the campe. By which victorie the Sultan encouraged, began now to conceiue better hope of the ſucceſſe of his wars; and by ſtopping the paſſages both by water and land, to prouide, that no victuals could without great perill bee brought either vnto the

E citie or the campe, inſomuch that at length victuals began to grow ſcarce in both: whereof the Sultan was not ignorant, as being thereof throughly informed by ſuch fugitiues, as for want, or other cauſes, oftentimes fled out of the French campe into his.

Winter thus paſsing, and wants ſtill increaſing, it fortuned that the gouernour of the great citie of CAIRE (vpon the fortune whereof depended the ſtate of the whole kingdome) a man not euill affected vnto the Chriſtian religion, and in his heart highly offended with the Sultan, for the death of his brother by him wrongfully executed: by ſecret meſſengers perſuaded the French king to come on with his armie to the citie, the regall ſeat of the Sultan, promiſing him to deliuer it into his power, with full inſtructions what he had in all points to do for the gaining thereof. Whereupon the king who had before of himſelfe purpoſed the ſame exploit, but now

F filled with a greater hope, aſſembled together the greateſt forces he was able to make. At which time alſo he ſent for the earle of SALISBURIE, with the reſt of the Engliſh men, who for many proud indignities offered them by the French (eſpecially by the earle of ARTOIS the kings brother) whereof they could haue no redreſſe, were gone to PTOLEMAIS, without purpoſe to haue any more ſerued in thoſe warres: But now being ſent for by the king, with promiſe of better vſage and honourable recompence for the wrongs paſt, returned againe into ÆGIPT,

there

there to doe their laſt endeuour. With whoſe comming the king ſtrengthened, but more by the new ſupplies brought vnto him by his brother *Alphonſus* out of FRANCE, leauing the duke of BURGUNDIE with a conuenient gariſon, with the queene his wife, *Odo* the Popes Legat, and diuers other great ladies in DAMIATA, he himſelfe ſet forward with his armie towards CAIRE. Of whoſe comming the Sultan hearing, and loath vpon the fortune of one battell to aduenture his whole eſtate, offered by his embaſſadours to reſtore vnto him all the land of PALESTINE, with a great ſumme of money for the defraying of the charges of thoſe wars, and all the priſoners he had taken, ſo that he would redeliuer vnto him the citie of DAMIATA, and ioine with him in league and amitie. Which faire offer for all that, the French king, by the perſuaſion of the Legat and others, refuſed. So the king marching ſtill on, was to paſſe an arme of the great riuer NILUS (the Sultan on the other ſide ſtill readie with his armie to ſtay his paſſage) which he had thought to haue made by a bridge of boats, prepared for the ſame purpoſe: but better conducted by a fugitiue Saraſin vnto a foord, before to him vnknowne, ſent his brother *Robert*, earle of ARTOIS, with the third part of the armie before him, accompanied with the maſter of the Templars and the earle of SALISBURIE, with their followers. Who paſsing the riuer at the aforeſaid foord, ſuddainly aſſailed the Turks in their tents (the Sultan being then abſent in ſolemniſing one of their prophane feaſts) & put them to flight. With which victorie the French earle aboue meaſure encouraged, would needs on forwards, as if he would himſelfe alone haue carried away the glorie of the whole conqueſt. Whome for all that certaine of the auncient Templars, better acquainted with the manners of that deceitfull nation than he, and better conſidering alſo of their owne abilitie and ſtrength, perſuaded him to content himſelfe with the honour he had alreadie got, and not to proceed any further in proſecuting of the enemie, vntill the comming of the reſt of the armie, eſpecially in that deſperat eſtate of the enemie, wherein he was to win or loſe all. Vnto whom the proud earle in great deſpight replied, That he would proſecute his victorie, and follow his good fortune; calling them daſtards and cowards, opprobriouſly obiecting vnto them the common fame, whereby it was commonly reported, That the Holy land might long ſince haue beene againe vnited vnto the bodie of the Chriſtian commonweale, but for the foule colluſion of the falſe Templars and Hoſpitalers with the Turks and Infidels. With which reprochfull ſpeech, the maſter of the Templars not without cauſe mooued, anſwered for himſelfe and his fellowes, That he ſhould, when he would, and where he durſt, diſplay his enſignes, and he ſhould find them as readie to follow as hee was to goe before them. The earle of SALISBURIE alſo willing to ſtint this ſtrife, perſuaded earle *Robert* not to bee ſo wedded to his owne opinion, but to liſten vnto the graue and wholeſome counſell of the Templars, being men of great experience: and ſo turning vnto the maſter of the Templars, began likewiſe with gentle words to pacifie him alſo. But whileſt hee was yet ſpeaking, the earle interrupting him with many opprobrious words, called him daſtard and coward, and wiſhed that the armie were rid of him, and the fearefull cowards his countreymen. Whereunto the earle of SALISBURIE anſwered: *Well Generall, on in Gods name, and whereſoeuer you dare ſet your foot, mine ſhall be as farre as yours; and I beleeue wee goe this day, where you ſhall not dare to come nigh my horſes taile:* as afterward indeed it proued. Howbeit, the earle ſo ſaid, for that earle *Robert* and the Frenchmen had many times in reproch and diſdaine, after their manner, called him and his followers Engliſh tailes.

A faire offer fondly refuſed.

The proud earle conſtant in his former purpoſe, and not to be otherwiſe perſuaded, ſet forward: and firſt aſſaulted a little towne or caſtle, not farre off, called MANSOR, whereunto hee inconſiderately approching, was notably repulſed; and hauing loſt a number of his men, was as a man diſcouraged, about to haue retired. When ſuddainly the Sultan, neerer at hand than the earle had thought, ſtirred vp with the noiſe of the alarum, came on with his whole power; and finding the armie of the Chriſtians now deuided (as he had long wiſhed) with the multitude of his people encloſed them round, and had with them a great and mortall fight: wherein though the Chriſtians right woorthely behaued themſelues, for the ſmall number they were, yet oppreſſed with the multitude, and on euery ſide beſet, they were ſlaine downe right. Then, but all too late, it repented the earle of his fooliſh raſhneſſe, and that he had not hearkened vnto better counſell; and ſeeing the earle of SALISBURIE valiantly fighting, cried out vnto him to flie, ſeeing God (as he ſaid) fought againſt them. Whereunto the noble earle anſwered no more, but *God forbid that my fathers ſonne ſhould run away from the face of a Saraſin.* The French earle thinking

A king by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe to haue ſaued his life, flying out of the battell, and taking the riuer of THAMES, ouerladen with his armour, was there drowned. The earle of SALISBURIE couragiouſly enduring the enemies charge, with his owne hand manfully ſlew many a Turk and Saraſin that day, vntill that at length hauing his horſe ſlain vnder him, and himſelfe ſo wounded in the legs as that he was not able longer to ſtand, yet vpon his knees laying about him like a deſperat man, and ſelling his life as deere as he could, was there ſlaine, but not vanquiſhed. With him periſhed the whole armie, ſo encloſed by the Sultan, that ſcarce any one eſcaped aliue, more than two Templars, one Hoſpitaler, and one common ſouldiour, the meſſengers of this heauie newes.

Earle Robert in flying, drowned.

The earle of Salisburie valiantly fighting, ſlaine.

B About the ſame time alſo ſickneſſe daily increaſing in the French campe, the king purpoſing to march forward to CAIRE, ſent a great number of ſicke and weake people downe the riuer of NILUS to DAMIATA: of whoſe going the Sultan vnderſtanding, cauſed a great number of ſmall boats to be caried in carts by land vnto the riuers ſide, which well manned, and meeting them by the way, ſet vpon them, and burnt or drowned them euery mothers ſonne, ſauing one only Engliſhman, called *Alexander Giffard*, who wounded in fiue places of his bodie, eſcaped yet into the French campe, reporting there what had happened vnto the reſt.

Now had the Sultan alſo got intelligence of the compact betwixt the gouernour of CAIRE and the king, for the betraying of the citie: and thereupon had cauſed him to be ſuddainely apprehended and put in ſafe keeping, vntill hee were at better leiſure to vnderſtand farther of the

The gouernor of Caire apprehended.

C matter: which no leſſe troubled the French king, than did the former misfortune; all his hope for the yeelding vp of the citie, being thereby cut off. Thus his hopes, together with his ſtrength, daily decreaſing, he would haue gladly accepted of the cõditions which he before refuſed, which the Sultan now growne very ſtrong, would by no meanes heare of; but in ſtead thereof, by way of deriſion, ſent to know of him, What was become of all his mattocks, forkes, rakes, ſythes, plowes, and harrowes, which he had brought ouer with him? and why he ſet them not to work, but ſuffered them like an euill husband to rot and ruſt beſide him? All which, with much more, the good king was glad to put vp. For now his forces greatly deminiſhed, as well by ſickneſſe, as by the former loſſes, finding himſelfe farre too weake, he would faine haue retired backe againe to DAMIATA: which the Sultan foreſeeing, got ſo betwixt him and home, that now there was

D no remedie, but either to fight it out, or yeeld. The king himſelfe had been often before intreated by his nobilitie, whileſt the riuer was yet vnpoſſeſſed by the enemie, to haue conueyed himſelfe by water to DAMIATA, for that in the ſafetie of his perſon conſiſted (as they ſaid) the ſafetie of his kingdome, whatſoeuer became of them: whereunto hee could neuer bee perſuaded, ſaying, That he would neuer forſake his people, becauſe he would not be forſaken of them, but was reſolued to endure with them whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe God to lay vpon him. So paſsing the riuer by the ſame foord whereby his brother had not long before vnfortunatly paſſed, and comming to the place where the battell was fought, hee might ſee the dead bodies of the Chriſtians pitifully mangled, with their heads and hands cut off: For the Sultan the more to encourage his ſoldiors, had before the battell proclaimed, That whoſoeuer ſhould bring him the head or hand

E of a Chriſtian, ſhould haue a great reward for his labour; in hope whereof, they had ſo diſmembred them. But long he had not there ſtayed, but that the Sultan began ſuddainely to appeare, with a moſt huge great armie, as if he would euen with the ſight thereof haue diſcouraged the Chriſtians: againſt whom for all that, the Frenchmen in good order oppoſed themſelues, & for the ſpace of three houres made great reſiſtance: but what could one doe againſt ten, and he alſo fainting for ſickneſſe and food? the hard plight wherein the greateſt part of the French armie then was. In concluſion, oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, and no way left to flie, they were all ouerthrowne and ſlaine, except ſome few, ſaued in hope of great ranſome. The king himſelfe, with his two brethren *Alphonſus* and *Charles*, and ſome few others, were taken priſoners, & brought vnto the Sultan: who demaunding of him, What had mooued him ſo to make

F war againſt him? was anſwered by the king, That it was for religion, & the defence of the name of his God. In this vnfortunat battell, fought the fift of Aprill, in the yeare 1250, beſides the common ſouldiors, were ſlaine moſt of the nobilitie of FRANCE, and all their tents taken.

The Sultan preſently vpon this ouerthrow, ſent of his owne ſouldiors the like number that the French were of, with French enſignes, and diſguiſed in the attire of the ſlaine Frenchmen, to DAMIATA, where the duke of BURGUNDIE, the French queene, and the Popes Legat lay; in

hope

hope to haue been ſo let in for Frenchmen: but they were not ſo well masked, but that they were G
by them of the citie diſcouered for enemies, and ſo kept out and deceiued of their purpoſe.

The Chriſtians thus ouerthrowne, and the French king taken priſoner, *Melech-ſala* the Sultan taking compaſsion vpon him, and yet minding of his life to make his owne gaine; cheering him vp with comfortable ſpeeches, began to talke with him of his deliuerance, and of a good attonement to be made betwixt them. The conditions whereof propounded by the Sultan were, That the king ſhould foorthwith deliuer againe vnto him the citie of DAMIATA, and moreouer pay vnto him for the ranſome of himſelfe and his, and for the charges of the war, eight thouſand pound of gold; That all priſoners ſhould on both ſides be frankly ſet at libertie, and ſo a peace to be taken for ten yeares. For the more aſſurance whereof, the Sultan offered to ſweare, H
That if he failed in the performance therof, to renounce his Mahomet: requiring likewiſe of the king to ſweare, If he failed in any thing that he had promiſed, to denie his Chriſt to be God: Which prophane oath the king deteſting, and wiſhing rather to die than to giue the ſame; the Sultan woondring at his conſtancie, tooke his word without any oath at all, and ſo publiſhed the league. But whileſt they were comming together to DAMIATA, *Melech-ſala* now in the pride of this victorie, fearing nothing leſſe than the ſudden change of fortune, or the miſchiefe hanging ouer his head, was in the preſence of a number of his noble men ſuddenly ſlaine by two deſperat Mamalukes; and one *Turqueminus* a ſturdie ſlaue of their owne order and vocation (by whoſe procurement it was ſuppoſed to haue beene done) by the conſent of the whole armie created Sultan in his ſtead: who reuoking the league before concluded by *Melech-ſala*, I
made another in his owne name with the king, much vpon the ſame conditions that the other was; which after he had receiued DAMIATA, he cauſed to be openly proclaimed. Neuertheleſſe after that king *Lewis* had paied his ranſome, and was with the remnant of his armie by the Genowaies tranſported from DAMIATA to PTOLEMAIS, the falſe miſcreant performed not the halfe of that he had promiſed, of twelue thouſand Chriſtian captiues that ſhould haue been ſet free, ſcarce enlarging foure thouſand; and killing all the ſicke ſouldiers whom by his promiſe he ought to haue reliued; neither ſuffring any Chriſtian to carrie any of his goods with him out of ÆGYPT, which by the league he ought to haue done alſo.

The French king comming to PTOLEMAIS, and purpoſing to haue returned home, was intreated by the maſter of the Templars and Hoſpitalars, and other the nobilitie of the Chriſtians, to ſtay, which he did almoſt by the ſpace of foure yeares: in which time he repaired the cities of CESAREA and IOPPE, and fortified many ſtrong places for the defence of the Chriſtians againſt the infidels: And ſo commending the protection thereof vnto the knights of the ſacred war, and ſending his brethren away before him, followed after himſelfe, greatly lamented for by all the Chriſtians in SIRIA, and ſo arriued in FRANCE the ſixt yeare from the time of his departing thence. This was the end of this long and vnfortunat expedition of *Lewis* the French king, wherein as ſome write, were eightie thouſand Chriſtians loſt: howbeit the French Chronicles extenuating their loſſe, report, of two and thirtie thouſand French, ſix thouſand to haue returned againe into FRANCE. The citie of DAMIATA in the ſpace of a few yeares twice woon, and twice loſt by the Chriſtians, was ſhortly after the deliuering vp thereof, by the Sultan K
raſed downe to the ground, becauſe it ſhould no more ſerue the Chriſtians for an entrance into his kingdome. L

The beginning of the Mamalukes and their kingdome.

The late Ægyptian Sultans thus oftentimes inuaded by the Chriſtian princes, and repoſing no great aſſurance in the proweſſe of the effeminat Ægyptians, a people fitter for marchandize and other baſe occupations than for chiualrie and war, had for the ſtrengthening of their kingdome, bought an infinit number of ſlaues, eſpecially of the poore and hardie Circaſsians, called in antient time *Getæ* and *Zinchi*, neere vnto COLCHIS and the EUXINE ſea, brought vnto ALEXANDRIA and other ports of ÆGYPT out of thoſe bare cold countries, by marchants, and from thence tranſported to CAIRE and other cities of ÆGYPT: of which poore ſlaues, the late Ægyptian Sultans taking their choice, and culling out from the reſt ſuch as were like to be of M
greateſt ſpirit and abilitie of bodie, deliuered them vnto moſt skilfull and expert teachers; by whom they were carefully taught to run, to leape, to vaut, to ſhoot, to ride, with all other feats of actiuitie, and withall cunningly to handle all manner of weapons, as well on horſebacke as on foot: and ſo inſtructed, and become cunning, were taken out of their ſchooles into pay, and enrolled together as the Sultans choice horſmen, were commonly called by the name of Mamalukes.

lukes. In whose good seruice the late Sultans finding great vse, spared for no cost, both for their maintenance and encreasing of their number; dayly erecting new nurseries stored with yoong frie, which growing vp and readie, was still joyned to the other. It is woonderfull to tell vnto what a strength and glorie this order of the Mamalukes was in short time grown, by the care of the Ægyptian kings: By them they mannaged their greatest affaires, especially in time of wars; and by their valour, not onely defended their countrey, but gained many a faire victorie against their enemies, as they did now against the French. But as too much power in such mens hands, seldome or neuer wanteth danger, so fell it out now betwixt the late Sultan *Melech-sala*, and those masterfull Mamaluke slaues: who proud of their preferment, and forgetfull of their dutie, and seeing the greatest strength of the kingdome in their hands, traiterously slew *Melech-sala* their chiefe founder, setting vp in his place (as aforesaid) one *Turquimanus*, a base slaue, one of their owne order and seruile vocation, but indeed otherwise a man of a great spirit and valour. This *Melech-sala* murthered by the Mamalukes, was the last of the free borne kings of ÆGYPT; in whom the Turks kingdome in ÆGYPT, erected by *Sarracon* and the great Sultan *Saladin* (as is before said) and in his stocke and family euer since continued, tooke end, as did also all the power of the Turks in that great and rich kingdome. For the proud Mamalukes hauing now got the soueraigntie into their hands, and exalted a Sultan out of themselues, imperiously commanded as great lords ouer the rest of the people, not suffring them to haue the vse either of horse or armour, or to beare any sway in the common weale: but keeping them vnder with most heauie impositions, and still preferring their owne slaues (wherewith the countrey of ÆGYRT now swarmed) made the naturall countrey people, of all others most miserable, not daring to meddle with any thing more than merchandize, their husbandrie, or other their base mechanicall occupations: whereof the greatest profit still came vnto the Mamalukes, who as lords of all, with great insolencie, at their pleasure tooke it from them as their owne. As for the great Sultan, they still chose him from among themselues, not suffering any the Sultans children to succeed their fathers in the kingdome; for feare least they in processe of time, proud of their ancestors and parentage, should recken of them as of his slaues (as indeed they were) and so at length bring in another more free kind of gouernment.

The ruine of the Turks kingdome in Aegypt.

Against which they prouided also, not onely by this restraint of their Sultans children, but of their owne also: taking order and exstablishing it as an immutable law, That though the sonnes of the Mamalukes might enjoy their fathers lands & wealth after their death, yet that it should not be lawfull for them in any case to take vpon them the name or honour of a Mamaluke: so embarring them from all gouernment in the common wealth, to the intent it might still rest with the Mamalukes. Neither was it lawfull for any borne of Mahometan parents (which could not be slaues) or of the race of the Iewes, to be admitted into that Order; but onely such as being borne Christians and become slaues, had from the time of their captiuitie beene instructed in the Mahometan superstition; or else being men grown, and comming thither, had abjured the Christian religion (as many reprobates did in hope of preferment.) Right strange it is to consider, vnto what honour and glorie this slauish empire in short time grew: many of those poore slaues by rare fortune or secret diuine power, exalted out of the dust vnto the highest degree of honour, prooving most excellent and renowmed princes, of such strength and power, as was dreadfull euen vnto the greatest princes of the world. In which great glorie, this seruile empire (to the worlds woonder) flourished from this time amongst the greatest by the space of 267 yeates; vntill that hauing run the appointed race, it was with a great destruction, by *Selymus* the victorious emperour of the Turks, ouerthrown in the yeare 1517, and the kingdome of ÆGYPT with all SYRIA and the land of PALESTINE, brought into the forme of Prouinces, vnited vnto the Turks empire, as they are at this day, and as in the course of this historie shall in due time and place (God willing) at large appeare.

But leauing the kingdome of the Turks thus ouerthrown in ÆGYPT, and the Mamalukes there triumphing; the French king returned into FRANCE, and the Christians in peace in SYRIA: let vs againe returne into the lesser ASIA, and vnto the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, whether the affaires both of the Turkes and of the Christians now call vs. All this while the Greeke empire (for so the Greeks will haue it called) flourished both in peace and plentie in the lesser ASIA, vnder their emperour *Iohn Batazes*: the power of the Latines in the meane time declining as fast at CONSTANTINOPLE, vnder the rule of the Latin emperour *Baldwin*

Baldwin the ſecond. As for the Turks whom we left grieuouſly troubled both with famine and the often incurſions of the Tartars, they had all this while, and yet alſo, enough and more than enough to do to withſtand the ſame enemie. At length it fortuned that *Iohn Ducas* the Greeke emperor died, being at the time of his death about threeſcore yeares old, wherof he had happily raigned three & thirtie: by whoſe good & diſcreet gouernment, the Greeke empire before broght low and almoſt to naught by the Latines, began againe to gather ſtrength and to flouriſh both in ASIA and ſome little part of EUROPE alſo. Of him are reported many notable matters, which as impertinent to our purpoſe I could willingly paſſe ouer, were I not by the woorthie remembrance of one of them ſtaied a while by the way.

The emperour in loue with Marceſina.

This noble and famous emperour hauing long lamented the death of the faire empreſſe *Irene* his firſt wife, at laſt married another yoong ladie, the ſiſter of *Manfred* king of SICILIE, called *Anne*, with whom amongſt other honourable and beautifull dames, ſent by the king her brother for the accompanying of her to CONSTANTINOPLE, was one *Marceſina*, a rare paragon, of ſuch a feature as if nature had in her meant to beſtow her greateſt skill. From whoſe mouth alwaies flowed a fountaine of moſt ſugred words, and out of her eies iſſued (as it were) nets to entangle the amorous in: vpon this ſo faire an obiect, the emperour not fearing further harme, tooke pleaſure oftentimes to feed his eies, vntill that at length caught with her lookes, he had loſt his libertie, and was of a great emperor become her thrall, in ſuch ſort, as that in compariſon of her he ſeemed little or nothing to regard the yoong empreſſe his wife; but ſo far doated vpon her, that he ſuffered her to be attired and honoured with the ſame attire and honour that the empreſſe was her ſelfe; whom ſhe now ſo farre exceeded both in grace and fauour with the emperour, and honour of the people, as that ſhee almoſt alone enjoyed the ſame, without regard of her vnto whom it was of more right due. Whileſt ſhe thus alone triumpheth, at length it fortuned that ſhee in all her glorie, attended vpon with moſt of the gallants of the court, and ſome of the emperours guard, would needs goe (whether for deuotion or for her recreation, I know not) to viſite the monaſterie and faire church, which *Blemmydes* (a noble man of great renowne, both for his integritie of life, and learning) had of his owne coſt and charges but lately built in the countrey; where he together with his monkes, as men wearie of the world, liued a deuout and ſolitarie contemplatiue life, after the manner of that time, with the great good opinion of the people in generall. This *Blemmydes* was afterward for his vpright life and profound learning, choſen Patriarch of CONSTANTINOPLE: which great honour, next vnto the emperour himſelfe, he refuſed, contenting himſelfe with his cell.

Marceſina the emperors concubine ſhut out of the church.

Marceſina comming thither in great pompe, and thinking to haue entred the church, had the dores ſhut againſt her by the monkes, before commaunded ſo to doe by *Blemmydes* their founder: and ſo was to her great diſgrace kept out. For that deuout man deemed it a great impietie, to ſuffer that ſo wicked and ſhameleſſe a woman, againſt whom he had moſt ſharply both ſpoken and written, with her prophane and wicked feet to tread vpon the ſacred pauement of his church. She enraged with this indignitie, hardly by ſo proud a woman to be with patience diſgeſted, and prickt forward by her flattering followers alſo; returning to the court, grieuouſly complained thereof vnto the emperour, ſtirring him vp by all meanes ſhe could to reuenge the ſame, perſuading him to haue been therein himſelfe diſgraced. Whereunto were ioyned alſo the hard ſpeeches of her pickthanke fauourits, who to currie Fauell, ſpared not to put oyle as it were vnto the fire, for the ſtirring vp of the emperour vnto reuenge. Who with ſo great a complaint nothing mooued vnto wrath, but ſtrucke as it were to the heart with a remorſe of conſcience, and oppreſſed with heauineſſe, with teares running downe his cheekes, and fetching a deepe ſigh, ſaid: *Why prouoke you me to puniſh ſo deuout and juſt a man? whereas if I would my ſelfe haue liued without reproch and infamie, I ſhould haue kept my imperiall majeſtie vnpolluted or ſtained. But now ſith I my ſelfe haue beene the cauſe both of mine owne diſgrace, and of the empires: I may thanke mine owne deſerts, if of ſuch euill ſeed as I haue ſowne, I now reape alſo an euill harueſt.*

Theodorus Laſcaris choſen emperour.

After the death of this good emperour, *Theodorus* his ſonne, borne the firſt yeare of his fathers raigne, being then about three and thirtie yeares old, was by the generall conſent of the people ſaluted emperour in his ſtead: who in the beginning of his empire renewed the league which his father had made with *Iathatines* the Turkiſh Sultan. And ſo hauing prouided for the ſecuritie of his affaires in ASIA; he with a puiſſant armie paſſed ouer the ſtrait of HELLESPONTUS into EUROPE, to appeaſe the troubles there raiſed in MACEDONIA and THRACIA, by the king of

A of BVLGARIA his brother in law, and *Michaell Angelus* Deſpot of THESSALIA; who vpon the death of the old emperour began to ſpoile thoſe countries, not without hope at length to haue joyned them vnto their owne: by whoſe comming they were for all that diſappointed of their purpoſe, and glad to ſue to him for peace. But whileſt he was there buſied, he was aduertiſed by letters from NICE, That *Michaell Paleologus*, whom he had left there gouernour in his abſence, was ſecretly fled vnto the Turks: with which newes he was not a little troubled. The cauſe of whoſe flight, as *Paleologus* himſelfe gaue it out, was, for that he perceiued himſelfe diuers waies by many his enemies brought into diſgrace, and the emperours eares ſo filled with their odious complaints, ſo cunningly framed againſt him, as that they were not eaſily or in ſhort time to bee
B refelled: and therefore fearing in the emperours heauie diſpleaſure to be ſuddainely taken away, to haue willingly gone into exile, if ſo happely he might ſaue his life from the mallice of them that ſought after it.

At his comming to ICONIUM, he found *Iathatines* the Sultan making great preparation againſt the Tartars; who hauing driuen the Turks out of PERSIA and the other farre Eaſterne countries (as is before declared) and running ſtill on, did with their continuall incurſions ſpoile a great part of their territories in the leſſer ASIA alſo; and now lay at AXARA, a towne not far off from ICONIUM: againſt whom the Sultan now making the greateſt preparation hee could, gladly welcommed *Paleologus*, whom he knew to be a right valiant and worthie captaine, commending to his charge the leading of certaine bands of Greekes; whom he had retained to ſerue
C him in thoſe warres, as he had others alſo of the Latines, vnder the conduct of *Boniface Moline*, a nobleman of VENICE: and ſo hauing put all things in readineſſe, and ſtrengthened with theſe forraine ſupplies of the Greekes and Latines, ſet forward againſt his enemies the Tartars: who at the firſt ſight of the ſtrange enſignes and ſouldiors, were much diſmayed, fearing ſome greater force had been come to the aid of the Turkes. Neuertheleſſe, joyning with them in battell, had with them at the firſt a moſt terrible and bloodie conflict, wherein that part of the armie that ſtood againſt *Paleologus*, and his Greekes, was put to the worſe; to the great diſcomfiture of the Tartars, being euen vpon the point to haue fled, had not one of the greateſt commaunders in the Turks armie, and a nigh kinſman of the Sultans, for an old grudge that he bare vnto the Sultan, with all his regiment in the heat of the battell reuolted vnto the Tartars: whereby the fortune
D of the battell was in a moment as it were quite altered, they which but now were about to haue fled, fighting like lyons; and they that were victors, now glad to turne their backes and flie: in which flight a great number of the Turkes fell, the fierce Tartars moſt eagerly purſuing them. *Paleologus* with the generall of the Turks hardly chaſed by the Tartars, and glad euery houre to make a ſtand, and to fight for their liues, with much adoe after many daies flight recouered a caſtle of the Generals, neere vnto CASTAMONA, and ſo ſaued themſelues. The Tartars after this ſo great a victorie (wherein they had broken the whole ſtrength of the Turkes, and brought in hazard the whole ſtate of their kingdome) without reſiſtance forraged all the countries and prouinces ſubject vnto the Turkiſh Sultan, making ſpoile of whatſoeuer they light vpon: inſomuch, that the Sultan diſcouraged, and hauing now no ſtrength left to oppoſe againſt them, fled vnto
E the Greeke emperour *Theodorus* for aid; who moſt honourably entertained him with all his traine, and comforted him with ſuch ſmall aid as he thought good then to ſpare him: Which for his more ſafetie he ſent home with him, vnder the leading of *Iſaacius Ducas*, ſurnamed *Murtzufla*, a man in great credit with him. In recompence of which kindneſſe, the Sultan gaue vnto the emperour the citie of LAODICEA, whereinto he preſently put a ſtrong garriſon: neuertheleſſe, it was not long before it fell againe into the hands of the Turkes, being a place not to be holden by the Greekes. Yet for all this, the Sultan finding himſelfe ſtill too weake to withſtand the continuall inuaſions of the Tartars, and wearie of the harmes he dayly ſuſtained; by the aduiſe of his cheefe counſellors made a league with them, yeelding to pay them a certain yearely tribute, thereby to redeeme his peace. From which time the Tartars accounted of the Turks, as of their tribu-
F taries and vaſſales.

Not long after this, *Michaell Paleologus* was by the emperours kind and gracious letters called home; with his faithfull promiſe alſo before giuen for his ſecuritie: who before his return bound himſelfe alſo by ſolemne oath, to be vnto the emperour and his ſonne alwayes loyall, and from thenceforth neuer to ſeeke after the empire, or giue cauſe of new ſuſpect for ſuch matters as he had been before charged with: but for euer to yeeld vnto the emperour, his ſonne, or other his

ſucceſſors in the empire, his dutifull obedience and fidelitie. Vpon which conditions he was again G
made Great Conſtable, and ſo receiued into the emperours fauour, and liued the reſt of his raigne
in great honour and credit with him.

The death of Theodorus the Greeke emperor.

Now *Theodorus* the emperour hauing raigned three yeares, fell ſicke and died, leauing behind
him his ſonne *Iohn*, then but a child of ſix yeares old, to ſucceed him in the empire: whom hee
vpon his death bed, together with the empire, commended to *Arſenius* the Patriarch, and one
George Muzalo his faithfull counſellor, as to his truſtie tutors, to ſee him ſafely brought vp, & the
empire well and peaceably gouerned. This *Muzalo* was a man of meane parentage, but for his fa-
miliar acquaintance and ciuile behauior, of a child brought vp in the court with the emperour as
his play fellow: with whom he growing vp, ſo framed himſelfe vnto his manners and diſpoſition, H
that he alone was vnto him in ſtead of all, ſtill at hand, readie to ſay or doe whatſoeuer might be
vnto the emperour gracious or pleaſing. And the elder they grew, ſo increaſed this their mutuall
affection and loue alſo: in ſuch ſort, that with him now emperour, he was of all others in greateſt
fauour and authoritie; a warie obſeruer of his delights, a readie miniſter of his affaires, and faith-
full partaker of his ſecrets: for which he was in ſhort time promoted vnto the greateſt honors of
the court, and honourably married vnto one of the emperours nigh kinſwomen; and now at his
death, by his laſt will, with the reuerend Patriarch appointed tutor to the yong emperor and his
two yong ſiſters. And for the more aſſurance thereof, a ſolemne oath of obedience vnto the yong
prince as emperour, and vnto them as his tutors, was exacted of all ſort of men both high & low,
of what vocation ſoeuer; and that not once, but firſt a little before the emperours death, and a-
gaine after he was now dead: for many of the nobilitie honourably deſcended, ſeeing the ſuddain
Enuie in Court. change of *Muzalo* his fortune, among themſelues murmured thereat, as greeued with his prefer-
ment, ſeeing there were many among them, vnto whom both the tuition of the yong emperour
and adminiſtration of the empire, of better right appertained; inſomuch as they were both nee-
rer of kin vnto the emperor, and fitter (as they thought) for ſo great a charge than was *Muzalo*;
whom (as they ſaid) they had many cauſes both to contemne and hate: For beſide that hee was
not honourably borne, and had ſerued the late emperour *Theodore*, as the miniſter of his wrath
againſt ſome of the nobilitie, cauſes ſufficient of the peoples hatred; if hee ſhould now alſo in ſo
great authoritie affect the empire, it was by his malicious enemies vainly doubted, that he would
not ſpare to commit any manner of villanie, for the effecting of his inordinat deſire. Of all which K
Muzalo was not ignorant, a man at all other times of a moſt quicke apprehenſion for ſuch mat-
ters, but as then eſpecially, his wits being awaked with theſe ſo great motiues & dangers. Wher-
fore ſpeedely calling together all the nobilitie into the court, he welcommed them one by one,
and courteouſly diſcourſing with them, offered to diſcharge himſelfe both of the adminiſtration
of the empire, and tuition of the yong emperour, and willingly to yeeld the ſame vnto any one of
them, whom the reſt ſhould thinke fitteſt for ſo great a charge: which though they all with one
conſent as it were refuſed, ſaying, That he was of all others to be preferred, vnto whom the em-
perour, lord both of the empire and the child, had committed the ſame: yet *Muzalo* earneſtly re-
queſted them to the contrarie, and ſtiffely withſtood their deſire, wiſhing indeed rather to haue
led a quiet priuat life in ſecuritie, than to haue been ſo ouercharged; not ſo much for doubt of the L
enuie then ariſing, as for feare of ſome great danger thereof to enſue. But would he, would he not,
remedie there was none, but that as the late emperour had appointed, ſo he muſt take the charge
vpon him. And now was euery one, as well of the nobilitie, as of the inferiour ſort, againe with
greater ſolemnitie than before the third time ſworne, to the vttermoſt of their power to defend
the yong emperour in his empire, and *Muzalo* in the tuition of him and adminiſtration of the af-
faires of the ſtate, and faithfully to yeeld vnto them both all due honour and obedience: which if
they ſhould faile religiouſly to performe, they wiſhed vnto themſelues euery man, & to all theirs,
a ſhamefull end and deſtruction. Yet notwithſtanding all this ſolemne ſwearing, mixt moſt times
with much forſwearing, there were not fully nine daies paſt, but that certaine of the chiefe nobi-
litie forgetfull or elſe careleſſe of their oath, and full of enuie, ſeldome ſatisfied but with blood, M
conſpired the vnworthie death of *Muzalo* the protectour both of the emperour and the empire.
The ninth day appointed for the funerall of the emperour, was now come, at which time were
met together at SOSANDRA (an abbey by himſelfe built in the honour of the virgine *Marie* at
MAGNESIA) many great ladies and graue matrons, to mourne as the manner was; all the great
princes of the nobilitie, and among them the conſpirators alſo: thither repaired alſo a number of

ſouldi-

A ſouldiors, prepared for the ſlaughter, with an infinit multitude of the common people, as at ſuch ſolemnities is vſuall. But what needs many words, whileſt the hymns were yet in ſinging, and the obſequies in performing, the ſoldiors as they were before inſtructed, ſuddainly breaking into the church, with their drawne ſwords in their hands, ſlew *Muzalo* (then fled vnto the altar for refuge) with his two brethren *Andronicus* and *Theodorus*, both men of great account, and diuers others appointed to the maſſacre. So the matrones & the reſt of the multitude breaking off their mourning, and for feare thronging out one in anothers necke, fled as faſt as they could, ſome one way, ſome another, as they thought for their moſt ſafetie: but the prieſts and monkes thinking to haue done the like, were by the imperious ſouldiors, whether they would or not, againe inforced
B into the church; where tumbling one ouer another, as thronging in with great force & violence, and ſcarce able to ſtand, by reaſon of the ſlipperineſſe of the blood there ſhed vpon the pauement, they in great feare made an end of thoſe bloodie obſequies. This outrage appeaſed, *Arſenius* the Patriarch, and only tutor of the yong emperour now left, was therewith yet much troubled, as with a thing dangerous both to the perſon of the yoong prince, and quietneſſe of the ſtate; but what good courſe to take therein, he could not tell: for as he was a man for his learning and integritie of life, not inferiour to the beſt, ſo in matters of ſtate he was as far to ſeeke; as it commonly happeneth the contemplatiue man, buried in his meditations, to be vnfit for temporall gouernment; whereas he that ſhould performe both, muſt vnto his rare vertues and great learning joine a ciuile conuerſation, with great experience in worldly affaires, not to be learned but by great and
C long practiſe. This reuerend father (of no great reach, yet wiſhing all well) calling together the nobilitie, conſulted with them what were beſt to be done for the gouernment both of the yong emperour and the empire, now that *Muzalo* was dead; not conſidering in the mean time who they were with whom he conſulted, or that counſell grounded vpon no wiſe foreſight or approoued experience, was more dangerous vnto him whom he would haue prouided for, than all the enemies murthering ſwords, as ſhortly after appeared.

Muzalo traitorouſly murdered in the church.

Amongſt others of the nobilitie called to counſell, was *Michaell Paleologus* (of whom we haue before ſpoken) much ſuperiour to the reſt, as deſcended of the imperiall houſe of the *Comneni*, a man of a cheerefull countenance, gracious, and courteous, and withall exceeding bountifull and liberall, whereby he eaſily woon the hearts of all men in generall, but eſpecially of the
D colonels, captaines, and other martiall men, commaunders in the armie; of whoſe aſpiring to the empire, many preſages and common rumors (not alwaies vaine) had in former time paſſed alſo to the mouing of many: yea the Patriarch himſelfe not conſidering his hautie and aſpiring nature, made no leſſe account of him than did the reſt, but vpon an eſpeciall fauour, committed to his only truſt the keyes of the common treaſure, at ſuch time as money was to bee deliuered out for payment of the armies or other like great occaſions of the ſtate; the moſt effectuall meanes for the furtherance of his ſecret practiſes, & the readieſt way for the effecting of that he had ſo long before plotted: for hauing in his fingring ſuch a maſſe of treaſure, as he might well haue wiſhed but neuer reaſonably hoped for, he poured it out as it were by buſhels amongſt the nobilitie and martiall men, & ſuch others as he thought were able to do moſt with the people, amongſt whom
E were many of the cleargie alſo: of which his fauourits were made many meetings, and by them was the Patriarch continually ſollicited, but yet in generall tearmes, without delay (according to the neceſsitie of the time) to take order for the good gouernment of the ſtate, which now as a great ſhip in the middeſt of the ſea without a maſter, was (as they ſaid) in danger to periſh; and being once loſt, was not to be againe recouered. At which time alſo, the name of *Paleologus* was in euery mans mouth, as the only man for his wiſedome and experience, fit to take vpon him the charge and gouernment of the empire, vntill the yong emperour were come to age. Vnto which cõmon good liking, the Patriarch alſo (ſeeing no more, or peraduenture not ſo much as the reſt) gaue his conſent. And ſo without longer ſtay, to the great contentment both of the nobilitie and people in generall, made him gouernour of the empire, and tutor to the yong emperour, wanting
F now nothing of an emperor himſelfe, more than the title and imperiall ornaments. This was the firſt ſtep whereby this aſpiring man (twice before in diſgrace with the two late emperours, *Iohn Ducas*, and his ſonne *Theodorus*) mounted at laſt vnto the empire.

Michael Paleologus aſpireth.

It was not many dayes after, but that his fauourits held another counſell, wherein it was alledged, That it was not ſeemely for him that was tutor vnto the emperour, gouernour of the ſtate and empire, and to giue audience vnto the embaſſadours of forraine nations, to want the honour

next vnto the emperour, as well for the magnificence of the ſtate, as for the credit of his place: whereupon hee was both by the Patriarch and the yoong emperour honoured with the title of the Deſpot, another ſtep vnto the empire. But what contentment find the ambitious euen in the greateſt honours, ſo long as there is one aboue them? Little ſure, or none at all, more than that it ſerueth them to ſtep at next, vp to the higheſt: as did this new made Deſpot, who ſhortly after was by certaine of the nobilitie, his great fauourits, neere vnto MAGNESIA, with the great applauſe of the people hoyſed vp and ſaluted emperour. Whereof *Arſenius* the Patriarch hearing, was therewith much troubled, as fearing what would become of the yong child, the right heire of the empire. And firſt he was about to haue excommunicated, as well him that was made emperour, as them that had ſo made him: but afterward changing his purpoſe, for feare of greater troubles, he thought it better by ſolemne oath to bind both him and the reſt, That they ſhould not ſeeke after the life of the child, or by any force or colour goe about to depriue him of the empire; which was ſo done. Yet it was not full a moneth after, but that euen hee that had ſo great a care of the yoong child and ſo prouided for his ſafetie (perſuaded by them of the nobilitie and the cleargie) with his owne hands, and all the accuſtomed ceremonies, ſet the imperiall crowne vpon this vſurpers head; yet not as vpon him that ſhould ſtill enjoy the empire, but as vpon a man according to the preſent neceſsitie of the time and ſtate thought fitteſt for ſo great a charge, vntill the yoong child came to age; vnto whom then he was to giue place, and to reſigne to him the empire. All which being by more ſolemne oath than before confirmed, good newes (as the certaine ſignes of his fortunat gouernment) were brought vnto him of a great victorie obtained by his captaines, againſt *Michaell Angelus* Deſpot of ÆTOLIA and EPIRUS: Who hauing married the late emperours daughter, and hearing of his death, with the great troubles in ASIA; aided by the king of SICILIA and the prince of PELOPONESUS and ACHAIA, his ſonnes in law, had thought in that hurle and perturbation of the ſtate to haue taken vnto himſelfe the greateſt part of the emperours territories in MACEDONIA and THRACIA: and for the ſame purpoſe was with a great armie entred into them, burning and ſpoiling the countrey before him; whereof *Michaell Paleologus* (then but newly made Deſpot) hauing intelligence, ſent his brother *Iohn*, and ſome other his beſt captaines, with a great armie againſt him; by whom he with his complices were put to the worſe, and not without great loſſe enforced to retire: the joyfull newes whereof he receiued, euen as he was crowned. Which was ſhortly after confirmed by the comming of the great commaunders themſelues, bringing with them the prince of PELOPONESUS and ACHAIA, by them taken priſoner. Who for his ranſome was afterward glad to giue vnto the emperour *Paleologus*, MONEMBASIA, MAINE, and SPARTA, three of the beſt cities of PELOPONESUS: whereinto he put ſtrong garriſons, vnder the commaund of *Conſtantinus* his brother by the mothers ſide, a right valiant captaine. By whoſe good ſeruice, and the commodious ſituation of the places, he gained diuers other townes and cities, and at length the greateſt part of PELOPONESUS, out of the hands of the Latines: for the vtter rooting out of whom, hee ſhortly after with a great armie paſſed ouer into THRACIA, with purpoſe (as was thought) to haue beſieged CONSTANTINOPLE: but finding it to be a matter of more difficultie than was before ſuppoſed, he left that, and laied ſiege to the caſtle of PERA, oueragainſt it on the other ſide of the hauen, in hope by winning of that caſtle to haue become maſter alſo of the towne: where he was notably repulſed, and enforced with loſſe to retire. So riſing with his armie, hee fortefied diuers caſtles and ſtrong holds in the countrey about CONSTANTINOPLE, and put into them ſtrong garriſons, charging them, with continuall incurſions to trouble the Conſtantinopolitanes, and to cut them ſo ſhort, if it were poſsible, as that they ſhould not dare to looke out at the gates of the citie. Which they ſo well performed, that in ſhort time the Latines in the citie were driuen to ſuch extremitie, that for want of wood they were faine to burne many of the faireſt houſes in the cittie in ſtead of fewell; which done, hee returned againe to NICE, the cheefe ſeat of the Greeke emperours, euer ſince that CONSTANTINOPLE was taken by the Latines.

Michaell Paleologus crowned emperor by Arſenius the Patriarch.

Now raigned in CONSTANTINOPLE the Latine emperour *Baldwin* the ſecond (as is before declared) a man of ſmall courage, and leſſe power, and therefore not much regarded either of the Greekes or Latines: who for the maintenance of his ſtate was glad to ſell away the publick ornaments of the citie, and to pawne his ſonne vnto the Bruges marchants for money; by whom hee

was

was left at VENICE to be brought vp: which gaue occasion for some writers to report, That he was pawned vnto the Venetians.

About this time *Mango*, the great Chan of TARTARIE, stirred vp by *Aitonus* the Armenian king, by whose persuasion he had also receiued the Christian religion, sent his brother *Haalon* with an exceeding great armie against the Turkes and Sarrasins in SYRIA and the land of PALESTINE. This *Haalon* conuerted also vnto the Christian faith by his wife, setting forward with a world of people following him, in the space of six moneths ouerran all PERSIA, with the countries adioyning, excepting one strong place in the mountains (which some say was SAMARCHAND, afterward the royall seat of the great terrour of the world, the mightie *Tamerlaine*) which besieged by ten thousand horsemen, by him there left for that purpose, and so continued by the space of seuen and twentie yeares after, was then at length (as *Aiton* himselfe writeth) yeelded by the defendants, onely for want of clothes to couer their nakednesse. *Haalon* in whose armie those ten thousand (left behind) were not missed, marching on, and as a violent tempest bearing all downe before him, entered at length into ASSYRIA, and there laied siege vnto the great citie of BABYLON, then the seat of the great Caliph; whom all the Mahometane princes honoured aboue all others, as the true successour of their great prophet *Mahomet*, and receiued from his mouth the interpretation of their law, as most diuine oracles. Which great citie *Haalon* woon, and putting to sword all he found therein, men, women, and children, with the spoile thereof and the rich treasures of the Caliph, enriched his souldiours. The Caliph himselfe (reserued for that purpose) he commaunded to be set in the middest of the infinite treasure which hee and his predecessours had most couetously heaped vp together, and that he should of that gold siluer and precious stones take what it pleased him to eat, saying (by way of derision) That so gainefull a guest should by good reason be fed with nothing but things of greatest price, whereof he willed him to make no spare: In which order the couetous wretch kept for certaine daies, miserably died for hunger, in the middest of those things whereof he thought hee should neuer haue had ynough; which though they were in valour great, and with great care laied together, yet serued they him not now to suffice nature, best contented with a little. BABYLON thus sacked, and almost rased, the Tartar marching on through MESOPOTAMIA, by the way took the citie of RHOAIS, where *Aiton* the Armenian king and author of this the Tartars expedition, came vnto him with twelue thousand horsemen, and fortie thousand foot, as reporteth *Aiton* the Armenian kings nephew, then there present. So entering into SYRIA, in a few daies tooke ALEPPO, which hee sacked and rased in the yeare of our Lord 1260, with diuerse other strong townes sometime belonging vnto the kingdome of ANTIOCH. Then was one *Malacnesar* Sultan of DAMASCO, commaunding ouer all SYRIA and the land of PALESTINE: who terrified with the losse of his cities, and the feare of farther danger, with his wife and children came and humbled himselfe before the Tartar prince, in hope so to haue saued vnto himselfe some good part of his kingdome. Wherein he was much deceiued, being (as some say) carried away a farre off into exile, because hee should not hinder the Tartars proceedings: or as others report (and happely with more probabilitie) being by him detained as his prisoner, and afterwards to the terror of his sonne, cut in peeces in his sight vnder the wals of DAMASCO, after that it had in vaine beene twice assaulted by the Tartars: which strong citie for all that he afterwards tooke by strong hand, and sacked it, and by the persuasion of his wife ouerthrew all the Mahometane temples, as he had before in euery place where he came. But purposing to haue gone on forward to HIERUSALEM, and to haue conqueted the whole land of PALESTINE, newes was brought him of the death of his brother *Mango*, the great Chan: whereupon he staied his journey and returned backe againe, in hope of that great empire, hauing in this expedition spent almost six yeares.

1260

Haalon the Tartar sent with a great armie against the Turks.

Aleppo rased by the Tartars.

Damasco woon.

Thus by the Tartars was the kingdome of the Turks at DAMASCO ouerthrowne. At which time, the broken affaires of the Christians in SYRIA and the land of PALESTINE, might easily haue beene repaired, and those two goodly kingdomes againe restored to the Christian commonweale, had the Christian princes of the West then in time put to their helping hands on the one side, as did the Tartars on the other: But they then at fatall discord among themselues, and busied with their warres at home, let slip that so faire an opportunitie, the like whereof they seldome or neuer had since. *Haalon* the Tartar prince, in token of his good will toward the Christians and their affaires, at his departure from DAMASCO left his sonne *Abaga* there with twentie thou-

thouſand horſemen to aid them in their warres, if they ſhould come (as was expected) for the re- G
couerie of the Holy land: who hauing there ſtayed ſome while, and hearing of his fathers trou-
bles at home, followed himſelfe after him, but yet left behind him *Guirboca*, a valiant captaine,
with ten thouſand of his horſemen, to like purpoſe that his father had him: who by the inſo-
lencie of certaine Chriſtian ſouldiors in garriſon about SIDON, was of a friend together with
his Tartars made a foe. Theſe garriſon ſouldiors hauing by chance fet in ſome bootie out of the
Tartars territorie, not onely refuſed to reſtore the ſame againe, but alſo foulely intreated ſuch
as the Tartar had ſent for the demaunding thereof. Whereupon further quarrels ariſing, it for-
tuned a nephew of *Guirbocas*, a valiant yoong gentleman, to be ſlaine: in reuenge whereof hee
beſieged SIDON, and hauing taken it, ſacked it, and burnt it downe to the ground. After which H
time, he and his Tartars became vtter enemies vnto the Chriſtians, doing them all the harme they
could deuiſe.

The Ægyptian Sultan inuadeth Siria.

This diſcord betwixt the Tartars and the Chriſtians, gaue occaſion vnto *Melech* the Ægypti-
an Sultan, now jealous of the Tartars neereneſſe, with a great armie of his Mamalukes & others
to enter into SYRIA, and to ſpoile the countrey about DAMASCO; againſt whom *Guirboca*
with his Tartars, although both in ſtrength and number far inferiour, went out. But joyning bat-
tell with him at too much oddes, and the victorie inclining vnto that ſide where moſt ſtrength
was, he there valiantly fighting was ſlaine, with moſt part of his Tartars: ſuch as eſcaped fled in-
to ARMENIA vnto the friendly king. By this victorie all SYRIA, with the land of PALESTINE, I
excepting ſome few places yet holden by the Chriſtians, fell again into the hands of the Ægyptian
Sultans; as did ſome of them ſhortly after alſo: for *Bandocadar* ſucceeding *Melech* in the Mama-
luke kingdome, comming into SYRIA with a great armie, took ANTIOCH from the Chriſtians,
& with it moſt of the other places before by them defended. The citie he burnt, & raſed the caſtle
down to the ground, and afterward entring into ARMENIA, did there great harme alſo.

Antioch taken from the Chriſtians.

Whileſt the Turks kingdome thus goeth to wracke in SYRIA, ruinated by the Tartars, but
poſſeſſed by the Mamalukes; their affairs in the leſſer ASIA, now the whole hope of that nation,
went not at that time much better: for *Iathatines* the Turkes Sultan, there alſo inuaded by the
Tartars, and hauing loſt ICONIUM his regall citie, fled with his brother *Melech* to the Greeke
emperour *Michaell Paleologus*, in hope to be of him relieued, for the kindneſſe hee had not long
before ſhewed him in like caſe, when as he fled from the late emperour *Theodore*; whereof now K
putting him in remembrance, he requeſted him either with ſome conuenient force to aid him, or
els to aſsigne vnto him ſome corner in his large empire where hee might in ſafetie reſt with his
wife and children, and other followers, whom with much wealth hee had brought with him in
great number. The emperor on euery ſide himſelfe incombred with warres, thought it not good
in ſo great newneſſe of his empire, to deminiſh his owne forces: and to aſsigne vnto him any
place to inhabit, ſeemed no leſſe dangerous; for that he hauing been a great prince, and comman-
ding ouer many great countries, and brought vp in all princely royaltie, was not like to content
himſelfe with a little: beſide that, his nobilitie, then diſperſed by the Tartars, were like ynough in
great numbers to reſort vnto him, as vnto their head, ſo ſoone as they ſhould once heare that he
were ſeated in any place: and yet vnkindly to caſt him off that had ſo honourably vſed him in L
like extremitie, the emperour was loath. And therefore feeding him vp with faire words, and
foording him on from time to time with delaies, he held him a great while as a man in ſuſpence,
betwixt hope and deſpaire. At length in the abſence of the emperour (though happily not with-
out his priuitie) he was commaunded with all his traine, in number about twelue hundred, to get
him to ÆNUS, a citie of THRACIA, ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt: where he much diſcontented, li-
ued like an honourable priſoner at large, but with the watchfull eyes of ſo many vpon him, as
that he could by no meanes (as he deſired) eſcape. In which caſe we will for a while leaue him, to
feed vpon his owne melancholy thoughts.

1261 Now had *Michaell Paleologus* the emperour raigned at NICE two yeares, when new trou-
bles began againe to ariſe in the Weſt part of his empire on EUROPE ſide, by the trecherie of M
Michaell Angelus, Deſpot of EPIRUS. For the ſpeedie repreſsing whereof, he ſent one *Alexius*
Strategopulus, a worthie captaine and a man of great nobilitie (whom for his good ſeruice againſt
the ſaid Deſpot, he had in the beginning of his raigne made *Cæſar*) with little aboue 800 By-
thinian ſouldiors, and commiſsion for the taking vp of ſo many mo as he ſhould for that ſeruice
need, in MACEDONIA and THRACIA: commaunding him when he had paſſed the ſtrait, with

thoſe

A thoſe ſouldiers to take his way through the ſuburbs of CONSTANTINOPLE, to terrifie the Latines, whom he was loth to ſuffer too long to liue in reſt and quiet or to ſtir too far out of the gates, but to keepe them as priſoners coupt vp within the wals of the citie. This warlike captaine with this handfull of men, paſsing ouer PROPONTIS encamped at REGIUM, not far from CONSTANTINOPLE; where by chance lighting vpon certaine poore labouring men Greekes borne in the citie, and there dwelling, he diligently inquired of them the ſtate thereof, and of what ſtrength the Latines were, with many other things, ſuch as he was deſirous to know: who not onely told him that the ſtrength of the Latines was but ſmall, but alſo that the greateſt part thereof was gone to the ſiege of DAPHNVSIA, a towne not farre off vpon the ſide of the
B EVXINE ſea: and withall (as Greekes euill affected to the gouernment of the Latines, and deſirous of the libertie of their countrey) offered of themſelues to ſhew him a meanes how to giue him entrance into the citie. Theſe poore men dwelt within the citie, cloſe by one of the gates, neere whereunto by an old ruinous mine almoſt ſwarued vp, was a ſecret vnſuſpected way into the citie, not knowne to any but to themſelues: By this blind hole they promiſed him by night to receiue in fiftie of his beſt ſouldiers; which ſuddenly ſetting vpon the watch faſt by, and diſpatching them out of the way, might preſently breake open the gate and ſo let in the reſt of the armie: whereunto they promiſed themſelues with their friends to put to their helping hands, aſſuring him of the good ſucceſſe thereof. This plot for the betraying of the citie thus laied and agreed vpon, *Alexius* the *Cæſar* well rewarding the men, and filling them with
C greater promiſes, ſent them away: who as if they had beene about their countrey worke, were after their woonted manner receiued into the citie, without ſuſpition at all. And within a few daies after according to their promiſe, at an appointed houre receiued in by night the aforeſaid fiftie ſouldiours; who aided by them, preſently ſlew the watch, and brake open the gate: whereby *Alexius* entring a little before day, in conuenient place put his men in order of battell; and afterward to the greater terrour of the Latines, cauſed the citie to be ſet on fire in foure places, which increaſed with the wind, burnt in moſt terrible manner, and was in ſhort time come almoſt to the emperours pallace. Who ſcarce well awaked, and ſeeing the citie all on a fire about his eares, and the enemie comming on; was about at the firſt with thoſe few Latines that hee had (for Greekes he had none) to haue made head againſt them. But better aduiſed, and perceiD uing it to be now to no purpoſe, he (the laſt of the Latine Emperours that euer raigned in CONSTANTINOPLE) with *Iuſtinian* the Latine Patriarch, and ſome other of his friends, fled by ſea into EVBOCA, and ſo from thence afterwards vnto VENICE, and afterwards to *Lewis* the French king, in hope to haue beene by him and the Venetians relieued. After whom fled alſo all the reſt of the Latines. Thus the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE by great fortune fell againe into the hands of the Greeks, in the yeare 1261, after it had beene in poſſeſsion of the Latines, about 58 yeares.

Paleologus the Greeke emperor taketh poſſeſsion of the citie of Conſtantinople

The joyfull newes of the recouerie of the imperiall citie, was in ſhort time carried vnto *Michael Paleologus* the Greeke emperour at NICE; who at the firſt beleeued it not, as thinking it ſcarce poſsible ſo ſtrong a citie to haue beene by ſo weake a power ſurpriſed, where as hee
E himſelfe not long before was not able with a right puiſſant armie, and much other warlike prouiſion, to win the little caſtle of GALATA ouer againſt it. But afterwards aſſured of the truth thereof, with his hands and eies caſt vp towards heauen, gaue moſt heartie thankes to God therefore; cauſing hymnes and pſalmes of thankſgiuing to bee ſolemnly ſung in euerie church, with all the other ſignes of joy and triumph that could be deuiſed. So ſetting all other things apart, he wholy buſied himſelfe in making preparation for his going to CONSTANTINOPLE, now once againe the ſeat of the Greeke empire: wherein, and in trauelling hauing ſpent many daies, he at length with the empreſſe his wife and *Andronicus* his ſonne, then but two yeares old, as if it had been in ſolemne proceſsion on foot entred into the citie, by the gate called the Golden Gate; and ſo after praiers and thankes giuen, went to the pallace prepared for
F him neere vnto the tiltyard: for the other imperiall pallaces of greater beautie (ſometime the ſtately dwellings of the greateſt emperours of the Greekes) had now of long during the raigne of the Latines, lien ruinous, or altogether defaced. And ſhortly after, becauſe vertue and true deſert ſhould not want their due honour, he cauſed *Alexius Cæſar* (by whoſe meanes the citie was recouered) in ſolemne triumph in his roabs of honour, with a crowne vpon his head, not much inferiour vnto the imperiall crowne, with great pompe to bee carried through all the citie.

citie: and farther commaunded, That his name for one yeare next following, in all ſolemne G
hymnes and praiers of thankſgiuing, ſhould be joyned with the name of the emperour himſelfe:
And yet not thinking to haue done him honour enough, cauſed his liuely image afterward to
be moſt curiouſlly made, and as a trophie to be ſet vpon a faire marble piller, before the great
church of the holy Apoſtles, in perpetuall remembrance of him, and that he had done for the
deliuerie of his countrey; which ſhortly after ouerthrowne by an earthquake, was by his ſonne
againe reſtored. Now was this great and famous citie, ſometime the beautie of the word, by
theſe ſtrange and fatall mutations, woonderfully defaced and brought to great deſolation: in
euerie place was to be ſeene great heapes, or rather (to ſay the truth) great hils of rubbidge, H
the eternall witneſſes of the ruine thereof; the houſes ſtood ſome quite fallen downe, ſome
readie to follow after, and ſome other great and ſtately buildings now the ſmall reliques of
great fires: for the great beautie thereof was before, at ſuch time as the Latines tooke it, moſt
defaced by fire; who all the time that they had it, ceaſſed not night and day to deſtroy ſome
part or other of it, as if they had knowne they ſhould not long keepe it; neither did this laſt
fire raiſed by the Greekes themſelues to terrifie the Latines, a little deforme it: for which cauſe
the emperours chiefe care now was to cleanſe the citie, and in beſt ſort he could to reforme ſo
great a confuſion of things not to be all at once amended; firſt beginning with the churches,
which ruinous or readie to fall, he repaired; and next to that filled the emptie houſes with new
inhabitants. And albeit that the chiefe of the Latines were together with the emperour fled
and gone, yet was the moſt part of the artificers and tradeſmen of the citie, Venetians, and of I
them of PISA, mingled together; vnto whom alſo to joyne the Genowaies, and ſo to fill the
citie with Latines, he thought it not altogether ſafe, although that by them he reaped great pro-
fit: wherefore he aſsigned vnto them the citie of GALATA now called PERA, on the other
ſide of the hauen, for them to inhabit; graunting them great priuiledges, and euerie of thoſe com-
panies to be gouerned by a Conſull or Poteſtate of their owne. As for the imperiall citie it ſelfe,
he ſtored it (ſo neere as he could) with naturall Greeks borne.

Paleologus ieatous of his eſtate.

Now although all things went as *Paleologus* the emperour could himſelfe haue wiſhed; yet
could he not reſt ſo contented, for feare leaſt thoſe which now did eat their owne hearts and
with great griefe ſmouldred their anger, ſhould at length as the rightfull heires of the empire by K
him vſurped, breake out into open force, and ſo breed him great troubles, yea and perhaps
worke his confuſion. For ſuch is the tormenting ſtate of vſurping tyrants, neuer to thinke
themſelues ſafe ſo long as any one liueth, whom they may ſuſpect. Wherefore at once to rid
himſelfe of this feare, he thought it beſt ſo to diſpoſe of the children of the late emperour *Theo-
dorus Laſcaris*, as that he ſhould not need of them to ſtand in doubt: to take them out of the
way, beſides that it was a thing odious, he ſaw it like to be vnto him alſo dangerous; *Marie* and
Theodora (two of the eldeſt daughters) being before by their father married vnto two great prin-
ces (one, the Deſpot of EPIRVS, & the other prince of BVLGARIA) with whom he had much
before to do, and of them yet ſtood in ſome doubt; but theſe were ſafe enough out of his reach.
Other two yoonger ſiſters there were in his cuſtodie, *Theodora* & *Irene*, with their brother *Iohn*,
the onely heire of the empire: *Theodora* he married vnto one *Belicurt*, a gentleman of PELO- L
PONESVS; and *Irene* to one *Vigintimilio* of GENVA; both Latines, men of no great birth or
power, ſuch as he needed not to ſtand in doubt of. Theſe two ladies, the daughters of ſo great an
emperour as was *Theodorus*, thus baſely beſtowed; remained onely their brother *Iohn*, the one-
ly heire of the empire, then but ten yeares old, whom *Paleologus* long before euen in the be-
ginning of his raigne, had ſent vnto MAGNESIA, there to bee ſafely kept farre off from the
court, for feare leaſt in his right and quarrell ſome diſcontented perſons deſirous of innova-
tion, ſhould begin ſome new ſtirs dangerous to his eſtate. Which indignitie done vnto the
yoong prince, *Arſenius* the Patriarch (put in truſt by his father for the bringing of him vp)
tooke in ſo euill part, that he forſooke the court with all his eccleſiaſticall dignities, and as a
man wearie of the world, retired himſelfe vnto a little monaſterie of *Paſcaſius* in the countrey, M
there to ſpend the reſt of his daies. From whence for all that hee was after the taking of CON-
STANTINOPLE from the Latines, almoſt againſt his will drawne thither by *Paleologus* the
emperour, and made Patriarch thereof, there together with ſo great an honour to find his
greater diſcontent. For *Paleologus* the vſurper, altogether vnmindfull of his faith ſo ſolemnly
before giuen, for the ſafetie of the yoong prince, and the reſtoring vnto him of his empire; and

now

now fully resolued to establish vnto him and his posteritie the soueraignte of so great an empire, howsoeuer it was got, caused the yoong princes eies to be most cruelly put out: the vsuall practise of the tyrants of the East, vpon such as they are loath or feare to kill, and yet would make them vnfit for gouernment. Of which barbarous crueltie, his sister *Theodora* (married to *Constantinus* prince of BVLGARIA) hearing, ceassed not with teares and praiers and all other womanly persuasions, to stir vp her husband in reuenge thereof: whereunto also *Iathatines* the Turkes Sultan, gaue no small furtherance; who wearie of exile, and to bee so into a corner confined, as into a prison from whence hee might not start, by secret messengers entreated the Bulgarian prince to make war vpon the vsurping emperour: promising him a great summe of money, if by his helpe hee might recouer his former libertie. Wherewith hee the rather mooued, with a great power of his owne and aboue twentie thousand Tartars which then lay by the riuer ISTER, suddenly brake into the emperours territories, and in shorter time than was to haue beene thought, ouerrun all the countrey of THRACIA euen vnto the sea side, leauing neither man nor beast in all the countrey as he went: in good hope also to haue by the way surprized the emperour himselfe, euen then returning from his wars against the Despot in THESSALIE: who hearing of his speedie comming, being got vnto the sea side, and (hauing no way left to haue escaped by land) shipped himselfe into a galley of the Latines, which with another her consert bound for CONSTANTINOPLE, by good hap put in there for to water, and so in two daies arriued in safetie at the imperiall citie. Thus disappointed of the emperour, all his care was for the deliuerie of the Turks Sultan. Wherefore marching in hast to ÆNVM, he so terrified the citizens with his comming, that they without farther delay deliuered him into his hands, so to redeeme their owne peace. In his returne you might haue seene the souldiours, especially the Tartars, driuing before them infinit numbers both of men and cattell, in such sort, as that in the open countrey of THRACIA for a space, was hardly to be seene either countreyman or beast, it was so cleane swept both of inhabitants and likewise of cattell.

Paleologus casteth the yong emperours eyes to be put out.

Iathatines the Sultan by the Tartars carried ouer ISTER, and so by them set at liberrie, shortly after died. In whose kingdome succeeded not his sonne *Melicke* (as some write) but two others (as the Turkes themselues report) the one called *Mesoot*, the sonne of *Kei-Cubades*, and the other *Kei-Cubades*, the sonne of *Feramcine*, borne also of the *Selzuccian* family, as were all the other Turkes Sultans, but how neere of blood vnto the late Sultan *Iathatines* they say not. Betwixt which two, as his vassales, *Gazan* the great Tartar Chan (by whom they were so preferred) for the payment of a yearely tribute, diuided the Turkes kingdome: aportioning vnto *Mesoot* the cities of AMIDA in antient time called AMISVS, and AMINSVS in GALATIA, MELATIA otherwise called MELETINE in the lesser ARMENIA, SIVASTE, in antient time SEBASTIA, and HARBERIE, before SATABREA, both in CAPPADOCIA, with all the countrey about them. And vnto *Kei-Cubades*, ICONIUM, the auncient seat of the Turkish Sultans, with all RUMILIA ASIATICA, or the countries of the lesser ASIA alongst the sea coast; which these two princes held as the Tartars tributaries, as had the late Sultan *Iathatines* before them, vntill such time as he was by the same Tartars againe expulsed. So that the Turks kingdome, which had of long time flourished in the *Selzuccian* familie in PERSIA, in SYRIA, PALESTINE, and ÆGYPT, there quite ouerthrowne by the Mamalukes and Tartars (as is before declared) & now brought vnderfoot in the lesser ASIA also, where only rested all the hope of that nation, was now at a low ebbe, deuided betwixt two weake princes, raigning but at the deuotion of the Tartar. In which confusion of the Turkish empire, so rent, not onely diuers men of greater power and authoritie amongst them, shared vnto themselues, some one corner of the declining kingdome, and some another: but many of the obscure and basest people also, bearing with them nothing but their bowes and arrowes, tooke the strait passages of the mountaines, and from thence with their dayly incursions did much harme in the countries of the Christians joyning vpon them: which was no great matter for them to doe, the garrisons which were woont to defend the same, being for want of pay quite disbanded, and the castles vpon the frontiers by them abandoned; which at the first, as a thing of small importance neglected, was at length vnto the Greekes a great cause of the ruine and decay of the greatest part of their state in ASIA. These mischeefes vnregarded, grew dayly more and more, the Turkes still gaining vpon the Greekes what they lost vnto the Tartars. Whose

Iathatines dieth in exile.

inua-

inuaſions (the glorie of their kingdome onely excepted) was not ſo hurtfull vnto them, as the cauſe of their much greater felicitie afterwards. At length it fortuned, that a great power of theſe aduenturous Turkes meeting together in PAPHLAGONIA, were about to haue inuaded the territories of the Chriſtians: againſt whom *Michaell Paleologus* the emperour ſent out a ſtrong and puiſſant armie to ſtay their further comming on, leſt breaking in that way they ſhould without reſiſtance at their pleaſure forrage the countrey before them. Which armie conducted by vnskilfull captaines, encountering with the Turkes, was by them in a great battell ouerthrowne and vtterly defeated, few or none of all that great multitude eſcaping: for whileſt the Greeks vnaduiſedly purſued the Turks, retiring of purpoſe before them, they were by them drawne into the danger of a greater power lying in ambuſh for them, and ſo entrapped, were ſlaine with an exceeding great ſlaughter. After which ſo great a victorie (the beginning of the miſerie of the Chriſtians in the leſſer ASIA) the Turkes without let or ſtay ouerranne all the countrey, vnto the riuer SANGARIVS: vpon the banks whereof the Greeke emperour was glad to fortifie diuers townes and forts to keepe them out of BITHINIA. Neuertheleſſe, they in ſhort time after ſubdued all the countries from PONTVS and GALATIA, vnto the LYCIAN and CARIAN ſea, and the riuer EVRIMEDON, which they diuided amongſt them into diuers Toparchies: little or nothing acknowledging the ſoueraigntie either of *Meſoot*, or *Kei-Cubades*.

Whileſt the Turkes in the leſſer ASIA thus win from the Chriſtians on the one ſide, and looſe to the Tartars on the other; many an hard conflict in the meane time paſſed betwixt the Ægyptian Sultans with their Mamalukes, and the Tartars, for the ſoueraigntie of SYRIA. The poore remainder of the Chriſtians all that while there, in doubt both of the one and of the other: From whom and from the Armenians (then alſo much infeſted by the Mamalukes) diuers embaſſadors were ſent vnto the Pope & the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, to craue their aid and helpe in that their hard eſtate: whoſe praiers little preuailing with the reſt, yet ſo mooued *Lewis* the French king, and *Henry* the third, then raigning in ENGLAND, that they both promiſed them aid. Whereupon *Lewis* a man of great deuotion, and alwaies forward in that ſeruice againſt the infidels, tooke vpon him the croſſe, the cogniſance of the ſacred war; cauſing his three ſonnes, *Philip* that ſucceeded him in the kingdome, ſurnamed the Faire, *Peter* countie of ALANCON, and *Iohn* countie of NEVERS (ſurnamed *Triſtan*, for that his mother was in her greateſt heauineſſe for the taking of her husband, deliuered of him in ÆGYPT) and moſt of the nobilitie of FRANCE to do the like: vnto whom alſo *Theobald* king of NAVAR his ſonne in law, *Alphonſus* his brother, and *Guydo* earle of FLANDERS, joyned themſelues. And ſo hauing put all things in readineſſe, tooke his way to MARSEILLES, and from thence embarking himſelfe with his armie in the Genowaies ſhips, hired for that purpoſe, ſet forward the firſt of March in the yeare 1270. But being at ſea, he was by force of weather conſtrained to land in SARDINIA, and there to ſtay a while: departing thence, he at length arriued at CARTHAGE, the place by him deſired, where in the entrance of the hauen he ſurpriſed certain of the enemies ſhips; but landing his men, and aſſaulting the town, he was there notably repulſed. This is not that antient great and famous citie which ſometime mightily ſtroue with the proud miſtreſſe of the world for ſoueraigntie, but another built long after in the ruines, or at leaſt not far from the ruines of the ſame. In the beſieging whereof, the Frenchmen found ſuch reſiſtance, as well put them in remembrance of the antient glorie of the Carthaginians. One day it fortuned as the king thus lay at the ſiege, that the defendants made a great and fierce ſally out vpon the Frenchmen, who before commaunded ſo to do, by little and little retired, to draw their enemies farther on: betwixt whom and the citie, the Conſtable with a great power comming in and charging them behind, and they which before retired now ſtanding cloſe vnto them, they were on both ſides hardly beſet; who for all that, as became valiant men, worthily defended themſelues, and made there a great fight, though not without extreame perill: which they in the citie beholding, gaue out a moſt hideous and piteous crie, a certaine ſigne of their hard eſtate within; aſtonying with the ſuddenneſſe thereof, both their friends & their enemies. But whileſt they of the towne betwixt hope and diſpaire ſtood thus beholding the fight at land, the Frenchmen by ſea approching a bulwarke on that ſide of the towne, tooke it without reſiſtance: which ſo diſmaid them without, that they began foorthwith to flie, of whom the greateſt part caſting away their weapons, were by the kings commandement taken to mercie; and they likewiſe of the towne vpon promiſe of their liues, yeelded the

1270 *Carthage beſieged by K. Lewis.*

Carthage won.

ſame

A ſame vnto the king. CARTHAGE thus woon, the king layd ſiege vnto TVNES, the chiefe cittie of that kingdome, being not farre off: where by the way he was encountred by the king of the countrey, who hauing there loſt ten thouſand of his Moores, betooke himſelfe to flight with the reſt. Who thus ouerthrowne, reſolued no more to tempt fortune, but to keepe himſelfe ſafe within the wals of his citie, if happily ſo he might (as it oftentimes falleth out) more weaken his enemies by lying ſtill and protracting the time, than by open force and valour. Which their purpoſe king *Lewis* perceiuing, reſolued not to ſtirre from thence vntill that he were become maſter of the citie; which as it ſeemed could not hold out for want of victuals, conſidering the multitude of people that were got into it. Neuertheleſſe thus beſieged both by ſea
B and land, and ſo ſtraightly hemmed in on euerie ſide, as that no reliefe could poſsibly bee brought vnto it; yet held it out by the ſpace of ſix moneths. After which time wants dayly more and more increaſing among the beſieged, embaſſadours were ſent out to the king, to entreat with him of peace: But whileſt theſe embaſſadours go too and fro, and reaſon vpon the capitulations of the deſired peace, behold a great and furious plague aroſe in the French campe, which began to cut them downe by heapes: there died *Iohn Triſtan* countie of NEVERS, the kings yoongeſt ſonne, borne in the firſt expedition that the ſaid king his father made into the Holy land, euen at ſuch time as hee was taken priſoner; which *Triſtan* died the fiue and twentith day of Auguſt in the yeare of our Lord 1270. The good king hauing yet ſcarcely performed the obſequies of his ſonne, fell ſicke of the bloodie flix, wherof he there ſhort-
C ly after died alſo. About which time arriued there *Charles* king of SICILIE, the French kings brother, with a great number of freſh ſouldiours: whoſe comming lightned ſomewhat the Frenchmens hearts (heauie for the death of their king) and daunted the Moores, before brag of the ſame. Shortly after whom arriued there alſo prince *Edward*, king *Henrie* the third his eldeſt ſonne, who trauelling through FRANCE, and taking ſhipping at AQVESMORT, not far from MARSEILLES, was now in ten daies with a braue companie of Engliſhmen come to TVNES; and there of the other Chriſtian princes, namely of *Philip* the French king (his father *Lewis* being now dead) of *Charles* king of SICILIE, and of the two kings of NAVAR and ARAGON, joyfully receiued. But theſe princes had a little before his arriuall concluded a peace with the Moores king, and the infidels, vpon condition that he ſhould pay a yearely tribute of
D fortie thouſand crownes vnto the king of SICILIA; and to ſuffer the Chriſtian religion to be freely preached in his dominions, by ſuch deuout perſons as ſhould be there left for that purpoſe; and that vnto ſuch perſons as ſhould by their preaching bee conuerted vnto the faith in Chriſt Ieſus, it ſhould be lawfull for them to be baptized, and to profeſſe the Chriſtian religion. Of which peace, prince *Edward* vnderſtanding, did what hee might to haue diſſuaded them from the ſame, ſaying, That the war was by them all taken in hand againſt the infidels, as enemies vnto the croſſe of Chriſt, with whom they were not to haue peace: and for the recouerie of the Holy citie. But ſay what he would, and what he could, the peace (to his great diſcontentment) was now concluded, which they might not (as they ſaid) againe breake: and thereupon with the firſt faire wind hoiſſed ſaile, and returned towards SICILIA, with purpoſe the next Spring to haue gone into SYRIA; which their determination was ſhortly after by the hand of God diſappointed. For being come vpon the coſt of the iſland not far from DREPANVM, moſt of the great princes and other nobilitie, in their long boats went on land, the reſt of the fleet lying at anker about a league off; for that being for the moſt part ſhips of great burthen, they were not able to put into the harbour: But as they ſo lay, by force of a ſudden and violent tempeſt then ariſing ſome were eaten vp with the wrought ſea; ſome falling foule one of another, there periſhed together; others driuen vpon the maine, were there beaten in peeces: ſo that of that great fleet before the ſtorme ceaſſed, periſhed about an hundred and twentie ſaile, with all the people, as well marriners as ſouldiours left in them, and great ſtore both of armour and munition: In ſuch ſort that moſt of the common ſouldiours and marriners which had eſcaped the plague at TVNES, there vpon the coaſt of SICILIA periſhed by ſhipwracke. Onely prince *Edwards* fleet, being in number but thirteene ſhips, eſcaped free without loſſe either of ſhip or man. Neither were they that were got to land at DREPANVM in much better caſe, the plague ſtill following them; whereof died *Theobald* king of NAVAR, and *Iſabell* his wife, king *Lewis* his daughter, *Elizabeth* the French queene, with a woonderfull number of noble gentlemen, and other common ſouldiours; in ſuch ſort that *Philip* the French king diſcou-

The Chriſtian princes returning from Tunes ſuffer ſhipwracke vpon the coaſt of Sicilia.

discouraged with the greatnesse of the mortalitie, and the miserable losse at sea, resolued there to make an end of the intended warre, and so returned into FRANCE, as did the rest that were left, 1271 euery man into his owne countrey. Onely prince *Edward* hauing passed that Winter in CILICIA, with the first of the next Spring set forward againe on his voyage, and in fifteene dayes after arriued with his fleet at PTOLEMAIS: where after he had by the space of a moneth rested himselfe and his souldiors after their long trauell, and fully inquired of the state of the country, hee with six or seuen thousand souldiors marching from PTOLEMAIS about twentie miles into the land, tooke NAZARETH, and put to sword all them he found therein, and so againe returned. After whom the enemies following, in hope to haue taken him at some aduantage, he vnderstanding thereof, turned backe vpon them, and killing a great number of them, put the rest to flight. And after that about Midsummer, vnderstanding that the Sarasins were againe making head at a place called CAKHOW, about fortie miles off, he set forwards towards them; and comming vpon them early in the morning, before they were aware, slew aboue a thousand of them, and dispersed the rest. Aided also by the nobilitie of CYPRUS, he with like successe as before, made a third expedition against the Infidels: insomuch, that his fame began to grow great amongst them, and they to stand of him in no little dread. But whilest he thus prouailed, he was by foule trecherie almost taken out of the way. The Admirall of IOPPA faigning himselfe desirous to become a Christian, and willing to further the princes proceedings, had by a secret messenger and letters sundrie times intelligence with him, as well concerning his owne good intertainement, as the effecting of that which he had promised. This messenger by the Admirall thus imployed, was (though to the prince vnknowne) one of the *Assasines*, a companie of most desperat and dangerous men among the Mahometanes, who strongly deluded with the blind zeale of their superstition, and accounting it meritorious, by any meanes to kill any great enemie of their religion; for the performance thereof, as men prodigall of their liues, desperately aduenture themselues vnto all kind of dangers. So now this messenger, before resolued to die, comming the fift time vnto the prince, and being searched for hauing any weapon about him, as the manner was, had accesse vnto him, then lying in his chamber vpon his bed, in his jerkin, bare headed, because of the heat of the weather: where after due reuerence done, hee pulled out certaine letters from his lord vnto the prince, which he read with great delight, as penned of purpose for to please. But as hee was farther questioning with him of many matters, and all the companie voided, the desperat messenger making as though he would haue pulled out some other secret letters, suddainly pluckt out an enuenomed knife, which he had secretly hidden about him, thinking to haue strucke him into the bellie as he lay: For the auoiding of which stroke, the prince lifting vp his arme, was therein greeuously wounded. But as the villaine was about to haue doubled the stroke, the prince with his foot gaue him such a blow, that he felled him to the ground, and with that starting vp, caught him by the hand, where in strugling with him for the knife, in wresting it out of his hand, hee hurt himselfe therewith in the forehead: but getting it from him, presently thrust it into the murtherers bellie, and so slew him. The princes seruants being not farre off, and hearing the busteling, came running in; where finding the messenger dead on the floore, one of them with a stoole beat out his braines: whereat the prince tooke some displeasure, for so striking a dead man. This danger of the princes, much troubled and grieued all the Christians in SYRIA, and the more, for that the wound in his arme, after it had beene certaine dayes well dressed by the skilfull surgeons and physicians, began to mortefie and grow blacke, insomuch, that they and others about him began to mutter among themselues, and to looke heauily vpon the matter, as not without danger. Which he perceiuing, said vnto them: Why whisper you thus among your selues? what see you in me? can I not be healed; tell me the truth, and feare not? whereunto one of them answered: And like your highnesse, we doubt not of your healing, but that it will be painefull for you to suffer. If suffering (said he) may againe restore my health, I commit my selfe vnto you, worke on me your skill, and spare not. So the next day they cut out all the dead and poysoned flesh out of his arme, and in fifteene dayes after perfectly cured his wound, to the great rejoycing of all his people. The great Sultan to cleere himselfe of this so dishonourable a trecherie, sent three of his noblemen vnto the prince, calling to witnesse his false prophet, that the same was done neyther by him nor his consent. Which embassadours the prince honourably vsed, but suffered them

Prince Edward crowneth at Ptolemais.

Prince Edward wounded.

A them not to come nigh him. So hauing taried eighteene moneths at PTOLEMAIS, and no aid comming from the other Christian princes as was expected, he tooke shipping; and returning homeward, landed first in SICILIA, and from thence crossing ouer into APULIA and so trauelling to ROME, was there honourably entertained by *Gregorie* the tenth, then Pope; and from thence by the way of FRANCE arriued in ENGLAND, where he was shortly after crowned king in the yeare 1272, his father the old king, *Henrie* the third, being a little before his returne dead.

The yeare following, *Gregorie* the tenth, not ignorant of the hard estate of the Christians in SYRIA (as hauing there ben of late himselfe with prince *Edward*, at which time he was in his absence elected pope) and now desirous to procure them some reliefe, ratified the election of *Rodolphus* of HAPSPURGE vnto the empire, vpon condition, That he should promise to take vpon himselfe the crosse, and to giue them reliefe: for the performance whereof, he offered vnto the emperour two hundred thousand crownes, with the tenths both of the cleargie and temporaltie for sixe yeares: and many goodly blessings were in his name also, by the preachers of that time, promised vnto all such as should with him take vpon them that sacred warre. Whereupon the emperour with all his familie tooke vpon them the crosse, the signe of the sacred expedition intended; as did also the duke of LORRAINE shortly after, with some others: Neuertheless, the emperour otherwaies busied in warres against the Bohemians and Bauarians, and delaying still the time, as not greatly willing to take vpon him so long and dangerous a journey, and the Pope still threatening his high sentence of excommunication, the time passed, the Pope died, and nothing was as yet done. Vntill that at length the emperour hauing happily finished his warres in BOHEMIA, and finding himselfe at some good leisure in some part to discharge his vow, and to satisfie the expectation the world had of long conceiued of him, sent *Henrie* prince of MEGAPOLIS, or as the Germanes call it, MECKELBURG, with a strong power into SYRIA, to performe what himselfe had promised. Who comming to PTOLEMAIS made many notable incursions into the countrey about DAMASCO, with fire and sword destroying all before him as he went, and carrying thence many great and rich booties; vntill that at length he was by the Mamalukes circumuented and taken prisoner, and so carried vnto the Sultan at CAIRE, where he remained in strait prison sixe and twentie yeares after; vntill that by chance one of the Mamalukes (a renegate Germane) being chosen Sultan, caused him to be brought before him, and at his comming demaunded of him, If it would not doe him good to celebrate the remembrance of the natiuitie of his Christ with his friends in GERMANIE? (for now that time of the yeare was at hand) And I know (said the Sultan) that thou art so addicted vnto thy superstition, that thou respectest the same more than thy libertie. Truth (said *Henrie*) mightie prince: for libertie would auaile me nothing, if Christ by his most milde incarnation had not taken away our captiuitie: and therefore how much all men owe vnto the reuerend remembrance thereof, I would to God thou, O king, diddest also vnderstand, which as I most heartely wish, so I would I could thereof persuade thee. God forbid (said the Sultan) for I remember, that at such time as I was cheefe enginer vnto thy father at KNESE-FENICKE in LIVONIA, and there did him good seruice, I was altogether of the Christian persuasion; but now hauing left that common error, haue therewith also changed my priuat fortune. But as for thy religion, I haue nothing to say, my talke is only concerning thy libertie: Wouldest thou therefore gladly be free, and so returne home to thy friends? That nature craueth (said *Henrie*) although my fortune gainesaieth, which yet dependeth of your pleasure: I desire indeed to returne home, which if you shall denie me, I must as I haue done, take it in good part; assuring my selfe, that my wife *Anastasia*, with my beloued sonnes *Henrie*, *Leo*, and *Iohn*, haue long since celebrated my funerals, and ended their mourning. Thou art deceiued (said the Sultan) for I am sure that they know that thou yet liuest, and pray most heartely for thy returne: Truly I owe much vnto the remembrance of thy father, and therefore this day giue thee thy libertie. And hauing so said, furnished him with all things necessarie, and gaue him leaue to depart with one *Martin* his seruant, who taken with him, had borne him companie all the long time of his captiuitie. So taking his leaue of the Sultan, he came to PTOLEMAIS: but shipping himselfe for CYPRUS, he was by the way by certaine pyrats taken at sea, and as a fugitiue captiue brought backe againe vnto the Sultan: Who pittying his hard fortune, set him againe at libertie, and by a ship set out for that purpose, transported him into CYPRUS: where he was by the queene of that Island his aunt (as some

1273 *Rodolph the emperour taketh vpon him the Crosse.*

Henry the prince taken prisoner & sent to Caire.

ſay) honorably entertained, and ſo furniſhed of all things fit for his eſtate. Departing thence, he came to MARSIELLES, where after he had ſome few daies refreſhed himſelfe, he from thence trauelled by land home into his owne country: where at the firſt he was not knowne of his own children and friends, as being growne old in priſon, and by them long before accounted among the dead; but now at laſt found againe, and by them knowne, he was of his children joyfully receiued as their father, and of his ſubjects as their prince. Howbeit he ſhortly after died, and was honourably buried in the monaſterie of DOBRAN.

Thus in the whole courſe of this hiſtorie it appeareth by that which is alreadie written, what notable expeditions euen the greateſt Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, to their immortall glorie from time to time vndertooke againſt the enemies of Chriſt and his moſt ſacred word, and for the reliefe of the poore diſtreſſed Chriſtians in SYRIA and in the land of PALESTINE: whereof as diuers of them had right glorious ſucceſſe, vnto the great profit of the Chriſtian common weale; ſo ſome of them anſwered not with like euent, as vndertaken with too ſmall ſtrength, or otherwiſe ouerthrowne by the diſcord or mallice of the Chriſtians themſelues, rather than by the enemies force. Which neuertheleſſe how vnfortunatly ſoeuer they fell out in the hands of ſuch woorthie men as vndertooke them, yet haue they this glorie, commendation, and comfort, That they were taken in hand for the honor of the ſonne of God, Chriſt Ieſus, and the defence of his veritie, againſt the falſe Prophet *Mahomet*, and his moſt blaſphemous doctrine; ſo honourable and juſt a quarrell, as might well beſeeme the greatneſſe of the greateſt prince, yea of all the princes of Chriſtendome. Yet could not the woorthineſſe thereof, euen in thoſe more zealous times, or the dangerous eſtate of that part of the Chriſtian commonweale, euen then like to periſh, (as ſome others bee now) or the lamentable complaints of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians, crying out vnto their Chriſtian brethren for aid, any whit moue the Chriſtian princes of that time, with their combined forces to reach vnto them their helping hands, or to yeeld vnto them any ſuccour or reliefe: for they little feeling thoſe harmes ſo farre off, and more regarding their owne hereditarie quarrels, employed thoſe forces one againſt another, vnto the effuſion of ſo much Chriſtian blood, as might haue ſufficed not for reliefe of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in SYRIA onely, but to haue regained whatſoeuer had beene before from them taken by the Turks or Saraſins. The Germane princes were ſtill at a jarre about the choice of their emperours: the French agreed not with the Engliſh, or them of the Low countries: neither the Engliſh with the Scots: the Arragonians were at oddes with the French: and in Italie were almoſt as many deadly factions as prouinces. Of which diſcord of the Chriſtians (the greateſt occaſion of their ruine and decay) *Melechſares* the Ægyptian Sultan vnderſtanding by his eſpials, raiſed a great armie of the Mamalukes, and others, with a full purpoſe to haue vtterly rooted out all the remainders of the Chriſtians in SYRIA and the land

1289 of PALESTINE, and ſo to haue entirely joyned thoſe two great countries vnto his owne kingdome. But what he had ſo miſchieuouſly deuiſed, he liued not to bring to paſſe, being in the middeſt of thoſe his great deſignes taken away by ſuddaine death. After whom *Alphix* (or, as ſome call him, *Elpis*) ſucceeding him in the kingdome, and with a puiſſant armie entring into SYRIA laid ſiege to TRIPOLIS, which he at length tooke by vndermining of it, and put to ſword all the Chriſtians therein, except ſuch as by ſpeedie flight had in time got themſelues out of the danger, and raſed the cittie downe to the ground: Which calamitie betided vnto the Chriſtians the ninth of Aprill, in the yeare 1289. Preſently after he had the ſtrong caſtle of NELESINE yeelded vnto him, whereinto hee put a ſtrong garriſon, to hinder the Chriſtians from building againe the late deſtroyed citie. In like manner alſo hee tooke the citties of SIDON and BERYTHUS, which hee ſacked, and laied them flat with the ground. And after that hee remooued to TYRE, which after three moneths ſtraight ſiege, was by the citizens (now out of all hope of releefe) yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That they might with bag and baggage in ſafetie depart. With like good fortune hee in ſhort time, and as it were without reſiſtance, tooke all the reſt of the ſtrong townes and caſtles which the Chriſtians yet held in SYRIA and the land of PALESTINE, excepting onely the cittie of PTOLEMAIS; whereunto all the poore Chriſtians fled, as vnto a Sanctuarie, to bee there defended by the honourable knights Templars and Hoſpitalers. Nothing now left vnto them more than that ſtrong cittie, the Sultan of his owne accord made a peace with them for the ſpace of fiue yeares, fearing (as was ſuppoſed) to haue drawne vpon him all the Chriſtian princes

Tripolis won and raſed by Elpis the Aegyptian Sultan.

Sydon and Berythus raſed. Tyre yeelded.

princes of the West, if he should at once haue then vtterly rooted out all the Christians in those countries together.

The Christian affaires thus brought to the last cast in SYRIA, and yet faintly as it were breathing, by the benefit of the late obtained peace: *Peter Beluise*, master of the Templars, with the Grand Master of the knights Hospitalers, suddenly passed ouer (as embassadours from the rest) into EUROPE, vnto *Nicholaus Quartus* then Pope, craning his fatherly aid: who mooued with so great miseries of the poore afflicted Christians, sollicited the other Christian princes to haue sent them relieue; especially *Rodolph* the Germaine emperour, who then busied with the affaires of the empire, and his troubles neerer home (as were the other Christian princes also) gaue good words, but no helpe at all. Yet some of them vnder the colour thereof, got from their subiects great summes of money, which they employed to their other worse vses: onely the Pope sent fifteene hundred men at armes, whom with deuout persuasion, and much earnest preaching, hee had induced to take vpon them that sacred expedition, and entertained them of his owne charge: vnto whom also many others out of diuers countries, vpon a religious zeale, joyned themselues, as voluntarie men; who meeting together at BRUNDUSIUM, and there embarked, with the two grand masters of the Templars and Hospitalers, in safetie at length arriued at PTOLEMAIS. There was then in the citie a great number of people of all sorts; of able men there was about fiftie thousand, and about fortie thousand of the weaker sort: amongst whom, diuers murders, fellonies, rapes, and such other shamefull outrages (all hasting the dreadfull judgements of God) were daily committed, and let passe vnregarded, more than of them that were so injured. For all the cheefe commaunders were then at variance among themselues, euery one of them laying claime (not woorth a rush) vnto the vaine title of the kingdome of HIERUSALEM. *Henry* king of CYPRUS comming thither with a great fleet, charged the Templars to deliuer vnto him the crowne of that kingdome, which they had (as he said) wrongfully taken from *Almericus* and *Guy*, his auncestors. And *Charles* king of SICILIA, by his embassadours laid claime vnto the title of that kingdome, as due vnto the kings of that Island: and vnderstanding it to be giuen vnto *Henry*, king of CYPRUS, caused all the reuenewes of the Templars within his dominion to be brought into his treasuries, and their lands and houses to bee spoyled. *Hugh* also prince of ANTIOCH, laboured with tooth and naile to defend the ouerworne right that his father and grandfather had vnto that lost kingdome. And the countie of TRIPOLIS laied in for himselfe, that hee was descended from *Raymund* of THOLOUS; and that beside himselfe remained no prince of the auntient nobilitie, which had woon that kingdome out of the hands of the Sarasins, and that therefore that regall dignitie did not of better right appertaine vnto any other than vnto himselfe. Neither did these foure princes more striue for the title of the lost kingdome, than for the present gouernment of the citie, straight way about to perish. The Popes Legate pretended thereunto a right also: for that king *Iohn Brenne* had before subiected it vnto the See of ROME. As for the claime vnto the citie of PTOLEMAIS, the Patriarch of HIERUSALEM challenged vnto himselfe the preheminence: for that the mettropoliticall citie of TYRE, vnder which the citie of PTOLEMAIS was the third episcopall seat, was vnder his jurisdiction, euen by the decree of the West church. The Templars also, and the knights Hospitalers, whose power in the citie was at that time farre the greatest, pretended the gouernment thereof of best right to belong vnto them, as the just reward of their blood alreadie, and afterward to be spent in the defence thereof: promising great matters if it might be wholly referred vnto them. Neither spared the French king or the king of ENGLAND by their messengers to claime the soueraignetie of the cittie, by their predecessours sometimes woon. And they of PISA hauing still a Consull therein, and by often marriages with the naturall inhabitants growne into great affinitie with them, did what they might to get the gouernment into their hands. The Venetians also by their authoritie and great wealth laboured to gaine the good will of the people, sparing therein no cost. And they of GENUA no lesse cunning than the rest, supplanted the strongest factions, by giuing aid both apertly and couertly vnto the weaker; that so hauing weakened the faction they most doubted and hated, they might by the joint fauour of the weaker aspire vnto the gouernment of the stronger, and so consequently of the citie it selfe. The Florentines also by their continuall traffique thither, were not out of hope by one fineneſſe or other amongst so many competitours,

The miserable estate of a citie about to perish.

to find a meane to ſtep vp aboue the reſt. But the greateſt part of the people for all that were moſt enclined vnto the Armenians and Tartars, as both for their neereneſſe and power moſt like of all other to ſtand them in ſtead. All theſe aymed at one marke, which was the gouernment and commaund of the cittie: and moſt of them had in the ſame their owne proper lawes and courts, to deſide their cauſes and controuerſies in. Whereby it came to paſſe, that euery man might without checke or controulement almoſt doe what he liſt, the offenders from one court to another remooving their ſutes, as beſt ſerued their turnes. Thus were murders (as is beforeſaid) dayly committed in the ſtreets, men abuſed, houſes robbed, ſhops broken vp, and many other outrages done, to the haſtening of the wrath of God, and greeſe of all good men.

1291 Diuiſion and diſſention (the ruine of all commonweales) thus raigning in the cittie (the ſouldiours of late ſent thither, or in zeale come of themſelues, for the defence thereof) gaue occaſion for the ſpeedie deſtruction of the ſame: Such is the power of the Almightie, in his wrath and judgements for ſinne, euen by thoſe things wherein wee moſt truſt and joy to worke our vtter ruine and deſtruction. Theſe ſouldiors, for want of ſuch pay as was promiſed them, were enforced to ſeeke abroad, and therefore contrarie to the league before made with the Ægyptian Sultan, oftentimes went out in great parties into the frontiers of his territories, taking the ſpoile of ſuch things as they light vpon. Whereof the Sultan vnderſtanding, demaunded by his embaſſadours, That reſtitution might be made, and the offendors deliuered vnto him to bee puniſhed, according vnto the league. But in that ſo ſicke a ſtate of a dying commonweale, neither was reſtitution made, as reaſon would, or yet the embaſſadors courteouſly heard. With which inſolencie the Sultan prouoked, ſent *Emilech Araphus*, a notable captaine (and as ſome ſay, his ſonne) with an hundred and fiftie thouſand men, to beſiege the citie: who comming thither, and hauing made his approches, had by a mine in ſhort time ouerthrowne a peece of the wall; but in ſeeking to haue entered by the breach, he found ſuch ſtrong reſiſtance, that hee was glad with loſſe to retire. Whileſt *Araphus* thus lay at the ſiege of PTOLEMAIS, *Alphir* the Sultan died at DAMASCO, in whoſe ſtead the Mamalukes made choice of this *Araphus* for their Sultan, who more deſirous of nothing than of the glorie of the vtter rooting vp of the Chriſtians in SYRIA, was ſo farre from raiſing of his ſiege (either for the death of the Sultan, or the newes of his kingdome) that hee more ſtraitly beſet the citie than he had in the three moneths ſpace that he had there lien before. Now had they in the citie choſen *Peter* the maſter of the Templars, their gouernour, a man of great experience and valour: vnto whom and the reſt of the nobilitie, the Sultan offered great rewards, and vnto the ſouldiors their pay, with free libertie to depart, ſo that they would without more adoe yeeld vnto him the citie, which they could not long hold; Which his offer the maſter rejected, and flatly told him, That hee had not learned of his auncеſtours, to ſell for money vnto the Infidels a citie bought with ſo much Chriſtian blood; either did ſo much regard his vaine threats, as therefore to forget his ſeruice due vnto his Sauiour Chriſt and the Chriſtian commonweale. With which anſwere the tyrant enraged, the next day with all his forces aſſaulted the citie, and that in ſuch deſperat and furious manner, as if hee would euen then haue carried it; hauing before filled the ditches, and promiſed the ſpoile vnto his ſouldiors, the more to encourage them. Yet hauing done what he could, and loſt a number of his men, ſlaine both in the aſſault, and in a ſallie which the Chriſtians made out at the ſame time, he was inforced to retire backe againe into his trenches. In this ſo terrible an aſſault, not repulſed without ſome loſſe alſo of the Chriſtians, the Grand maſter and gouernour of the citie was wounded with a poyſoned dart, whereof hee in three dayes after died: with whom the courage of the defendants fainted alſo, no man being left like vnto him to vndertake ſo great a charge, although many there were, that ouerweening of themſelues, deſired the ſame. In the beginning of this ſiege, the Chriſtians had ſent away all their aged and weake people, vnfit for ſeruice, into CYPRUS, where they in ſafetie arriued. But now many of the better ſort, both captaines and others, diſcouraged, one after another conuaighed themſelues away out of the citie: of whom a great number in paſsing thence to CYPRUS, were vpon the coaſt of the Iſland, together with the Patriarch drowned. In the citie remained only twelue thouſand, which were thought ſufficient for the defence thereof: who afterwards (as ſome report) fled alſo by ſea after their fellowes, and ſo left the citie emptie vnto the barbarous enemie: ſome others reporting of

Ptolemais beſieged.

Ptolemais in vaine aſſaulted by the Sultan.

of them more honourably, as that they ſhould right valiantly defend the citie againſt the aſſault of their enemies, vntill ſuch time as that moſt of them beeing ſlaine or wounded, and the reſt by force driuen from the wals into the market place, and there for a while notably defending themſelues in flying thence vnto the ſhips, were by the way all cut in ſunder, or elſe drowned. But howſoeuer it was, the Sultan entering the citie (by the Chriſtians abandoned, or by force taken) gaue the ſpoile thereof vnto his ſouldiors; who after they had rifled euerie corner thereof, by his commaundement ſet it on fire and burnt it downe to the ground: and digging vp the very foundations of the wals, churches, and other publicke and priuat buildings, which the fire had not burnt, left there no ſigne of any citie at all; but purging the place euen of the very heapes of the ſtones and rubbidge left of the raſed citie, made it a fit place for husbandmen to plough and ſowe corne in; which he did both there at SYDON, BERITUS, and other townes alongſt the ſea coaſt, becauſe they ſhould neuer more ſerue for a refuge vnto the Chriſtians, or giue them footing againe into thoſe countries. Thus together with PTOLEMAIS was the name of the Chriſtians vtterly rooted out of SYRIA and the land of PALESTINE, in the yeare 1291, about 192 yeares after the winning of HIERUSAREM by *Godfrey* of BUILLON and the other Chriſtian princes his confederats.

Caſſanes the Tartar inuadeth Syria.

This loſſe, as tending to the great diſgrace of the Chriſtians in generall, mooued not a little euen the greateſt of the Chriſtian princes; wronged all or moſt part of them in the perſons of the Templars or knights Hoſpitalers, their ſubjects, ſo ſhamefully now quite caſt out of SYRIA and the land of promiſe: howbeit, troubled with their owne turbulent affaires at home, or with their neighbour princes not farre off, none of them once ſtirred for the redreſſe or reuenge thereof. Onely *Caſſanes* the great Tartar prince, hauing of late ſubdued the Perſians, and married the daughter of the Armenian king (a ladie of great perfection, and of a Mahometane become a Chriſtian) at the requeſt of his wife and his father in law tooke the matter in hand. And for that purpoſe hauing raiſed a moſt puiſſant armie of two hundred thouſand fighting men, and aided by the Armenians and Georgians, paſsing ouer the mountaine AMANUS into SYRIA, not farre from the citie HAMA met with *Melcenaſer*, the Ægyptian Sultans lieutenant, with a mightie armie, whom hee ouerthrew in a great and mortall battell, wherein fortie thouſand of the Ægyptians are reported to haue beene ſlaine, and ſo draue him quite out of SYRIA: ſending *Molais*, one of his captaines, with part of his armie to purſue him, who neuer left him vntill hee had chaſed him ouer the deſart ſands into ÆGYPT. The victorious Tartar after this battell tooke the citie of HAMA, where lighting vpon the great treaſures of the Sultan, hee bountifully deuided it, together with the ſpoile, amongſt his ſouldiours; reſeruing nothing thereof vnto himſelfe, more than a ſword and a casket full of ſecret letters. The Ægyptian thus put to flight, he without reſiſtance tooke in moſt of the cities of SYRIA, with the citie of HIERUSALEM alſo; which in many places by the Turkes and Ægyptians defaced, he againe repaired: and together with the temple of our Sauior gaue it to the Armenians, Georgians, and other Chriſtians, repairing thither out of CYPRUS, CRETE, and other places, to inhabite. And hauing himſelfe honoured the holy places with great gifts, returned with his armie to DAMASCO, which was foorthwith deliuered vnto him. But lying there, with purpoſe in Autumne following to haue gone into ÆGYPT and to haue vtterly deſtroyed that kingdome, hee was certefied of new troubles ariſing in PERSIA, and ſome other parts of his empire: for repreſsing whereof, hee with the greateſt part of his armie returned himſelfe into PERSIA, leauing one *Capcapus* gouernour of DAMASCO; who after the ouerthrow of the Sultans armie had reuolted vnto him; and *Molais* (of whom wee haue before ſpoken) gouernour of HIERUSALEM: commaunding them at his departure to redifie the citie of TYRE, and to ſend embaſſadours vnto the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, to joine in league with them, for the more ſure holding of thoſe new gained countries. And ſo TYRE was indeed repaired as he had commaunded, and deliuered to the Chriſtians, with a conuenient garriſon for the keeping thereof: but the embaſſadours comming to the proud biſhop *Boniface* the eight, then Pope, whom of all others it beſeemed to haue furthered their buſineſſe, they could of him obtaine nothing, but returned as they came. For he at the ſame time fallen out with *Philip* the French king, thundering out his excommunications, diſcharging his ſubjects of their loyaltie, and ſo much as in him was, depriuing him of his kingdome, had giuen the ſame vnto *Albertus* duke of AUSTRIA, whom he had declared emperour: whereof

Hierusalem taken and repaired by Caſſanes.

ariſe great troubles. Beſides that, he being of the *Guelphes* faction, was not in any thing more carefull, than of the vtter extinguiſhing of the contrarie faction of the *Gibellines*, eſpecially of the moſt honourable family of the *Columnij*, of whom ſome hee had ſlaine, ſome he had depriued of their honours, ſome he had impriſoned, and driuen otherſome into exile; ſo that thus wickedly buſied for the maintenance of his owne proud eſtate, he had no leiſure to further the good of the Chriſtian common weale: which his intollerable pride, and forgetfulneſſe of dutie, long eſcaped not the reuenging hand of God; being when he thought leaſt ſuddenly taken priſoner at his fathers houſe in the citie of ANAGNIA (where he was borne) by *Sara Columnius* his mortall enemie; whom but lately before redeemed out of a pirates gally, the French king had ſent for that purpoſe, with one *Longaret*, or as ſome call him *Nogaret*, a French knight: By whom the proud prelate brought to ROME, in the caſtle S. ANGELO within fiue and thirtie daies after moſt miſerably died, in his madneſſe (as ſome report) renting himſelfe with his teeth and deuouring his owne fingers. This worthie Tartar prince *Caſſanes*, by whom the Chriſtian common weale might haue againe riſen in SYRIA and the land of PALESTINE, had not the pride of the great biſhop, and the diſſention of the Chriſtian princes hindered the ſame; was as *Aitonus* writeth (who was preſent in this warre, following his vncle the Armenian king) a man of a verie ſhort ſtature, and exceeding hard fauour; but with valour, bountie, and other vertues of the mind plentifully recompenſing what wanted in the feature of his bodie. After whoſe departure into PERSIA, *Capcapus* gouernour of DAMASCO, conſidering that the power of the Tartars there left was not great, and that no aid was to be expected from the other Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, to recompenſe his former treaſon of reuolting from the Sultan, with a new reuolt from the Tartar; riſe vp into open rebellion, drawing after him not onely the citie of DAMASCO, but the greateſt part of SYRIA alſo: whereof *Molais* gouernour of HIERUSALEM vnderſtanding, was about to haue gone againſt him with his Tartars; but aduertiſed by his eſpials, that *Capcapus* in this his conſpiracie had compacted with the Ægyptian Sultan alſo, perceiuing himſelfe too weake to withſtand ſo great a power, he retired with his Tartars into MESOPOTAMIA, there expecting new ſupplies both from *Caſſanes* and the king of ARMENIA. Of whoſe departure out of SYRIA, the Ægyptian Sultan vnderſtanding, came directly with his armie to HIERUSALEM, which he tooke, being forſaken of the inhabitants; and profaned the temple, ſparing onely the ſepulchre of our Sauiour at the humble ſute of the religious, making there a greater ſhew of deuotion than of crueltie. After that he woon all the other leſſer townes, which the Tartars had either kept for themſelues, or giuen to the other Chriſtians, and vtterly raſed all the caſtles and forts of the Hoſpitalers and Templars: which valiant men without other helpe, for the ſpace of almoſt a yeare held out againſt the Tyrant, in which time
1300 moſt of them were honourably ſlaine: the reſt that were left aliue, being taken by the enemie, had neuertheleſſe leaue giuen them with bag and baggage in ſafetie to depart, hauing before by ſolemne oath for euer abjured the countrey of SYRIA: and ſo theſe woorthie men, the great ornaments of the Chriſtian common weale, the Hoſpitalers and Templars, which to the vttermoſt of their power had by the ſpace of 300 yeares right woorthily defended both the Chriſtians & the Chriſtian religion againſt the infidels in SYRIA & the Holy land, were now for euer driuen out thence, about the yeare of our Lord 1300, to the great diſhonour of all Chriſtendom.

The deſcription of Caſſanes.

The citie of Hierusalem with all Syria againe recouered by the Ægyptian Sultan.

Wherefore with them now taking our leaue of SYRIA and the Holy land, leauing the ſame in the poſſeſsion of the Aegyptian Sultan and the Mamalukes, although it were ſhortly after like enough to haue beene againe recouered from them by the Tartars, had not the death of the great Tartar prince *Caſſanes*, and their domeſticall troubles letted: we will againe returne vnto the troubled affaires of the Turks in the leſſer ASIA, whither the courſe of time had ſomwhat before called vs, with the occurrents thereof, more proper vnto our purpoſe and the argument we haue in hand, but that all cannot be at once told: And for the better vnderſtanding of the deſirous Reader, I thought it not good abruptly to breake off the courſe of the aforeſaid hiſtorie drawing ſo neere vnto an end, but to make him partaker of the heauineſſe thereof.

The death of Meſoot and Cei-Cubades.

Now had the Turkes no kingdome left in the leſſer ASIA, and that alſo at the pleaſure of *Gazan* the great Tartar *Chan* diuided betwixt *Meſoot* and *Cei-Cubades*, as his vaſſals, bound vnto him by a yearely tribut (as is aforeſaid:) who both kept in awe by the greatneſſe of the Tartar, did nothing woorth the remembrance, but as they liued ſo alſo died, almoſt buried in obſcuritie. Of theſe two, *Meſoot* died without iſſue; but *Cei-Cubades* departing, left behind him his ſonne

Aladin,

Aladin, who by the name of *Aladin* the ſecond ſucceeding in the kingdome, vnited againe the ſame before diuided, yet paying ſtill tribut vnto the Tartar his ſoueraigne, as had his father with the other late Sultans of the Turks before him. Much it was not that this *Aladin* did, albeit that the power of the Tartars in his time began to decline, & not to lie ſo heauie vpon the Turks as before. He was a man of a quiet ſpirit, & therefore much delighted in peace: a great freind vnto *Othoman* the firſt founder of the glorious and mightie *Othoman* empire, as in his life ſhall appeare. But this *Aladin*, the laſt of the Turkes Sultans of the *Selzuccian* family, dying without iſſue; one *Sahib* his Veſir-Azemes or chiefe counſeller, and then a man of greateſt authoritie, aſpired vnto the kingdome, which he had for moſt part himſelfe ſwaied all the raigne of the late Sultan his maſter: which vſurped ſoueraigntie, no way vnto him due, he could neither himſelfe long hold, or deliuer to his poſteritie: for that many others of the nobilitie, men of great power, and borne of greater families than he, enuying at his honour and diſdaining to be gouerned by him, or any other no greater than themſelues; laid hold ſome vpon one countrey or prouince, ſome vpon another, where they were able to do moſt, erecting vnto themſelues greater or leſſer Satrapies, according to the meaſure of their owne ſtrength and power, without reſpect of any ſuperioritie one ſhould haue ouer another; but euerie one of them abſolutely commanding ouer ſo much as he was able by ſtrong hand to hold. So that as it had oftentimes before chanced, That great Monarchies deſtitute of their lawfull heires, had in part, or all, become rich preis vnto ſuch as could firſt lay ſtrong hand vpon them: euen ſo fell it now out in the great kingdom of the Turks; euery one of their great princes, meaſuring the greatneſſe of his territorie not by the meaſure of his right, but by the ſtrength of his owne power. Wherein they ſhared ſo well for themſelues, that *Sahib* at firſt in poſſeſsion of all, was in ſhort time thruſt quite out of all: and ſo the great kingdome of the Turkes in the leſſer Asia, brought vnto a meere Anarchie; no king now left among them, the whole kingdome being now diuided into diuers Satrapies, or other leſſer Toparchies. The greateſt of theſe princes that thus ſhared the Turkes kingdome amongſt them, was one *Caraman Aluſirius*; who as ſtrongeſt, tooke vnto himſelfe the citie of Iconium, the regall ſeat of the Turkiſh Sultans, with all the great countrey of Cilicia, and ſome part of the frontiers of the countries of Lycaonia, Pamphilia, Caria, and the greater Phrigia, as far as Philadelphia, and the citie of Antioch vpon the riuer Meander: All which large territorie, was of him afterward called Caramania, and by the ſame name is commonly at this day-knowne, and by our late Geographers deſcribed. Of this *Caraman* alſo diſſended the Caramanian kings, who of long time after vnfortunatly ſtroue with the *Othoman* Sultans for the ſoueraigntie of their empiers; vntill that at length they with their kingdome, and all the reſt of theſe Turkiſh Satrapies, were in the fatall greatneſſe of the *Othoman* empire, ſwallowed vp and deuoured, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie ſhall (if God ſo will) in due time and place be declared. Next neighbour vnto him was *Saruchan*, of the Greekes called *Sarchan*, of whom the countrey of Ionia-Maritima was and yet is called Saru-Chan-Ili, and Saruchania, that is to ſay, *Saruchans* countrey. The greateſt part of Lydia, with ſome part of the greater Misia, Troas, and Phrigia, fell to *Calamus* and his ſonne *Caraſius*, of whom it is called Carasia, or Carasi-Ili (or as we might ſay) *Caraſius* his countrey. The greateſt part of the antient Misia, with ſome part of Lydia, was poſſeſſed by *Aidin*, and was of him called Aidinia or Aidin Ili, as his countrey. Some part of the great countrey of Pontus, with the cities of Heraclea-Pontica, Castamona, Synope, and others neere vnto the Euxine, and the countrey of Paphlagonia, fell into the hands of the ſonnes of *Omer*, or as the Greekes call him *Amur*: of whom that countrey tooke not name, as did the others, of ſuch princes as poſſeſſed them, but is commonly called Bolli, of a citie in that countrey by the Turkes ſo named. As was alſo Mendesia, or as ſome call it Mentesia, a countrey in the leſſer Asia, ſo by the Turks called of Mendos or Myndus, a citie in Caria. There were beſide theſe, diuers other places and Toparchies in the leſſer Asia, which in the renting of this great kingdome, from the Turks receiued names, before vnto the world vnknowne; all which to proſecute were tedious: Sufficeth it vs, for the manifeſting of the Turkes Anarchie, and the ruine of their kingdome in the leſſer Asia, as in part alſo for the more euidence of the heauie hiſtorie following, to haue remembred theſe as the chiefeſt; eſpecially ſuch as tooke their names of ſuch great princes or captaines as in that ſo great a confuſion of the Turks kingdome, by ſtrong hand firſt ceazed vpon them, and ſo left them to their

The Turks kingdome rent in ſunder by themſelues.

The Turks Anarchie.

Caramania.

Saruchania.

Caraſia.

Aidinia.

Bolli.

Mendeſia.

their poſteritie, of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter. Theſe princes one and all that thus ſhared G
the late *Aladinian* kingdome, were diſſended of the better ſort of the Turkes which with the
Selzuccian and *Aladinian* Sultans driuen out of PERSIA by the Tartars, had vnder them ſeated
themſelues in the leſſer ASIA, as is before at large declared. Now amongſt theſe great men that
thus diuided the Turks kingdom, moſt of them that write of the Turks affaires, both Greeks and
Latins, reckon vp *Othoman* (the raiſer of his houſe and familie) for one; who indeed in the latter
time of the late Sultan *Aladin* began to flouriſh, and was of him for his valour extraordinarily
fauoured (as in his hiſtorie ſhall appeare,) but of his kingdome held no more than one poore
lordſhip, called SUGUTA in BYTHINIA not far from the mountaine OLIMPUS (long be-
fore giuen vnto his father *Erthogrull*, for his good ſeruice) with ſuch other ſmall holds therabout H
as he had himſelfe gained from the weake Chriſtians his neighbours. For although he were a
Turke borne, yet was he not of the *Selzuccian* family, as were the reſt, but of another houſe and
tribe, and therefore not of them fauoured or thought to haue ſo good right vnto any of the late
Sultans prouinces or territories, as had they who being of his houſe and holpen with the pre-
ſcription of time, enuied at the ſudden riſing of this *Oguzian* Turke, being vnto them as it were a
meere ſtranger: whoſe fortune for all that (I know not by what ſecret foreknowledge) they ſee-
med to feare, as in time to grow dangerous vnto them and their poſteritie; wherein they were
no whit deceiued. But of him and his proceedings much more is to be ſaid hereafter: leaue we
him now therefore with the reſt vnto their fortunes in this the Turks Anarchie, and ſo conclude
this part of our Generall Hiſtorie: Glad when I looke backe to haue waded thus far, yet I
fearing to be drowned before I get ouer; ſuch a ſea of matter and world
of troubles yet remaining, not without much labour
and toile, and that in long time to be
paſſed through.

Othoman none of the Selzuccian familie.

FINIS.

THE LIVES OF THE OTHOMAN KINGS AND EMPERORS.

FAITHFVLLY GATHERED OVT of the beſt Hiſtories, both antient and moderne, and digeſted into one continual Hiſtorie.

By RICHARD KNOLLES.

Eccleſ. 10. 4.

The gouernment of the earth is in the hand of the Lord, [and all iniquitie of the nations is to bee abhorred:] and when time is he wil ſet vp a profitable ruler ouer it.

LONDON,
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1603.

Phi. Lonicerus hist. Turc. lib. 1.

Multiplici lassatæ Asiæ res clade premuntur.
Hinc Sarracenus Tartarus inde ruit.
Mutua Christicolæ gladios in vulnera stringunt:
Græcia funesta seditione perit.
Impiger interea noua concipit Ottomannus
Concilia, & valida surgit in arma manu.
Et vastatricis regno fundamina turbæ
Ponit: & in multo sanguine sceptra lauat.

With endlesse wars the Asian state farre spent and ouerworne:
By Sarasins and Tartars force, is all in peeces torne.
The Christians draw their bloodie swords, wherewith themselues to wound:
And GREECE with ciuile discord seekes it selfe for to confound.
Meane while the warlike *Othoman*, new counsels doth deuise,
And with a crue of martiall men doth vp in armes arise:
And laies the fatall plot whereon the wastfull Turks should raigne,
And bathes his scepter in much blood of people by him slaine.

THE RISING OF THE GREAT AND MIGHTIE EMPIRE OF THE TVRKES VNDER *OTHOMAN* FIRST FOVNDER THEREOF, VVITH HIS LIFE AND DOINGS.

WHat ſmall aſſurance there is in mens affaires, and how ſubject vnto change euen thoſe things are wherein we for the moſt part repoſe our greateſt felicitie and bliſſe, (beſide that the whole courſe of mans fraile life, by many notable examples well declareth) nothing doth more plainely manifeſt the ſame, than the heauie euents and wofull deſtructions of the greateſt kingdomes and empires: which founded vpon great fortunes, encreaſed with perpetuall ſucceſſe, exalted by exceeding power, eſtabliſhed with moſt puiſſant armies, wholeſome lawes, and deepe counſels; haue yet growne old, and in time come to naught: So that euen as men, all things elſe belonging vnto man, are ſubject vnto the ineuitable courſe of deſtinie, or more truely to ſay, vnto the fatall doome of the moſt higheſt, prefining vnto euerie thing that in time begun, a time alſo wherein to take end, being himſelfe without time the great commander thereof, and of all things elſe done therein. The fame of the firſt Aſſyrian Monarchie, is verie antient, and was no doubt both great and long, yet hath it neuertheleſſe found an end; and the more to put vs in remembrance of our infirmitie, was neuer with ſo much glorie and valour by *Ninus* erected, as it was with ſhame and cowardiſe by *Sardanapalus* ſubuerted. With like neceſsitie fell the great empire of the Medes and Perſians, the time thereof being come. And after them, the Macedonians alſo. Neither hath the great Romane empire, or the proud citie of ROME it ſelfe (ſometime the miſtreſſe of the world) herein found any exemption, but runne the ſame courſe with the reſt: which growne great with continuall triumphs, and ſo ſtrong as that it was not with forreine power to be ſhaken; conuerted the forces of it ſelfe vpon it ſelfe, to the ouerthrow of the antient libertie thereof, together with the vtter ſubuerſion of the ſtate. After which time that mightie monarchie (of all that euer yet were, the greateſt) vnder the Romane emperours felt many an hard and perillous ſtorme, and by little and little ſtill declining (though ſometime like a ſicke aged bodie, by the valour or vertue of ſome one or other her woorthie emperours a little relieued, and by and by againe caſt downe by the folly or negligence of ſome others ſucceeding) it became at length a prey vnto a fooliſh rude and barbarous nation, which it had before oftentimes ouercome; and ouer which many the Romane captaines had triumphed, and thereof taken their glorious ſurnames: which now again without compaſsion, burning and ſacking it, cauſed it to ſtoope, and to yeeld vnto the ſeruile yoake which it had in former time proudly impoſed vpon the necks of others: wherein if any thing be to be blamed, it is not the fortune or folly of this or that man, then ſitting at the helme (although that may alſo much helpe the

All worldly things ſubiect to change.

The greateſt kingdomes haue in time taken end, and ſo come to naught.

the matter as a meane) but the inſtabilitie of worldly things neuer permanent, but alwaies changeable, and the ſooner for their heigth; and that ſo forcibly as that no man knoweth how to remedie the ſame, either if he did were he able to performe it; the greateſt meanes that men could poſsibly deuiſe for the ſtay thereof, being oftentimes by a greater power from aboue, conuerted vnto the more ſpeedie effecting of that, againſt the which they were by mans wiſedome prouided. The like might be ſaid of the Athenians, the Lacedæmonians, the Thebanes, and of whom not? What maruell then, if the antient kingdomes of the Turks likewiſe in PERSIA, and the leſſer ASIA, in SYRIA, PALESTINA, and ÆGYPT, hauing run their appointed times, mightily impugned by the Chriſtians, oppreſſed on the one ſide by the Tartars, and on the other by the Mamalukes, and at length by themſelues rent in ſunder (their deſtinie ſo requiring) loſt at laſt their woonted majeſtie, and ſo fell into a meere Anarchie, as is in the former part of this Hiſtorie at large declared? Yet in this farre more than any other people fortunate, That after the ruine of their former kingdomes, ſtraight way out of themſelues ariſe another, namely this *Othoman* monarchie, the cheife object of this Hiſtorie: which at the firſt ſcarce of the world perceiued, or of themſelues regarded, in ſhort time ſo proſpered, as that the power and glorie thereof obſcured not their former kingdomes onely (nothing, in compariſon of this) but euen the greateſt monarchies of the world; ouer a great part of which, it now ſo proudly triumpheth, as if it ſhould neuer haue end: at the beautie whereof the world woondereth, and at the power thereof quaketh: within the greatneſſe whereof are contained no ſmall portions of ASIA, EVROPE, and AFRICKE, but euen the moſt famous and fruitfull kingdomes thereof: no part of the world left vntouched but AMERICA only; not more fortunate with her rich mines, than in that ſhe is ſo farre from ſo great and dangerous an enemie. The foundation of this ſo great a kingdome (and now ſo mightie an empire, as holdeth the world in awe) was firſt laid by the valiant *Othoman*, or as the Turkes call him *Oſman*; not deſcended of the *Selzuccian* familie; as were all the former Turks Sultans) but of the *Oguzian* tribe and kindred: in whoſe line this glorious empire hath euer ſince, by the ſpace of three hundred yeares and three, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, woonderfully flouriſhed; and ſo yet doth at this day vnder the gouernment of *Mahomet* the third, which now raigneth thirteenth in diſſent from him, knowing none in this world greater than himſelfe. But for as much as both his greatneſſe, and the greatneſſe of the reſt of the *Othoman* kings and emperours his progenitors, tooke their beginning from this woorthy and warlike *Othoman*, with whoſe life and doings we purpoſe to begin this part of our Hiſtorie, it ſhall not be amiſſe both for the continuation of that we haue in hand, with that we haue already written, and for the more manifeſting of that which hereafter followeth, a little farther to fet his race and diſcent alſo: Not meaning with a long and faigned pedegree to fet him out of *Noah* his arke, (which continuall ſucceſsion of princes, no nation of the world, be it neuer ſo antient, the Iewes onely excepted, and they alſo by writings and hiſtories as much as was poſsible eternized, could truely and juſtly chalenge) but onely ſo far as ſhall be pertinent vnto our purpoſe, and by the authoritie of good hiſtories to be auerred.

At ſuch time as the Turks kingdome founded by *Tangrolipix* in PERSIA, flouriſhed in the *Selzuccian* princes his ſucceſſours, there was alſo another kingdom of theirs at the citie of MACHAN, as is before declared, but nothing comparable to the other either in glorie and power. In this citie, and ouer this ſmall kingdome, raigned one *Solyman*, by his ſubjects honoured alſo with the name of a Sultan or king; at the ſame time that the Tartars vnder the leading of old *Zingis* their great captaine, leauing their owne countrey, and bearing downe the world before them, hauing conquered the fartheſt parts of the Eaſt, and there ſeated their kingdome, turned their forces into PERSIA, and there ouerthrew the Turks kingdome at BALCH in CORASAN, and draue the Turkes with *Curſumes* their laſt king, out of the countrey: after that they had there from the time of *Tangrolipix* raigned about an hundred and ſeuentie two yeares.

Solyman, Sultan of Machan forſaketh his kingdome for feare of the Tartars.

This *Solyman* of whom we ſpeake, then raigning at MACHAN, was not of the *Selzuccian* family (as were all the other Turkes Sultans, the ſucceſſours of *Tangrolipix*) but of the *Oguzian* tribe, a family famous alſo amongſt the Turks: Who ſeeing the *Selzuccian* Sultan *Curſumes* (or as ſome call him *Cuſſumes*) his countreyman, beaten out of his kingdome by the Tartar, and his countrey ouerrun, and the great Caliph of BABYLON alſo ouerthrown; thought it not good longer to ſtay in that countrey which he could not hold, but by ſpeedy flight betimes to prouide for the ſafetie of himſelfe and of ſuch his ſubjects as would follow him. And hearing that *Aladin*

the

the ſonne of *Kei-Haſreu*, or as the Greeks call him *Cai-Coſroe* (a great man of the *Seluccian* familie, and neere of kin vnto the late Sultan *Curſumes*) who for feare of the Tartars, but lately come into ROMANIA-ASIATICA, had there by force of armes moſt honourably ſeated himſelfe and the Turks his followers, amongſt the Chriſtians: in hope of like good fortune, and for the zeale towards his ſuperſtition (accounting all well gotten that was gained from the Chriſtians) tooke his way after him, with ſuch of his kinſmen and ſubiects as would accompanie him in his new aduentures. And comming to ARTEZERVM, a citie in the borders of ARMENIA and CAPPADOCIA, thereabout in the countrey according to the ſeaſon of the yeare, ſeated himſelfe with his followers, being in number many; who with their wiues and children after the manner of the Tartar Nomades their anceſtours, in poore tents and carts couered with a courſe kind of cloth, had followed him; being indeed nothing elſe but a verie rude and rough kind of ſturdie heardſmen, not wedded to any place, but ſtill remooning with their tents and carts vp and downe, as beſt ſerued for their purpoſe and the feeding of their cattell, as doe the Turcoman nation, the true diſcent of the Turks, in many parts of ASIA at this day: and were thereof not onely called Nomades, that is to ſay heardſmen, (by which name the proud Ianizaries will oftentimes in contempt call euen the greateſt of the naturall Turkes) but *Hamaxophoretie*, and *Hamaxobij*, that is to ſay, people carried or liuing in carts. *Solyman* hauing ſtaied a while about ERZERVM, remooning thence came to AMASIA; and there ſpoiling the countrey then inhabited by the Chriſtians, did them much harme, oftentimes encountring them in the plaine field, and ſometimes ceazing vpon their townes and cities, vntill he had ſubdued vnto himſelfe a right large territorie: yet at length hauing in ſo many battels by him fought, and cities by him beſieged, loſt a great number of his people, and ſo wearied the reſt as that they were not willing farther to follow him; and fearing alſo with ſuch ſmall power as he had left, to be able to defend and keepe the countrey by him alreadie gotten, in the midſt of ſo many enemies; thought it beſt to depart thence, and to ſeeke his better fortune elſewhere. At the ſame time it was ritely reported, that the affaires of PERSIA after ſo long trouble (for all this was not a while in doing) began to grow againe to ſome good quiet, the furie of the Tartars being now well abated, and that ſtorme ouerblowne: wherefore *Solyman* reſolued now to returne home againe, and to viſit his natiue countrey, of him and his people aboue all others deſired. So paſsing through SYRIA (for that was now his way) neere vnto ALLEPO, he ceazed vpon a caſtle called ZIABER-CALA, and there ſtaied a ſpace for the refreſhing of his people. Afterward ſetting forward againe, he came at length to the great and famous riuer EVPHRATES, ouer which he muſt needs paſſe: But finding there neither bridge nor foord, or other meanes to get ouer, he ſtood ſtill as a man diſmaid, not knowing what to do. Stay there he would not, & go further he could not: his deſire bid him goe, but the great riuer ſaid, not ſo. In this perplexitie *Solyman* himſelfe with his horſe oftentimes taking the riuer, in hope to haue found ſome paſſage; but finding none, aduenturing too far, was with the force of the ſtreame carried away, and ſo together with his horſe drowned. His bodie after long ſeeking, being at length found, was with the great lamentation of his people buried neere vnto the caſtle ZIABER, not long before by him taken: whereof they ſay the place is at this day in their tongue called *Meſari-Zuruc*, that is to ſay, the Turkes Graue. Some of theſe *Oguzian* Turks, after the death of their Sultan, wearie of their long trauell, ſeated themſelues in the countrey therabouts, vnto whom the Turks that now hold that caſtle do refer their beginning. The reſt of that great tribe and familie diuerſly diuided, went vnto diuers places as their fortunes led them; ſome of them into the waſt ground and deſarts of ARABIA and SYRIA, and are at this day called the Damaſcene Turconians: otherſome returned backe againe into ROMANIA, the ſame way that they came, of whom are deſcended the Turconians of ICONIVM and ANATOLIA: who yet with their wiues and children, as heardſmen, in great companies wander vp and downe the countrey, after the manner of their anceſtors. *Romania Aſiatica.*

Solyman thus loſt, left foure ſonnes, *Sencur-Teken*, *Iundogdis*, *Ertogrul*, of ſome called *Ortholules* (the father of this *Othoman* founder of the Turks empire that now is) and *Dunder*. With theſe foure brethren, moſt part of theſe *Oguzian* Turks that were left, returning into ROMANIA (as is aforeſaid) after they had there reſted themſelues a while, marching vp along the riuer EVPHRATES came to a place called PASIN-OVASI, about ten miles aboue ARTERVM, where *Ertogrul* and his brother *Dunder*, with foure hundred families, not willing to go any farther ſtaied with their tents and carts, their beſt dwellings. *Sencur* and *Iundogdis* their other two bre- *The ſonnes of Solyman, and their firſt aduentures.*

 thren,

thren, in the meane time paſsing the riuer, returned with the reſt into PERSIA: whom we there leaue vnto their vnknowne fortunes. In this place *Ertogrul* with his brother and his three ſonnes ſtayed a while, and had diuers conflicts with the countrey people thereabout, vntill that at length he thought it beſt to returne againe into ROMANIA. So ſetting forward, he came to ANCYRA, and from thence vnto the blacke Mountaines, and ſo to a plaine, called of the Turks *Sultan-Vngi* about 75 miles Eaſtward from the citie of NICE in BYTHINIA, where he had many skirmiſhes with the Chriſtians.

Now a good while before this, *Aladin* the elder (of whom we haue before ſpoken in the former part of this hiſtorie) fled out of PERSIA, had ſubdued diuers great prouinces and countries in ROMANIA ASIATICA or the leſſer ASIA (for ſo it is more truly called) ſo that he was of all the people thereabouts accounted for a great prince, and of the Turks themſelues honoured with the name of their *Vlu Padiſchach*, that is to ſay, their great king or emperour. Hauing placed his regall ſeat firſt at SEBASTIA, and afterward at ICONIUM; which two cities before ruinous, he repaired, and therein raigned, as did ſome few of his poſteritie after him, as is before declared. Neither was *Ertogrul* ignorant of the honour, glorie, and power of this great Sultan: But hauing three ſonnes, namely, *Iundus*, *Sarugatin*, and *Othoman*, ſent *Sarugatin* his ſecond ſon (a bold well ſpoken man) vnto him to requeſt him in that his ſo large a kingdome, and as yet not well peopled by the Turks, to graunt vnto them his poore exiled countreymen of long time oppreſſed with diuerſe fortunes, ſome ſmall corner for them with their families and cattell to reſt in. Which his requeſt, the Sultan not forgetfull of his owne diſtreſſe ſometime in like caſe, graciouſly heard, & with great courteſie vſed the meſſenger. Now for the furtherance of his ſute, it fortuned, that this Sultan before driuen out of PERSIA by the Tartars, and by them alſo much troubled in theſe his new gotten countries in the leſſer ASIA, had with them diuers hot skirmiſhes, and ſharpe conflicts; in one of which it fortuned the Sultan himſelfe, with all the power he then had, to be hardly beſet by his enemies, and in danger to haue loſt the day: when as *Ertogrul* but newly come into the countrey, and willing to doe the Sultan ſeruice, and awaiting all opportunities for the commending of himſelfe and his followers; vpon the ſuddaine vnlooked for, with foure hundred men came vpon the backs of the Tartars, then almoſt in poſſeſsion of a great victorie, and ſo forcibly charged them, that vnable to indure the charge and to maintaine the fight againſt the Sultan (whoſe men encouraged by this vnexpected aid, as by ſuccour ſent from heauen, began now to fight with greater courage) being both before and behind hardly beſet, they as men in deſpaire of the victorie they had before aſſured themſelues of, turned their backes and fled. After which good ſeruice, the Sultan honourably welcommed this new come Turke, giuing him his hand to kiſſe, as the manner of the nation is; and highly commending his valour, commaunded a rich cloke to be caſt vpon him (amongſt thoſe Eaſterne nations a great honour) and all his ſouldiors to be bountifully rewarded: and preſently after gaue vnto *Ertogrul* and his Turks a countrey village called SUGUTA, betwixt the caſtle of BILEZUGA and the mountaine TMOLUS in the greater PHRIGIA: in which village they might liue in, in Winter; and vpon the aforeſaid mountaine, and the mountaine ORMENIUS, betwixt the riuers SANGARIUS and LICUS, feed their cattell in Summer. And yet not ſo contented thus to haue honoured him, in whom he ſaw ſuch approoued valour, committed to his protection that ſide of the countrey wherein he dwelt, being in the very frontiers of his kingdome: which his charge he ſo well looked vnto, that all the countrey thereabout, before much infeſted with the often incurſions of the enemie, was by his vigilant care and proweſſe well ſecured.

Thus is *Ertogrul* the *Oguzian* Turke, with his homely heardſmen, become a pettie lord of a countrey village, and in good fauour with the Sultan: whoſe followers, as ſturdie heardſmen with their families, liued in Winter with him in SUGUTA; but in Summer in tents with their cattell vpon the mountaines. Hauing thus liued certaine yeares, and brought great peace vnto his neighbours, as well the Chriſtians as the Turks, before much troubled with the inuaſions of the Tartars: it fortuned, that the Chriſtians of CARA-CHISAR, a caſtle thereby (called by the antient Greekes *Melanopyrgon*, and of later time *Maurocaſtron*, that is to ſay, the blacke towet or caſtle) wearie of their owne eaſe, and of the peace they had by his meanes enjoyed, fell out with him, and euill intreated both him and his people. Which their ingratitude he taking in euill part, thereof, and of the wrongs by them done vnto the Turks, ſo grieuouſly complained vnto the Sultan; that he therewith mooued, raiſed a great armie, and ſo himſelfe in perſon came and beſieged

The Chriſtians of Cara-Chiſar fall out with the Turks.

beſieged the caſtle. But lying there at the ſiege, newes was brought him, That the Tartars with a great armie, vnder the leading of one *Baintzar*, were entred into CARIA, and there ſpoiling the countrey, had taken HERACLEA. For the repreſsing of whom, the Sultan was glad to riſe with his armie; yet leauing a ſufficient ſtrength behind him for the continuing of the ſiege, vnder the charge of *Ertogrul Beg*, for ſo the Turks now called him. The Sultan afterwards encountering with the Tartars at BAGA, ouerthrew them in a great battell: whileſt *Ertogrul* in the meane ſpace hardly beſieged CARA-CHISAR, wherein fortune ſo much fauoured him, that at length he tooke the caſtle, the ſpoile whereof he gaue vnto the ſouldiours, reſeruing onely the fift part thereof, as due vnto the Sultan, which he ſent him for a preſent, together with the captaine of the caſtle, whom he had taken aliue: which captaine the Sultan afterward inlarged, and reſtored again to him his caſtle, for the payment of a yearely tribute, which he truly paied during the life of the Sultan; but he dying about two yeares after, he refuſed any more to pay it, and ſo reuolted from the Turks.

Sultan *Aladin*, founder of the Aladinian kingdome (for ſo the Turks call it) being dead at ICONIUM, after him ſucceeded *Azatines* his eldeſt ſonne; and after him *Iathatines* his yoonger brother; who ſlaine by *Theodorus Laſcaris* the Greeke emperour (as is before declared) after him ſucceeded in that kingdome another *Iathatines*, the ſonne of *Azatines*, who was by the Tartars expulſed, and his kingdome ſubdued (as in the former part of this hiſtorie it appeareth.) After which time the *Selzuccian* familie there alſo by the Tartars in the leſſer ASIA depreſſed, retained ſcarce the name and ſhaddow of their former majeſtie and glorie. In which troubleſome times, and confuſion of the ſtate, *Ertogrul* well beaten and wearied in the world, kept himſelfe cloſe in his houſe at SUGUTA, as well contented therewith as with a kingdome; ſeeking by all meanes to keepe peace on euery ſide with his neighbours, as well Chriſtians as others. In which quiet kind of life hee ſweetly paſſed ouer the troubleſome times of *Meſoot* the ſonne of *Ket-Cubades*, and of *Ket-Cubades* the ſonne of *Feramuzin*, both Sultans, but the great Tartars tributaries, and raigning but at their pleaſure, vntill the time of the ſecond *Aladin*, the ſole & laſt heire of the Iconian kingdome, before by the Tartars deuided, which was no few years. All which time *Ertogrul* liued quietly at SUGUTA, as one amongſt many other of the Iconian Sultans ſubjects, wiſely conſidering the fall of the *Selzuccian* Sultans, both in PERSIA and at ICONIUM; as alſo the ruine of his own houſe and familie, both from royall ſtate brought almoſt vnto nothing: and therefore with patience taking the world as it came, and making a vertue of neceſsitie, contenting himſelfe with a little, bare himſelfe kindly towards all men. In which contented kind of life, he grew to great yeares, with his three ſonnes, greatly beloued and honoured of their neighbors, as well Chriſtians as Turks; and no leſſe fauoured by the ſecond *Aladin*, then Sultan, than he had been of all the Sultans before him: whom the yoong men his ſonnes, after the manner of their nation (forbidding them with emptie hands to ſalute their princes) oftentimes viſited with one preſent or other. In all which his ſonnes were many good parts to be ſeene, yet ſo, as that in *Othoman* was eaſily to bee perceiued a greater courage and ſpirit than in the other two his brethren: which was the cauſe that he was the more of all them of his tribe regarded, but eſpecially of the youthfull and warlike ſort, which commonly reſorted vnto him when he went to hawke or hunt, or to other delights of the field (the counterfeits of warre) and was of them commonly called *Oſman Gazi*, that is to ſay, *Oſman* the warlike.

Small things in time of trouble yeeld vnto the wiſe great contént.

In this frontier countrey neere vnto SUGUTA, the dwelling place of old *Ertogrul*, had Sultan *Aladin* diuers lieutenants and captaines, gouernors of his caſtles and ſtrong holds vpon thoſe frontiers, with whom *Othoman* was well acquainted, and vnto whom he for friendſhip ſake oftentimes reſorted: but eſpecially vnto the captaine of IN-VNOI, for that he knew himſelfe to be of him well beloued, and therefore vnto him very welcome. So it fortuned vpon a time, that as *Othoman* being yet but yoong, was going to make merry with the gouernor of ESKI-CHISAR (a caſtle about foure and twentie miles off, called of the Greekes *Palæocaſtron*) by the way as he went, at a place called ITBURNE (a towne in PHRIGIA) chaunced there to ſee, and afterwards to fall in liking of a faire maiden called *Malhatun*: vnto whom his affection daily increaſing, he without his fathers knowledge ſent a ſecret friend of his to intreat with her of marriage. Who after long diſcourſe to her made concerning *Othomans* affection and requeſt, gaue him anſwere, That betwixt *Othoman* and her was great inequalitie, a thing eſpecially to be regarded & eſchued of ſuch as wiſhed to liue an happie life in wedlocke bands; ſhe was (as ſhe ſaid) but meanly borne,

Othoman amorous of Malhatun a countrey maid.

and therefore was not to expect so great a match: whereas he could not want choice of other maidens of more worth, and in all respects more answerable vnto himselfe. But amongst other causes why she gaue him this answere, one was, for that some that wished her well, had put into her head, that *Othoman* ment not indeed to marry her, but vnder that colour to obtaine of her some few dayes pleasure, and so hauing dishonoured her, afterward againe to cast her off: which was indeed far from his thought; for he the more enflamed with her modest deniall, the more desired her for his wife. In the meane time, *Othoman* going againe vnto the gouernor of ESKI-CHISAR, and courteously by him entertained, chanced (as it oftentimes doth amongst familiar friends in their merriments) to fall in speech of his loue, with greater affection than discretion, commending her beautie, her feature, and gracious perfections; not dissembling also, to her greater praise, the repulse by him receiued at her hands. Which the gouernor hearing, seemed greatly to like of his choice, saying, That she was by the diuine prouidence (for so the Turks religiously vse to speake) appointed only for him to haue. But in the meane time secretly inflamed with the immoderat commendations of *Othoman*, without respect of friendship, he began to grow amorous of her himselfe, whom he had neuer seene; so light is that foolish affection: and that so far, as that being otherwise a man of good discretion, he was not able to conceale or couer these new conceiued flames, but that *Othoman* by certaine conjectures and tokens perceiued the same. And yet dissembling the matter, as if he had suspected nothing, being risen from the banquet, calling vnto him one of his trustie seruants, secretly sent him away vnto certaine of the maidens friends, willing them in his name, as they tendred her honour, without delay to send her away vnto some safe place farther off, for feare she were not ere long taken from them by a great man, more amorous of her person than respectuous of her honour. And by and by after, taking his leaue of his vnfaithfull friend and bidding him farwell, tooke his way vnto the captaine of IN-VNGI, whom he knew to be his deare friend. But whilest he there stayed certaine dayes, passing the time in hawking, hunting, and other youthfull disports, with the captaine his friend; the gouernour of ESKI-CHISAR, who commaunded all the countrey thereabout (called *Sultan-Vngi*) sent one of his trustie seruants to IBURNE, to see faire *Malhatun*, and how all things there went. Who comming thither, and vnderstanding of her secret departure, and that by the aduertisement from *Othoman* she was conueyed to certaine of her friends a farre off; at his returne from point to point certefied his master thereof. Who exceedingly grieued with the report, and fretting aboue measure to see himselfe so deluded by *Othoman*, presently sent vnto the captaine of IN-VNGI (being within his jurisdiction) to commaund him without delay to deliuer *Othoman* vnto him. But he louing of him well, as a faithfull man vnto his friend, could with no threats or intreatie be perswaded so to doe. Wherefore the gouernour in a great rage presently raising the greatest power he was able to make, came to the castle of IN-VNGI, requiring to haue *Othoman* foorthwith deliuered vnto him. Where among the souldiors there in garrison with the captain, began to arise diuers opinions; some wishing, for the auetting of the present danger for which they were now vnprouided, to haue him deliuered; and othersome abhorring so trecherous a fact, willing rather to indure all extremities. In the end after much consultation, honestie preuailed: & it was generally resolued, That he should be defended, who could not without their great infamie be deliuered. But *Othoman* terrified with that diuersitie of opinions, which had euen at the first shewed it selfe; and thinking it not for his safetie, to commit himselfe vnto the trust of such wauering men, entred into a deepe conceit of a matter of great aduenture, which was, by a suddaine sallie to make himselfe way through the middest of his enemies. Wherewith hauing made his brother *Iundus* and those few his followers there present acquainted, and thereupon resolued; he fiercely sallied out, and by plaine force brake through the thickest of them, & so tooke his way towards SUGUTA, still notably repulsing them that were sent to pursue him. But being come into the frontiers of his fathers territorie, and the report of his danger knowne, and that being but weakely accompanied he was by a great number of his enemies pursued; presently all the lustie youths and such as loued him well, tooke horse to come vnto his rescue: who meeting with the gouernours souldiors, that had *Othoman* in chace, in a sharpe conflict slew diuers of them, and put the rest to flight. Of whom some were also taken prisoners, and amongst the rest one *Michaell Cosse* a Christian, captaine of a little castle in that countrey called HIRMEN-CAIA, or the rocke of *Ormeni*: of whom *Othoman* taking compassion, freely pardoned him that offence. With which vnexpected courtesie he was so mooued, that euer after he tooke part with him,

A folly common vnto louers.

No friendship in loue.

Othoman besieged & in danger for his loue.

him, and did him great ſeruice in his wars: whoſe poſteritie hath euer ſince euen vntill this our age continued, next vnto the *Othoman* familie, moſt honourable and famous amongſt the Turks, by the name of the *Michael-Oglies*, that is to ſay, The ſonnes or poſteritie of *Michaell*.

Ertogrul now ſpent with age, ſhortly after died, in the yeare of our Lord 1289, hauing liued 93 yeares, and thereof gouerned the *Oguzian* familie after the death of his father *Solyman*, 52. His death was of all his tribe and kinred greatly lamented, and his bodie after the Turkiſh manner honourably buried at SUGUTA, where he had of long time liued.

The Oguzian Turks in doubt of whom to make choice for their Gouernour.

After whoſe death, theſe plaine *Oguzian* Turks, in a generall aſſemblie conſulting whom they might chuſe for their lord and gouernour in ſtead of old *Ertogrul*; caſting their eyes eſpecially vpon two, ſtood in doubt of which of them to make choice. For although moſt men were of opinion, That *Othoman* for the rare gifts and vertues as well of bodie as of mind, was to be preferred before the reſt of his brethren, the ſonnes of *Ertogrul*: yet were there ſome, and they alſo men of great grauitie and experience, who had in ſuſpect the yoong mans age, as of it ſelfe ſlipperie, and for moſt part prone to vice, eſpecially in the libertie of great power: and therefore thought it better to make choice of *Dunder* (*Ertogruls* brother, and *Othomans* vncle) a man of far greater grauitie, judgement, and experience. But *Dunder* himſelfe, being indeed a wiſe man and far from all ambition, perſuaded them in that choice not to haue any regard at all vnto his honour or preferment; but to conſider what were beſt for their ſtate and welfare in generall. For he prouidently foreſaw in what danger the *Oguzian* ſtate ſtood, expoſed on the one ſide to the mortall hatred and trecheries of the Greekes, grieued to ſee themſelues ſpoiled by the Turks, and naturally hating them for the Mahometane religion: and on the other ſide not ſurely backt with the Sultans of ICONIUM, brought in thraldome to the Tartars, and daily growne weaker and weaker: Vnto which inconueniences and dangers (he ſaid) an old weake and ouerworne bodie (as was his) could giue no helpe or remedie at all; but required the helpe of a wiſe, politicke, vigillant, ſtirring, and valiant man, ſuch as they all well knew was *Othoman* his brothers ſon. Thus before he came vnto the election, he in priuat declared his mind vnto the cheefe of the *Oguzian* familie: and afterward at their requeſt comming vnto the generall aſſemblie, all mens minds and eyes now fixed vpon *Othoman*, he firſt of all (by his example to encourage the reſt) for the good of the *Oguzian* tribe, his antient houſe and familie, ſaluted him their great lord and gouernour, promiſing vnto him all loyaltie, with the vttermoſt of his ſeruice: whereunto by and by enſued the great applauſe of the reſt of the people, as vnto a gouernour ſent vnto them by God: Vnto whom they joyfully wiſhed all happie ſucceſſe, with long life, & a moſt proſperous gouernment. Thus with all mens good liking was *Othoman* made the great gouernour of the *Oguzian* Turks, and ſo become amongſt them a great commander, and honoured with the name of *Oſman-Beg*, or, The lord *Oſman*. Yet was this his honour included in a ſmall circuit, plaine and homely, without any great pompe or ſhew, as commaunding amongſt rough and rude heardſmen and ſhepheards, not acquainted with the courteſie of other more ciuile nations: for as yet they were the ſame homely Scythian Nomades that they were before, and could not as yet be perſuaded to forſake their woonted rude and vnciuile manners, by long tradition receiued from their auncеſtors, and ſo beſt agreeing with their nature and calling. Amongſt which rude heardſmen, this new gouernour (himſelfe not too far exceeding the reſt in ciuilitie) commaunded much like vnto another *Romulus*; of whom alſo the Turks report many ſuch things as do the Romanes of their founder, which for breuitie I thought good to paſſe ouer.

Now it fortuned that *Othoman* euen in the beginning of his gouernment, fell firſt at ods with on *Hagionicholaus*, or S. *Nicolas* (captaine of EINEGIOL, a caſtle there by) for that he had oftentimes of purpoſe troubled and moleſted theſe *Oguzian* heardſmen, in paſsing too and fro with their cattell by his caſtle. For which cauſe *Othoman* was enforced to requeſt the captaine of BILEZVGA (another caſtle thereby, alſo his neighbour and friend) that his people in paſsing that way to the mountaines, might with their goods and cattell as occaſion ſhould require, take the refuge of his caſtle; which the courteous captaine (well acquainted with old *Ertogrul*, *Othomans* father) eaſily granted, yet with this prouiſo, That none ſhould with ſuch goods or cattell haue acceſſe into his caſtle, but the Turks women only: which his courteſie *Othoman* refuſed not. So was the caſtle of BILEZVGA from that time forward a refuge vnto the Turks women, who paſsing that way and there ſhrowded with their goods & cattell, vſually preſented the captain with ſome one homely countrey preſent or other, which afterwards was the loſſe of the caſtle.

Yet was not *Othoman* vnmindfull of the wrong done vnto his people, by his euill neighbour the captaine of EINEGIOL: but purposing to be therof reuenged, made choice of seuentie of his best and most able men, whom he appointed secretly to passe the mountaine ORMENIVS, and so if it were possible, to surprise or set on fire his enemies castle. Of which his designment, the warie captaine hauing intelligence by one of his espials, in place conuenient vpon the mountaine laied a strong ambush for the cutting off of such as were by *Othoman* sent to haue surprised his castle: whereof *Othoman* (no lesse warie than he) before warned by his scouts, and augmenting the number of his men, marched directly vnto the place where the enemie lay. Where betwixt them (for so small a number) was fought a right cruell and bloodie battell, and many slaine on both sides; amongst whom *Hozza*, *Othomans* nephew was one. The victorie neuertheless fell vnto *Othoman*: after which time his people in much more safetie fed their cattell in the summer time on the mountaines as their manner was, and so in quiet passed to and fro.

The castle of Chalce surprised by Othoman.

Shortly after, *Othoman* by night surprised the little castle of CHALCE, not far from EINEGIOL: and there without mercie put to the sword all the Christians he found therein, and so afterwards burnt the castle; which outrage was the beginning and occasion of great troubles thereof ensuing. For the Christians of the countries adjoyning, much grieued therewith, and assembling themselues together, complained vnto the captaine of CARA-CHIZAR, the greatest commmander thereabout, That these Turks, which not many yeares before were of meere pittie receiued as poore heardsmen into that countrey, began now in warlike manner to lay violent hands vpon the antient lands and possessions of the Christians; which insolencie (as they said) if it were longer winked at and suffered by him, and other such men of account and authoritie as were to reforme the same, they would no doubt in short time driue both them, and all the rest of the Christians out of their natiue countries: wherefore it were now high time and more than necessarie for him, and all the rest to awake (as it were) out of the dead sleepe wherein they had long time drousily slept; and joyning their forces together, to expulse those vnthankfull enchroching & mercilesse strangers out of their countries: The mischiefe they said being now spred far, therefore needed speedie remedie; and that repentance would come too late when it was past cure. The captaine mooued with the indignitie of the late fact, and just complaint of the poore countrey people, sent with all speed a strong company of souldiours, vnder the leading of *Calanus* his brother, with commaundement that they should march vnto the castle of EINEGIOL, and there to joyne with the rest of the Christian forces.

The Christians complaine of the wrong done vnto them by the Turkes.

Othoman vnderstanding of this preparation made against him, gathering his souldiers together, marched to a place called OPSICIUM, neere vnto mount TMOLVS in PHRIGIA, where betweene him and the Christians was fought a sharpe battell, wherein he lost his brother *Sarugatin* (whom the Turks account for a saint or martyr at this day) with many other of his souldiours. In this battell was also *Calanus* slaine, whose belly *Othoman* caused to be ripped, and his intrails to be pulled out, naming the place where he was buried *Mesart-Repec*, that is to say, the Dog-Graue, by which name the place is at this day knowne. The bodie of his brother *Sarugatin* he carried to SVGVTA, and there honourably buried it neere to the bodie of his father *Ertogrul*. *Aladin* Sultan of ICONIVM vnderstanding of this conflict, was verie sorie for the losse happened vnto *Othoman*, being a Mahometane of his owne religion: wherefore in token of his good will and fauour, he gaue vnto him the citie of PALEAPOLIS with all the territorie thereunto belonging, giuing vnto him also leaue to besiege, take, or spoile, the signiorie and castle of CARA-CHISAR: for accomplishment whereof, he sent vnto him both souldiers and munition. *Othoman* encouraged with this great bountie of the Sultans, straightly besieged the castle of CARACHISAR; which at last he wan, and slew all the Christians therein: the captaine he tooke aliue, whom he cruelly executed: the spoile of the castle he gaue vnto his souldiers, reseruing only the fift part thereof, which he sent for a present to the Sultan. All this happened in the yeare of our Lord 1290. This castle of CARA-CHISAR, with the rest, as EINEGIOL, BILEZVGA, CHALCE, and others before and hereafter in the life of *Othoman* to be mentioned, were all situate in the borders of the greater PHRIGIA, or else neere thereunto in the confines of BYTHINIA and MYSIA: In which pleasant countries (but lately part of the Constantinopolitane empire) the Christians the antient inhabitants thereof yet dwelt, intermingled with the Turks, at the rising of the *Othoman* empire; with whom they liued at continuall jars, vntill that at length they were by them altogether oppressed and extinguished.

Othoman

Othoman encouraged with this good ſucceſſe, and ſupported by the great Sultan of ICONIVM, began now after his ambitious nature to conceit greater matters, for the further increaſe of his honor and territorie: yet not truſting altogether to his owne deuiſe, he entred into conſultation with his brother *Iundus*, which way was beſt to take to diſtreſſe and bring in ſubjection his neighbours the Chriſtians. In which caſe, *Iundus* a man of greater courage than diſcretion, aduiſed him with all celeritie to vrge his good fortune, and preſently to inuade the Chriſtians alreadie diſcouraged with the loſſe of CARA-CHISAR. But this counſell altogether pleaſed not *Othoman* for (ſaid he) the caſtles & fortes by vs gained, muſt be kept with ſtrong garriſons, otherwiſe they will againe be recouered by the enemie; which garriſons cannot be maintained and kept, if we ſpoile or diſpeople the countries adioyning vpon vs, for in ſo doing we ſhal (as it were) with our owne hands cut our owne throats: wherefore I thinke it better, that we enter into a league of amitie and friendſhip with the Chriſtians round about vs, which league we will keepe with ſome, or breake with others, as ſhall ſerue beſt for our purpoſe. And according to this reſolution, he made peace indeed with all the Chriſtians, but eſpecially with *Michael Coſsi*, captaine of HIRMEN-CAIA caſtle, of whom we haue before ſpoken, who afterward ſerued him to great vſe in the mannaging of his wars, and became alſo a renegate of the Mahometane religion. All this *Othoman* did the rather, becauſe he was thē at great variance with one *Germean-Ogli* (a great man among the Turks, but one of the *Selzuccian* familie) who enuying at the riſing of *Othoman*, ſought by all means poſsible to hinder his greatneſſe, as did alſo the others, his quietnes: which diſcord the Chriſtians liked well, as a meane for them to liue in more reſt by.

Othomen conſulteth with his brother Iunaus whom counſe to take for the oppreſsing of the Chriſtians his neighbours.

In the meane time, *Othoman* deuiſed with all carefulneſſe to beautifie and ſtrengthen his new commonweale: and for the greater concourſe of people, built a faire temple in CARA-CHISAR for the exerciſe of the Mahometane religion; appointed markets to be kept in all peaceable maner in his great townes, graunting great priuiledges vnto ſuch as reſorted thither, as well Chriſtians as Turks; vſing therein ſuch juſtice, that all ſorts of people without feare in hope of gaine reſorting thither, furniſhed his countrey and townes with all things neceſſarie: yet this care of ciuile pollicie and gouernment, could not ſo withdraw him, but that according to his aſpiring mind, he had alwaies a greater deſire and care to enlarge his poſſeſsions and territorie. Wherefore intending to make a road into BITHINIA, he requeſted *Michael Coſsi*, the Chriſtian captaine before mentioned, to deliuer his opinion what was beſt to be done? who ſo politickely directed him in that exploit, that he returned victorious, enriched with great ſpoile and more honor. This road ſo terrified moſt of the Chriſtians thereabouts, that they were loth to giue *Othoman* any cauſe of offence, for feare leaſt they ſhould by him be ſpoiled.

Othoman ſetteth in order his little commonweale.

It fortuned about this time, that the captaines of BILEZVGA & CVPRI-CHISAR falling at ods; he of CVPRI-CHISAR firſt taking vp armes, fiercely inuaded the captaine of BILEZVGA: who thereupon ſent vnto *Othoman*, to pray his ayd, which hee eaſelie graunted, and ſo without further delay preſently came vnto him with certeine companies of luſtie tall ſouldiors. By whoſe comming, the captaine of BILEZVGA not a little encouraged and ſtrengthened, ſet vpon his enemie: where betwixt them was made a ſharpe conflict, and diuers on both ſides ſlaine: but the victorie by the helpe of *Othoman* the Turke, at length enclining vnto the BILEZVGIAN, the other vanquiſhed captaine in all haſt fled vnto his owne caſtle. After whome *Othoman* following, laid ſeige vnto the caſtle, which at length he tooke together with the captaine, whom he cauſed to bee preſently ſlaine. It is ſtrange to tell, how prowd the lord of BILEZVGA was, to haue ſo reuenged himſelfe of his enemie, and to haue gayned the victorie; although it were indeed gotten, not ſo much by his valour as by the proweſſe of the Turke: for whom and his followers, in token of his thankfulneſſe, he cauſed a great feaſt to be prouided in the countrie thereby, where he honorably entertained them; & in the end of the feaſt, cauſed garments of great price (according to the manner of the Eaſterne nations) to be giuen vnto *Othoman*, in token of his fauour; and his ſouldiors to be alſo bountifully rewarded: but this was done with ſuch a preſumptious ſtate and grace, as if he had been ſome great prince, offering vnto the common ſouldiors of the Turks, in paſsing by them, his hand to kiſſe, as a great fauour. With which exceeding inſolencie, *Othoman* was ſo much offended, that he had much adoe to hold his hands from him: yet repreſsing his anger, he in ſecret imparted his diſcontentment vnto his coſin *Dunder*, his vncle *Dunders* ſonne; greiuouſly complayning of the intollerable pride of the Chriſtian captaine, and of the diſgrace by him done vnto the Turks, in offring them his hand to kiſſe;

kisse; requiring his opinion how he were for the same to be corrected: who but a little before, being by the said captaine made his lieutenant, franckly told his kinsman, That as then nothing was to be attempted against him; first, for that on the one side they had *Germean-ogli* (a great man amongst the *Selzuccian* Turks) their enemie, and round about them besides they were inuironed with the Christians, whom he should haue all in his neck atonce if he should offer the BILEZVGIAN captaine any wrong. By which answere, *Othoman* perceiuing his cosins great affection towards the Christian captaine, and doubting to haue the mischiefe he had imagined against him, by him reuealed, or at least wise hindered; without more adoe suddenly taking vp his bow in his hand, with an arrow shot him quite thorow, and so slew him.

Michael Cossi inuiteth Othoman to the mariage of his daughter.

Not long after *Michael Cossi* the captaine of HIRMEN-CAIA, *Othomans* great friend, hauing concluded a mariage betweene a gentleman of that countrey and his daughter, inuited all the Christian captaines of the castles thereabouts, requesting them to come to the mariage; and the rather that so they might grow into acquaintance with *Othoman*, whose power began now to grow dreadfull vnto them: hoping that such meanes might be found at that merrie meeting, that all being made friends, euery man might in more securitie possesse his owne without feare of being spoiled by him. Vnto this mariage came all these bidden guests, bringing with them such presents as they thought good to bestow vpon the new maried folks, according to the manner of the countrey: but *Othomans* gifts farre exceeded all the rest, who besides many other rich things, gaue vnto them whole flocks and droues of sheepe and cattell: which thing drew all the Christian captaines into no little admiration of his bountie; insomuch that they began to say amongst themselues, that *Othomans* wealth and good fortune did portend some greater matter, to their vtter ruine and fall: which to preuent, they thought it best by secret meanes to compasse his death. The execution of which deuise they referred to the capaine of BILEZVGA, as vnto one with him best acquainted. This captaine was of great wealth, credit, and authoritie amongst the Christian rulers thereabouts, but verie full of craft and dissimulation: which his euill disposition *Othoman* of long time well perceiued; yet hauing occasion to vse him, in subtill manner gaue him (in outward shew) all the honour he could, magnifying him in words, and debasing himselfe as plaine and poore in comparison of him. But to giue a beginning to this trecherous deuise, the captaine meeting with *Othoman*, in friendly manner told him, how that he intended shortly to marie the daughter of the captaine of IAR-CHISER, earnestly requesting him to honour that his mariage with his presence, of the time whereof, he said he would giue him farther knowledge afterwards: and all was but a colour, to bring *Othoman* within his danger, not fearing any such treason. *Othoman* vnderstanding that the time of the mariage drew nigh, sent thither a present of certaine fat oxen and sheepe, in the name of his brother *Iundus*, for the captaines prouision against the mariage; certifying him, That *Othoman* himselfe, with his simple retinue, would be present at the mariage, and then present him, not with such presents as were agreeable with his honour, yet such as his poore abilitie could affoord. This message with the presents, were woonderfull welcome to the captaine, hoping assuredly that his deuised treacherie would take such effect as he wished. And therefore calling vnto him *Michael Cossi*, in whom he had reposed an especiall trust, declared vnto him his whole deuise (wherof he was not before altogether ignorant,) requesting him to take the paines to go vnto *Othoman* to bring him to the marriage, the time being now certainly appointed and at hand; which hee knew *Cossi* might easily do, being of his familiar acquaintance. And in token of great friendship, he sent vnto *Othoman* by the same messenger, a present of gilt plate. *Cossi* tooke vpon him this message: which when he had deliuered vnto *Othoman*, he found him verie willing to go, as a man not doubting any harme. But *Cossi* inwardly grieuing to see so braue a man, and his kind friend, by such trecherous manner to be brought to his end; mooued with compassion, discouered vnto him the whole conspiracie of the captaine against him, and of the plot laied for his destruction, willing him to take heed vnto himselfe: for which ouverture, *Othoman* gaue *Cossi* great thanks, as to his friend, for sauing his life; and withall richly rewarded him, promising him greater matters if he would continue that his faithfull friendship. Now concerning the captaine of BELIZVGA (saith he) at your returne recommend me vnto him, and tell him, That I thinke my selfe much bound vnto him for many courtesies, but especially for that he hath heretofore diuers times in most friendly manner protected my goods and cattell, within the safegard of his castle: which his friendship I most humbly request him to continue for one yeare more, enforced thereunto by rea-

reaſon of the dangerous wars betwixt me and the prince *Germean-Ogli* as he well knoweth: wherefore if it might ſo ſtand with his good pleaſure, I would preſently ſend vnto his caſtle ſuch things as I make moſt reckning of, requeſting him once more to be the faithfull keeper ther-of, as he hath beene before: and tell him further, that my mother in law, with her daughter my wife, deſire nothing more than to find opportunitie to be acquainted with the honourable ladie his mother; for which cauſe (if it pleaſe him) I will bring them both with me to the marriage. This *Othomans* requeſt, when the captain of BILEZVGA vnderſtood by *Michael Coſſi*; he ſent the ſame *Coſſi* backe againe to haſten his comming, willing him to bring with him what geſſe he pleaſed; appointing certaine time and place when and where the marriage ſhould be ſolemniſed. And becauſe the caſtle of BILEZVGA was thought to be too little conueniently to receiue the multitude of people which were expected at the mariage, there was another open place of greater receipt appointed in the countrey for that purpoſe, about three miles diſtant from the caſtle. The mariage day drew nigh, whereunto *Othoman* muſt repaire for his promiſe ſake: and therefore prepared with all diligence to ſet forward, and to put in execution what he had deuiſed for the ſafetie of himſelfe, and deſtruction of his enemie. *Othoman* had of long accuſtomed in dangerous times, to ſend by carriage the beſt of his things, made vp in packes, to be kept in ſafetie in the caſtle of BILEZVGA: vnder the colour whereof, he now made great packs in forme as he was woont; but in ſtead of his rich houſhold ſtuffe, and ſuch other things of price, he thruſt in armed men, couering thoſe packs with homely couerings, ſending them by carriages to the caſtle of BILEZVGA, giuing charge that they ſhould not come thither before twilight. After that, he appareled certaine of his beſt ſouldiours in womens apparell, as if it had beene his wife and mother in law, with their women: ſo caſting his journey, that he with theſe diguiſed ſouldiours, and the other ſent in packs, might at one inſtant meet at the caſtle aforeſaid. The captaine being now in the countrey, and vnderſtanding that *Othoman* was comming in the euening with a great traine of gentlewomen; thought the cauſe of his late comming to be, for that the Turkiſh women vſe to ſhun the ſight of Chriſtian men by all meanes they can. *Othoman* being now come to the place in the countrey where the mariage was next day to be ſolemnized, hauing done his humble reuerence to the captaine, requeſted him to do him the honour, That his gentlewomen which were nigh at hand, might by his appointment bee ſent to his caſtle, there to haue ſome conuenient lodging where they might alight and beſtow themſelues a part from others, according to the homely faſhion of their nation; leaſt peraduenture the preſence of ſo honourable a companie of noble men and gallants, might put them out of countenance: which the captaine graunted, and hauing ſaluted them a far off after the Turkiſh manner, commaunded them to be conueyed to his caſtle, making reckoning of them all as of a rich prey. At the ſame time that theſe diſguiſed ſouldiours arriued at the caſtle, came thither alſo the other ſouldiours couered in packes in the cariages: which ſo ſoone as they were within the caſtle, ſuddenly leapt out of the packs, and drawing their ſhort ſwords, with the helpe of their diſguiſed fellowes ſlew the warders of the caſtle, and without more adoe poſſeſſed the ſame: the greateſt part of the captaines people being before gon out of the caſtle to the place of the mariage. *Othoman* hauing taried ſo long with the captaine, as hee ſuppoſed the caſtle by that time by his men ſurpriſed; ſo ſoone as the captaine had taken his chamber, ſuddenly tooke horſe, with all his followers, accompanied alſo with *Coſſi*, taking his way directly to the caſtle of BILEZVGA: of whoſe ſudden departure, the captaine vnderſtanding, preſently tooke horſe and purſued him with all his traine, which were for the moſt part drunke; and ouertaking him before he came to the caſtle, ſet vpon him: in which conflict, he was by *Othoman* ſlaine, and the reſt put to flight.

The captaine of Beliguga treacherouſly ſeeking the death of Othoman, is by him, himſelfe ſlaine.

The ſame night *Othoman* vſing great celeritie, earely in the morning ſurpriſed the caſtle of IARCHISAR alſo, where he tooke priſoners the captaine thereof, with his faire daughter *Lulufer*, (which ſhould haue beene maried to the captaine of BILEZVGA the next day) with all her friends, as they were readie to haue gone to the mariage: which faire ladie he ſhortly after married vnto his eldeſt ſonne *Orchanes*; who had by her *Amurath*, third king of the Turkes, and *Solyman* Baſſa.

Othoman omitting no opportunitie, preſently ſent one of his captaines called *Durgut-Alpes*, a man of great eſteeme and valour, to beſiege the caſtle of EINEGIOL: wherein he vſed ſuch celeritie, that preuenting the fame of that was done at BILEZVGA, he ſuddenly inuironed the caſtle, in ſuch ſort that none could paſſe in or out; vntill ſuch time, as that *Othoman* hauing brought his

his prisoners and prey to the castle of BELIZVGA, and there hauing set all things in good order, came with the rest of his men of war to EINEGIOL; which he presently by force tooke, promising the spoile thereof vnto his souldiours. The captaine called *Hagio-Nicholaus* his antient enemie, he caused to be cut in small peeces, and all the men to be slaine: which crueltie he vsed, because they a little before had vsed the like tyrannie against his Turks.

Othoman by admiration of iustice strengtheneth his gouernment.

When *Othoman* had thus got into his subiection a great part of the strong castles and forces of the greater PHRIGIA, with the territorie to them belonging, he began with all carefulnesse to make good lawes, and to execute justice to all his subjects, as well Christians as Turkes: with great indifferencie studying by all meanes to keepe his countrey in peace and quietnesse, and to protect his subiects from the spoile of others, as well Christians as Turkes: whereby it came to passe, that the old inhabitants which for the most part had forsaken the country, by reason of the great troubles therein, repaired now againe to their antient dwellings; and not onely they but many other strangers also, supplying the places of them whom the late warres had consumed. So that by his good gouernment, that wasted countrey in short time grew to be againe verie populous.

The citie of Nice besieged by Othoman.

The ciuile gouernment of his countrey well established, hee besieged the citie of ISNICA, in antient time called NICE, a citie of BITHINIA, famous for the generall Counsell there holden against *Arius* in the time of *Constantine* the Great. This citie hee brought into great distresse, by placing his men of war in forts new built vpon euerie passage and way leading vnto the same, so that nothing could be brought out of the countrey for the reliefe of the poore citizens. They in this extremitie, by a secret messenger certified the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE (vnder whose obedience they were) in what distresse the citie stood; and that except he sent them present reliefe, they must of necessitie either perish with famine, or yeeld themselues into the hands of their enemies the Turks. The emperour mooued with the pittifull complaint of this messenger, with all expedition embarked certaine companies of souldiours from CONSTANTINOPLE to relieue his besieged citie. But *Othoman* vnderstanding by his espials where these souldiours were appointed to land, in secret manner withdrawing most of his forces from the siege, lay in ambush neere vnto the same place where the emperours souldiours (casting no perill) landed: who before they could put themselues in order of battell, were by *Othoman* and his Turks, in such sort charged, that most part of them were there slaine, and the rest driuen into the sea, where they miserably perished. *Othoman* hauing thus politikely ouerthrowne the Constantinopolitan souldiours, returning to his siege, continued the same in straighter manner than before. The besieged citizens driuen into great penurie, and now despairing of all helpe, yeelded themselues with the great and rich citie of NICE into the hands of *Othoman*, with the spoile whereof he greatly enriched his men of war.

Aladin the great Sultan of ICONIVM, glad to heare of this good successe of *Othoman* against the Christians, in token of his fauour and loue, sent vnto him a faire ensigne, with certaine drums, and trumpets, a sword, and princely robe, with large charters, That whatsoeuer he tooke from the Christians should be all his owne; and also that publike praiers should be said in all the Turks temples, in the name of *Othoman*, for his health and prosperous estate: which two things properly belonged to the dignitie of the Sultan. These extraordinarie fauours gaue occasion for many to thinke, That Sultan *Aladin* (hauing no children) intended to make *Othoman* his adoptiue sonne and successor in his kingdome.

The presents and charters sent him, *Othoman* humbly accepted, sending vnto *Aladin* the fift part of the spoile of NICE, taken from the Christians; but the princely honors due vnto the Sultan onely, he vsed not during the life of *Aladin*: intending not long after to haue gone himselfe in person to visit the Sultan, and so to haue grown into his further fauour. But hauing prepared all things for so honourable a journey, at what time as he was about to set forward, he was certainely informed of the death of *Aladin*; and that *Sahib* (one of his great counsellors) had taken vpon him the dignitie of the Sultan (as is before declared:) which newes much discontented the aspiring mind of this *Oguzian* Turke, in good hope to haue succeeded him in the kingdome, or at least wise to haue shared the greatest part thereof vnto himselfe, whereof he was now altogether disappointed. Yet immediatly after the death of *Aladin*, he thought it now fit time to take vpon him the princely honours before graunted vnto him by the Sultan in his life time, which he for modestie sake had forborne, *Aladin* yet liuing: wherefore he made one *Dursu* surnamed

named *Fakiche* (that is to say, a man learned in the Turkish law) bishop and judge of CARA-CHISAR, commaunding the publicke prayers which were wont to be made for the health and prosperous raigne of the great Sultan, to be now made in his owne name; which was first openly done by the said bishop in the pulpit of CARA-CHISAR. At the same time he began also to coine money in his owne name, and to take vpon him all other honours belonging vnto a Sultan or king: which was about ten yeares after the death of his father *Ertogrul*, and in the yeare of our Lord 1300, vnto which time the beginning of the great empire of the Turkes is vnder the fortune of this *Othoman*, to be of right referred, as then by him thus begun. 1300

When *Othoman* had thus taken vpon him the majestie of a king, he made his sonne *Orchanes* prince and gouernour of CARA-CHISAR; promoting his principall followers, to be gouernours of other strong castles and forts, diuers of which places retaine the name of those captains at this day. He himselfe made choice of the cittie NEAPOLIS, about twentie miles from NICE, to seat his regall pallace in, where also diuers of his nobilitie built them houses, and changed the name of the citie, calling it DESPOTOPOLIS; as who should say, The citie of the lord or prince. For all this, *Othoman* ceased not to deuise by all meanes hee could, to augment his kingdome: and for that cause being accompanied with his sonne *Orchanes*, made many rodes into the countries adioyning vpon him, surprizing such places as might best serue his purpose, for the enlargement of his kingdome, all which in particular to rehearse were tedious.

Neapolis the first regall cittie of the Othomith kings.

The Christian princes, rulers of the countries bordering vpon this new kingdome, fearing lest the greatnesse of *Othoman* might in short time be their vtter confusion, agreed to joyne all their forces together, and so to commit to the fortune of one great battell their owne estates with his. According to which resolution, the Christian confederat princes, which were for the most part of MYSIA and BYTHINIA, leuying the greatest forces they were able to make, with fire and sword inuaded *Othomans* kingdome. Who hauing knowledge beforehand of this great preparation made against him, had in a readinesse all his captaines and men of war: and hearing that his enemies had entred his dominion, in warlike manner marched directly towards them; and meeting with them in the confines of PHRIGIA and BYTHINIA, fought with them a great and mortall battaile, wherein many were slaine on both sides, as well Turks as Christians: and after a long fight, obtained of them a right bloodie victorie. In this battaile *Casteleanus*, one of the greatest Christian captaines was slaine: another called *Tekensis* of the country which he gouerned in PHRIGIA, chased by *Othoman* vnto the castle of VLUBAD, not far distant from the place where the battaile was fought, was for feare deliuered vnto him by the captaine of the same castle, and was afterward by *Othomans* commaundement most cruelly cut in pieces, within the view of his cheefe castle: which *Othoman* afterward subdued, with all the countrey thereabouts. The other Christian princes and captaines saued themselues by flying into stronger holds farther off. The prince of BYTHINIA, the cheefe author of this war, fled into the strong cittie of PRUSA, which the Turks now call BURUSA, whether *Othoman* not long after led his armie, in good hope to haue woon the same: but finding it not possible to be taken by force, began presently at one time to build two great and strong castles vpon the cheefe passages leading to the citie, which castles he with great industrie finished in one yeare: and in the one placed as captaine *Aclemeur* his nephew, in the other one *Balaban Zuck*, both men of great courage, and skilfull in feats of war: & in this sort hauing blocked vp the citie of PRUSA, so that little or nothing could without great danger be brought into it, he subdued the most part of BYTHINIA; and so returned home, leauing the two castles well manned with strong garrisons, vnder the charge of the captaines beforenamed.

Prusa besieged by Othoman.

Othoman returning home to NEAPOLIS, honorably rewarded his souldiors, according to their deserts, establishing such a quiet and pleasing gouernment in his kingdome, that people in great number resorted from far into his dominions, there to seat themselues: whereby his kingdome became in few yeares exceeding populous, and he for his politicke gouernment most famous. And so liuing in great quietnesse certaine yeares, being now become aged and much troubled with the gout; his old souldiors accustomed to liue by the wars, abhorring peace, came vnto him, requesting him as it were with one voice, to take some honourable war in hand for the inlarging of his kingdome, with great chearfulnesse offring to spend their liues in his seruice rather than to grow old in idlenesse: which forwardnesse of his men of war greatly pleased him, and so giuing them thanks, for that time dismissed them, promising that he would not be long vnmindfull

full of their requeſt. But yet thinking it good to make all things ſafe at home before hee tooke any great wars in hand abroad, thought it expedient to call vnto him *Michael Coſſi*, the onely Chriſtian captaine whom for his great deſerts he had at all times ſuffered to liue in quiet with his poſſeſsions, as it were in the heart of his kingdome; and by faire means (if it might be) to perſuade him to forſake the Chriſtian religion and to become a follower of *Mahomets*, ſo to take away all occaſion of miſtruſt: which if he ſhould refuſe to doe, then forgetting all former friendſhip, to make war vpon him as his vtter enemie. Whereupon *Coſſi* was ſent for, being perſuaded by the meſſenger, that *Othoman* had ſent for him becauſe he had occaſion to vſe his woonted faithfull counſell and ſeruice in a great exploit which he had intended, as he had oftentimes before. *Coſſi* thinking of nothing leſſe than of that which enſued, came accompanied with ſuch ſouldiours as he thought to vſe in that ſeruice: But comming vnto *Othoman*, and vnderſtanding the very cauſe why he was ſent for, and ſeeing danger imminent on euery ſide, kiſsing *Othomans* hand, after the manner of the Turks, requeſted him in courteous manner to enter him in the principles of the Mahometane religion, which he promiſed euer after to imbrace: And ſo saying certaine words after *Othoman*, he turned Turke, to the great diſpleaſure of God, and the contentment of *Othoman* and his nobilitie. For which his reuolting, *Othoman* preſently gaue him an enſigne and a rich robe, tokens whereby the Mahometane Sultans aſſure their vaſſales of their fauour and the vndoubted poſſeſsion of ſuch land and liuing as they then hold.

Michael Coſſi turneth Turke.

Oftentimes after this, *Othoman* for the contenting of his ſouldiors inuaded the countries bordering vpon him, tooke many ſtrong caſtles and forts, ſubdued the moſt part of PHRIGIA, MYSIA, and BYTHINIA, and other great regions, vnto the Euxine ſea: and being now very aged, and diſeaſed as is aforeſaid with the gout, and thereby vnable to goe into the field in perſon himſelfe, oftentimes ſent his ſonne *Orchanes* againſt his enemies; who to the imitation of his father atchieued many great enterpriſes, *Othoman* his father yet liuing.

Now happily might the conſiderat reader (and not without juſt cauſe) meruaile, what dead ſleepe had ouerwhelmed the Greeke emperours of thoſe times; firſt *Michaell Paleologus*, and afterward his ſonne *Andronicus*, both men of great valour, and ſtill reſiant at CONSTANTINOPLE, thus to ſuffer the Turkes (not *Othoman*, for he as yet bare no ſway, but others the ſharers of Sultan *Aladins* kingdome) to take their cities, ſpoile their countries, kill their ſubjects, and dayly to incroach vpon them in the leſſer ASIA, and eſpecially in BYTHINIA, ſo neere vnto them, and as it were euen vnder their noſes: But let him, with me, here as in a moſt conuenient place but breath a little, and conſider the troubled eſtate of that declining empire, now haſting to an end; and he ſhall plainely ſee the cauſes of the decay thereof, and how like an old diſeaſed bodie quite ouerthrowne and ſicke to death, it became at length a prey vnto the aſpiring Turks. *Michaell Paleologus* hauing by great trecherie obtained the Greeke empire, and by rare fortune recouered alſo the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE from *Baldwin* the emperour (as is in the former part of this Hiſtorie declared,) fearing the power of the princes of the Weſt, but eſpecially of *Charles* king of SICILIA, then a prince of great fame and power, whom he knew *Baldwin* (the late emperour) ceaſed not to ſollicite for the reſtitution of him againe into his empire, and to haue alſo joyned with him a neere bond of affinitie, by marrying his daughter vnto *Charles* his ſonne: to auert this danger, and to intangle *Charles* with troubles neere home, he by his embaſſadours offered vnto *Gregorie* the tenth, then biſhop of ROME, to vnite and conforme the Greeke church vnto the Latine, and to acknowledge the biſhops ſupremacie, in ſuch ſort, as that it ſhould be lawfull for any man to appeale vnto the court of ROME, as vnto the higher and more excellent court: of which his offer the Pope gladly accepted, promiſing to performe what he had before requeſted, for the keeping of *Charles* otherwiſe buſied. But when it came to the point, that this reformation and alteration of religion in the Greeke church ſhould be made, *Ioſeph* the Patriarch, to begin withall, gaue vp his place, and ſhortly after forſaking the citie, retired himſelfe into a monaſterie neer vnto the ſtrait of Boſphorus, where he at quiet deuoutly ſpent the remainder of his life. The reſt of the cleargie alſo diſcontented with this innouation, in their ſermons openly inuaighed againſt it, perſuading the people not to receiue it, crying out, That now was come the time of their triall, the time of their martirdome, and the time wherein they were to receiue the glorious crowne of their painefull ſuffrings: inſomuch, that great tumults were ther-upon raiſed, and all the citie and the countrey in an vprore: for it was not the cleargie onely, and the vulgar people by them mooued, which diſliked and abhorred theſe the emperours proceedings,

Alteration of Religion in the Greeke Church.

dings,and made these stirs,but many of the better sort,yea of the cheefe magistrates themselues also. So that *Michaell Paleologus* the emperour leauing all other forraine businesse,was inforced to conuert all his power and studie vnto the appeasing of these domesticall troubles, as deeming them of greater danger than his wars abroad. And first to perswade his discontented subjects, he told them,That this alteration was made,not for any good liking he had therunto,but in respect of the dangerousnesse of the time: and that it was a point of wisedome, to foresee dangers hanging ouer our heads,and not to delay,if any thing were to be altered,for the auerting thereof: for if the enemies as he said should come,the citie yet in many places rent,or but lately repaired, and as it were but newly raised from death to life; the present mischiefes would be far greater than those forepassed,and that then their enemies would become lords,not of their religion and ceremonies onely, but of all at once,their wiues,their children,and whatsoeuer else they had: where their liberty changed into bondage,they should be constrained to conforme themselues not with their bodily seruice onely, but euen with their minds also,vnto the wils of the Latines their enemies. And that so it would come to passe, that no man should bee able to keepe the old customes and manners of his ancestors,but should see euen their most sacred rites and ceremonies changed and quite ouerthrowne: Which he carefully foreseeing,had not (as he said) refused to yeeld vnto necessitie, and as wisdome would, neglected a little harme in respect of a greater benefit; and in the lesse,to haue yeelded vnto his enemies,to enjoy the benefit of the greater. With which the emperours persuasion, some were mooued, and so held themselues contented: and some others not; against whom he was enforced to vse other more seuere remedies, as against his rebellious subjects: of whom,some he imprisoned, some he banished,some he tortured,some he dismembred,some he depriued of their sight,or confiscated their goods,vsing(in breefe)all the meanes whereby the minds of the resolute or the weake were to be mooued. All which things, they whose zeale was grounded vpon knowledge(in number the fewest)with patience endured: but the greater part void of judgement,and the refuse of the people in simple attire, ran roguing abroad,some into PELOPONESUS, some into THESSALIA, some into ACHAIA, and some as far as COLCHOS, as men persecuted for their conscience,not regarding greatly whether,so it were out of the emperours jurisdiction,and something fitting their owne humors; neither conforming themselues vnto the religion then commonly by the emperour established, neither yet agreeing among themselues,but taking vnto them diuers names, some as the disciples of *Arsenius*,some of *Ioseph*,and some of others;some of them,themselues deceiued,and deceiuing others also. Thus for the auoiding of forraine danger out of the West,was the empire at home no little indangered,and the state thereof shaken. Wherewith the emperour was so encombred, as that he had no leisure to prouide for the tempest arising by the Turks out of the East, but was inforced wholly to imploy himselfe and all his indeuours vnto the keeping of his people & subjects in their due obedience at home. All whose deepe deuises, first in aspiring vnto the empire, (no way vnto him due) and great trauels afterwards for the assuring of the same vnto himselfe and his posteritie,against all right,euen with the alteration of the religion of his fathers, yeelded him in the winding vp of all,not so much as the credit of an honourable sepulture. But dying in these troubles not far from LISIMACHIA, as he was making preparation against the prince of THESSALIE, was there by his sonne *Andronicus* his commaundement (for whose aduancement he had strained both his faith and honour) obscurely buried in the field,a good way from his campe; as vnworthie of a better sepulture,for reuolting from the antient religion of his ancestors, although his obsequies were for fashion sake afterwards with some solemnitie celebrated. This was the end of the great emperour *Michaell Paleologus*,in whose time the Turks,the successors of *Aladin*, greatly incroched vpon him in the lesser ASIA, as is in part before declared: a man greatly adorned with the good gifts both of the bodie and the mind, had he not for the aduancement of himselfe and his posteritie,stained the same with foule trecherie and apostasie: for which(as some say)he euer after liued in conscience troubled, and dying, was euen by his owne sonne not thought worthie of an honourable funerall. *A notable example vnto all such as with greedinesse seeke after vaine glorie,and foolishly expose themselues vnto such aduentures; as oftentimes ouerwhelme their deepest deuises, hauing in themselues no certainetie:preferring their inordinat desires(either for themselues or their posteritie)before that which is good and vertuous: Twice wretched in so doing: first in their folly, and then in their indeuours. Who beside that they find God himselfe against their designes and purposes,they by and by also euidently meet with other things than*

Persecution in the Greeke Church for matters of Religion.

what they had forecasted, contrarie vnto them; and so themselues oftentimes, contrarie to their expectation, cast headlong into extreame miserie: for loe, euen he of whom we now speake, otherwise a man of great wisdome, and happie in his doings, ouercome with his affection towards his children, in desiring to leaue vnto them the empire, when as he ought to haue cast all the care both of himselfe and of them, especially vpon the prouidence of God; he like a blind man following his own deepe conceits, not grounded vpon the fear of God but mans wisdome only, cast himselfe before he was aware into miserable troubles, and became odious euen vnto his subiects, & them also for whom he had so forgot himselfe. For whereas God had euen from his childhood alotted vnto him the empire (as was by many euident signes & tokens to haue bin gathered) if he could haue moderated his vntimely desires, kept his tongue from periurie, and his hands from blood, and not turned out of the way after strange doctrine; he had by many degrees excelled euen the best emperours his predecessors: whereas now he lieth obscurely buried, shrouded in the sheet of defame, the report of his foule & faithlesse dealings far exceeding all his other worthy vertues.

Andronicus Paleologus succeeding his father in the empire, and thinking by restoring again the gouernment of the church, together with the rites and customes of the Greeks, to haue appeased all such troubles as were before by his father raised, by bringing in those of the Latines; found himselfe therein much deceiued, and his troubles no lesse than his fathers: they which had before receiued the Latine customes, and well liking of them, with great obstinacie defending the same: and the other of the contrarie faction now countenanced by the emperor, without modestie or measure insulting vpon them: whereof arose exceeding great stirs and troubles, especially in the beginning of his raigne: to the great benefit of the encroaching Turks, who in the meane time ceased not by all meanes to increase their territories in ASIA; and not onely there, but in the ilands of the Mediterranean sea also. For *Andronicus*, by the death of *Charles* king of SICILIE, deliuered of the greatest feare, for which both he and his father before him had to their great cost and charge both built and maintained a strong fleet of gallies; now perswaded by some, whose actions and speeches were after the manner of the court, all framed vnto the princes appetite, (as the readiest way to thriue, without respect of the cõmon good) to spare that needlesse charge (as they tearmed it) which yearely cost him more than any other thing else: had discharged all his mariners and sea men, and commanded all the gallies to be laied vp, some in one creeke, some in another; where neglected & not looked vnto, they in time for most part rotted and perished. As for the mariners, they went some one way; some another, as their fortunes lead them, to seeke for their liuings in forreine countries, euen with the emperours enemies; and some gaue themselues to husbandrie, thinking it better by doing something to liue, than by sitting still to perish: which good husbandrie at the first seemed to be verie profitable vnto the emperour, but especially vnto such as being neere vnto him, and couetously giuen, made small reckoning of all other the most necessarie defences of the empire, in comparison of hoording vp of money, vntill that it was afterwards too late by experience found hereof to haue sprung many great mischiefes, vnto the great weakning of the Greeke empire. For besides that the Turkes without lette, did great harme on the sea; the pirates now out of feare of the emperours gallies, at their pleasure tooke the spoile of the rich Islands in the Mediteranian, and robbed the townes all along the sea coast, to the vnspeakable griefe of the poore countrie people. And yet not so contented, came with their gallies sometime two, sometime three, and sometime moe, as it were in contempt, euen close vnto the imperiall citie. Yea the Venetians were so bold as vpon a right small displeasure to rifle and afterward to set fire vpon the suburbes thereof, which they would hardly haue aduentured, had the emperours fleet bene preserued and maintained in the woonted strength.*

Andronicus spareth to maintain his nauie, weakneth his empire

At the same time also, *Andronicus* the emperour (to the great hinderance of the affaires of the empire, and aduantage of the forreine enemie) was not a little troubled with a jealous suspition of his brother *Constantine* (commonly called *Porphyrogenitus*) as if he had sought to haue aspired vnto the empire; seeking by all meanes to win vnto himselfe the loue and fauour of all men, but especially of the nobilitie both at home and abroad, and so by that meanes to mount vnto the height of his desires: All which (as most men thought) were but meere slanders, maliciously deuised by such as enuying at his honour, and taking occasion by the emperours suspition, ceased not to increase the same, vntill they had wrought his vnwoorthie destruction. The first ground of this false suspition in the emperours head, was for that this *Constantine* was euen from his childhood, for many causes, better beloued of the old emperour his father than *Andronicus*,

dronicus, as better furnished with those gifts of nature which beautifie a prince, and of a more courteous behauior than was his brother: insomuch, that had he not been the yoonger brother, his father could willingly haue left him his successour in the empire. This was one and the cheefest cause of the emperours grudge, and the ground of his suspition. Yet was there another also, and that not much lesse than this: for that his father in his life time had of long thought to haue seperated from the empire a great part of THESSALIA and MACEDONIA, and to haue made him absolute prince thereof; and had happely so done, had hee not beene by death preuented: which thing also much grieued *Andronicus*, and the more incensed him against his brother. Which his secret hatred he for all that according to his wisdome, cunningly dissembled, not only during the time that his father liued, but three yeares after his death also, making shew of the greatest loue and kindnesse towards him, that was possible. *Constantine* in the meane time, of such great reuenues as were by his father assigned vnto him, reaping great profit, most bountifully bestowed the same vpon his followers and fauorits, and others that made sute vnto him, as well the meaner sort as the greater, and with his sweet behauior woon vnto him the hearts of all men: for affabilitie & courtesie in high degree easily allureth mens minds, as doe faire flowers in the spring the passengers eyes. This was that precept of the wise Indians, That the higher a prince was in dignitie, and the more courteous he shewed himselfe vnto his inferiours, the better he should be of them beloued. He therefore that should for the two first causes blame *Constantine*, should doe him wrong; as both proceeding not of himselfe, but of his fathers too much loue: but in the third hee was not altogether blameless; for if for want of experience hee prodigally gaue such gifts, as for the most part might haue beseemed the emperour himselfe, he ignorantly erred, yet did he no little offend: but if he knew, that for his too profuse bountie he could not be vnsuspected of his brother, and yet without regard held on that course, hee was greatly to bee blamed therein. For if nothing els might haue mooued him, yet he should haue considered, to what end the like doings of others in former times had sorted, and how many it had brought to vntimely end. So although perhaps that *Constantine* meant no harme vnto his brother, or any way to supplant him, yet did these things not a little increase and agratuate the former suspitions, and open the eares of the emperour his brother vnto such calumniation as commonly attendeth vpon immoderat bountie. But to returne vnto our purpose. This honourable *Constantine* then liued in LYDIA, but lately maried, and in good hope long to liue, being not past thirtie years old: but pleasantly spending the time with his wife at NYMPHEA in LYDIA, at such time as he was thus secretly accused vnto his brother, the emperour thought it good, as vpon other occasions of businesse, to passe ouer into ASIA himselfe; but indeed with a secret resolution, vpon the suddaine to oppresse his brother vnawares, as by proofe it fell out. For at his comming ouer, *Constantine* fearing nothing lesse, was forthwith apprehended, with all his greatest fauorits, of whom one *Michaell Strategopulus* (sometime a man in great authoritie with the emperour his father, and of all other for wealth, honour, and noble acts most famous) was cheefe: who together with *Constantine* were fast clapt in prison, where we will leaue them euery houre looking to die, their lands and goods being before confiscated. But these woorthie men, especially *Constantine* and *Strategopulus*, thus laid fast; who many times in great battailes discomfited the Turks, and notably defended the frontiers of the empire alongst the East side of the riuer MEANDER; they now finding none to withstand them, forraged not only all the rich countrey beyond the riuer, but with an infinit multitude passing the same, did there great harme also: so that there was no remedie, but that the emperour must of necessitie make choice of some other woorthie captaine for the defence of those his cities and countries, by the incursion of the Turks then in danger in that part of ASIA.

Immoderat bountie in great men dangerous.

There was then in the emperours court one *Alexius Philanthropenus*, a right valiant and renowned captaine, and then in the flower of his youth; of him the emperour thought good to make choice for the defence of those frontiers of his empire in ASIA (against the Turks) which were before the charge of his brother *Constantine* and *Strategopulus*; joyning vnto him one *Libadarius*, an old famous captaine, and a man of great experience also: appointing vnto him the gouernment of the cities of IONIA; and vnto the other, the frontiers along the winding bankes of MEANDER. Where *Alexius* hauing now gotten a charge woorthie his valour, and in many great conflicts with the Turks still carying away the victorie, became in short time of great fame: besides that, he was exceeding bountifull and courteous vnto all men; a costly, but a readie way

vnto dangerous credit and renowne. Thus at the first all things prospered in his hand according to his hearts desire: yea the Turks themselues, bordering vpon him, hardly beset on the one side by the Tartars, and on the other by himselfe; and yet not so much feared with their enemies behind them, as mooued with his courtesie, came ouer vnto him with their wiues and children, and serued themselues (many of them) in his campe: but as they say, That in *Iupiters* court no man might drinke of the tun of blisse, but that he must tast also of the tun of woe: so fell it out with this great captaine; who hauing but tasted of the better tun, had the worse all poured full vpon his head. For *Libadarius* seeing all so prosper with him, and somewhat enuying thereat, began to feare and suspect, least he proud of his good fortune, and now growne very strong, casting off his allegeance should aspire vnto the empire, and so first begin with him, as the neerest vnto him: which thing many of the nobilitie secretly surmised also, but how truly many doubt. But this enuious plot was not yet ripe, but lay as fire raked vp in the ashes. Now there was with *Alexius Philanthropenus*, certaine companies of Cretensians, whom for their good seruice and fidelitie he both honoured and trusted aboue others, vsing them all for the guard of his owne person. These men proud of their credit, hearing of the surmised aspiring of their Generall, and in hope by his aduancement to raise their owne fortunes also, ceased not continually to suggest vnto him high conceits of himselfe, and to perswade him with all speed to take the matter vpon him; the verie conceit whereof (as they said) would bee vnto him no lesse danger, than if hee should enter into the action it selfe, as he might well see by the wofull examples of the noble *Constantine* and *Strategopulus*, both in extreame perill, but for the jealous conceit surmised against them. Which quicke suggestions wrought in his great mind diuers, and those most contrary motions; so that he scarce knew himselfe what he would or would not. *For they which are vnto themselues in conscience guiltie of any greeuous crime, if any mischeefe hang ouer their heads therefore, it happeneth vnto them, as foreknowing and expecting the same euen from the time that they offended: vnto whom, if nothing els, yet that same very foreknowledge easeth not a little the greefe and miserie: whereas contrariwise, they which are with suddaine mischeefes and vnlooked for, ouerwhelmed, not knowing any just cause why, must needs stand as men dismaied, and almost beside themselues.* But at length after diuers great conflicts with himselfe, the euill perswaders of rebellion, preuailed with him. Yet did hee at the first forbid any mention to bee made of him in the armie as emperour, which caused the Cretensians, the cheefe authors of his rebellion, almost to force him forthwith to take vpon him the imperiall ornaments, thereby to confirme the minds of his followers and fauourits: for that such resolutions were (as they said) to be forthwith put into execution; neyther that any thing required so joint celeritie and dexteritie both of the mind and the hand; and for that longer delay would but fill his souldiors heads with doubts, and discourage them with the feare of the vncertainetie of the euent: all which for all that moued him not so to doe; but whether for feare of the greatnesse of the danger, or for that he secretly thought how first to circumuent *Libadarius*, of whom he stood most in doubt, is vncertaine. The report of all which his doings and designes were in short time caried first vnto *Libadarius*, as the neerest, and so in post vnto the emperour: who were therewith not a little both disquieted. And had *Alexius* (as some perswaded him) at the first set vpon *Libadarius*, then vnprouided, no doubt but hee had done much: but God by whom all princes raigne, and whose power confoundeth the deuises of the prowd, turned him from *Libadarius*, by whom he was to be oppressed, to follow after *Theodorus* the emperours brother, of whom hee was to haue feared no harme. This *Theodorus*, the first man that *Alexius* shot at, warned by his brother *Constantine* his harmes, then liued a pleasant priuat life in LYDIA, far from the ambition of the court, and therefore so much the more beloued of the emperour: but *Alexius* fearing least in that hurle many should resort vnto him, as vnto the emperours brother, and so hinder his proceedings; thought best first to make him sure, and afterward to oppresse *Libadarius*, not aware, that in stead of the bodie he followed but after the shaddow. But *Libadarius*, as a man of great experience, taking the benefit of this his ouersight, and knowing money to be the sinewes of warre, gathered together all the coine hee possibly could, both of his owne and his friends, sending also for the emperours treasures to PHILADELPHIA; and with all speed raised the greatest power he possibly could out of IONIA, which he furnished with all things necessarie, promising vnto his souldiors great matters, and filling them with greater hopes, and that within ten daies he would with a great armie meet the rebell in the heart of LYDIA, and there dare him battell. But withall considering, that the Cretensians, men

Alexius Philanthropenus aspireth.

Libadarius opposeth himselfe against the proceedings of Philanthropenus.

but

but of a mercenarie faith,had alwaies the guard of *Alexius* his person,he thought good to make proofe if they might with gold be woon to betray him: and so well wrought the matter by great summes of money presently giuen,and promises of greater preferments with the emperour,that they (somwhat before discontented with *Alexius* his slackenesse, and now doubting also his successe) yeelded vnto his desire, promising in the beginning of the battell to deliuer him into his hands; which they shortly after in the very joyning of the battell,accordingly performed, deliuering him fast bound vnto *Libadarius* his enemie. Who not a little proud thereof,vsed him with great insolencie,and within three daies after put out his eyes,for feare the emperour according to his courteous nature should haue giuen him his pardon; and so kept him in prison vntill the emperours pleasure were farther knowne. Thus through false-suspect and ambition were the greatest champions of the Greeke empire brought to confusion.

Andronicus the Greeke emperor repoling more trust in forrein aid, than in his owne subiects, greatly hurteth his state.

Now after this rebellion of *Philanthropenus*, *Andronicus* became so jealous of his owne people,as that he wist not whom to trust,reposing greater cõfidence in strangers than in his own subjects, to the great hurt of his estate. At the same time it fortuned that the Massagets (commonly called *Alani*) which then dwelt beyond ISTER, being Christians, but oppressed by the Europian Tartars,wearie of their slauery,sent secretly vnto the Greeke emperor *Andronicus*; offering that if he would assigne vnto them a conuenient place for them to dwell in, they would come ouer vnto him with ten thousand of their families, and faithfully serue him in his warres against the Turkes (who then grieuously wasted his countries in ASIA, destitute of good captaines and commaunders) which their offer he gladly accepted, as standing then in need of aid and not greatly trusting his owne people. But when these Massagets in number aboue ten thousand,comming ouer with their wiues and children,were to be furnished with all things, and especially the men with horses,armour, and pay, all which the emperour could not of himselfe do; the subjects were therewith hardly charged, and commission sent out into euerie countrey and prouince for the taking vp of horses and armour: euerie citie, euerie countrey towne and village, euerie gentlemans house and poore mans cottage was searched and ransacked, and all things taken from them that was there found fit for seruice,to their great discontentment: euery man murmuring and grudging to haue his armes taken from him, and giuen to strangers. But when they were also to be contributors vnto their pay, they then openly cursed and banned them,euen vnto their faces. Yet at length (though with much adoe) these strangers well furnished with all things necessarie, were with some other forces also shipped ouer into ASIA, vnder the leading of *Michael Paleologus* the emperours eldest sonne, and then his companion in the empire. Who marching alongst the countrey,came and encamped about MAGNESIA: where the Turks at the first,after their woonted manner, retired themselues into the high mountaines and thick woods,that from thence they might more safely learne what strength their new come enemies were of,and what discipline of war they kept: for they knew that vpon the comming of great armies, many false reports did run, and that things were made far greater than indeed they were; as did of these also,as of a people inuincible: and therefore they thought it best so to protract the time, vntill they might see in what sort best to deale with them. But so houering ouer their heads, and perciuing them oftentimes without order to roame abroad into the countrey seeking after prey, (for why, they after the manner of mercenarie men spoiled their friends no lesse than if they had beene their enemies) they came downe in good order from the mountaines, from whence at the first they aduentured but a little: but afterward they came on further and with greater confidence,in such sort,as that it seemed they would eare long assault the yoong emperour in his campe. Wherewith he with the rest discouraged, without any stroke giuen,retired; the Turks still folowing him at the heeles. For neither he, neither the rest,any thing considered the small number of their enemies: but as drunken men whose heads filled with grosse vapours, are deceiued in the greatnesse of the object that they see, and oftentimes thinke one thing to be two; so were they also in like manner with their owne feare blinded. Beside that,most commonly it falleth out, that the armie which insolencie and iniurie forerunneth,is appointed to destruction, and by the fearfulnesse of it selfe ouerthrowne before the enemie set vpon it,they themselues becomming enemies vnto themselues; and God his iust vengeance appointing vnto them such an end as their deeds haue deserued: neither was it like that they should do any great good, that at their first setting foorth,in steed of prouision carried out with them the bitter curses and execrations of their friends. *Michael* the emperour seeing the

Massagets flie, and not daring with those few he had left, to oppose himselfe against his enemies, retired himselfe into the strong castle of MAGNESIA, there to expect what would become of these mischiefes. But the Massagets spoiling the countries of the poore Christians as they went, marched directly vnto the strait of HELESPONTVS, and there againe passed ouer into EVROPE, as if they had beene therefore onely sent for ouer the riuer ISTER, to shew the Turkes the sooner the way vnto the sea in ASIA. For it was not many daies after, but that *Michael* the emperour being returned to CONSTANTINOPLE, the Turks comming downe with a great power, subdued all the countries, euen vnto the coast of LESBOS, to the great weakning of the Greeke empire.

It was not long after, these great stirs made by the Massagets, but that one *Ronzerius* (some time a notable pirate, but as then a most famous captaine) hearing of the great intertainment that the Greeke emperor gaue vnto strangers; by messengers sent for that purpose, offered vnto him his seruice in his wars against the Turks, as had before the Massagets. This *Ronzerius* of whom we speake, had out of CATALONIA a prouince of SPAINE, and out of that part of FRANCE which is called NARBONENSIS, and some other places also, gathered together a great number of base needie naked men, yet lustie able bodies and fit for seruice either by sea or land; with whom he manned foure tall gallies, and so as a notable pirate long time robbed, not onely the marchants trading too and fro in the Mediteranean, but landing his men oftentimes in the rich ilands, carried away thence much rich spoile also; vntill at length by the mischiefe he did being become famous, and great wars then arising betwixt *Charles* king of NAPLES and *Theodorus* king of SICILIA, he was by *Theodorus* sent for and requested of aid: which hee (liuing of the spoile) easily graunted, and so came vnto him with a thousand horse, and as many foot, all old expert souldiours, whose good seruice stood the king in those wars in great steed. But as the end of war is peace, so at length vpon the euill successe of *Charles*, a peace being concluded betwixt the two kings, and confirmed by a mariage betwixt their children, *Ronzerius* liuing altogether by his fortunes was to seeke for new intertainment, both for himselfe and his men, as hauing neither house nor certaine dwelling place to repaire vnto; but being as needie men met together, some out of one place, some out of another, in hope of bootie as their fortune led them: In which case *Ronzerius* their generall thought it best to offer his seruice vnto the Greeke emperour in his warres against the Turkes, whereof hee gladly accepted, and so sent for him: vnto whom hee shortly after came with two thousand good souldiours, called (after the proud Spanish manner) by the name of CATALONIANS, for that they were for the most part Spaniards of the countrey of CATALONIA. Of whose comming the emperour rejoycing more than hee had cause (as afterward by proofe it fell out) in token of his greater fauour, honoured him with the name of the Great Captaine; and afterwards gaue him his neece *Marie* in mariage. But within a while after, when as one *Tensa*, another Catalonian captaine sent for by *Ronzerius*, was come thither also with more aid; the emperour to gratifie them both, gaue vnto *Ronzerius* the name of *Cæsar*, and vnto the other the name of the Great Captaine. But when these new come captaines with their followers, were to be transported into ASIA, it is not to be spoken what harme they did by the way vnto the countrey people, and in the villages alongst the sea coast; abusing the men and women as their slaues, and spending their substance at their pleasure, for which they had many a bitter curse: and this was their first yeares entertainment. The next Spring they set forward to relieue the great citie of PHILADELPHIA, being as then long besieged by the Turks, and hardly bestead without with the enemie; and within, with extreame penurie and famine: which good seruice, they most valiantly performed and raised the siege: For the Turks beholding the good order of these Latine souldiours, their bright armour, and couragious comming on, rise presently and departed, not onely from the citie, but quite out of the emperours territorie. Besides that, in this armie were joyned vnto these Catalonians great numbers of the best souldiours of the Greeks, and all the power of the Massagets: so that had not the emperour expresly before commaunded, not to pursue them too far, it was by many thought all those cities and countries might then againe haue beene in short time recouered from the Turks, which they had before taken from him. But in kingdomes appointed vnto ruine, faire occasions helpe not for the stay thereof: yea the greatest helpes prouided by the worldly wise, by a secret commaunding power aboue, being oftentimes conuerted to the destruction of that they were prouided for the safegard of; as it now fell out with the emperour and

Ronzerius what he was.

these

theſe Spaniſh ſouldiours : for this ſeruice done, the Greekes returned home, as did the Maſſagets alſo. But theſe Catalonians with *Ronzerius* their generall, roaming vp and downe the emperours territories in ASIA, did there great harme, turning their forces (as enemies) vpon them whom they were ſent for to relieue : alleadging that they had not their pay according to the emperours promiſe, and that therefore they muſt liue vpon them that had ſent for them and deceiued them. So were the poore people in euerie place ſpoiled, their wiues and daughters rauiſhed, their prieſts and aged fathers tortured to confeſſe ſuch ſecret ſtore as they had : all was ſubiect vnto theſe diſſolute ſouldiours rage and luſt; yea many of them that had nothing to redeeme themſelues, vpon the greedie ſouldiours imagination, hauing their hands or feet, or ſome other part of their bodies cut off, lay by the high waies ſide begging an halfepenie or a peece of bread, hauing nothing left to comfort themſelues with, more than their miſerable voice and fountaines of teares : with which their wrongs and miſeries, woorſe than thoſe they had ſuſtained by the Turks, the emperour much grieued; and well the more, for that they were done by him whom he had entertained to relieue them : but what remedie, his coffers were ſo bare as that he was not able to do any thing for the redreſſe thereof. *Ronzerius* hauing thus ſpoiled the emperours countrey in ASIA, and left nothing that pleaſed either him or his, with all his power paſſed ouer into EUROPE : and leauing all the reſt of his armie at CALIPOLIS, with two hundred of his men went vnto the yoong emperour *Michael* (then lying with a ſmall power at ORESTIAS in THRACIA) to demaund of him his pay, or if need were to extort it from him with threats : with whoſe inſolencie at his comming, the emperour more offended than before, his ſouldiours there preſent perceiuing the ſame, with their drawn ſwords compaſsing him in, fall by the court, ſlew him, with certaine of his followers ; the reſt in all haſt fled to CALIPOLIS to certifie their fellowes what had happened.

Ronzerius for want of pay ſpoileth the emperors ſubiects.

Ronzerius ſlaine.

Thus by the death of *Ronzerius*, the yong emperor had thought to haue diſcouraged the Catalonians and abated their pride, as like ynough it was to haue done : yet in proofe it fell not out ſo, but was the cauſe of far greater euils. So when God proſpereth not mens actions, the beſt falleth out vnto the worſt, and their wiſeſt deuices turne vnto meere follies : for the Catalonians at CALLIPOLIS hearing of the death of *Ronſerius* their Generall, firſt ſlew all the citizens in the citie, and notably fortifying the ſame, tooke that as their refuge. Then deuiding their ſouldiors into two parts, with the one part of them manned out eight gallies, which vnder the leading of the Great captaine *Tenza*, robbed and ſpoiled all the marchants ſhips, paſsing the ſtraits of HELLESPONTUS, to or from CONSTANTINOPLE : the other part left in the citie, in the meane time forraging the countrey all about them. But *Tenza* ſhortly after encountering with a fleet of the Genowaies, well prouided for him, was by them ouerthrowne, and moſt of his gallies ſunke, and himſelfe taken; but yet afterwards redeemed by his fellowes, and ſo againe inlarged. Now the Catalonians at CALLIPOLIS ſomewhat diſcouraged with the loſſe of their fleet and ſo many of their men, for certaine daies kept themſelues quiet within their wals, as not well knowing what courſe to take; for they feared both the Maſſagets and Thracians : them, for that they had vpon light cauſes abuſed them, and ſlaine diuers of them in the late Aſian warre; and theſe, for that they had but euen the other day burnt their houſes and ſpoiled their labours in the countrey thereby: for which and other their outrages, they vtterly deſpaired of the emperours fauour whom they had ſo highly offended. But that which moſt of all terrified them, was, for that they looked euery day when *Michael* the yoong emperour, who as then lay not farre off, ſhould with a great power come to aſſault them : for feare of whom they caſt a deepe ditch about the citie, with a ſtrong counterſcarfe; ſo preparing themſelues, as if they ſhould haue beene euen preſently beſieged. But the time ſo paſsing, and the emperour delaying his comming, they began to thinke of other matters : For being brought to that ſtrait, that they could not well tell which way to turne them, but that they were on euery ſide beſet with danger; they vpon a malicious reſolution, and vnto the Greekes moſt fatall, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, craued aid of the Turkes that dwelt on the other ſide of the ſtrait ouer againſt them, in ASIA : who preſently ſent them fiue hundred good ſouldiors, after whom followed alſo many other fugitiues and looſe companions, in hope of ſpoile : with whom the Catalonians for the preſent ſtrengthened, and being themſelues three thouſand ſtrong, iſſued out of the citie, and forraged the countrey thereabouts, bringing in with them great heards and flockes of ſheepe and other cattell, together with their keepers : wherwith both the emperours and their ſubiects incenſed, prepared themſelues for reuenge. This was the

firſt

The Turks first called into Europe by the Catalonians.

first calling in of the Turks into EUROPE (that I read of) and the beginning of those endlesse miseries wherewith the Christian commonweale hath beene euer since most grieuously afflicted, and a great part thereof ouerwhelmed; few or none greeuing thereat, but such as themselues feele the heauinesse thereof, whom God in his mercie comfort.

The Turcopuli.

The Catalonians and Turks now lying about CYPSELLA and APRI in THRACE, *Michael* the emperour with his Macedonian and Thracian souldiors, the Massagets and the Turcopuli, encamped at APRI. These Turcopuli were Turks, also in number about a thousand, who (as is in the former part of this historie declared) beeing fled with their Sultan *Iathatines* vnto the Greeke emperour, and left behind him at such time as he was by the Europian Tartars deliuered, had forsaken their Mahometane superstition, and so being become Christians, were enrolled amongst the Greeke souldiors. Shortly after the emperour (aduertised by his scouts of the approch of his enemies) commaunded euery man to be in a readinesse, and his captaines to put his armie in order of battell: who seeing the enemies battell deuided into three parts, put theirs also in like order, placing the Turcopuli & Massagets in the left wing, the Macedonian and Thracian choice horsemen in the right wing, and the rest with the footmen in the maine battell. At which time the emperor himselfe riding from place to place, with comfortable speeches encouraged his men to fight valiantly against their enemies. The Sunne rising, the enemies battell began to come on, in number much inferior vnto the emperours, yet in like order; the Turks being placed in both wings, and the Catalonians well armed in the middest. But the signall of battell being giuen on both sides, the Massagets, whether it were by agreement so before made with the enemie, or vpon a suddaine conceiued treason, presently withdrew themselues aloofe off, and so stood as idle beholders, giuing aid neither to the one nor to the other, as did also the Turcopuli their companions; which greatly dismaied the Grecians, and encouraged their enemies: for the Greekes dismaied with that suddaine defection of their fellowes, were euen in the joyning of the battell discouraged. Which the emperor perceiuing, with great instancie intreated the captains and commaunders of his armie, calling them oftentimes by name, not to be so suddainly discouraged: but they in so great a danger little regarding his words, and still shrinking from him; when as the greatest part of his footmen were troden vnderfoot, and slaine, turning himselfe vnto them that were left, which were but few, he said: *Now woorthie men is the time wherein death is better than life, and life more bitter than death.* And hauing so said, valiantly charged the enemie: in which charge his horse was slaine vnder him, and he in danger to haue beene taken, had not one of his faithfull followers remounted him vpon his owne horse, and so saued his life with the losse of his owne. The emperour flying to DYDIMOTICHUM, where *Andronicus* his father then lay, was of him joyfully receiued, but sharpely reprooued for aduenturing his person so far. The enemies pursuing the chase, slew some, tooke others, vntill that by the comming on of the night, and wearie with the long fight, they retired: and the next day deuiding the spoile, afterwards at their pleasures forraged the countrey. The renegate Turks, called Turcopuli, within a few daies after reuolting vnto the Catalonians, were of them joyfully entertained, and enrolled into the regiment of *Chalel*, the Turks Generall.

The vnfortunat battell of Michael the emperour against the Catalonians and Turks.

Shortly after this victorie, the Catalonians began to mutinie among themselues, the Great captaine *Tenza*, and *Pharenza* his companion, disdaining to bee commaunded by *Recafort* their Generall: in which tumult, the matter comming to blowes, *Tenza* was slaine, and *Pharenza* for safegard of his life glad to flie vnto the emperour *Andronicus*; of whom he was, contrarie to his expectation, right honourably entertained. About this time also, the Massagets hauing done the Greekes more harme, than the Turks against whom they were entertained, and enriched themselues with the spoile of their friends both in ASIA and EUROPE, were about with their wiues and children, and wealth, to returne againe vnto their old dwellings beyond ISTER. Which the Turcopuli, with the Catalonians vnderstanding; and bearing vnto them a secret grudge, for that they (as the weaker) had by them oftentimes been wronged in the deuision of the spoile of the Greekes, lay now secretly in wait for them as they should passe the straits of the great mountaine HEMUS, which bounded the Greeke empire from the Bulgarians: where setting vpon them, fearing no such danger, they slew them almost all; & with the spoile of them, recompenced themselues for all the wrongs they had from them before receiued.

The Catalonians prowd of their victorie at APRI, and well strengthened by the reuolt of the Turcopuli, with continuall rodes spoiled not onely all alongst the sea coast of THRACIA, but

but all the inland countrey alſo, as far as MARONEA, RHODOPE, and BIZIA, laying all waſt before them. And hauing forraged moſt part of THRACIA, brake into MACEDONIA, and there wintred about CASSANDRIA, ſometime a famous citie, but as then all deſolate and ruinous. But the Spring being come, they remoued thence, with purpoſe to haue ſpoiled the cities of MACEDONIA, and eſpecially the rich citie of THESSALONICA, where the empreſſe *Irene* then lay: wherein they were by the emperours good foreſight and care preuented, who doubting ſuch a matter, had fortified his cities in that countrey, and furniſhed them with ſtrong garriſons and all other things needfull for their defence: which they quickly perceiuing, and finding the countrey all deſolate and forſaken by the inhabitants, were about to haue againe returned into THRACIA. But as they were thereupon reſoluing, they were informed by one that was with them captiue, how that the emperour by a mightie ſtrong wall built at a place called CHRISTOPOLIS, from the ſea ſide euen vnto the top of the mountaines, had ſo ſhut vp the paſſage, as that it was not poſsible for them that way to enter. With which vnexpected newes they were at the firſt exceedingly troubled, as foreſeeing, That if they ſhould there long ſtay in that ſpoiled countrey, they ſhould in ſhort time be driuen vnto exceeding wants (for they were now in number aboue eight thouſand fighting men) and afraid alſo by a generall conſpiracie of the people about them, to be oppreſſed. Thus beſet, and not well knowing what to do, or which way to turn themſelues, they deſperatly reſolued, no longer there to ſtay, but forthwith to ſet forward, and to breake into THESSALIE, with the plentifulneſſe thereof to relieue their wants, or into ſome other countrey farther off towards PELOPONESUS, and there to ſeat themſelues, and to end their long trauailes: or at leaſtwiſe, if they could not ſo doe, to enter into league with ſome that dwelt vpon the ſea coaſt, and ſo returne againe into their owne countrey. Wherefore leauing THESSALONICA, and deliuering the emperour of a great feare, they in three daies came to the Theſſalian mountaines, OLYMPUS, OSSA, and PELIUS, where thy at the foot of them found ſuch plentie of all things neceſſarie for their releefe, that they there wintred. But Winter paſt, and the Spring being come, they paſſed ouer thoſe high mountaines and the pleaſant vallies called TEMPE, and ſo at laſt came downe into the fruitfull plaines of THESSALIE; where they ſpent that yeare at their pleaſure, without reſiſtance, deuouring the labours of the poore country people, and making hauocke of whatſoeuer thing came in their way: for as then the ſtate of that countrey was but weake, the prince thereof being but yoong, and withall very ſicke and like to die, and the ſucceſsion ſo ending in him, as that it was feared, who after his death ſhould lay hand thereon; and euery man therefore more carefull of his owne priuat than of the common good. Yet to auert theſe forrain enemies, who like a conſuming fire deuoured the country before them, the nobilitie thought it good, with great gifts to ouercome their captains and commaunders, and then to offer them guides to conduct them into ACHAIA and BEOTIA, countries more pleaſant and fruitfull than was theirs, and more commodious for them to dwell in: promiſing alſo to giue them aid for the ſeating of them there, if they ſhould ſo need. Of which their offers the Catalonians accepted, as thinking it better with their hands full of gold ſo eaſily gotten, to goe ſeeke their better fortunes, with their power yet whole and ſtrong, and helpe alſo if need were, than to hazard all vpon the ſucceſſe of a doubtfull victorie, and ſo fooliſhly to preferre an vncertaine hope before a moſt certaine benefit. So making peace with the Theſſalians, and the Spring being come, receiuing of them their promiſed rewards, & guides to conduct them; paſsing ouer the mountaines beyond THESSALIE, and the ſtraits of THERMOPILE, they encamped neere vnto LOCRIS and the riuer CEPHISUS: which riſing out of the mountaine PERNASSUS, and running toward the Eaſt, hath on the North ſide of them LOCRIS and OPUS; and on the South the inland country of ACHAIA and BEOTIA: and being a great riuer vntill it come to LEBADIA and HALIARTES, is there deuided into two riuers, the one called ÆSOPUS, and the other ISMENUS; whereof the former runneth through the countrey of ATTICA, vntill it come into the ſea, and the other neere vnto AULIS (where the noble Grecians, as they ſay, being about to goe vnto TROY, met and there ſtaied) falleth into the Euboean ſea. But the duke of THEBES and ATHENS and of all that countrey, hearing of their comming, and (as hee thought) well prouided alſo for them (as hauing all the Winter and Spring time before put his forces in readineſſe) with great pride and contempt denied them paſſage through his countrey, at ſuch time as they asked the ſame; making no more reckning of them, than as of a ſort of looſe wandering rogues that could find no place to reſt or thriue in: wherewith they enraged, reſolued among

Caſſandria.

The Catalonians ſhut out of Macedonia.

among themselues, either there to seat themselues in his countrey, or to die therefore. And so passing the riuer into BEOTIA, not far from the same encamped themselues, being in number about 2500 horse, and 4000 foot. But so lying and expecting the comming of their enemies, they caused all the plaine ground about where they lay and meant to fight, to be plowed vp, which they with certaine small cuts out of the riuer so watered, as that it differed but a little from a deepe marish or bog. Hether about the middle of the Spring commeth the prince of the countrey, with a gallant armie raised out of ATHENS, THEBES, PLATEA, LOCRIS, PHOCIS, and MEGARA, in number about 6400 horse and 4000 foot, an armie too strong hee thought for so contemptible an enemie. But the weakest enemie not feared, doth oftentimes the greatest harme, as here by proofe was to be seene: for the prince comming vnto the aforesaid plaine, now grown green with grasse, and casting no perill, encouraging his men, came brauely on with all his horsemen to haue charged his enemies: who stood fast vpon the firme ground, a little without their trenches, as readie to encounter him. But before he was come to the middle of the plaine, his horses sinking deepe into the rotten and new ploughed ground, and there intangled as in a marish, lay for the most part tumbling in the mire, together with their riders; or els plunging in the deepe, and hauing cast them, ran vp and downe the plaine, as fortune led them; othersome sticking fast, stood with their riders vpon their backes, as if they had been very images, not able for to moue. Which the Catalonians beholding, and therewith encouraged, ouerwhelmed them with all manner of shot, and slew them at their pleasure, vntill they had almost made an end of them: and with their horsemen so speedely pursued the rest in chace, euen vnto the cities of THEBES and ATHENS, that they without more adoe euen at that instant surprised them both, with all that was in them. So the Catalonians hauing as it were at a cast at dice woon a most goodly countrey, garnished with faire townes and cities, which they neuer built; and stored with all manner of wealth, which they neuer sweat for; there ended their long trauailes, and seated themselues: Not ceasing (as saith *Nicephorus Gregorias*, the reporter of this historie, speaking of the time wherein these things were done, and wherein hee himselfe liued in CONSTANTINOPLE) vnto this present day, by little and little to extend the bounds of their territorie. Where leauing them with whom we happely haue too long straied from our purpose, let vs againe returne vnto the Turks and Turcopuli their companions.

The slaughter of the Catalonians.

In the armie of the Catalonians, at such time as they were about to haue besieged THESSALONICA, were three thousand Turkes, of whom eleuen hundred were of them (as wee said) which remained with *Melech* at ÆNVM, after the flight of *Iathatines* there Sultan vnto the Tartars, and renouncing their superstition, became Christians; and so being baptized, and hauing wiues and children, were enrolled among the emperours souldiours; but at the battell of APRI reuolted vnto the Catalonians, and were commonly known by the name of Turcopuli: the other being the greater part, were such Turks as with *Chalel* their captaine came out of ASIA, being sent for by the Catalonians. Now all these Turks, as well the one as the other, at such time as the Catalonians were about to inuade THESSALIA, and to seeke their new fortunes in the countries more Westward, and so farther off from ASIA: partly distrusting the societie of them, as dangerous vnto them; and loth also further to follow their vncertaine fortunes into countries further off, among people to them vnknowne; began to arise in mutinie, and to refuse to go. Whereupon their captaines *Melech* and *Chalel* requested of the Generall of the Catalonians to giue them leaue with quietnesse to return: which their request he easily graunted (as now not greatly needing their helpe, after that he was departing out of the emperours dominion) and so they gladly departed; proportionally diuiding all the captiues and spoiles they had taken in that long war, according to the number of both parts.

The Turks deuided into two factions.

These Turks after their departure from the Catalonians, diuided themselues into two parts, the Turcopuli or renegat Turks following *Melech*, and the rest *Chalel* their generall. But *Melech* being before become a Christian, as were his followers also; and after that hauing receiued most honorable entertainment at the emperours hands, and yet againe most shamefully breaking his faith before giuen, and violating his religion, had reuolted vnto his enemies; dispairing of the emperours further friendship, which he had so euill deserued, made choice rather to goe vnto *Vrales* prince of SERVIA, by whom he was sent for, than to come againe into the sight of *Andronicus* the Greeke emperour. And so going vnto him with a thousand horse, and fiue hundred foot, was there of him well entertained himselfe: but his souldiours all commanded to deliuer

vnto

vnto the prince both their horſes and armour, and to fall to other trades and not to beare armes but at ſuch time, and ſo many of them as ſhould ſeeme good vnto the prince, that had receiued them into his countrey.

But *Chalel* with the Turks his followers, in number about 1300 horſe and eight hundred foot, ſtaying at MACEDONIA, offered vnto the Greeke emperour quietly to depart his countrey, ſo that he would giue him paſſage by the ſtraits of CHRISTOPOLIS by him fortified; and in ſafetie tranſport him and his ſouldiours with all their ſubſtance, ouer the ſtrait of HELESPONTVS into ASIA: vnto which his requeſt, the emperour conſidering the great harme done in his prouinces, and deſirous alſo to be diſcharged of ſo great a burthen, eaſily graunted; and ſo ſent *Sennacherib*, one of his moſt valiant captaines, to conduct them out of MACEDONIA into THRACIA, vnto the ſtraits of HELLESPONTVS. Where the Greeke captaines and ſouldiors ſeeing the great multitude of horſes, and abundance of money and other ſpoiles, which they hauing taken from the Greeks were now about to carie away with them into ASIA; they thought it a great indignitie to ſuffer them ſo to do: and allured alſo with the hope of ſo rich a prey, as had beene of long in gathering, they entred into a deuiſe far different from that which was vnto the Turks before promiſed; neither prouiding them of ſhipping, neither carefull of their ſafetie, but purpoſing vpon the ſudden by night to deſtroy them. Whereof the Turks hauing got vnderſtanding, ſuddenly riſing, ſurpriſed a caſtle in the countrey thereby, which they notably fortified for the defence of themſelues, to the great aſtoniſhment of them that had purpoſed their deſtruction; who not now able to force them, were glad to get them farther off, and to certifie the emperour what had happened: who (after I wot not what receiued cuſtome of the Greeke emperours his predeceſſors) ſlowly diſpatching things requiring greateſt haſt, careleſly delayed the time, to the great trouble of his ſtate and aduantage of his enemies. For they wiſely conſidering the danger and diſtreſſe they were in, by ſpeedie meſſengers ſent ouer the ſtrait, craued aid of the Turks their countreymen in ASIA, which they preſently ſent them: wherewith they not a little both encouraged and ſtrengthened, with their often and ſudden incurſions grieuouſly waſted the countrey round about them, to the great diſcontentment of the Greeke captaines, not able without greater helpe to remedie the ſame. Who thereof certified the yoong emperour *Michael Paleologus*, requeſting him with all the power he could make, to come and beſiege the caſtle, and to ſuppreſſe theſe ſo dangerous enemies. For the performance whereof, not onely the captaines with their ſouldiours, but the countrey people in generall with their ſpades and mattocks came flocking vnto the emperour; not as if they would haue beſieged the caſtle, but haue digged it downe and ouerthrown it together with the Turks their enemies.

The vnfortunat battell of the emperour Michael Paleologus with the Turks in Cherſoneſus.

Now the emperour with his captaines and ſouldiours, and a multitude of theſe countrey people, being come thither; who all gladly followed him, moſt part of them fooliſhly thinking of nothing, but of the ſpoile of their enemies; not conſidering with what danger the ſame was to be gained: ſo that the more the enemies prouided for the neceſſarie defence of themſelues, as in number but few, and ſhut vp in their enemies countrey; the more careleſly and negligently, and without all order, the Greeks proceeded in their ſiege, for that they were in number far more, and better prouided of all things than their enemies: not reputing with themſelues, Nothing in this world to be firme and ſure; and all worldly things (as ſaith the diuine Philoſopher) to bee but the mockerie of God, and to be haſtily turned vpſide downe, and with moſt vncertaine courſe this and that way to wander. But their enemies, who before feared euen the verie fame of their comming, accounting themſelues rather among the dead than the liuing, ſeeing their confuſed and diſordered raſhneſſe; therewith much more then before encouraged, beſtowed all their wealth, their women, and other things vnneceſſarie for battel, in good ſafetie within their trenches: but themſelues, with eight hundred choſen horſemen onely, and they verie well armed, ſallied out, euen vnto the place where the imperiall enſigne ſtood; being neither of any great ſafetie, neither guarded with any ſuch ſtrength or carefulneſſe as beſeemed: with which ſudden and deſperat eruption of the enemies, the Græcians terrified; eſpecially that ruſticall and vplandiſh companie, began to flie; after whom by little and little others followed, vntill at length all the reſt without farther reſiſtance, fled alſo: which the emperour ſeeing, did what he might to haue ſtaied their flight: but in ſo generall a confuſion and feare, when euerie man was to ſhift for one, who regarded him? Wherefore wearied and ſeeing no other remedie, hee was glad to take the ſame courſe and to flie with the reſt. Yet many of the more expert captaines, aſhamed of ſo foule a flight,

a flight, made diuers ſtands: and ſo ſtaied the barbarours enemie from further purſuit of the emperour and the other flying Greeks. In which doing, many of them incloſed by the Turks, were of them taken priſoners: vnto whom all the emperours treaſure became a prey alſo, and whatſoeuer honourable enſignes of the empire elſe that were found in the emperours tent; yea the imperiall crowne it ſelfe, richly ſet with pearle and precious ſtones, was there taken alſo, which (they ſay) *Chalel* putting vpon his head, pleaſantly ſcoffed at the Greeke emperour that but late before wore it.

Thracia ſpoiled by the Turks.

After this victorie, the Turks with great pride ſpoiled almoſt all THRACIA, in ſuch ſort as that the people for two yeares together durſt ſcarcely goe out of their ſtrong walled townes to plough and ſow their land; which exceedingly grieued both the emperours, the father and the ſonne: for in their owne power they had no great confidence, God hauing (as it were) taken from their people both their hearts & courage; ſo that all their hope was to entertain forrein aid (the miſerable ſhift of the great diſtreſſed ones) wherein alſo they found many difficulties and lets, whileſt they conſidered the greatneſſe of the charge, their coffers being then (if euer) emptie, by reaſon their territories were ſo long and grieuouſly by their enemies waſted: yet need admitting no law, *Andronicus* the old emperour was glad to ſend to *Crales* prince of SERVIA his ſonne in law, to pray his aid. But in the meane time he making no haſt (as men in relieuing others commonly do) and the miſerie more and more increaſing, it pleaſed God to ſtur vp the heart of one *Philes Paleologus* the emperours neere kinſman, to vndertake the protection and deliuerance of his prince and countrey; and was afterward for his great valour by the emperor woorthily made lord great Martiall of the empire. This *Philes* of whom we now ſpeake, had all his life time beene brought vp in the court, and was for his vpright dealing and integritie of life beloued of all men, but eſpecially of the old emperour his kinſman, whom he with like affection honoured; but was a man altogether vnskilfull of the wars, as being by nature of a weake conſtitution of bodie, and ſo verie ſickly; and withall more giuen to deuotion and the ſeruice of God than the affaires of the world, oftentimes ſpending moſt part of the day at his prayers in the church. He now grieued to ſee the perplexed emperour, and the miſerie of his countrey, requeſted of him that he might with ſome ſmall power, and ſome few captaines of his owne choice, go out againſt theſe proud Turks: hoping (as he ſaid) by the grace of God to reuenge the wrong by them done, and to returne vnto him againe with victorie. Vnto which his requeſt, the emperour eaſily yeelded, ſaying, That God was juſt, which delighted not in any mans legs, either in the greatneſſe of any mans ſtrength, but in a contrite heart and humble mind; not ſo giuing his helpe vnto *Michaell* the emperour, his ſonne, for the offences of his parents: as happely hee might vnto this ſo vpright and deuout a man, regarding more his integritie of life, than his skill in armes: For turning me about, I haue ſeen in this world (ſaid he) I haue ſeene, the ſwift not to gain the prize; neither the valiant the victorie; wiſe men to want bread; and men of vnderſtanding, wealth; the ſimple to gaine fauour; and the ſubtill to fall into diſgrace: ſuch alteration worldly things in time find. So the emperour (as is aforeſaid) yeelding to his requeſt, furniſhed him with money, horſes, and armour, and ſuch a conuenient power as he himſelfe deſired. Which he hauing receiued, firſt of all encouraged his captaines and ſouldiors with all manner of courteſie and kindneſſe, giuing vnto them money, horſes, armour, jewels, yea ſometime he gaue vnto one his purſe, vnto another his cloake, his rapier, or ſome other ſuch thing as he had about him, to encourage them in their forwardneſſe: after that he perſuaded them to an honeſt temperate courſe of life, and valiantly to play the men, promiſing according to their deſerts to reward euerie one of them, the war once happely ended: and before his ſetting forth, vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that *Chalel* with a thouſand foot and two hundred horſe was forraging the countrey about BYZIA, he haſted his departure, that ſo he might by the way encounter them, laded with the ſpoile of the countrey: and ſo ſetting forward, came the third day vnto a little riuer, which the inhabitants call XEROGIPSUM, and there in a great plaine neere vnto the ſame, encamped. Where after he had ſet all things in order fit for battell, he with cheerefull ſpeeches, as a great commaunder, encouraged his captaines and ſouldiors; leauing nothing vnſaid or vndone, that might ſerue for the animating of them to fight. But hee had not ſo lien two daies, but that his ſcouts about midnight comming in, brought him tidings, That the enemie laden with ſpoile, was euen faſt by at hand: who by the riſing of the Sunne were come within ſight, and had themſelues a far off alſo diſcouered the Chriſtian armie, all gliſtering in bright armour. Wherfore ſtaying a while to prepare them-

Philes Paleologus requeſteth of the emperour, that he might goe againſt the Turks.

themſelues for battell: and firſt of all, compaſsing themſelues round with their waggons and other cariages, they beſtowed in them all their captiues faſt bound together, with the bootie they had taken: and afterwards as their manner was, caſting duſt vpon their heads, and their hands vp towards heauen, they came on. And now the Chriſtian armie came on forward alſo, *Philes* ſtill encouraging both the horſemen and footmen, and right well conducting them, as the time and place required. So it fortuned, that he that had the leading of the right wing of the armie, gaue the firſt charge vpon a ſquadron of the enemies, and at the firſt onſet vnhorſed one of the enemies, and by and by after him, another. But hauing his horſe ſore wounded vnder him, he haſtely retired out of the battell, which ſomewhat troubled the Chriſtians, and encouraged the Turks, who now with a barbarous outcrie began moſt fiercely to preſſe vpon the retiring Chriſtians. *Philes* in the meane time with many cheerefull words and comfortable perſuaſions ſtill encouraging them to play the men; and with his eyes oftentimes caſt vp to heauen, with teares running downe his face, moſt heartely beſought God, the giuer of all victorie, no longer to ſuffer thoſe his enemies, and the miniſters of his wrath, to triumph ouer his people: as did alſo the poore captiues that lay bound, doubtfully betwixt feare and hope, expecting the euent of the battell. The Chriſtian footmen at the ſame time encountering hand to hand with the Barbarians, aſſailed them, and were aſſailed; ſlew of them, and were themſelues of them ſlaine; ſo that there was a cruell fight made on both ſides. But *Philes* with the multitude of his men hauing almoſt compaſſed in the Barbarian horſemen, with a companie of his moſt valiant ſouldiors broke in vpon the ſide of the enemies battell, and ſo made way through the middeſt of it: and ſo troubled the Turkes, as that they well knew not how to ſtay or what to doe. So being on euery ſide circumuented and hardly charged, moſt of them there fell, excepting ſome few horſemen, whom the Greeke horſemen purſued vnto the entrance of CHERSONESUS, with purpoſe there to ſhut them vp. *Philes* comming thither alſo, there vpon thoſe ſtraits encamped: at which time the emperour preſently ſent out fiue gallies to keepe the ſtraits of HELLESPONTUS, ſo that no ayd might be brought vnto theſe Turkes out of ASIA. Whileſt things thus went, two thouſand choice horſemen came to the aid of *Philes* out of SERVIA, and the poteſtate of PERA came by ſea alſo with eight gallies moe into HELLESPONTUS to the aid of the other Chriſtians: wherfore when the Grecians and the Seruians had thus on the one ſide ſhut them vp by land, and they that were in the gallies on the other by ſea; *Philes* with all his power came and encamped about the towne and the trenches wherein the Turkes lay, planting his batterie againſt the caſtle, wherewith he greatly ſhooke the ſame, and made great ſlaughter of the Turks, and of their horſes, and that not onely by day, but by night alſo. But the Turkes ſeeing death now preſent before their eyes, and no way left for them to eſcape: for that they were ſo on euery ſide both by ſea and land encloſed, thought good thus to aduenture their liues, reſoluing by night to ſet vpon the Grecians rather than vpon the Seruians, whom they had hetherto accuſtomed to ouercome, and whom they had with often ſlaughters terrefied; that ſo the reſt by them alſo happely diſcouraged, they might ſo delay the aſſault: but in attempting the ſame, they perceiued themſelues much deceiued, finding them euen at their firſt ſallying out, ready in armes to receiue them: wherfore hauing in vaine giuen the attempt (as againſt a ſtrong fortreſſe) they were ſhamefully enforced to retire. Yet were they not therewith ſo diſcouraged, but that the ſtraight ſiege ſtill continuing, they gaue the like attempt vpon the Seruians; but being alſo by them in like manner with loſſe repulſed, they began now vtterly to deſpaire. Wherefore the next day, about midnight caſting away their armes, they with their boſomes and pockets full of coine ran downe vnto the ſea ſide, towards the gallies, with purpoſe to yeeld themſelues vnto the Genowaies that were therein; as fearing of them leſſe harme, as of men whom they had neuer hurt. But the night being darke and miſtie, and the Moone giuing no light, many of them vnawares came vnto the Greeke gallies, and there, flying the ſmoke fell into the fire: for being lightened of their money, they were by them forthwith without any pitie ſlaine alſo. But the Genowaies ſlew not all their priſoners, but onely ſuch as had brought with them the greateſt ſtore of coine; leaſt afterwards bewraying the ſame, it ſhould haue beene ſought after by the Greekes: the reſt they caſt into bonds, of whom, ſome they ſent vnto the emperour, otherſome they kept to themſelues as their owne priſoners. Thus by the valour and good conduct of this worthie deuout captaine, the Turks were for that time againe chaſed out of EUROPE, and the countrey of THRACIA deliuered of a great feare.

The battell betwixt Philes and the Turks.

The Turks ouerthrowne.

The causes of the decay of the Greeke empire.

Now by that we haue alreadie written, is easily to be seene, the chiefe causes of the decay and ruine of the Greeke empire, to haue been, First, the innouation and change of their antient Religion and ceremonies by *Michael Paleologus*, whereof ensued a world of woes; then by Couetousnesse, coloured with the name of good husbandrie, the vtter destruction of the chiefe strength of the empire; next vnto that, by Enuie, the ruine of the great; False suspect, the looser of friends; Ambition, honours ouerthrow; Distrust, the great minds torment; and Forreine aid, the empires vnfaithfull porter, opening the gate euen vnto the enemie himselfe: wherunto foule Discord ioyned (as shall be foorthwith declared) what wanted that the barbarous enemie could desire, for the helping of them in the supplanting of so great an empire? But againe to our purpose: *Michael*, companion with his father *Andronicus* in the empire, had by his wife *Marie* two sonnes, *Andronicus* who was afterward emperour, and *Manuel* surnamed the Despot; and two daughters, *Anne* maried vnto *Thomas* prince of EPIRVS, and *Theodora* married to the prince of BVLGARIA: of all these, the old emperour *Andronicus* their grandfather, so entirely loued *Andronicus* his nephew, as that in comparison of him he little seemed to regard either his owne children, or the rest of his nephews, wishing them all rather to perish than him: which many supposed him to do, as purposing by him the better to establish the succession of the empire in his house; as also for his excellencie of wit, and comelinesse of person; the likenesse of name also happily furthering his kind affection. For which reasons, he caused him to be alwaies honourably brought vp in his court, as not willing to spare him out of his sight either day or night. But when he was out of his childhood, and growne to be a lustie youth (at which time mens hot desires are commonly most vehement) he began to contemne all chastisement and gouernment; especially in so high a calling, and in the prime of his youth. Besides that, his companions became vnto him the ministers and persuaders of all those vaine delights which vnstaied youth most desireth: and at the first began to lead him foorth to walke the streets, to hauke, to hunt, and to haunt plaies, and afterwards to night walks also, not well beseeming his state: which riotous course of life, when as it required great expence, and his aged grandfather gaue him but a certaine spare allowance for his conuenient maintenance; he acquainted himselfe with the rich marchants of GENOVVAY, which dwelt at PERA. Hereof rose hard taking vp of money, great debt, fine deuises how to come by coyne, with secret consultations and purposes of flight. For when hee saw his grandfather old *Andronicus* long to liue, and his father *Michael* like to succeede him, he had no hope of aspiring to the empire; whereupon his ambitious thoughts, and impotent desires, long time tormenting his haughtie heart, suggested vnto him such purposes. For when as hee would not obey his grandfather as his tutor, nor follow other mens counsels, as a child, hee sought after the emperiall libertie, and abundance of wealth; that he might haue that was sufficient for himselfe, and wherewith to reward others, as the followers of an emperour. Which seeing he could not doe, his grandfather yet liuing, and his father raigning; he sought after the soueraignetie of other principalities and countries: one while after ARMENIA, as belonging vnto him in the right of his mother, the king of ARMENIA his daughter; another while after PELOPONESVS, and sometime hee dreamed of LESBOS and LEMNVS, and other the fruitfull Islands of the Ægean sea: which when it was secretly told sometime to his father, and sometime to his grandfather, he was now crossed and reproued of the one, and afterwards of the other. And to passe ouer many other his youthfull prancks, hee vsed in his night walks secretly to repaire vnto a certaine gentlewomans house, more honourably borne, than honestly quallified: which woman, a certaine gallant and another *Adonis*, no lesse affected than himselfe; wherewith he highly offended, as with his riuall, appointed certaine ruffians and fencers to watch her house. But vpon a certaine time about midnight, *Manuel* the Despot (his yoonger brother) seeking after him, chanced to passe that way where these watchmen lay: who seeing him hasten by, and not knowing him in the darke, and supposing him to haue been the man they looked for, the gentlewomans best beloued, set vpon him, and so wounded him that he fell downe for dead from his horse: but being by and by after known by others comming in, he was taken vp, and so halfe dead carried vnto the court. Which outrage in the morning being knowne vnto the emperour, cast him into a great heauinesse, as beholding not the time present onely, but wisely considering what was like to ensue in the time to come also. But *Manuel* the Despot being dead of the wounds there receiued, and the report therof brought vnto *Michael* the yoong emperour his father, then lying at THESSALONICA, strooke him

to

to the heart with ſo great a griefe, that falling ſicke with the conceit thereof, hee ſhortly after died.

Andronicus the vnſtaied youth neuertheleſſe holding on his wconted courſe, with a ſecret purpoſe to haue fled, became thereby ſtill more and more ſuſpitious vnto his aged grandfather, not a little carefull vnto what end thoſe his violent paſsions would at length tend. And therefore appointed one *Syrgiannes* (a man of great credit and authorie in the court, in whom as in a reconciled enemie he had moſt vnaduiſedly repoſed too much truſt) to inſinuat himſelfe into the youthfull princes acquaintance and fauour; that ſo ſounding him, and his ſecret deſignes, he ſhould not poſsibly be able without his knowledge to ſtep aſide; which of all things the old emperour feared moſt, as the beginning of greater troubles.. This *Syrgiannes* being a man of great place, and of a ſubtill wit, was ſometime himſelfe ſuſpected of aſpiring; and therefore as vpon the miſpriſion of treaſon, was by the old emperor impriſoned: but afterwards by him again inlarged and receiued into fauour, was now put in truſt warily to obſerue the doings of the yoong prince. But he not vnmindfull of the wrong before done vnto him, and in hope by troubling the ſtate, either to aſpire vnto the empire himſelfe, or at leaſtwiſe to ſome good part thereof; thought now a fit occaſion to be miniſtred vnto him for him to worke vpon, both for the one and the other, by ſetting the old emperour, and his ambitious nephew together by the eares: which opportunitie he not minding to let ſlip, taking the yoong prince one day aſide, diſcouered vnto him all his grandfathers deuiſe in briefe, as followeth:

Syrgiannes his craftie ſeditious ſpeech vnto yoong Andronicus.

Your grandfather noble prince (ſaid he) *hath ſet me as a watch ouer your actions, or more truely to ſay, as a blood-hound, to ſeeke after not your doings onely, but if it were poſsible euen after your moſt ſecret thoughts alſo: and ſo whileſt he malicioufly preparеth for you ſnares and fetters, you not aware thereof, fooliſhly follow your ſhallow and childiſh conceits. For what ſhall it auaile you ſecretly to flie away? whereas (if the beſt chance) yet muſt you (as the common ſaying is) put your feet vnder another mans table, and liue of his charge; if it fall not out worſe, that you be ſlaine or made away by them you flie vnto for reliefe, or elſe fall into the ſnares by your grandfather laid for you. But if ſo be that caſting behind you theſe your fond deuiſes you will hearken vnto my counſell, I will ſhew you a readie way how you ſhall in ſhort time and without any danger, aſpire vnto the imperiall ſeat and dignitie; the onely way whereunto is this, if you leauing the citie of* CONSTANTTNOPLE *ſhall flie out into the cities and prouinces of* THRACIA. *For ſeeing men are moſt commonly by nature deſirous of change, and the miſerable Thracians are with often exactions grieuouſly vexed; if you ſhall but once proclaime a redreſſe of their grieuances, with immunitie for euer, they will all with one accord follow you whether ſoeuer you will, your grandfathers long and heauie yoke being caſt off, as if it were* Siſiphus *his heauie ſtone, which they had long rolled and neuer the neere. If you like of this aduiſe, I will be vnto you both the authour and the leader of this exploit, and will eaſily bring to good effect the whole matter: ſo that you againe on the other ſide promiſe vnto me vpon your faith, to reward this my trauell according to my deſert therein. But what rewards ſhall theſe be? Honourable preferments, large poſſeſſions, great reuenues, the firſt place in your fauour, and that no great matter be done or concluded without my conſent and knowledge. For you ſee how willingly I make my ſelfe partaker of your calamitie, and companion of your dangers, no neceſsitie enforcing me thereunto; forgetting euen my verie faith, in compariſon of the loue and zeale I beare towards you, wherein if any miſhap ſhall by the mutabilitie of fortune betide me, I haue ſet downe my ſelfe with patience to indure it. All which conſidered, you need not to grudge to yeeld vnto my requeſts, if you tender your owne ſafetie. And for as much as the ſhortneſſe of the time will ſuffer no long conſultations, and that delay bringeth extreame danger; let vs without longer ſtay impart the matter vnto ſuch others, as for the hatred of the emperour are like to keepe our counſell, and may yet much further our deſignes.*

The yoong prince mooued with this ſpeech, as if it had beene with a charme, eaſily gtaunted to his deſire, confirming the ſame by his oath conceiued in writing: at which time were preſent ſuch as were eſpecially to be acquainted with the plot of the conſpiracie, namely *Iohn Catacuzene*, and *Theodorus Synadenus* (both men of great honour, and the old emperours antient ſuppoſed friends, and of him beloued, much of like age vnto himſelfe) and *Alexius Apocaucus* the third (not of like honour with the other, yet a man of great place, and of a moſt ſubtile and deepe wit:) who all vnderſtanding the matter, ſhewed themſelues not as miniſters, but as ring-

leaders and captaines of the intended rebellion. This conspiracie with most solemne oaths and promises on euerie part confirmed, they began right cunningly to attempt the matter: and to begin withall, *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus*, by corrupting diuers of the great and most gratious courtiers, procured to themselues the gouernment of such cities and prouinces in THRACIA, as they thought fittest for them to begin their rebellion in. *Syrgiannes* hauing the gouernment of the sea coast, and the inland countrey euen from the sea side vnto the top of mount RHODOPE; and *Catacuzenus* the gouernment of the countrey about ORESTIAS. In all which places they mustred souldiors, prouided armour, entertaining also strangers, and other vagrant and masterlesse men, as for some great war: besides that, in the cities for the gouernment thereof, they placed their most trustie friends, remooving such others as they had in suspect. All which they coloured by rumours falsly raised, one while of the comming of the Europian Tartars from DANVBIVS; and another while by the comming of the Turks out of ASIA: against whose inuasions these preparations were giuen out to be made, for auoiding of suspition; and the traitours for their prouident care highly commended euen by the emperour himselfe, against whom they were intended. All which things *Syrgiannes* notably dissembled, oftentimes withall certifying the yong prince what he had done, and what was likewise of him to be performed.

But the old emperour, seeing his youthfull nephew not to hearken to his graue aduise, but still to proceed in his dissolute kind of life; was about solemnly to haue reproued him before the Patriarch and some others of the chiefe nobilitie: if happily such open reproofe might haue wrought in him some change of manners; if not, then to haue committed him to prison: and like enough he was to haue so done, had he not bene otherwise persuaded by *Theodorus Metochita* (who of all others was able to do most with him) by reason of the libertie of the time; for then it was vpon the point of Shrouetide, when as the people distempered with excesse of meate and drinke, were of all other times most fit, vpon any light occasion, to be drawne into a tumult or vprore: for feare whereof, he was contented for that time to let him alone. But Shrouetide past, and a good part of Lent also, the old emperour seeing no amendment in his nephew, calling vnto him *Gerasimus* the patriarch, & the rest of the reuerend bishops thē present in the citie, sent for his nephew, openly before them all to chide him, and to schoole him for his disordered life, but especially for his purposed flight; that ashamed of such open reproofe before such reuerend fathers, he might either amend his life, or at least wise of all men be thought justly punished for the same, if he should still proceed therin. So the young prince being sent for, came accompanied with a number of his fauourits and followers, most of them being secretly armed, and he himselfe not altogether vnprouided: for it was agreed amongst them, that if the emperour should vse gentle and fatherly admonition towards him, that then they should keepe themselues quiet, without any shew of insolencie or discontentment; but if he should in anger reproue him, or threaten to punish him, then vpon a signe giuen, forcibly with their swords drawne, to breake in vpon him and to kill him in the imperiall seat, and without more ado to place young *Andronicus* his nephew in his steed. But comming in, and (as his manner was) taking his place next vnto his aged grandfather, his desperat followers attending without, he was indeed of him grieuously blamed and reproued for his former follies and euill course of life; yet with such moderation and grauitie, as that all seemed (as it did) to come of a most fatherly care and regard: so that at that time no such outrage was committed, as was by diuers his followers wished, but the assemblie quietly dismissed, and a solemne oath taken on both sides: of the grandfather, That he should not appoint any other to succeed him in the empire but his nephew; and of the yong prince, That he should neuer go about or attempt any thing, to the shortening or hurt of his grandfathers life or empire. But the conspirators thronging about him at his comming out, fretted & fumed at him, as if he had broken his faith and oath before giuen them, saying, What greater wrong couldest thou do to vs, than being by vs made strong and become dreadfull vnto thine enemies, to dispose of thine affaires at thy pleasure to thine owne safetie, and to leaue vs thy most faithfull friends and seruants in the diuels mouth to be deuoured? For now they both doubted, and feared, least their conspiracie was discouered. With which speeches he both discouraged, and ashamed, sent for *Theodorus Metochita* his grandfathers chiefe counseller, requesting him to deale with his grandfather, for the pardoning of all his followers, as he had done for himselfe: of which motion he disliking, told him, That he was to giue God thanks that he had himself escaped so great a danger, and to him also, as a meane for the safegard of his life; although he entreated not for such traiterous

Yong Andronicus commeth secretly armed vnto his grandfather.

traiterous persons; with whom, if he were well aduised, he would haue nothing to do, either think that they would euer be faithfull vnto him, that respecting neither God nor man, had so foulbroken their faith before giuen vnto the emperour his grandfather. With which vnexspected answer of so great and graue a counsellor, the prince not a little troubled and withall discontented, stood a while as in a muse all silent, reasoning as it were with his owne passions: but afterwards commanding him without further reply to depart, and the old companions of his follies resorting vnto him, he by their persuasion entertained againe his former disloiall thoughts and designements: which his grandfather vehemently suspecting, and therewith not a little grieued, would, as if it had beene by inspiration, oftentimes in his heauinesse say vnto them that were about him, *In our time is lost the maiestie of our empire, and the deuotion of the Church.* Yet to preuent the worst, he thought it good betime to lay hands vpon his suspected nephew, and so to detaine him in safe keeping: acquainting none therewith but *Gerasimus* the Patriarch and his ghostly father, who straightway acquainted the prince therewith, and was the cause that he hastened his flight, flying himselfe before. For he now certainly vnderstanding the danger he was in, the night before he should haue beene apprehended, with all the rest of the conspirators his complices, in the dead time of the night fled out of the citie, by the gate called GYROLIMNIA, which gate (all the rest being shut) was still at his command, for that he commonly vsed thereby at his pleasure very early to go out on hunting, as he now pretended to do; but the next day after came to *Syrgiannes* and *Catacuzenus* camp, who then both lay with a great power at HADRIANOPLE, expecting his comming. The old emperour, before the rising of the sunne, aduertised of the flight of his nephew, the same day commanded him to be proclaimed traitor, & proscribed, with all his conspirators, & whosoeuer els should take his part. And for the more suretie, euery man in the citie was sworne to be loyall and faithfull vnto the old emperour, and enemies vnto his nephew and his adherents. But he on the other side, proclaiming libertie and immunitie abroad in all the cities and villages in THRACIA, so woon the hearts of the countrey people in generall, that they resorted vnto him from all places in great numbers, ready armed to doe whatsoeuer he should command them. And to begin withall, they first laid hands vpon the collectors of the emperours monie, then abroad in the countrey, whom they foully intreated, taking from them their money. After that, and yet seuen daies not expired, almost an incredible number of horsmen, footmen, archers, and others, departed from HADRIANOPLE towards CONSTANTINOPLE, vnder the leading of *Syrgiannes*, in good hope at their first comming to take the citie, being at discord in it selfe; and most part of the meaner sort, in hope of gaine, fauouring their rebellious proceedings, such as the seditious find in such rebellious tumults. So hauing marched foure daies, they came and encamped at SELYBRIA: but as they were about to haue gone on farther, the old emperour doubting least the citizens, seeing so great an armie before the citie, should therein raise some tumult or stirre, to the endangering thereof; thought good before to send embassadours vnto his nephew, to proue if happily these so dangerous troubles, might by their meanes in some good sort be appeased. The chiefe of these embassadours was one *Theoleptus* bishop of PHILADELPHIA, a man no lesse famous for his vertue than his wisdome, and yet for both of all men honored; and with them also was sent *Syrgiannes* his mother, as of all others most fit to appease her sonne, & to persuade him not to approch the citie, for that thereof might ensue much bloudshed, and the destruction of the citie, or at least wise the vtter vndoing of manie; whereof if he should be the authour, how could he euer after liue in conscience quiet, but that the torment thereof would follow him euen into his graue; and therefore to request him to retire a little, and so to come to talke, and to demaund what he pleased. *Syrgiannes* moued as well with the presence of the reuered bishop, as with the prayers of his mother, retired to the young prince, which then lay about ORESTIAS; whither the emperous embassadours came also: with whom (after long debating) it was agreed, That the young prince should in all royall manner, hold all THRACIA, from CHRISTOPOLIS vnto RHEGIVM and the suburbs of CONSTANTINOPLE: and withall, That such lands as the young prince had already giuen vnto his followers in MACEDONIA should still remaine vnto them (which were such as yearely yeelded vnto them a right great reuenue:) And that the old emperour should hold vnto himselfe the imperiall citie, with all the cities and prouinces of MACEDONIA beyond CHRISTOPOLIS: and that he alone should haue the honour to heare the embassadours sent from forraine princes, and to giue them their dispatch; for that the young prince tooke no pleasure in those

Thracia reuolteth vnto Andronicus.

Articles of agreemẽt betwixt the old emperour and his nephew.

waightie affaires; as by nature more delighted in hauking, hunting, and his other youthfull plea-
sures. Vpon which conditions a peace was concluded, better liked of the yoong prince, than of
the old emperour; who although he was desirous otherwise to haue redressed so great wrongs,
yet wanting power, was glad to yeeld to whatsoeuer his nephew would request. Thus was the
Greeke empire in EUROPE (as then all or the most part inclosed within the bounds of MACE-
DONIA and THRACIA) now deuided betwixt the grandfather and his nephew: ASIA in the
meane time (wherin the Greek emperors their predecessors sometime held great kingdomes) be-
ing left for a prey to the greedie Turks. *Othoman* on the one side euen in the heat of these troubles
laying the foundation of his empire in PHRIGIA and BYTHINIA: and the other the Turks prin-
ces, the successors of Sultan *Aladin*, encroching as fast vpon the emperors territories and coun-
tries on this side the riuer MEANDER. And not so contented, at the same time also built great
store of gallies, wherewith they robbed the Christian marchants trading to CONSTANTINO-
PLE, and spoiled the coasts of MACEDONIA and THRACIA, and the Ilands of the ÆGEAN,
and amongst others tooke the famous Iland of the RHODES: which they held not long, before
they were againe driuen out of the same by the knights Hospitalers, vnder the conduct of *Wil-
liam Willaret*, aided by the Genowaies, and the king of SICILIA, which they from that time
held (to the great honour and benefit of the Christian commonweale) by the space of 214 years,
knowne by the name of The knights of the RHODES: vntill that in the memorie of our fathers
it was (I say no more, but grieue therefore) shamefully lost vnto the Turke, for want of relief; ne-
uer place being more honourably defended, as in the processe of this historie shall appeare: euer
since which time, those honourable men (the flower of chiualrie) haue seated themselues in the
Isle of MALTA; which they to their immortall glorie, and the comfort of all good Christians,
haue most notably defended against the mightie Sultan *Solyman*, and all the furie of the Turks, as
shall be also in due place declared.

The Greeke empire in Europe deuided.

Whilest the Greekes are at discord among themselues, Othoman layeth the foundation of the Turks empire, and the other Turks encroch vpon them also.

The Iland of the Rhodes was by the knights Hospitalers recouered from the Turks in the yeare 1308.

But to returne againe vnto the troubled estate of the Greeke empire. *Syrgiannes* the great cap-
taine, and author of all the aforesaid stirs betwixt the old emperour and his nephew, had euen
from the beginning thought, as a companion to the yoong prince, to haue ruled all with him at
his pleasure, and that nothing either great or little should haue been done without him: but see-
ing it now to fall out far otherwise than he had before expected, and the prince to be wholly ruled
by *Cataculenus*, and himselfe of all others least regarded, and not so much as called to any coun-
sell; inwardly tormented with greefe and enuie, he began secretly with himselfe to deuise how he
might be reuenged of the vngratefull prince, which vnmindfull of his former promises, had so
vnthankfully cast him off. Wherefore he resolued againe to reuolt vnto the old emperour, not
doubting but so in short time to ouerthrow all the counsels and deuices of the yoong prince,
together with his state also, by himselfe before raised. For hee as a worldly wise man, excluding
God from his counsels, had such an opinion of himselfe, that which way soeuer he went, thither
must all things follow also. Wherfore by one of his most trustie friends, he secretly made the old
emperour acquainted with his purposed reuolt, and how all things stood: for the greater credit
thereof, alleadging, That he could not abide the sight of him that sought to corrupt his wife,
meaning the yoong prince. This newes from *Syrgiannes* was vnto the old emperour most wel-
come: for it grieued him, as an old man of a great spirit, to see himselfe so contemned and delu-
ded by his nephew, his empire rent, and his old seruitours, of all sorts, by him spoiled of their
lands and possessions in MACEDONIA and THRACIA. So a solemne oath in secret passed from
the one to the other, *Syrgiannes* without longer stay secretly fled to CONSTANTINOPLE:
which there bruited abroad, rejoyced many, now well hoping the whole gouernment would
againe come vnto the old emperour, and that so they should againe recouer their possessions
wrongfully taken from them by his nephew. But God not seeing it so good, all this hope was but
vaine, as ere long it appeared: For the yong prince, who of long knew how much he was belo-
ued of the Constantinopolitans, and by them secretly sent for, taking occasion vpon the flight of
Syrgiannes, with all the power he could make, marched towards the citie: & being come within
sight therof, encamped, laying ambushes vpon euery way & passage thereabout, for to haue inter-
cepted *Syrgiannes*; who was then at PERINTHUS, and the third night after, with three hundred
select souldiors, deceiuing them that lay in wait for him, as if they had beene all asleepe, before
the rising of the Sunne came to CONSTANTINOPLE: and if the old emperour would haue
giuen him leaue, had suddainly charged them that lay in wait for him, before they were aware of

his

his comming. But as ſoone as it was day, the prince hearing of the eſcape of *Syrgiannes*, and no ſuch tumult in the citie as he had expected, preſently without more adoe retired with his armie the ſame way he came, backe againe into THRACIA.

By and by after, *Conſtantine* the Deſpot was by the old emperour his brother ſent by ſea to THESSALONICA, to take vpon him the gouernment of MACEDONIA, and by the way to apprehend *Xene* the empreſſe, the yong princes mother; & after with all the power he could make to inuade the yong prince in THRACIA: that ſo ſetting vpon him on the one ſide out of MACEDONIA, and *Syrgiannes* with the Turks (for the emperour in this ciuile diſcord was glad to vſe their helpe alſo) and the Bythinian ſouldiours on the other, they might ſo ſhut him vp betwixt them and take him. According to which reſolution, the Deſpot comming to THESSALONICA there tooke the empreſſe, whom with all her familie he thruſt into a gallie, and ſo ſent her to CONSTANTINOPLE, where ſhe was in the palace kept cloſe, as too much fauouring the proceedings of the prince. And afterward raiſing all the power he could in MACEDONIA, inuaded the prince in THRACIA, breaking by force through the wall of CHRISTOPOLIS.

The yoong prince ſeeing himſelfe by this meanes, now like to be driuen to a great ſtrait, ſent *Synadenus* with his Thracian armie, to defend the frontiers of his empire towards CONSTANTINOPLE, againſt *Syrgiannes* with his Turkes and Bythinians: in hope himſelfe by many ſubtle deuiſes and ſlights, to be able to encounter his vncle the Deſpot. And firſt he cauſed diuers edicts and proſcriptions to be written in haſt, wherein great rewards and preferments were with great ſolemnitie of words promiſed to whomſoeuer could bring vnto him the Deſpot either quicke or dead: which were of purpoſe giuen vnto the country people paſſing too and fro, to be diſperſed abroad in the high waies, and about in the country neere vnto the Deſpots campe. And after that, he cauſed the death of the emperour his grandfather to be euerie where proclaimed, and how that he was by the Conſtantinopolitans in a tumult ſlaine: which the deuiſers thereof, in euery place reported. Yea ſome there were, that ſwore they were themſelues preſent at his wofull death, and ſaw it with their eies: otherſome, more certainely to perſuade the matter, ſhewed long white goats haires, or ſuch like gathered out of white wooll, as if they had beene by the furious people pluckt from the old emperours head or beard, at ſuch time as hee was ſlaine. Which things being commonly reported in euery towne and village, but eſpecially in the Deſpots campe, wonderfully filled mens heads with diuers ſtrange and doubtfull thoughts: then diuers alſo of the diſperſed edicts being found, and brought vnto the Deſpot, ſtrucke him (and not without cauſe) into a great feare; inſomuch, that by the perſuaſion of his beſt friends, he without longer ſtay retired in haſt to THESSALONICA. Whither ſhortly after came a gallie from CONSTANTINOPLE, with ſecret letters from the emperour to the Deſpot, for the apprehenſion of fiue and twentie of the cheefe cittizens, vehemently ſuſpected for the ſtirring vp of the people to rebellion, and ſo to haue deliuered the citie vnto the prince: all whom the Deſpot ſhould haue ſent bound in that gallie to CONSTANTINOPLE: but they in good time perceiuing the danger they were in, ſecretly ſtirring vp the people, and by and by after ringing out the bels (the ſignall appointed for the beginning of the rebellion) had in a very ſhort time raiſed a woonderfull tumult in the citie; inſomuch, that all the cittizens were vp in armes, who running headlong vnto the houſe of the Deſpot, found not him (for he forewarned of their comming, was fled into the caſtle) but ſlew all they met of his, or els robbing them, caſt them in priſon. As for the Deſpots houſe, they tooke what they found therein, and afterwards pulled it downe to the ground. Then comming to the caſtle, they fired the gates: which the Deſpot ſeeing, and not able to defend the place, tooke horſe and fled vnto a monaſterie not far off, where being taken by them that purſued him, he full ſore againſt his will, for the ſafegard of his life, tooke vpon him the habit of a monke: neuertheleſſe, he was fro thence caried priſoner to the yong prince his nephew, who ſhewed himſelfe much more courteous vnto him, than all the reſt of his nobilitie & waiters: for they, as if they would haue eaten him vp, were euen foorthwith readie to haue torne him in peeces, had not the prince embracing him in his armes, ſaued his life. Yet the next day after, by the perſuaſion of his counſell he ſent him to DIDIMOTICHVM; where hee was caſt into a moſt loathſome priſon, being verie deepe and ſtraight, in manner of a well, no bodie to attend vpon him but one boy, where he lay in miſerable darkeneſſe and ſtinke; they which drew vp his ordure from him and the boy, whether by chance or of purpoſe, pouring it oftentimes vpon his head. Where after he had lien a great while in moſt extreame miſerie, wiſhing to die and could not; he was at

length

length by the princes commandement (entreated thereunto by certaine religious men) remoued into a more easie prison, where we will for euer leaue him.

Andronicus the old emperor seeketh for counsell of the Psalter, as of an heauenly Oracle, and so seeketh to make peace with his nephew. Psal. 68. vers. 14.

Things falling out crosse with the old emperor, and although they were neuer so well deuised, still sorting out vnto the worst, he became verie pensiue and doubtfull what to do. So it fortuned, that one day in his melancholy mood hauing a Psalter in his hand, to resolue his doubtfull mind, he opened the same (as if it were) of that heauenly Oracle to aske counsell: where in the first verse that he light vpō was, *Dum cœlestis dissociat reges, niue conspergentur in Selmon:* When the Almightie scattered kings (for their sakes) then were they as white as snow in Selmon. Which he applying to himselfe, as if all those troubles, and whatsoeuer else had happened in them, proceeded from the will of God, although for causes to him vnknowne: hee by and by sought to reconcile himselfe vnto his nephew; contrarie to the mind of *Syrgiannes*, desiring nothing but trouble. For (as we haue before said) the yoong prince although he was desirous of the power and libertie of an emperor, yet he left the ornaments and care thereof vnto his grandfather: & had he not oftentimes and earnestly been egged forward by his companions to affect the whole empire, happily could and would haue contented himselfe with the former pacification: for being now sent for, he came first to RHEGIVM, and there visited his mother (now set at libertie, and sent thither for the furtherance of the desired pacification) where he with her and by her counsell did whatsoeuer was there done. So within a few daies the matter was brought into so good tearms, that an attonement was made, and he himselfe went and met the emperour his grandfather before the gates of the citie: the old emperour sitting then vpon his horse, and the prince lighting from his, a good furlong before he came at him: and although his grandfather was verie vnwilling and forbad him so to doe, yet he came to him on foot, and kissed his hand and foot as he sat on horsebacke; and afterward taking horse, embraced him, and there kissed one another, to the great contentment of the beholders: and so hauing talked some few words, departed, the old man into the citie, and the yoong man into his campe, which then lay neere vnto PEGA: where staying certaine daies, he came diuers times into CONSTANTINOPLE, and so went out againe; for as then his mother, partly for her health, partly for the loue of her sonne, lay at PEGA.

But *Syrgiannes* nothing glad of the agreement made betwixt the emperour and his nephew, walked vp and downe sicke in mind, with a heauie countenance, especially for that in time of peace his busie head stood the commonweale in no stead. Wherefore in all meetings & assemblies, he willingly conuersed with them which most disliked of the present state, and spake hardly as well of the emperour as of his nephew, wronged as he thought by them both; whereas in the time of their greatest distresse hee had (as hee said) stood them in good stead. But seeing one *Asanes Andronicus* walking melancholie vp and downe, as a man with heauinesse oppressed; who hauing done good seruice for the yoong prince, and not of him regarded, had fled vnto the old emperour, and there found no such thing as he expected for the ease of his greefe, although he were a man honourably borne, and otherwaies indued with many good parts: with him *Syrgiannes* acquainted himselfe, as grieued with the like greefe that he himselfe was: with whom as with his friend, without any dissimulation he plainly discoursed of all such things as his greefe desired. But *Asanes* handling him with great wisedome, did himselfe with like words speake hardly both of the emperour and his nephew; but yet curiously noted whatsoeuer *Syrgiannes* said, for he had before hated him for his ambition, and as then tooke it in displeasure, that he was enemie vnto *Catacuzenus*, his sonne in law, who was all in all with the yoong prince, and did oftentimes comfort him. But the song being throughly set, *Asanes* came secretly vnto the old emperour, and told him the whole matter; and in fine, that except hee betime laid hold vpon *Syrgiannes*, affecting the empire, he should in short time be by him brought to his end. Whereupon *Syrgiannes* was forthwith clapped fast in prison: whose house, with all his wealth, the common people tooke the spoile of; and not contented to haue rased it downe to the ground, conuerted the site thereof, together with the pleasant vineyards adioyning vnto the same, into a place to feed goats and sheepe in: a worthie reward for his manifold trecheries. The yoong prince shortly after going to CONSTANTINOPLE, was there crowned emperor, as fellow in the empire with his grandfather: vnto which solemnitie in the great temple of *Sophia*, both the emperors riding, it fortuned the old emperour by the stumbling of his horse to be ouerthrowne, and foulely beraied in the myre, the streets being then very foule by reason of the great raine but a little before fallen:

fallen: which many tooke as ominous, and portending the euill fortune which shortly after befell him. During the time of this peace, it fortuned that as the yoong prince was a hunting in CHERSONESUS, seuentie Turkes, aduenturers, were by force of weather driuen on shore: who before they would yeeld themselues prisoners, made a great fight with the emperours men, and slew diuers of them; in which conflict the yong emperour himselfe was wounded in the foot, wherewith he was a great while after exceedingly tormented.

Andronicus the late prince, and now fellow in the empire with his aged grandfather, held not himselfe long so contented, but after the manner of ambitious men (and continually prickt forward by his aspiring fauorits) longed to haue the whole gouernment vnto himselfe, which hardly brooketh any partener: and therefore wearie to see his grandfather liue so long, resolued no longer to expect his naturall death, (although it could not by course of nature be farre off) but by one deuice or other to thrust him from the gouernment; or if that might not bee wrought, at once to dispatch him both of life and state together. And the surer to lay the plot whereon so foule and horrible a treason was to be built, he by the counsell of his mother & others, by whom he was most directed, sent for *Michael* the prince of BULGARIA, his brother in law (though before to him vnknowne, as was his wife his sister also) to make with him a firme league, to the intent by him to prouide, That if the prince of SERVIA (who had but lately married the old emperours nigh kinswoman, and so to him much deuoted) should take part with him, he should by the Bulgarian his neighbour bee intangled. Who so sent for, with his wife, the old emperours daughter, came to DIDYMOTICHUM, where they were many dayes most honourably entertained both by the yoong emperour and his mother: for why, this meeting plotted vpon great treason, was finely coloured, with the desire the yong emperour had to see his sister and her husband, as before vnto him vnknowne; and the empresse, her daughter, whom she had not seene in three and twentie yeares before. But the secret conclusion betwixt them was, That the Bulgarian prince should to the vttermost of his power aid the yong emperour against his grandfather, and he likewise him against the Seruian, as he should haue need: and further, That if his grandfather, being deposed, he should recouer the whole empire, then to giue him a great sum of mony, with certaine speciall cities and prouinces confining vpon him, as in dowrie vnto his kind brother in law, and companion in his labours. So *Michael* the Bulgarian prince honourably entertained by the yoong emperour and the old empresse his mother in law, loaded with rewards, and promises of greater returned home into his countrey.

A treacherous meeting.

This matter thus dispatched, the yoong emperour therewith incouraged, and knowing also the Constantinopolitans, besides the other cities of THRACIA, exceedingly to fauour him and his proceedings; by whom also he was secretly inuited to hasten his comming thither (as wearie of the long life and lazinesse, as he tearmed it, of his grandfather) thought it best cunningly to go about the matter; that so his grandfather being with as little stur as might be deposed, he himselfe might alone enjoy the empire. But needing money for the effecting of so great matters, he by force tooke all the money from the collectours, whom the old emperour had sent into THRACIA for the taking vp of money there; telling them, that he was an emperour also, and in need of money, and that the common charge was likewise by the common purse to be discharged. After that he tooke his way towards CONSTANTINOPLE, pretending that vpon speciall causes hee had occasion to send embassadours vnto the Sultan of ÆGYPT: for the transporting of whom he was there to take order for the setting forth of a great ship, and other things necessarie for the journey. Neither went he slenderly appointed, but with a great power; and the cities of THRACIA before well assured vnto him, such as he suspected being thrust out of office, and others more assured vnto him placed in their steads. But whilst he thus bestirreth himselfe, one of those that were most inwward with him, detesting so foule a treason, secretly fled from him vnto his grandfather, from point to point discouering vnto him all the intended treacheries; and withall, how that his nephew had determined to depose him from his empire, or otherwise to bereaue him of his life if he should stand vpon his guard: but if in the attempt hee should find easie successe, then to spare his life; and depriuing him of the imperiall dignitie, to thrust him as a monke into a monasterie: and therefore aduised him to beware how he suffered him after his woonted manner to come into the citie, for feare of a generall reuolt, but rather by force to keepe him out. Which the emperor hearing, and comparing with other things which he had heard of others, yet sounding in his eares, deeming it to be true, stood vp, and in the anguish

guish of his soule thus complained vnto God : *Reuenge my quarrell, ô God, vpon them that do me wrong, & let them be ashamed that rise vp against me: and preserue thou vnto me the imperiall power, which by thee giuen vnto me, he commeth to take from me, whom I my selfe begot and aduanced.* After, he began to consider what course to take for the assurance of himselfe and his state in so great a danger. And first he sent vnto his nephew (come halfe way) to forbid him from entring the citie, and to tell him, That it was a great folly for him, being so manifest a traitour, both vnto his grandfather and the state, to thinke his traiterous purposes to bee vnknowne vnto the world: and beside, in way of reproofe to rehearse vnto him, how many occasions he had giuen for the breaking of the league with his grandfather: first, in taking away the money from the collectors, whereof the state neuer stood in more need, by reason of the diuision of the empire, which required double charge; then, in that hee had in the citie euerie where displaced such gouernours and magistrats as his grandfather had sent thither, and placed others at his pleasure; with many other like facts, declaring his treacherous aspiring mind, for which he was not without cause by his grandfather forbidden to enter the citie. After that, the old emperour by secret letters craued aid of *Crales* prince of SERVIA, and *Demetrius* the Despot his sonne, who was then gouernour of THESSALONICA and the countries adjoyning; commaunding him, with *Andronicus* and *Michael* his nephews (gouernours of MACEDONIA) with all the forces they were able to raise, and such aid as should be sent vnto them out of SERVIA, with all speed to joyne together and to go against the yoong emperour. But these letters thus written vnto the prince of SERVIA, the Despot, and others, (as is before said) were for the most part intercepted, by such as the yoong emperour had for that purpose placed vpon the straits of CHRISTOPOLIS, and the other passages; especially such as were written in paper, yet some others in fine white linnen cloth, and secretly sowed in the garments of such as carried them, escaped for all their strait search, and so were deliuered. And in truth nothing was done, or about to be done in CONSTANTINOPLE, but that the yoong emperour was by one or other aduertised thereof: whereas the old emperour on the other side, vnderstood nothing what his nephew did abroad, or intended. For all men of their owne accord enclined vnto him, some openly both bodie and soule (as they say) and such as could not be with him in person, yet in mind and good will were euen present with him; and that not onely the common sort of the citizens of CONSTANTINOPLE, but the chiefe Senatours, the great courtiers, yea and many other of the emperours neerest kinsmen also: who curiously obseruing whatsoeuer was done in the citie, foorthwith certified him thereof. Amongst whom was also *Theodorus* the marques, one of the old emperors owne sons: who many years before by the empresse his mother sent into ITALY, and there honorably married, was by his prodigall course of life there, growne far in debt; so that leauing his wife and children behind him, he was glad after the decease of his mother, to flie vnto his father at CONSTANTINOPLE, and there now liued; who beside that he most honourably maintained him in the court, and bestowed many great things vpon him, paid also all his debts, which were verie great. All which fatherly kindnesse he forgetting, went about most *Iudas* like to haue betraied his aged father. For he also dreaming after the empire, and for many causes (but especially for that hee was in mind, religion, manners, and habit, become a Latine) by him rejected, thought he could not do him a greater dispite than by reuolting vnto the young emperour: so that the neerer he was in blood, the more he was his fathers vnnaturall enemie. Shortly after, *Demetrius* the Despot hauing receiued the emperours letters at THESSALONICA, called vnto him *Andronicus* and *Michael* his nephews, the gouernours of MACEDONIA; with whom joyning all his forces, and dayly expecting more aid out of SERVIA, he first spoiled the yoong emperors friends and fauourits in MACEDONIA, giuing the spoile of them in all the cities and townes of MACEDONIA vnto their souldiours, who made hauocke of whatsoeuer they light vpon: and whosoeuer seemed any way to withstand them or dislike of their proceedings, their goods and lands they confiscated, and draue the men themselues into exile. Neither was the yoong emperour *Andronicus* in the meane time idle, but secretly sent out his edicts into all parts of the empire, yea into the verie cities of CONSTANTINOPLE and THESSALONICA, and ouer all MACEDONIA: whereby he proclaimed vnto the people in generall, a releasement of them from all tributs, impositions, and payments; and frankly promised vnto the souldiours and men of war, the augmenting of their pensions and pay: which were no sooner bruited, but that most men were therewith mooued, both in word and deed to fauour his proceedings, doing what they

they could to further the ſame, and by ſecret letters inuiting him to haſten his comming into the citie: who thereupon comming to RHEGIVM, by his embaſſadours ſent from thence, requeſted the old emperour, Either to giue him leaue according to the league betwixt them, to come into the citie, or elſe to ſend him certaine of the chiefe of the nobilitie and cleargie, with ſome of the better and more vnderſtanding ſort of the Burgers and citizens alſo, vnto whom he might frankly ſpeake his mind: for them faithfully to deliuer the ſame againe vnto the emperor his grandfather, and the people. Which requeſts the old emperour perceiuing to be full of deceit and trecherie, for a good ſpace anſwered thereunto nothing at all, but ſtood all ſilent, as doubting which to graunt: for, to ſuffer his nephew to come into the citie, he ſaw was dangerous, the cittizens (as he well knew) being for the moſt part enclined to reuolt vnto him ſo ſoon as they ſhould once ſee him within the gates; and to ſend any forth vnto him, as he deſired, might be (as he feared) an occaſion of ſome tumult to be after raiſed in the citie: for he knew that his nephewes drift therein was, openly by faire words, and ſecretly with great gifts and large promiſes, firſt to gaine them, and by them the reſt of the citizens. Both which things being dangerous, he made choice of the eaſier, and ſent forth vnto him two of the moſt noble Senators, two of the moſt reuerend biſhops, two other graue prelates, and foure of the cheefe burgeſſes of the citie: vnto whom, at their comming vnto him, hee in the open hearing of all men deliuered this premeditated and craftie ſpeech:

The yong emperour ſendeth embaſſadours vnto his grandfather.

The ſpeech of the yong emperor vnto his grandfathers embaſſadors.

It is not vnknowne vnto the world, you my ſubjects to haue alwaies been vnto me more deare than I haue been vnto my ſelfe: and how that I haue not vpon any ambitious conceit, or deſire of the ſole gouernment, againſt my grandfathers good will, gone out. For you ſee how that I neither ſpare mine owne life, or attend my pleaſure, for the care I haue of you: I come not vnto you compaſſed about with a guard of armed men, as is the manner not of kings only, for the enuie of their high place; but of others alſo of farre meaner calling, whom diſaſter fortune, baniſhed from their parents and kinred, hath enforced to wander here and there, with death alwayes before their eyes. Let any man tell me how I came by theſe wounds which I yet beare in my bodie, but in fight with the enemies of my countrey which paſſe ouer out of ASIA *into* THRACIA; *or els dwelling neere vnto* ISTER, *doe with their incurſions from thence miſerably waſt that ſide of* THRACIA *which is next vnto them? For I (to tell you the very truth) ſeeing the old emperour by reaſon of his great yeares to become ſlothfull and blockiſh, and not poſſibly to be awaked out of his drowſie ſleepe, neither any whit to greeue, when as the poore Chriſtians his ſubjects were both by day and night, ſome as ſacrifices ſlaine by the barbarous enemies, ſome carried away into moſt miſerable captiuitie, and the reſt poore and naked to be driuen out of their houſes and cities; not to ſpeake in the meane time of the greater miſcheefes in* ASIA, *and how many cities haue beene there loſt through the old emperours ſlouth and negligence: when I ſaw theſe things (I ſay) ſtrucken with a piercing greefe, which my heart could not indure, I went out for two cauſes, Either by ſome kind of honourable death to end my greefe together with my life, or els to the vttermoſt of my power to ſtand my countrey in ſome ſtead. For by no meanes it can come to paſſe, but that a man, and he that hath of long time raigned, muſt at length become loathſome vnto his ſubjects, and incurre their deadly hatred. For why, God hath made nothing in this life immutable and firme: whereby it commeth to paſſe, as we ſee, that all worldly things ioy and delight in change. But if a man will as it were force fortune to his deſire, and ſtriue to bind things vnto a certaine firme and conſtant courſe, he ſhall but loſe his labour, and in vaine ſtriue againſt nature. But whatſoeuer is contrary vnto nature, or exceedeth the juſt bounds thereof, hath in it neither comfort nor delight. This was it that cauſed the wiſe men to ſay, and to leaue vnto vs as rules: Not to dwell too long vpon any thing; and a meaſure to be the faireſt vertue. For you ſee how that my grandfather being grown to great years, and hauing raigned ſo long (I may almoſt ſay) as neuer did any but he, is become hatefull vnto all his people; and yet regardeth not either how to diſcharge himſelfe of ſo great a burthen, or how to releeue the declining ſtate of the empire, or ſo much as greeueth to ſee the ſucceſſours of the empire to die before him: for my father is dead without any fruit of the empire, except the bare title only; and others alſo neereſt to him of blood, and farre yoonger than he, are dead likewiſe: and happely I my ſelfe may die alſo before I ſhall receiue any profit thereof, For what can more eaſily happen, eſpecially vnto a man that ſhunneth no danger, and regardeth not his life? But ſome perhaps will ſuſpect me of ambition, for departing from the emperour my grandfather, and for refuſing to bee ruled by him. Which thing I neither flatly denie, nor altogether confeſſe: for might I ſee the empire encreaſe, and the*

bounds

bounds thereof enlarged, I could willingly content my selfe, and at my ease take my rest; cheering my selfe vp with such hope as doe they that beare with their cookes, making them to stay long for their dinner, in hope thereby to fare the better. But seeing the state of the empire daily to decline from euill to worse, and the miserable people carried away captiues, or slaine by their enemies euen at the gates and vnder the wals of the imperiall cittie: what deeme you mee then to thinke? For most men ease their present greefe, with the hope of future good, although the same be but vaine: but vnto mee is not left euen such vaine hope vnto my false comfort. And can you meruaile at the impotent affection of the Great Alexander *of* Macedon, *greeued and displeased to see his father to heape victorie vpon victorie, and to cut off all the hope of his sonnes glorie, by leauing him so few occasions of war; and not thinke me (to whom you see the quite contrarie is chanced, and from whom not only the hope of the empire is cut off, for the wasting thereof, but euen the course of a quiet life) to fret and greeue thereat? Mooued herewith, and not able longer to endure it, at length I rise vp, and requested of the emperour my grandfather, but a thousand men at armes, promising him by the power of God with them to preserue the cities in* Bythinia, *and to driue his enemies farther off, before that hauing them, they should passe ouer the strait and besiege the imperiall citie of* Constantinople: *which so small a request he not onely denied me, but hath euer since taken me for his mortall enemie. But this and many other things els let passe: I haue now another request vnto him by you, which is, That he would giue me eight thousand duckats to content my souldiors withall, who now of long haue from place to place romed vp and downe with mee, following mine vncertaine fortune: which graunted, I will no more bee vnto my grandfather troublesome, but dismissing my forces, hold my selfe right well contented.*

Hauing thus said, he rise out of his seat, and taking them apart one after another, courteously discourséd with them, & so filling them with great hopes, sent them away: who departing from him & comming into the citie, became as it were the open proclaimers of his praises, enflaming the people with a greater desire of him than before. Which the old emperour hearing, and perceiuing almost all his friends in the citie to be in heart reuolted from him; and withall fearing to be of them in some suddaine concourse slaine, was therewith exceedingly vexed. Yet he thought it best before any such thing should happen, to proóue their minds, and to heare the counsell of the Patriarch, and *Asanes*, and the other bishops also: vnto whom being by one of the Senators called together, he declared his mind as followeth:

The speech of the old emperor vnto the Patriarch and the rest of the bishops & nobilitie, concerning the young emperour his nephew.

Were I assured, that hauing deposed my selfe of the imperiall dignitie, I should my self liue in safetie, and see my people well gouerned; I would I should neuer be of the company of the faithfull, if I did not by much prefer a pleasant quiet contented life before an empire. For if a man would seek for the pleasure of the mind, what can be more pleasant, than to be disburdened of all cares, and free from such dangers as attend high estates? But if for my sinne and the sins of my people, as also for the sinne of mine ancestors, the vengeance of God in manner of a violent tempest raging against vs, subuerteth our empire: and I yet but a youth, by the helpe of God reformed and quieted the state of the empire, greeuously troubled with discord in the Church, and the often inuasion of the enemie; and taught by long experience, know not now in so great a hurle and tempest which way to turne my selfe: how can I with safetie commit vnto my nephew so great a charge, who as yet is both an vnstayed youth, and so careless of his owne good as that he knoweth not how well to gouerne his owne priuat affaires? For giuing ouer his power vnto yoong vnskilfull men, and hauing flung away his imperiall possessions amongst them, hee himselfe liueth in penurie and want; neither regardeth any thing more than his dogs and kites, of whom hee keepeth few lesse than a thousand curres, and as many hawkes, and not much fewer men to looke vnto them. Wherefore vnto such a man, how may I safely commit either my life, or the administration of mine empire, by God committed vnto me? But I will neuer witting and willingly cast away either my subiects or my selfe. For my nephew I haue loued, not onely more than my wife and children, but (to say the truth) more than my selfe also; as you all know how tenderly I haue brought him vp, how carefully I haue instructed and aduised him, as purposing to haue left him the heire and successour both of my wisedome and mine empire, that so hee might the better please both God and man. But he, contemning my good counsell, hath spent whole nights in banqueting, and riot, and brothelhouses; wherein hee hath also slaine his owne brother: and to bee breefe, he hath risen and lifted vp his hand against me his grandfather, and a grandfather that had

had of him so well deserued, attempting such a villanie as the Sunne neuer saw. Wherfore you ought also to hate and detest his wickednesse, and to rise vp to restraine his impudent disloyaltie, and by your ecclesiasticall censure to denounce him vnworthie of the empire and the communion of the faithfull, as one seperated from God, that so ashamed and corrected, he may louingly thither returne from whence he is shamefully departed, and againe be made heire both of mine empire and statednesse: For there is no man aliue whom I had rather haue promoted vnto the empire, so that he would heare my precepts, and obey my counsell. As for the conclusion he vsed in his former speech, it was altogether fained, craftie, and malicious: for you haue heard how many reproches he hath giuen me in all that speech, wherewith his conclusion agreeth not: but the more to stir vp the hearers thereof against me, did of purpose so conclude his speech.

Vpon this, most of the foresaid graue and learned bishops agreed that the young emperour should no more be named in the praiers of the Church, vntill he had better conformed himselfe: Howbeit the patriarch and some others secretly fauouring both him and his proceedings, liked not thereof, and therefore saying nothing thereunto, returned home vnto their owne houses. But meeting once or twise afterwards in the patriarch his house, they there conspired together against the old emperour; with whom also diuers of the nobilitie consented: and thereupon an oath was conceiued in writing, whereby they bound themselues, to continue constant in that their wicked resolution. Whereupon, about three dayes after, the patriarch causing the bels to be rung; and a great number of the vulgar people flocking together, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against all such as should in their publike praiers omit the name of the young emperour, or refuse to doe him all honour due vnto an emperour. Which thing not a little grieued the old emperour, as appeared by his speech, in saying, *If the doctor of peace be so mad against vs, in hope of reward promised by my nephew, that casting off all shame and grauitie, he doubteth not to be the authour of sedition; who shall represse the rash attempts of the vulgar people against vs, if we respect but mans helpe? For the Patriarch so much as in him lieth is, I see, the murtherer of vs.* So the bishops of the contrarie faction, moued with the notable impudencie of the patriarch, excommunicated him likewise, as he had done them, with his mad followers, as the authours of sedition and faction, and incited with bribes to the troubling of the state: for which cause also he was by the Emperours commandement committed vnto safe keeping in the monasterie called MANGANIUM. But about two daies after, the young Emperour came to the wals of CONSTANTINOPLE, to know how his grandfather had accepted the messengers sent vnto him; earnestlie requesting that it might be lawfull for him alone to enter into the citie, to do his dutie to his grandfather. But neither he, neither his words were at all regarded, but was by such as stood vpon the wals himselfe with stones driuen away; who could not abide to heare him speake, but shamefully railed at him, saying all his talke to bee nothing els but deceit and fraud: and so for that time he retired a little from the wals. But night being come, certaine busie heads amongst the common people (& they not few) secretly meeting together, gaue him knowledge, That about midnight when as all the cittizens were asleepe, and the watchmen in securitie, he should come vnto the wals, where they would be readie with ropes to draw him vp vnto the top of the bulwarkes, which done, the matter (as they said) were as good as dispatched: for that they were persuaded, that the citizens so soone as they should once see him in the middest of the citie amongst them, would foorthwith all reuolt vnto him. So he according vnto this appointment, about midnight approching the wals, found there no such matter as he had well hoped, for the receiuing of him into the citie; but contrariwise, the watchmen carefully watching all alongst the wall, and calling one vnto another. Wherefore finding there no hope, he with *Catacuzenus* and *Synadenus*, his cheefe counsellors, leauing the South side of the citie, in a little boat rowed softly all along the wall that is towards the sea, if happely they might there find their friends, and so be receiued in: but there the watchmen also descrying them from the wals, and calling vnto them, but receiuing no answere, began to cast stones at them, and to make a noise: so that deceiued of their purpose, and out of hope, they were glad to get them farther off, and to depart as they came.

The Patriarch with diuers of the bishops conspire against the old emperour.

But the euill successe of this exploit was shortly after with his better fortune recompenced: for by and by after, secret letters were sent vnto him from THESSALONICA, requesting him with al speed to come thither, assuring him in the name of the bishop with diuers of the nobilitie,

Thessalonica yeelded vnto the yong emperour.

and the good liking of the people in generall, at his comming to open the gates of the citie vnto him: whereupon he leauing a great part of his armie with *Synadenus*, to keepe short the Constantinopolitanes, he himselfe with the rest of his power set forward towards THESSALONICA, where he in the habit of a plaine countrey man entred the citie vnsuspected: but being got within the gate, and there casting off that simple attire wherewith he had couered his rich and royall garments, and presently knowne to be the yong emperour, the people came flocking about him, and with many joyfull acclamations receiued him as their dread lord and soueraigne: yet some few, more fauouring the old emperor, fled into the castle, and there stood vpon their guard; which after they had for a space notably defended, was at length taken from them.

THESSALONICA thus yeelded, *Demetrius*, *Andronicus*, and *Asan Michael*, the old emperors cheefe captaines, then lying with his armie not farre off, and not well trusting one another, fled; most of whose souldiors presently went ouer vnto the young emperour: who departing from THESSALONICA, came to SERRE, which by composition was deliuered vnto him also, but not the castle: for that was by *Basilicus Nicephorus* (the captaine thereof) still holden for the old emperour. This *Basilicus* was a man honourably descended, but of no great capacitie or wit, as the finer sort supposed, and therefore not of them much regarded or thought fit for the taking in hand of any great matter: whom yet the old emperour for his plaine sinceritie, more than for any thing els, had made captaine of that castle and gouernour of the country thereabouts; which he yet still held, and in these most troublesome times shewed himselfe wiser than them all that had so thought of him: of whom some died in despaire, some fled, some were taken prisoners, and so suffered a thousand euils, the rest with the losse of their honour traiterously reuolting from the old emperour to the yong: whereas he alone, looking but euen forward vpon his allegeance, with his trust in God, so long as the old emperour liued opposed himselfe against these troubles, and stood fast for him, and was not to be moued with any faire promises or cruell threats of the yong aspiring emperour, whereof he lacked none. But hauing strongly fortefied the castle committed to his charge, there kept himselfe, vntill that hearing of the death of the old emperour, he then reconciling himselfe vnto the yong, as vnto his right soueraigne, deliuered vp vnto him the castle: who in reward of his fidelitie, gaue it him againe to hold for him, in as ample manner as he had before held it from his grandfather: for wise men honour vertue euen in their enemies, as did king *Philip* in *Demosthenes*, when as he said, *If any Athenian liuing in Athens, doth say that he preferreth me before his countrey, him verely would I buy with much money, but not thinke him worthie my friendship. But if any for his countries sake shall hate me, him will I impugne as a castle, a strong wall, or a bulwarke; and yet admire his vertue, and reckon the citie happie in hauing such a man.* And so in few words to conclude a long discourse, the yong emperour in short time hauing romed through all MACEDONIA, and without resistance taken all the strong townes and cities therein, he there tooke also *Demetrius* the Despots wife and children, with all his treasure, as also the wiues of *Andronicus* and *Asanes*, and of all the Senators that followed them: after whom the great commaunders their husbands were also for the most part taken and cast in prison, some at THESSALONICA, some at DIDIMOTICHUM, some of the rest afterwards most miserably perishing in exile. Wherewith the old emperour discouraged, was about to haue sent his embassadours vnto his nephew for peace, whilest he was yet thus busied in MACEDONIA: and had indeed so done, had not another hope arising in the meane time, quite altered that his better purpose. It fortuned at the same time, whilest the old emperour was thus thinking of peace, That *Michael* the Bulgarian prince, in hope of great profite thereof to arise, secretly offered his aid vnto him against the young emperour his nephew: of which his offer, the old emperour gladly accepted, and embassadours were sent too and fro about the full conclusion of the matter, no man being acquainted therewith more than two or three of the emperour his most secret friends and trustie counsellors. Yet in the meane time, disdayning to be so coupt vp as he was by *Synadenus*, one of his nephews captaines, euen in the imperiall citie; sent out one *Constantinus Assan*, with the greatest part of his strength against him: who encountring him at the riuer MAVRVS, was there by him in plaine battell ouerthrown and taken prisoner, the rest of his discomfited armie flying headlong backe againe to CONSTANTINOPLE. All things thus prosperously proceeding with the yoong emperour, and the countries of MACEDONIA and THRACIA now almost all at his commaund, he returned in hast with all his power to CONSTANTINOPLE to preuent the comming of the Bulgarians thither: as fearing

least

leaſt that they finding the citie weakly manned, ſhould trecherouſly kill the old emperour with ſuch as were about him, and ſo ceize vpon the citie themſelues: or at leaſtwiſe giue him ſuch aid as might keepe him out, and ſo cut off all his hope for obtayning of the ſame. At which time alſo there was great want of victuall in the citie, he with his armie hauing ſhut it vp on the one ſide by land, and the Venetians with their gallies on the other ſide by ſea: who then at ods with the Genowaics dwelling at PERA, kept all that ſtrait ſea betwixt EVROPE and ASIA: in ſuch ſort, as that neither victuals nor marchandiſe could be brought that way, either to CONSTANTINOPLE or PERA. The yoong emperour comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, attempted at his firſt comming to haue entred the citie, in hope without any great reſiſtance to haue beene receiued; but repulſed by the defendants, was glad to get him further off. About this time came alſo vnto the citie three thouſand horſemen, the promiſed aid of the Bulgarian prince vnto the old emperour: who although he wanted men, and was right glad of their comming, yet remembring the harmes he had before receiued by forrein aid, and not now daring to truſt them too far, ſuffered not them to come into the citie, more than their Generall and ſome few others of their commanders with him. Now the yoong emperour vpon the comming of this aid, leaſt ſome great harme might betide either the old emperour, or himſelfe, to the vtter ſubuerſion of their ſtate: ſecretly ſent vnto his grandfather, requeſting him to be well aduiſed how he truſted thoſe forrein people too far; offering himſelfe to do whatſoeuer he ſhould commaund, rather than ſo great a harme ſhould happen vnto either of them, as was from them to be feared. But the truſt the old emperour had conceiued of this Bulgarian aid, had ſo confirmed his mind, as that hee little liſtened vnto his nephews requeſt: beſides that, how could hee well truſt him that had ſo oftentimes deceiued him? Wherewith the young emperour much grieued, and now againe almoſt diſpairing of his farther ſucceſſe, diſlodged and drew neere vnto the place where theſe Bulgarian horſemen lay encamped: from whence hee ſent certaine embaſſadours with great gifts and preſents vnto the Generall, and the reſt of the chiefe commaunders, promiſing them farre greater, if they would without further troubling themſelues returne home againe: whereunto they willingly graunted, and ſo were of him honourably feaſted, and the next day after conducted vpon their way homewards.

Conſtantinople betraied vnto the young emperour.

It fortuned, that the young emperour returning backe againe from the Bulgarians, and encamped in the ſame place where he before lay; two of the watchmen of the citie, the one called *Camaris*, and the other *Caſtellanus*, both ſmiths, fled ſecretly vnto him: who admitted to his preſence and all others commaunded to depart, excepting *Catacuzenus*, offered to betray the citie vnto him, ſo that he would vnder his hand writing, aſſure them of ſuch a ſumme of money, and ſuch poſſeſsions as they required: which he eaſily graunting, and the houre and manner of performing of the ſame, being by them declared, and agreed vpon; they by and by without longer ſtay, for feare of ſuſpition, returned againe into the citie. But the emperour ſtaying foure daies in the ſame place, cauſed certaine ladders to be made of great ropes, ſuch as they vſe in great ſhips: But the appointed night being come, the two traitours hauing before prouided great ſtore of good wine, liberally gaue the ſame by way of curteſie vnto the watchmen their companions neere vnto them; who drunke ſo plentifully thereof, that not able any longer to hold vp their heads, they fell into ſo ſound a ſleepe, as that but for breathing, they differed not much from dead men. About midnight came certaine ſouldiours of the young emperours, with the aforeſaid ladders; which the traitours by and by drawing vnto them by a rope caſt downe, and making them faſt vnto the top of the wall, receiued by the ſame eighteene armed men: who being got into the citie, without more adoe brake open the Romane gate, whereby the young emperour with his armie preſently entred, no man letting him. But it is woorth the marking, how things appointed to befall vs, are by no meanes to be auoided, although we bee thereof before neuer ſo plainly forewarned: For the ſame night the citie was ſurprized, immediatly after the ſetting of the Sunne, the gates being ſhut, a certaine countrey man came running in all haſt from out of a village there by, and knocking hard at the gate called Girolimna, required to ſpeake with ſome of the ſouldiours; who being come, he told them how that a little before hee had ſeene a great number of the young emperours men marching toward the citie, by the way that leadeth vnto the Romane gate: which being told vnto the old emperour, did not a little trouble him. And therefore thought it good to ſend out certaine ſcouts, to ſee if all were cleere along the wals toward the land, from ſea to ſea: which his purpoſe *Metochita* his great counſellor letted, ſaying,

ing,it not to beſeem a couragious mind to be vpon ſo light an occaſion ſo much moued; for that either the rumour was falſe,or the indeuour of ſo few vaine,the wals and gates of the citie being ſo filled with armed men: which happily he ſaid not ſo much vpon ignorance of martiall affaires, as blinded by a certaine commaunding power, that the ſupernall decree giuen by God himſelfe againſt the old emperour,might at length take place. And againe,the third part of that night yet ſcant paſt, diuers other countreymen came running vnto the ſaid gate Gyroſimina, and told the watchmen vpon the wals,that a great number of men were met together at the Romane gate: wherof the emperor hearing was therewith much more troubled than before; In ſo much that ſharply rebuking *Metochita*,he ſaid vnto him, Thou ſeemeſt to be ſtrāgely metamorphoſed into a man of yron,which art become ſo ſecure, as not to haue any feeling of the danger wherewith we are encloſed: Seeſt thou not that the matter requireth not that we ſhould thus ſit ſtill and take our reſt, for the noiſe of my nephew ſoundeth in mine eares as the ſound of a great drum,and diſquieteth my mind? I feele a ſea of calamitie broken out againſt me, which ouerwhelmeth and drowneth my heart and courage. Neuertheleſſe he,firme in his former opinion, made no reckoning of thoſe reports: and therefore roſe to go to bed, to ſhew indeed that he accounted nothing of them, but as falſe alarms. But the emperour left alone and no bodie with him vnto whom he might breake his griefe, laied him downe vpon a pallet, not putting off his clothes; but as if he had together with them put on extreame deſperation,lay tumbling too and fro as a man in mind troubled with many and diuers heauie thoughts. In the meane time he heard a great noiſe at the court gate, and the report of the entring of the young emperour his nephew, with a great clattering of armour; for there were aboue eight hundred ſouldiours entred with him,and withall they of the citie on euerie ſide ſaluted him with moſt joyfull acclamations. But the old emperour hearing the great tumult and outcrie, roſe from his pallet, exceedingly troubled; and deſtitute of all the helpe of his captaines and ſouldiours (for why his palace was altogether deſolate, except of ſuch as were his ordinarie waiters) betooke himſelfe vnto his praiers, Beſeeching God not to forſake him in ſo great a danger, but in his mercie to defend him from the furie of thoſe wicked men. Who preſently heard him, and ſent him preſent reliefe. For whileſt he was thus praying in the palace, the young emperour without,calling together all his captaines and lieutenants,ſtraightly charged them vpon paine of death, neither by word nor deed to violate the majeſtie of the old emperour his grandfather, nor any other about him: for this victorie (ſaid he) God hath giuen vs,& not we our ſelues; his will ordereth all things,whereunto all things obey, the ſtars, the aire, the ſea, the earth, men, flouds, tempeſts, plagues, earthquaks,ſhoures,dearth,and ſuch like,ſometimes to our bliſſe, and ſometime to our correction and deſtruction: wherefore vſing vs as the inſtruments of his chaſtiſement, he hath giuen vnto vs this preſent victorie, which peraduenture to morrow he will giue to others to vſe againſt vs,and then as wee haue beene vnto them wee haue ouercome, ſuch will they alſo ſhew themſelues vnto vs againe: wherefore, if neither nigheſſe of blood, neither that we be all of one countrey may mooue vs,yet in reſpect of our ſelues let vs vſe mercie,that we feele not the hand of God vpon vs in like caſe. In the meane time a courtier opened a wicket vnto the young emperour,with this meſſage from his grandfather:

The pitifull ſupplication of the old emperour vnto his nephew.

For as much as God this day (my ſonne) hath giuen vnto thee the imperiall ſcepter,taken from me, I requeſt of thee this one good turne; For many which I haue euen from thy birth beſtowed vpon thee (for in this my hard eſtate I let paſſe,that I next vnto God haue been the authour of thy natiuitie and encreaſe) giue me my life, ſpare thy fathers head, and with violent weapon ſpill not that blood from which thou thy ſelfe haſt taken the fountaine of life. Man truly beholdeth heauen and earth,and heauen and earth beholdmens actions: wherefore make not the heauens and the earth beholders of ſo wicked an outrage as neuer man euer committed. If brothers blood long agoe cried out vnto the Lord againſt Cain, *how much louder ſhall the fathers blood crie vnto the Lord, and declare ſo great a wickedneſſe vnto the earth,the ſunne,and ſtars,and make it abhorred of all the princes of the world? Regard my miſerable old age,which of it ſelfe promiſeth vnto me ſhortly death, but vnto thee a reſt after long cares. Reuerence the hands which haue oftentimes moſt louingly embraced thee,yet crying in thy ſwathing clouts: Reuerence thoſe lips which haue oftentimes moſt louingly kiſſed thee, and called thee my other ſoule: Haue pitie vpon a bruſed reed,caſt downe by fortune,and doe not thou againe tread vpon it. And ſeeing thou art thy ſelfe a man,be not too proud of thy preſent fortune,but conſider the vncertaintie*

certaintie and varietie of worldly things, taking by me example: see in me the end of long life, and maruell, how one night hauing receiued me an emperour of many yeares, leaueth me now subiect vnto another mans power for euer.

The young emperour *Andronicus* mooued with this speech, and taking great care of his grandfathers safetie; scarce abstaining from teares, entred the pallace, and comming to his grandfather, humbly saluted him, embraced him, and with cheerfull words comforted him. Straight way after, he went vnto the monasterie MANGANIVM, where (as is aforesaid) the Patriarch *Esaias* was by the old emperors commandement, kept in safe keeping, whom the yong emperor now tooke from thence, and carrying him away in one of the emperors richest chariots, restored him againe vnto his Patriarchall dignitie; wherein he afterwards spared not to reuenge himselfe to the full, and most cruelly to persecute the old emperours friends. That day from morning vnto night, a man might haue seene all the riches and wealth of such noble men as had taken part with the old emperour, carryed away, and their goodly houses ouerthrowne and made the scorne of the base common people: but especially the house and wealth of *Theodorus Metochita*, a man but the day before in greatest fauour with his prince, and of all others next vnto the emperour himselfe, of greatest authoritie and credit, whose whole wealth (not that only which was found in his house, but that also which he had laid vp in trust with his friends, discouered by notes found in his studie) became most part a prey vnto the common people, and the rest confiscated vnto the prince. Thus he which earst of all others next vnto the emperour, was accounted most fortunate, was now vpon the sudden, with his wife and children, brought vnto extreame beggerie; and after many yeares felicitie, in one day cast into the bottom of dispaire and miserie, where a man might haue heard many complayning, say, All that wealth and treasure to haue beene the bloud and teares of the poore oppressed subiects, brought vnto him by them whom hee had made rulers and gouernours of the prouinces and cities of the empire; to the intent that when they had delt cruelly with the people, as with their slaues, he might stop them for comming to complaine of their griefes vnto the emperour: and that the eie of the Reuenger had not alwaies slept, but was now at length awaked, & had of him yet scarcely take sufficient punishment: which euery where to heare, increased not a little his griefe. As for himselfe, he was cõfined vnto DIDYMOTICHVM, as the place of his exile and banishment; where after he had a certaine time poorly liued, he was sent for backe againe to CONSTANTINOPLE: where hauing nothing left to relieue himselfe (for his house at the comming of the young emperour, was in the furie of the people pluckt downe to the ground, and the verie pauement thereof digged vp) he went vnto the monasterie of CHORA thereby, which long before built by the emperour *Iustinian* and become ruinous, he in the time of his prosperitie had with great charge repaired, & therin now (hauing made shipwracke of all that he had) quietly shrouded himselfe, to the great comfort both of his bodie and afflicted mind, where he not long after died.

Niphon inciteth the yoong emperor against his grandfather.

But to returne againe vnto the old emperour, as yet in doubt what should become of himselfe: it fortuned that the same day that the citie was taken, the young emperour at night returning to the pallace, by the way met with *Niphon* sometime Patriarch, who asked him how they meant to deale with his grandfather. Whereunto the yong emperor answering, That he would deale with him honourably and emperour like; he was by him therefore blamed and reproued. For this *Niphon* being of a craftie subtile wit and malicious nature, besides that he secretly hated all them vpon whom fortune greatly either fauned or frowned, bare an especiall grudge against the old emperour: first, for that at such time as he was right woorthly for his shamefull couetousnesse and extortion, by the rest of the bishops and cleargie thrust out of his Patriarchship, he was not by him as he looked for defended: and secondly, for that dreaming againe after the Patriarchall dignitie, he thought it one good step thereunto to haue him (as his greatest enemie) taken out of the way. Wherefore he said now vnto the young emperour: *If thou desire to raigne without feare, giue not thine honour vnto another; but taking all the ornaments of the empire from the old man, cast haire cloath vpon him, and so clap him fast in prison, or thrust him out into exile.* This mischieuous counsell, this wicked man gaue against the poore old distressed emperour; not remembring how vnwoorthily he had by him beene before preferred vnto the highest degrees both of honour and wealth, if he could there haue kept himselfe: vnto which vngratious counsell, diuers others of the nobilitie also consenting, so wrought the matter amongst

them,that although they could not quite draw the young emperors mind from his grandfather, yet they much changed the same: so that he could no longer endure to take him for his compa-nion in the empire. Whereupon after many meetings & consultations had,it was decreed, That the old man should still retaine the name and ornaments of an emperour, as before, but not to meddle in any matters,nor to come abroad,but to sit still quietly in his chamber, with the yearly allowance of ten thousand duckats, for the maintenance of himselfe and such as attended vpon him; to be raised of the fishing before the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE: a poore pension for the maintenance of so great an emperour. Of which so shamefull a decree, *Esaias* the Patriarch was also a furtherer: who seeing an emperour that had raigned so long, cast downe, and shut vp as it were in prison,was so far from grieuing thereat,that foolishly rejoycing, he in token thereof ab-surdly wrested this text of Scripture, saying in his merriment; *Laetabitur iustus, cum viderit vltionem*, The just shall rejoyce,when he seeth the reuenge: calling himselfe just, and the emperours casting downe,reuenge. But the old emperour thus shut vp in his chamber (differing nothing but in name,from a prison) not long after,the state of his bodie ouerthrowne with greefe and corrupt humors distilling out of his head,first lost one of his eyes, and shortly after the other also: and so oppressed with eternall darkenesse,mingled (as saith the Scripture) his drinke with teares, and eat the bread of sorrow,being oftentimes (to his great greefe) most bitterly mocked and derided,not of them onely which were by his enemies set to guard him,but of his owne seruants also. Not long after,the yong emperour falling sicke, in such sort as that it was thought he would not recouer, *Catacuzenus* and the rest of his greatest fauorits and followers carefull of their own estate,and yet doubtfull of the old blind emperour, deuised many things against him,but all tending to one purpose for the shortening of his daies. But in the end all other deuises set apart, they put him to the choice,either to put on the habit of a religious,and so for euer to bid the world farwell,or els to take what should otherwise ensue; the best whereof was either death,exile,or perpetuall impri-sonment in the lothsome castle of forgetfulnesse: For the putting whereof in execution,*Synadenus* (of all others to him most hatefull) was appointed. At which hard choice,the old emperor as with a world of woes so dainly oppressed,lay a great while vpon his bed as a man speechlesse: for what could he do els, except he had an heart of steele or adamant? being then compassed about with many barbarous and mercilesse soldiors, and his domesticall seruants kept from him,and no man left,that would vouchsafe to direct him (being blind) whither to go or where to stand. But to make the matter short,would he,would he not,they made choice for him themselues,polling and shauing him,and casting a monkes habit vpon him, changed his name, after the manner of the religious, and called him by the name of *Anthonie* the monke. Glad was *Esaias* the false Patriarch of this the hard estate of the old emperour: for that now that he was professed a religious,there was left no hope for him to recouer againe the empire,either cause for himselfe to feare. Yet he thought it good to be aduised,in what sort remembrance should be made of him in the church prayers, if any were at all from thenceforth to be made. Whereof to be by the old emperour himselfe re-solued,he (seeming to be very sorie for that which was done,but purposing indeed therein to de-ride him) sent vnto him two bishops, to know what his pleasure was to haue done therein. Vnto which their demaund,he oppressed with heauinesse,and fetching a great sigh euen from the bot-tome of his heart answered:

The old emperor becometh blind.

Andronicus the old emperour against his will made a Monke, and called Anthonie.

The notable answere of the old emperour to the catching question of the proud Patriarch.

As in poore Lazarus *appeared a double miracle, That being dead,he rise; and being bound,walked: euen so was it to be done in me, though in quite contrarie manner: for loe, being aliue, I am dead, as ouerwhelmed with the waues of calamitie and woe; and being loose,am bound, not my hands and feet onely, but my tongue also; wherewith vnable to doe any thing els, I might yet at least bewaile my woes and wrongs vnto the aire,and such as by chance should heare me, and vnto this most wofull darkenesse wherein I must for euer sit. But shame hath closed my mouth,my brethren abhorre me,and my mothers sonnes account me for a stranger vnto them,and the very light of mine eyes is not with me, my friends and neighbours stood vp against me,and all that saw me laughed me to scorne: my feet had almost slip-ped,and my footsteps were almost ouerthrowne: for I fretted against the wicked, when I saw the peace of the vngodly. The emperours long agoe gaue great priuiledges vnto the Church, euen those which it at this day enjoyeth: and the Church gaue to them againe power, to chuse whom they would to be Pa-triarchs. Now concerning him that sent you, I not onely nominated him vnto the Patriarchship, but I my selfe made choice of him,and preferred him before many other right worthie and most famous men,*

being

being himselfe a man growne old in a poore priuat life, neuer before preferred, or for any other thing famous: I will not say how often I haue holpen him and done him good. But now when hee should againe haue relieued me in my calamitie, he joyneth hands with mine enemies against me, more cruell vpon me than any other bloodie handed executioner; not ashamed to aske me how I would bee remembred in the church: faigning himselfe to be ignorant and sorrie for mine estate, much like vnto the Ægyptian crocodile of Nile, *which hauing killed some liuing beast, lieth vpon the dead bodie and washeth the head thereof with her warme teares, which she afterwards deuoureth together with the bodie. But what to answere him vnto this his catching question, I know not: for if I shall say, As an emperor; I shall forthwith be slaine by them which for that purpose haue me in hold: but if I say, As* Anthonie *the monke; it shall be taken as the franke confession of mine estate, by them which haue craftely contriued mine ouerthrow; as if I had not by compulsion, but euen of mine owne free will put on this monasticall habit, which God knoweth was neuer in my thought.*

Hauing thus said, he sent them away without any other answere vnto their demaund: but sitting downe vpon his bed side, said, *My soule returne again into thy rest, for the Lord hath dealt well with thee:* neither spoke any one word more in declaration of his greefe, his tongue there staied by his singular wisedome, or els with the greatnesse of his greefe; and so against his will, in silence passing ouer his sorow, his mind with the greatnesse of his woes ouercome, and as it were astonished, before the humors gathered into the braine could be dissolued into teares: For as the Sunne sending forth his moderat beames, draweth vnto it many exhalations and vapours, but casting the same foorth more plentifully, doth with his immoderat heat consume the same before they can be drawne vp; so the moderat affections of the mind may haue their greefes by words and teares expressed; but such as exceed all measure, and with their vehemencie as it were ouerthrow the mind, commonly make men to stand still mute & silent, or if they speak at all, to speak idly, and nothing to the purpose, as men beside themselues, or in an extasie. But for the resolution of the question by the bishops demaunded, the deuout Patriarch decreed, That in the Church prayers he should be remembred before the emperor his nephew, by the name of, The most religious and zealous monke *Anthonie*: which was done (God wot) for no good zeale to the poore blind man, but the better to colour the matter with the common people, as if hee wearie of the world, had voluntarily taken vpon him that silly profession. Neuertheless, within foure daies after, *Synadenus* vnderstanding them in euery place to whisper among themselues, and secretly to mutter against the hard dealing with the old emperour, who had long raigned ouer them, and so by right was againe to doe, if his nephew should chance to die; and that the ecclesiasticall lawes enforced no man against his will to enter into religious orders: he therewith enraged, sent vnto him certaine of his owne confederacie, to exact of him an oath in writing, That he should neuer more after that time seeke after the empire, or yet accept of the same if it were offred him, neither to substitute any other: which if he should refuse to do, to put him in feare of his life. And the more to terrifie him, set a guard of insolent barbarous souldiors ouer him; for feare of whom, he yeelded to doe whatsoeuer they required: and so his oath being solemnely conceiued into writing (another man leading his hand, because he was blind) he signed the same with a red crosse aboue, and a blacke crosse beneath, after the manner of the religious. Hauing thus liued in darkenesse, disgraced, shut vp in his chamber as a man forsaken of the world, with an vnsure guard euer to attend him, by the space of two yeares, it fortuned that the twelft of Februarie towards night, (a day in the Greeke Church dedicated to the vigil of S. *Anthonie*, whose name they had giuen him) certaine of his friends that were suffered to haue accesse vnto him, going as their manner was, once in three or foure daies to visit him (amongst whom was his daughter, sometime the prince of Servia his wife, but as then a widdow, and *Nicephorus Gregoras*, author of this Historie) he entred with them, as with his friends, into a familiar discourse of many matters, wherin he so deceiued the time, that it was past midnight before they perceiued how the time passed. But the cockes crowing, he brake off the talke, and bidding them farewell, gaue them leaue to depart, pleasantly saying, That to morrow they would make an end of their discourse; who all thereupon tooke their leaue and departed, no signe of any sickneſse as then appearing vpon him. And after they were gone, called for meat and did eat: the meat he eat, was certaine shell-fish, for it was with them a fasting day, and he had not eaten any thing: after which, when as hee should haue drunke a cup of wine, for the comforting of his old stomack and disgesting of that so hard meat, he

The death of the old emperour.

he drunke cold water, as his manner was, when he felt any inward heat, to drinke the ſame immoderatly: which hurtfull manner of diet he then vſing alſo, began by and by to feele a great paine in his ſtomacke, and ſo preſently after became very ſicke, falling withall into a great looſeneſſe of bodie, ſo that in the ſpace of one quarter of an houre he was glad oftentimes to ariſe, and to go vnto an homely houſe of office in an inner chamber thereby, to diſcharge natures burden; where after many euacuations, ſitting downe vpon an homely bed faſt by, and not able to recouer his owne bed, hauing as then none to helpe him; there before it was day, died, after he had raigned 43 yeares. His death was by many ſtrange ſignes and accidents as it were foretold: firſt, a great eclipſe of the Sunne appeared, juſt ſo many daies before his death as hee had liued yeares: and after that, another eclipſe of the Moone; and with it an earthquake, the day before he died at night, being S. *Anthonie* his euen, whoſe name his enemies had thruſt vpon him: at which time alſo, the ſea with a great tempeſt riſing aboue the wonted bounds, made diuers breaches in the wals of the citie towards the ſea, as if it had been ſome violent enemie, and ouerflowed alſo diuers houſes in the citie. Manie croſſes and pinacles were then alſo from the tops of churches and other high buildings ouerthrowne; and with them a great pillar, ſometime one of the ornaments of the citie, ſtanding before the church, commonly called *The Church of the forte martyrs:* which being verie high, and below burnt and worne away with time, had put manie in feare as they paſſed by it, leaſt it ſhould haue fallen vpon them; inſomuch that the Emperour vpon a time paſsing that way, was requeſted by ſome of the nobilitie there preſent, to ride farther off from it, for feare of falling vpon him: who ſmiling at their vaine feare, by chance anſwered, *O would to God I might liue ſo long as this piller will ſtand:* which now falling out according to his ſpeech, gaue many of them that had heard him ſo ſay, occaſion to maruell. His dead bodie was honorablie buried in the monaſterie of LIBE, which his mother *Theodora* the empreſſe had not long before new built, and his obſequies there (after the maner of that time) yeerely ſolemnlie kept by the ſpace of nine daies.

Th. Turks kingdome founded by Othoman in Aſia, at ſuch time as the Greeke emperors were at variance betwixt themſelues in Europe.

Thus at length hauing paſſed through the troubled ſtate of the Greeke empire, during the long raigne of the old emperour *Andronicus*, the conſiderat Reader may eaſily ſee the cauſes of the declining, and ruine alſo of this famous empire; and how that the Greeke emperours, troubled with their tempeſtuous affaires neerer home in EUROPE, yea in the verie imperiall citie it ſelfe, and in their owne pallaces, were not at leaſure to looke ouer the ſtrait into ASIA, but glad to leaue their territories there vnto the weake defence of themſelues. At which time, and euen in the middeſt of the aforeſaid troubles, *Othoman*, on the one ſide, with great induſtrie laid the foundation of his empire in PHRIGIA and BYTHINIA, now the greateſt terrour of the world: and then did thoſe things which we now haue of him written. The other princes of the Turkes alſo, the ſucceſſours of Sultan *Aladin*, at the ſame time on the other ſide, alongſt the riuer MEANDER encroching on as faſt: vntill that at laſt amongſt them they had thruſt the Greeke emperours quite out of ASIA, and in fine became themſelues, together with the Greeke empire, a prey vnto the *Othoman* kings, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie ſhall more at large appeare.

Pruſa yeelded vnto the Turks.

But againe to returne vnto *Othoman* himſelfe, who all this while (that old *Andronicus* the Greeke emperour was thus troubled) had with his ſonne *Orchanes* ſought by all meanes on euerie ſide to inlarge his kingdome: the garriſons by him left in the two late built caſtles neere vnto the great citie of PRUSA, vnder the charge of the two valiant captains *Actemur & Balaban Zuck* (as is before declared) hauing now continued there certaine yeares, had by ſhutting vp the paſſages, and ſpoiling of the countrie, brought the citie into ſuch diſtreſſe and penurie, that many of the cittizens and other the poore Chriſtians fled into the citie, there died of famine. The reſt now out of all hope to be relieued by the Greeke emperour, not then able to relieue himſelfe, came to compoſition with *Orchanes* (for *Othoman* was then ſicke of his old diſeaſe the gout) couenanting with him, that they might in ſafetie with life and libertie depart, and ſo much of their goods as they themſelues could carie: and ſo yeelded to him the citie. Which conditions (as moſt write) were on the Turks behalfe well and faithfullie performed: yet ſome there be that report them to haue bene in moſt part by *Orchanes* broken. Thus was PRUSA, one of the greateſt cities of that part of ASIA, yeelded vnto the Turks, in the yeere of our Lord 1327: and was afterwards by *Orchanes* made the royall ſeat of the *Othoman* kings.

About this time, or verie ſhortly after, *Othoman* in the eight and twentith yeare of his raigne died,

died, at the age of 69, in the yeare of our Lord 1328, and lieth buried at PRUSA, where his tombe is yet at this day to be ſeene, in a certaine chappell of an old monaſterie in the caſtle, ſtanding in the middeſt of the citie; couered with a mantle of greene chamlet, & a little Tulipant or Turkiſh hat (ſuch as he vſed to weare) lying ouer his head, far differing from thoſe which the Turks now weare, eſpeciallie the better ſort of them, ſo great that they can therwith ſcarſly come in at a doore. There is alſo another monument of him to be ſeene at SUGUTA, ſaſt by the ſepulchre of his father *Ertogrull*, there made by his ſonnes in remembrance of him; whereof ſome haue reported him to haue bene there buried. Howbeit the Turks themſelues generally ſuppoſe the true monument wherein he is interred to be at PRUSA, as is aforeſaid. He was wiſe, politicke, valiant, and fortunate, but full of diſſimulation, and ambitious aboue meaſure; not raſh in his attempts, and yet very reſolute; what hee tooke in hand, hee commonly brought to good effect: to all men he was bountifull and liberall, but eſpecially to his men of warre, and the poore, whom he would many times feed and cloath with his owne hands. Of a poore lordſhip he left a great kingdome, hauing ſubdued a great part of the leſſer ASIA: and is worthily accounted the firſt founder of the Turks great kingdome and empire. Of him, the Turkiſh kings and emperours euer ſince, haue bene called the *Othoman* kings and emperours, as lineally of him deſcended: and the Turks themſelues *Oſmanide*, as the people or ſubiects of *Othoman*, or *Oſman*, for ſo he is of the Turks commonlie called.

The death of Othoman.

Othoman buried at Pruſa.

NOte, that in the reckoning vp of certaine of the great Chriſtian Princes and Prelates of the ſame time, at the end of euery the Turkiſh Kings and Emperors liues, the firſt and greateſt number following their names, ſheweth the yeare of our Lord, wherein ſuch an Emperour, King, or Biſhop began to raigne, or ſit: and the number following, how long he raigned or ſat. As for example: *Andronicus* the elder began to raigne in the Eaſt in the yeare of grace 1282, and raigned 43 yeares: and ſo of the reſt. Wherein we ſeeke not the exact computation vnto a moneth or day (as not much materiall to our Hiſtorie, or any part of our purpoſe) but onely the reaſonable view of the great princes of the forepaſſed times, as they liued in ages together.

Chriſtian princes of the ſame time with Othoman.	*Emperours*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Andronicus Palæologus the elder.*	1282. 43.
			Andronicus Palæologus the younger.	1325. 29.
		Of the Weſt	*Albertus of Auſtria.*	1298. 10.
			Henrie of Lucelburg.	1308. 6.
			Lewes the fourth, of Bauaria.	1314. 32.
	Kings	*Of England*	*Edward the firſt.*	1272. 34.
			Edward the ſecond.	1307. 20.
			Edward the third.	1327. 50.
		Of Fraunce	*Philip the faire.*	1286. 28.
			Lewes.	1314. 2.
			Philip the long.	1316. 5.
			Charles the faire.	1321. 7.
		Of Scotland	*Iohn Baliol.*	1292.
			Robert Bruce.	1306. 24.
	Biſhops of Rome		*Boniface the VIII.*	1295. 8.
			Benedict the XI.	1304. 2.
			Clement the V.	1306. 11.
			Iohn the XXII.	1317. 18.

ORCHANES.

Suſcipit Orchanes, defuncti ſceptra, parentis:
Major vt ingenio, ſic magis arte valens.
Bithynos, Phrygiamque domat, Pruſamque: ſuperbam
Et populos latè, Marte fauente premit.
Sic lætus tantis Aſiam turbaſſe ruinis:
Tranſit in Europam, Callipolimque capit.
Rident interea Græci ſua damna: ſed ecce:
Dum ſua contemnunt, in ſua fata ruunt.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

His father dead, *Orchanes* takes his ſcepter vp in hand:
As one of deeper wit and reach, his foes for to withſtand.
The Phrigians, and Bithynians, he by force of armes brought low:
Proud PRVSA, with faire NICOMEDE, and many cities moe.
And glad in ASIA to haue made ſuch hauocke and ſuch ſpoile:
His forces into EVROPE ſends, the Græcians there to foile.
Who meane while laughing at their loſſe, did make thereof a game:
Not thinking what a world of woe was to enſue the ſame.

THE LIFE OF ORCHANES, OR VRCHAN, SECOND KING OF THE TVRKES.

AFTER the death of *Othoman*, his two sonnes *Orchanes* (whom the Turks call *Vrchan*) and *Aladin* his brother, hauing with great solemnitie enterred their father at PRVSA, immediatly summoned a Parlament, whereunto both the brethren came accompanied with the chiefe of their nobilitie. This parlament was called especially, for the establishing of the succession in this new kingdome, and for the diuision of *Othomans* treasure and goods, betwixt them two, his sonnes. But vpon view taken, there was no money, plate, or jewels found in the kings coffers, for that he had in his life time most bountifully bestowed it vpon his men of warre: so that all the wealth hee left vnto them his sonnes, was, the honourable remembrance of his life for them to immitate, large dominions for their possessions, store of readie horses, and armour fit for seruice, with great heards of beasts and cattell for houshold prouision. Whereupon *Orchanes* demaunded of his brother *Aladin*, what order hee thought it was best to be taken with those things by their father so left. To whom *Aladin* answered, That it was most requisite first to establish a king in their fathers kingdome; which like a good sheepherd might gouerne and defend his subjects, rule and maintaine his men of war, prouiding all things meet for defence of his kingdome: And that vnto him of right belonged all these other things by their father left, as the patrimonie of his successour, for the common good and maintenance of his estate. As for mine owne part (said *Aladin*) I claime no interest therein, you being my elder brother, and so vnto me in steed of a father: by whom also you haue been these two yeares, as it were alreadie put in possession of the kingdom, all things being committed to your gouernment, during the time of his late sickenesse. This modestie of *Aladin* was greatly commended of all the antient counsellors; by meanes wherof, the kingdome in all peaceable maner discended to *Orchanes*. In regard of which courtesie, *Orchanes* would gladly haue made *Aladin* his brother President of his counsell: which honour he would in no wise accept, but requested rather that hee would giue him the lordship of FODORE in *Tekences* countrey; which *Orchanes* frankly graunted. In which lordship of FODORE, *Aladin* most part liued a priuat and quiet life, and afterwards built two Mahometan churches, and an abbey at PRVSA, there yet at this day to be seene.

The wealth that Othoman left vnto his two sonnes, Orchanes, and Aladin.

Some Latine Historiographers otherwise report this beginning of *Orchanes* his raigne; as that *Othoman* should haue three sonnes, and that *Orchanes* the youngest obtained the kingdome by murthering of his other brethren. A practise of late much vsed amongst the Turkish princes, but not before the time of *Bajazet* the first of that name, who first of the Turkish monarchs embrued his hands with his brothers bloud: where before, they vsed all brotherly loue one to another, as the most probable histories collected out of the Turkes owne Chronicles affirme.

When that barbarous manner of murthering their brethren, first began among the Turkish Sultans.

The

The city of Nice with diuers other castles recouered from the Turks after the death of Othoman.

The Christian princes and captaines, presently vpon the death of *Othoman* recouered the citie of NICE with diuers other castles and forts, out of the hands of the Turks: as it commonly chanceth, that dominions lately woon with great perill, are soone againe lost, the Conquerour dying before there be a firme gouernment established. Amongst other forts by the Christians repossessed, the castle of TZUPRICHISER, situate vpon the passages of the riuer SANGARIUS, most grieued the Turks, for thereby their passage into that part of BYTHINIA was much impeached. Wherfore *Orchanes* desirous to recouer this castle, disguised himselfe with a few other of his best souldiors, in the apparrell of Christian marchants, and came to the castle, crauing leaue to passe as marchants: the warders of the castle verely supposing them by their attire to bee marchants, opened the gates, and let them into the castle: who presently drew their swords, slew the warders, and so by force possessed the castle, to the great benefit of the Turkes, and the hurt of the poore Christians yet left in the countrey of BYTHINIA. For they now hauing opened a way ouer the riuer SANGARIUS, and as it were broken downe the strongest defence of that side of the Greeke empire, at their pleasure forraged the countrey in such sort, as that the great citie of NICE (for want of victuals to relieue so great a multitude as for feare of the Turks was fled out of the countrey into it) was brought to great extremitie and want. For the releefe whereof, and for the repulsing againe of the Turks, *Andronicus* the yong emperour, who then all commaunded, with such an armie as he was then able to raise, passed himselfe in person ouer the strait of CONSTANTINOPLE into ASIA: the greatest strength of his armie consisting in two thousand choice horsemen; the rest as well horse as foot, being for the most part artificers taken vp in the citie, men altogether vnacquainted with armes (who in token of their cowardise, and that they were more mindfull of flight than of fight, carried ouer with them almost as many long boats, and such other small vessels, as they were men, to be readie to receiue them at such time as they should flie) or els abiect rascals, taken vp here and there, men of whom no great thing was to be expected, and of all others most vnfit for so great a prince (as was the emperour) to commit the defence of his person and honour vnto. But *Orchanes* hearing of his comming, sent certain of his most expert captaines, to forelay the straight passages of the countrey whereby the emperor was to passe; following also himselfe after with his armie, of purpose to encounter the emperour. Who in three daies march after his landing in ASIA, being come to PHILOCRENE, a little towne in BYTHINIA, and vnderstanding, that *Orchanes* hauing before taken the straits, lay not far off encamped with his armie; he there at PHILOCRENE pitched his tents, and staied that night also. But the next morning, the Sunne as yet scarcely risen, he seeing diuers companies of the Turks comming downe from the mountaines fast by, put his armie into order of battell, and so set forward to meet them. Where to begin the fight, the Turks archers freely bestowed their piercing shot amongst the Christians, still keeping themselues aloose off, so to doe the more harme. Which the emperor mistaking, and supposing that their keeping off to haue proceeded of feare, encouraged therewith, commaunded certaine loose companies disorderly to march forward, & to skirmish with them: which his more expert captains not liking, would haue otherwise persuaded him, as to haue kept his strength together against the danger of the battell. Neuertheless, such was his youthfull heat, as that he could by no meanes be otherwise intreated, but that forward needs they must. But all the forenoone spent in this light and tumultuarie kind of skirmishing, and the Sunne at the highest now shining very hot, *Orchanes* from the top of the mountaines perceiuing the Christians well wearied with the heat of the day and long skirmishing, came downe from the hils with a world of men following him; who with a most hideous cry charged the Christians on euery side, some a farre off with their arrowes, and some hand to hand with their swords and other weapons: whose assault the Christians at the first most valiantly receiued, and a great while right worthely defended themselues, hauing wounded and slaine a number of their enemies. Which hard fight was on both sides courageously maintained, vntill the approching of the night, with great slaughter on both sides: at which time, the Christians wearie of the long fight, and oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, disorderly retiring toward their trenches, and hardly pursued by the Turkes, receiued there a great losse, as well of their horsemen, as of their foot: but by the comming on of the night, the battell was at length ended with vncertaine victorie. Amongst others there hurt, the emperour himselfe was wounded in the foot with an arrow. That night happened a wofull mishap, and a manifest token of Gods his wrath: for *Orchanes* hauing to his cost made proofe of the strength and valour of the Christians,

The emperour wounded.

ſtians,and doubting they would the next day come on farther into the countrey, left three hundreth horſemen,as ſcouts,to attend the enemies remooving: and himſelfe with his armie retired beforehand to take the aduantage of ſuch places as the Chriſtians were to paſſe by. But the emperour in the euening leauing his campe,and going to PHILOCRENE,a little towne faſt by,the better to haue his wound dreſſed; the reſt of the armie vnderſtanding of his departure, and ſuppoſing him to haue fled for feare(as if *Orchanes* with a great armie would that night haue ſlaine them all) fled themſelues alſo out of the campe, euery mothers ſonne; ſome to their long boats and other little veſſels they had for that purpoſe brought ouer the ſtrait; ſome haſting towards the towne gates,were by the multitude of others running headlong after them, ouerborne, and troden to death; otherſome hanging one at anothers taile,like a chaine, got ſome part of them vp to the top of the rampiers of the towne; otherſome drawne backe by them that hung vpon them, falling downe together by heapes,and trod vpon by others,there periſhed; ſome (as is reported)died there for very feare,no man either chaſing or hurting them; ſo weake is mans courage when God withdraweth from him his ſtrength. But in the morning the Sunne ariſing, the three hundreth Turks,left for ſcouts,perceiuing the flight of the Chriſtians, entred the forſaken campe,where they found horſes, armour, and emptie tents, yea the emperours owne furniture and his horſes readie ſadled: of all which, two hundred of theſe Turks tooke the ſpoile at their pleaſure; and the other hundred purſuing the diſperſed Chriſtians,like heartleſſe men,wandring here and there,ſlew a great number of them. The emperour himſelfe ſeeing his armie (thus as it were by the hand of God) ouerthrowne and diſperſed, tooke ſhipping alſo, and ſo returned to CONSTANTINOPLE. After whoſe departure,the Turks ſeizing vpon many ſea townes alongſt the coaſt of BYTHINIA,and there ſeating themſelues,laid heauie tributes vpon the other countrey townes and villages; for the benefit whereof,they ſpared to deſtroy them,together with the inhabitants,which they might at their pleaſure full eaſily haue done.

Now lay the great citie of NICE in the ſuds,the enemie commaunding all the country about it,liuing as ſicke men doe by hope, and holding out onely vpon hope of a thouſand horſemen which the emperour (notwithſtanding his late diſcomfiture) had promiſed foorthwith to ſend, there to lie in garriſon for the repreſsing of the Turks. Of which aid ſo promiſed, *Orchanes* vnderſtanding, furniſhed eight hundred of his owne horſemen,after the manner of the Chriſtians: and fetching a great compaſſe about,came at length into the high way that leadeth from CONSTANTINOPLE TO NICE, and ſo trouped directly towards the citie, as if they had come from CONSTANTINOPLE. At the ſame time he ſent three hundred of his other horſemen, in the habit of Turks, to forrage and ſpoile the countrey,as much as they could within the view of the citie(now for want of victuals brought into great extremitie) which whileſt they were a doing; the other eight hundred horſemen in the attire of Chriſtians, following vpon them,as if it had been by chance,charged them, and in the ſight of the cittizens put them to flight: which done, theſe counterfeit horſemen returned directly againe towards NICE. The cittizens which with great pleaſure had in the meane time from the wals ſeene the moſt part of the skirmiſh;and how they had put the Turks to flight,ſuppoſing them to be the Conſtantinopolitan horſemen whom they daily expected,with great joy opened the gates of the citie to receiue them as their friends: But they being entred the gates, preſently ſet vpon the Chriſtians, fearing no ſuch matter: and being ſeconded with the other three hundred,which in diſſembling manner had fled before, and were now ſpeedily returned,bringing alſo with them other companies of Turks,before laid in ſecret ambuſh not far off, they woon the great and famous citie of NICE, which they haue euer ſince vntill this day poſſeſſed: the ſpoile wherof was giuen vnto the ſouldiors for a prey,and the citizens all led away into miſerable captiuitie and thraldome. Whileſt *Orchanes* was thus buſied, his other captaines did with great courage and ſucceſſe enlarge his dominions on all ſides, daily encroching vpon their weake neighbours the Chriſtians. *Cunger-Alpes*, one of his warlike captaines,ſubdued the country of MVDURN, or MODRIN,in PHRIGIA;and BOLLI in PAPHLAGONIA:appointing one *Abdurachman*,a man of great valour,to gouerne the country.And at the ſame time another of his old captains called *Accecozza*,brought CANDARA in PAPHLAGONIA, and ERMENIE, a country neere vnto the mountain HORMINIUS,into the Turkiſh ſubjection: placing garriſons in all the caſtles & forts which he had woon,of whom ſome part of thoſe countries was after his name called *Cozza Ilni*,that is to ſay,The old mans country. So that *Orchanes* his kingdome grew daily greater & greater,as well by the induſtrie of his chieftains,as of himſelfe.

The citie of Nice ſurpriſed by the Turks.

About this time, it fortuned the captains ſon of SCAMANDRIA (a town not far from the ruines of the antient citie of TROY, and about a daies journey from the renoumed caſtle of ABYDUS) to depart out of this world: vnto whoſe funerals being kept in the countrey, whileſt his woefull father the captaine with his friends out of SCAMANDRIA reſorted, the old craftie Turke *Accecozza* lying alwaies in wait, as a fox for his prey, ſuddenly ſet vpon thoſe heauie Chriſtians, whereof he ſlue the moſt part, and tooke the reſt priſoners. Amongſt whom he alſo tooke the captaine of SCAMANDRIA, with his caſtle and countrey: whom he afterwards led priſoner vnto the caſtle of ABYDVS, which is one of the moſt famous caſtles ſituate vpon the ſea coaſt of ASIA, ouer againſt SESTVS in EVROPE, where the ſea of HELLESPONTVS by the narrow ſtrait falleth into the ſea ÆGEVM: two caſtles much renoumed, by reaſon of their nigh ſituation, and yet placed in diuers parts of the world; eternized alſo by the euer liuing wits of Poets, for the aduenturous paſſage of *Leander* ouer that fret of the ſea, to his loue *Hero*: which caſtles are now called DARDANELLY. *Accecozza* hauing brought the captiue captaine of SCAMANDRIA (lately a man of great account in that country) ſo neer as he could vnto the caſtle of ABYDVS, offred to ſet him at libertie if they would ſurrender their caſtle, otherwiſe they ſhould ſee him cruelly ſlaine before their faces. Theſe Turkiſh threats nothing moued them of ABYDUS, more than to ſay, That they might if they would cut off his head, ſeeth him, and eat him, but the caſtle they intended not to deliuer. The ſame captain was afterward by the cõmandement of *Orchanes* profered to the emperor of CONSTANTINOPLE, to be redeemed, which he refuſed. Yet at the laſt he was ranſomed by the gouernour of NICOMEDIA, and againe ſet at libertie. *Accecozza* of long time held the caſtle of SCAMANDRIA: yet ſo continually moleſted with the garriſon of ABYDVS, and men of war ſent from CONSTANTINOPLE, that he with his followers were glad for the moſt part to liue on horsbacke, to be alwaies in more readineſſe againſt the attempt of their enemies. The captaine of the caſtle of ABYDVS had at that time a faire young gentlewoman to his daughter, who (as ſhe ſaid) chanced to dreame (what ſhe had happily waking, for the moſt part wiſhed) That being fallen into a deepe mirie ditch, out of which ſhe could by no meanes helpe her ſelfe, a luſtie young gallant comming by, did not onely helpe her out, but alſo in friendly manner, made her cleane, and afterwards apparelled her in rich and coſtly attire. The danger of this dreame much troubled the tender gentlewoman, but the image of the yong gentleman was ſo well phantizied in her braine, that waking, ſhe thought ſhe ſtill ſaw him, and ſleeping longed ſore for what ſhe ſaw not. Thus whilſt this yong gentlewoman with great deuotion entertained this imaginarie man; the old gray headed Turk *Accecozza* came, and with a ſtrong companie beſieged her fathers caſtle of ABYDVS. During which ſiege, this gentlewoman oftentimes went vp into the high turret of the caſtle, from whence ſhee might at pleaſure ſee the marſhall deeds on both ſides, and take full view of all the enemies campe. But ſee the chance, as *Abdurachman* with great courage and no leſſe brauerie, approched neere to the ſiege of the caſtle, ſhe thought (vpon the firſt ſight of him) that he was the verie man whom ſhe had before dreamed of, and whoſe Idea was in her heart ſo deepely imprinted: wherefore ſhe fully reſolued to performe what ſhe had without witneſſe with her ſelfe determined. And waiting another time, when *Abdurachman* approched the caſtle, ſhe caſt downe to his feet a letter written in Greeke, and made faſt vnto a ſtone: which letter he taking vp, deliuered the ſame to the Generall *Accecozza*. Wherein after ſhe had diſcouered her paſsionat affection, ſhe promiſed to deliuer the caſtle into *Abdurachmans* power, if the Turkes would raiſe their ſiege, and *Abdurachman* himſelfe with ſome few would ſecretly returne to the caſtle in the dead time of the night, and then follow her direction. *Accecozza* like an old fox, which is ſeldome taken in the trap, gaue ſmall credit to theſe louing lines, for feare of treaſon: yet for ſo much as you are the man (ſaid he to *Abdurachman*) whom ſhe vpon ſpeciall liking hath made choice of for the purpoſe, will you aduenture your perſon? And he, armed with a manly courage, a ſurer defence than any armour of proofe, incited alſo with hope of honour, riches, and beautie, all woorthie prizes for marſhall minds; ſaid he would vndertake the atchieument of that exploit, if it were his pleaſure ſo. Whereupon *Accecozza*, becauſe nothing ſhould be ſuſpected by his ſudden departure, gaue a ſharpe aſſault to the caſtle, as if hee would haue taken it by fine force, yet in the end retired, and preſently brake vp his ſiege, as diſpairing of the winning thereof. The defendants of the caſtle thinking themſelues deliuered from a great danger, greatly rejoyced: and as in like caſe it oftentimes falleth out, in their great jolitie ſurcharged themſelues that night with exceſſe

Abydus beſieged by the Turks.

exceſſe both of meat and drinke. But *Abdurachman* at the time in the letter appointed, put himſelfe vpon the way, with certain ſelect ſouldiors, and about midnight came to the appointed place of the caſtle, where the yong gentlewoman was attending his cõming: & he by her means was conueyed into the caſtle, and ſo by her directed to the porters lodge: where he ſlew the porter, being faſt aſleepe, and opening the gates, let in his followers: which went directly to the captaines lodging, and there tooke him priſoner, being before their comming ouertaken with wine, and faſt aſleepe. Thus was the caſtle of ABYDUS ſurpriſed by the Turks, from whence they had a faire proſpect out of ASIA into EUROPE. The captaine with his faire daughter and the greateſt part of the rich ſpoile of the caſtle was deliuered to *Abdurachman*, to bee preſented to *Orchanes* at his court, then lying at NEAPOLIS. Who wonderfull glad of ſo good news, gaue the faire gentlewoman with the greateſt part of the prey in reward to *Abdurachman*. The poſteritie of this man (as they ſay) yet remaine among the Turks. Amongſt others of the warlike captains, there was alſo one *Cararachman*, whoſe name was ſo dreadfull to thẽ of CONSTANTINOPLE, that when their children cried, they would terrifie them to make them hold their peace, by ſaying *Cararachman* comes. Not long after the two valiant aforenamed woorthie captaines *Cunger-Alpes* and *Accecozza* died: after whoſe death, *Orchanes* made his ſonnes, *Solyman* and *Amurath*, lords and gouernours of thoſe countries and prouinces. And intending (by the perſuaſion of *Abdurachman*) to beſiege NICOMEDIA, he leuied a great armie, wherewith hee tooke diuers ſmall caſtles and forts as he marched towards the citie. NICOMEDIA was at that time gouerned by an honourable ladie, kinſwoman vnto *Andronicus* the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE: but ſhe ſeeing her citie beſieged by the Turks, and doubting her owne forces not to be able to hold out the ſiege, by a truſtie meſſenger offred to yeeld the citie vnto *Orchanes*, vpon condition, That ſhe with ſo many of the citizens as would, might in ſafetie depart with their liues, libertie, and goods: which being graunted, ſhe with ſo many as would follow her, departed out of the cittie by night, taking ſhipping for CONSTANTINOPLE.

Nicomedia yeelded vnto Orchanes.

Orchanes hauing taken NICOMEDIA, made his ſonne *Solyman* gouernour of the ſame. The churches of the Chriſtians he conuerted into Turkiſh Meſchitas or temples. The greateſt church (being of wonderfull beautie) he conuerted into a colledge or ſchoole, for the learned profeſſours and ſtudents of *Mahomets* law, which is yet called in NICOMEDIA, *Orchanes* his ſchoole or colledge. And becauſe the countrey neere vnto NICOMEDIA, lying open vpon the ſea, was euer in danger to be ſpoiled by the gallies of CONSTANTINOPLE; he placed in thoſe countries diuers of his moſt experienced ſoldiors to defend the ſame, appointing to euery of them poſſeſſions and penſions, according to their degrees and merits. After this, *Orchanes* by the counſell of his brother *Aladin*, commaunded all his men of war to weare white caps, thereby to be knowne from others, which commonly wore red. Such manner of caps the Ianizaries vſe at this day. The Turks alſo in *Orchanes* raign, & long time after, vſed not to cut or ſhaue their beards, but did weare them long: ſo that if the king would diſgrace any man, he would in his diſpleaſure commaund his beard to be cut or ſhauen. The manner of cutting and ſhauing their beards, which they now vſe, they learned of the Italians: of whom they haue alſo borrowed many other faſhions, not onely differing, but quite cõtrarie to their antient maners & cuſtomes. *Orchanes* about this time remoued his court to NICE, where he lay long time after. There he built a ſumptuous church, appointing a preacher to preach vnto the people euery friday: he erected in NICE alſo two faire abbeyes, in the one of which, he with owne hands ſerued the ſtrangers and poore the firſt dinner. He was the firſt that builded abbeyes or monaſteries among the Turks, whoſe example moſt of his ſucceſſours haue imitated, and is amongſt them vſed vnto this day.

Orchanes remoueth his court to Nice.

The gouernment of NICOMEDIA, *Orchanes* committed to his eldeſt ſonne *Solyman* (as is beforeſaid) a prince of great towardlineſſe, giuing him in great charge, to haue a vigilant eie vnto the townes of TARAXA, GOVINUCA, and MUDVRNE, which were nigh vnto NICOMEDIA, yet in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians: all which townes, with the countries adjoyning, *Solyman* in ſhort time got without force, by compoſition. This *Solyman* was of a princely diſpoſition, ſo tempering juſtice with clemencie in his gouernment, that many Chriſtians (allured with his vertues) became of his religion, and gladly put themſelues vnder his ſubjection: the politicke laws of the countrey he neither abrogated nor changed, but maintained as they had ben of antient time accuſtomed, whereby he greatly woon the hearts of the people. *Amurath* his yonger ſonne, *Orchanes* made lord and gouernour of PRUSA, after he had remoued his court to NICE. And the

caſtle of CHARA-CHIZAR, with the ſeignorie thereto belonging, he gaue to his coſin *Artemur*, the ſonne of his vncle *Iundus*.

Orchanes inuadeth the country of *Caraſina*.

There was at this time in *Orchanes* court, a noble yong gentleman, called *Turſon-beg*, the ſon of *Charaſis*, king of CHARASIA; by whoſe perſuaſion *Orchanes* in perſon himſelfe with a ſtrong armie, made an expedition into that countrey: for that his fathers ſubiects after the death of the king his father, denied their obedience to his elder brother, wiſhing rather to haue *Turſon* for their ſoueraigne. In whoſe behalfe *Orchanes* taking that iourney, ſurpriſed by the way many caſtles and townes to his owne vſe. *Orchanes* was no ſooner entred the countrey of CHARASIA, but *Turſons* elder brother fled to PERGAMUM, whither the Turks ſhortly purſued him: Where *Turſon* deſirous to ſpeake with his brother, vnwarily approching the citie, was wounded with an arrow ſhot from the wals, and there ſlaine. With whoſe death *Orchanes* was ſo greatly offended, that he threatened to deſtroy the whole countrey with fire and ſword, if they did not by a day prefixed generally ſubmit themſelues to his mercie. The people terrefied with this proclamation of ſo great a prince alreadie in armes, yeelded themſelues vnto his ſubiection. The kings ſonne alſo that was fled into PERGAMUM, vpon reaſonable conditions yeelded himſelfe vnto *Orchanes*, who ſent him to PRUSA, where after he had there liued two yeares, died of the plague: after whoſe death, *Orchanes* made his ſon *Solyman* prince of CARASINA. Neither is this taking in of the countrey of CARASINA to be accounted a ſmall conqueſt; one of the greateſt houſes of the Turks the ſucceſſors of the Iconian Sultan *Aladin*, now thereby taking end, and their dominions, which were not ſmall (as containing almoſt all LYDIA, with ſome good parts of MISIA, TROAS, and the leſſer PHRIGIA) now vnited vnto the *Othoman* kingdome. *Orchanes* vpon his returne, for the good ſucceſſe of this iourney, built a church and monaſterie at PRUSA, placing therein religious men, with all diligence ſought for out of all his kingdome: of which religious, the Turks write many fables, better worth the ſmiling at than the ſerious reporting. Hitherto the kingdome of *Othoman* and *Orchanes* his ſonne, was contained within the bounds of the leſſer ASIA, which the Turks call ANATOLIA.

The countrey of Caraſina yeelded vnto Orchanes.

Now it reſteth to be ſhewed, vpon what occaſion *Orchanes*, or rather his ſonne *Solyman Baſſa*, as it were fatally, with a ſmall power firſt paſſed ouer HELLESPONTUS into EUROPE; where they and their ſucceſſors haue by little and little ſo enlarged their dominions, that they haue now long ago quite ouerthrowne the Grecian empire, with many other great kingdoms, & are at this preſent a terrour to all Chriſtian princes bordering vpon them: to the perpetuall infamie of the Greeks, who for want of courage, and buſied with ciuile diſcord, neuer ſought in time to impeach their greatneſſe.

Orchanes hauing now ſo augmented his kingdome, that he might from many parts therof out of ASIA, take view of the pleaſant borders of EUROPE, from whence he was excluded only by the narrow ſea of HELLESPONTUS; and continually incited with the vnſatiable and reſtleſſe deſire of ſoueraignetie, began to deuiſe how he might poſsibly paſſe that ſtrait ſea, and ſet foot into EUROPE, another part of the world. Which his conceit one day he imparted to his ſonne *Solyman*: who preſently anſwered his father, That if it would pleaſe him to giue him leaue, he would not doubt to paſſe the ſtrait of HELLESPONTUS, and in time to plant the Mahometane religion in thoſe countries of EUROPE, poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians. Which anſwer of *Solyman*, much pleaſed his father, who gaue him leaue to depart into his countrey, and in that matter to proceed further, as he thought beſt, and as occaſion ſhould beſt ſerue. *Solyman* taking leaue of his father, tooke his iourney into CARASINA, where riding vp and downe the country, as it had bin for his pleaſure only, he made his way to the place where it is thought the famous citie of TROY ſometime ſtood; where yet (as the Turks and ſome others ſay) are to be ſeene the woonderfull ruines of that vnfortunate citie by the ſea ſide: In this place *Solyman* ſtood ſtill a great while as it were in a ſtudie, forecaſting (as it ſeemed) ſome great matter; without ſpeking one word to any of his followers. When one of his chiefetains called *Ezes-beg*, to put him out of his deep thoughts boldly ſaid vnto him: My lord and great ſoueraigne, what ſtrange thing is this, that you are ſo deepely drowned in theſe your melancholy thoughts, vndoubtedly it is ſome great matter that you are ſtudying vpon? Truth it is, ſaid *Solyman*, for I was thinking how it were poſsible to paſſe ouer this ſea of HELLESPONTUS into the borders of EUROPE, and to take view of that countrey, and ſo to returne vndiſcouered. If this bee the matter, ſaid *Ezes-beg* (joyning vnto him one *Fazil-Beg*, a man of no leſſe valour than himſelfe) wee two will by the power of God performe

vnto

vnto you this enterpriſe. Then was *Solyman* deſirous to know of them, about what place they would paſſe ouer: which they well knowing the ſea coaſt, ſhewed him not far off. Wherfore *Solyman* giuing them leaue, they departed: and ſhortly after máking a little boat, or rather as ſome ſuppoſe a raffe, paſſed ouer HELLESPONTUS by night, and arriued in EUROPE ſide, neere vnto a caſtle of the Turkes, called ZEMBENIC or ZEMBENIC, but of the Greekes *Coiridocaſtron*, that is to ſay, The hogs caſtle, not farre from SESTUS: where going aſhore, they tooke priſoner a Greeke in a vineyard neere vnto the caſtle, whom they finding to bee a good ſenſible fellow, without delay put him into their boat or raffe, and returning backe againe, preſented him to *Solyman*. This Chriſtian captiue *Solyman* entertained courteouſly, giuing him great gifts and rich apparrell, to diſcouer vnto him the eſtate of his countrey: and in fine, learned of him a meanes to take the caſtle of ZEMBENIC, before the Chriſtians ſhould thereof be aware. For atchieuement whereof, certaine boats were ſpeedily made readie by *Solymans* commaundement, and he with eightie choſen ſouldiors eaſily paſſed ouer in them by night, with their Chriſtian guide the Greeke: for in that place, the ſtrait betwixt ASIA and EUROPE is not paſt an Italian mile ouer. This guide brought *Solyman* directly to the aforeſaid caſtle, where was a great dunghill, ſo high, that from the top thereof *Solyman* with his ſouldiors eaſily got into the caſtle, which they woon without any great reſiſtance; for it was then harueſt time, and moſt part of the people were in the vineyards, or treading out of their corne all night, as the vſe of thoſe countries is. *Solyman* thus poſſeſſed of the caſtle of ZEMBENIC, vſed no extremitie againſt the inhabitants thereof, ſeeking rather by courteſie to gaine their good wils, than by extremitie to force them to his: yet ſuch gentlemen as he tooke, with ſome others alſo of the better ſort, hee ſent by ſhipping into ASIA, and by the ſame ſhips returned ſouldiors as faſt as he could into EUROPE: ſo that he had in one day two hundred ſouldiors more brought ouer vnto him. And manning ſuch ſmall veſſels as hee had left about the caſtle, ſent *Ezes-beg* alongſt the coaſt on EUROPE ſide, to burne ſuch ſhipping or veſſels as he could find, leaſt the Chriſtians ſhould by them hinder his paſſage vpon the ſtrait of HELLESPONTUS. So in a few daies *Solyman* had tranſported into EUROPE two thouſand good ſouldiors of the Turks, whom he ſo gouerned, that they did not in any violent ſort injurie the vulgar Chriſtians, by reaſon whereof the common people began to like reaſonable well of the Turks, and to conuerſe with them without feare. This was the firſt comming ouer of the Turks into EUROPE, with purpoſe there to conquer and inhabit, vnder the fortune of the *Othoman* kings. For albeit that ſome of that nation had at ſundrie times before come ouer, as men ſeeking after ſpoile, or otherwiſe ſent for, yea ſometimes by the Greeke emperours themſelues; yet neuer ſtayed they long, but hauing done that they came for, or els loſt themſelues, returned backe againe into ASIA: vntill that now conducted by *Solyman*, and poſſeſſed of the little caſtle of ZEMBENIC (as is aforeſaid) they there tooke ſo faſt footing, as that they and their poſteritie after them, were neuer thence to be ſince that time remoued: but ſtill more and more encroching vpon the Chriſtians, haue vnto their Aſian kingdome joyned a great part of EUROPE alſo, to the terrour of the reſt that yet remaineth, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall (if God will) at large appeare.

The caſtle of Maditus taken by the Turks.

About two miles from ZEMBENIC in CHERSONESVS was another caſtle called MAITO, or more truely MADITVS, which *Solyman* alſo tooke: ſo that now he had gotten two caſtles in EVROPE, both which he ſtongly manned. After which time, the Turkes in great numbers came out of ASIA into EVROPE ouer that narrow ſtrait of HELLESPONTVS, to dwell in CHERSONESVS: and *Solyman* inſtead of them, to make roome for his Turkes, ſent Chriſtians out of EVROPE to be placed amongſt the Turkes in ASIA. The report of this comming ouer of the Turkes into CHERSONESVS, and of the taking of the caſtle of ZEMBENIC carried in poſt to CONSTANTINOPLE, was ſufficient to haue ſtirred vp any prouident or carefull men, preſently to haue taken vp armes for the recouerie of the loſt caſtle, and the driuing out againe of the barbarous enemies out of EVROPE, before they had gathered any greater ſtrength, or ſetled themſelues in thoſe places: but ſuch was the careleſſe negligence and great ſecuritie of the proud Greekes, that inſtead thereof they to extenuate the greatneſſe of the loſſe, commonly ſayd, That there was but an hogſtie loſt; alluding vnto the name of the caſtle: and vainely (as ſayth a graue Father of their owne) jeaſting at that was not to be jeaſted at, and laughing at that was not to bee laughed, but lamented for; as in few yeares it prooued, their fooliſh laughter being not without good cauſe conuerted into moſt bitter teares.

Calipolis taken by the Turkes.

Solyman his ſtrength ſo ſtill increaſing by the dayly comming ouer of the Turkes, hee proceeded farther to ſpoyle the countrey of CHERSONESVS, almoſt as farre as CALLIPOLIS, diſtant from the caſtle ZEMBENIC about two and twentie miles: after which pleaſant citie the proud Turke began now to long. Which the gouernour thereof perceiuing by the Turkes continuall encroaching vpon him, rayſed what power he was able to make, and ſo went out againſt them; all the reſt of the Greekes in the meane time lying ſtill as if they had beene aſleepe, or that the matter had not concerned them: but meeting the Turkes, he was by them (after a great conflict) ouerthrowne, and for ſauegard of his life glad to flie into his citie: after whom the Turkes following, ſpoyled the countrey round about, and in their returne by plaine force tooke the citie, together with the caſtle alſo: which hapned in the yeere of our Lord 1358. Where the madneſſe of the Greeks was againe more than before to bee wondred at; for the newes of the loſſe of CALIPOLIS being brought to CONSTANTINOPLE, the people there made ſmall account thereof, although it was indeed a right great loſſe, and much concerned the ſtate: but to extenuate the matter, when they had any talke thereof, in jeaſting wiſe commonly ſaid, That the Turks had but taken from them a pottell of wine: but by taking of ſuch hogſtyes and pottels of wine (as they termed it) the Turks in a few yeares after had gone ſo farre in THRACIA, that *Amurath* (this ſame *Solyman* his Nephew which now tooke from the Greekes the citie of CALLIPOLIS) euen in the heart (as it were) of the Greeke empire, placed his royall ſeat at HADRIANOPLE: and immediately after him *Baiazet* his ſonne (hauing ſubdued all the countrey, euen to the walles of CONSTANTINOPLE) for certaine yeares layd hard ſiege vnto the imperiall citie it ſelfe; and had no doubt then carried it, had not the great expedition of the mightie Tartar prince *Tamerlaine* (vnto *Baiazet* fatall) in the meane time hapned: whereby (God ſo appointing it) the proſperous ſucceedings of the Turkes were for a ſpace well ſtayed, that they ſhould not before the time by him prefined, deuour the reliques of the Greeke empire. And it were to be wiſhed that the Chriſtians of our time alſo (by their example warned) would at length awake out of their dead ſleepe: who of late haue loſt vnto the ſame enemie, not the caſtle of ZEMBENIC, or the citie of CALLIPOLIS, but whole kingdomes, as HVNGARIE, and CYPRVS: and are ſtill faire in the way; I ſay no more for greefe, and foreboding of euill fortune. But againe to our purpoſe, *Solyman* hauing made this proſperous entrance into EVROPE, and there got ſtrong footing, by ſpeedie meſſengers certified his father what he had done, and that it was expedient for him with all ſpeed to ſend vnto him a great ſupplie of men of warre, as well for the ſure defence and keeping of the caſtles and forts by him alreadie gotten, as for the further inuaſion of the countrey. This meſſage was woonderfull welcome vnto *Orchanes*, and whereas many families of the Sarazins, at that preſent were come into the countrey of CARASINA to poſſeſſe the dwellings and places of them, which in hope to better their eſtate were before gone ouer into EVROPE; all theſe Sarazins hee commaunded to paſſe ouer into EVROPE likewiſe: which they did accordingly, ſeating themſelus for a time in the countrey neere to CALIPOLIS. In the meane time, *Solyman* omitted no oportunitie to enter further into the countrie, winning ſmall forts and holds, and ſtill peopling the ſame with his Turkes: And on the other ſide, they of CARASINA paſſed ouer into EVROPE, placing thēſelues as it were in a new world. For which cauſe, and for the great deſire they had to extend the Turkiſh dominion and religion, they refuſed no paines of warre: ſo that all things at that time proſpered with the Turkes, and went backward with the Chriſtians.

In the time of theſe warres, not farre from CALLIPOLIS, was a little caſtle called CONGERE, the captaine whereof was by a Greeke name called *Calo Ioannes*, a valiant and painefull man: this captaine continually moleſted and troubled the Turks which lay on that ſide of CALIPOLIS, vnder the leading of *Ezes-beg*, many of whom he ſlew and tooke priſoners, as hee could find them at any aduantage. *Solyman* much angred herewith, by craftie and ſecret eſpials learned a certaine time when he was gone out of his caſtle to doe ſome exploit vpon the Turks: whereupon he preſently ſo beſet the caſtle with ſouldiors, that hee could by no meanes returne thither, but hee muſt firſt fall into their hands; and for more aſſurance placed others alſo in bywaies, leaſt he ſhould by any way eſcape. The captaine ignorant of all this, proſecuted his enterpriſe, and hauing taken a Turke priſoner, thinking to returne to his caſtle, was haſtely purſued by *Fazill-Beg*: for which cauſe, making the more haſt, he ſuddainly fell into the danger of the Turks laid in ambuſh: where his men were all ſlaine, and he himſelfe taken and brought before his own caſtle,

caſtle, and had there his head preſently ſtrucke off: whereupon the caſtle was forthwith by them that were therein (hauing now loſt their captaine) ſurrendred, and *Chazi Ili Beg*, a valiant captaine of the Turks, placed in the ſame: who from thence neuer ceaſed to trouble the countrey, euen to the wals of DIDYMOTICHUM, as did *Solyman* alſo out of CALLIPOLIS.

Thus in the ſpace of one yeare the Turks got ſtrong footing in EUROPE, poſſeſſing diuers caſtles and townes, with the countrey about them, which *Solyman* gaue in reward vnto his captaines and ſouldiors, as appeareth by the graues and trombes of *Ezes-beg* and *Fazill-beg*, the two which firſt came ouer into EUROPE, which are there yet well knowne.

About this time it fortuned, that as this martiall prince *Solyman* was for his diſport hawking in the fields of BOLAYRE, on EUROPE ſide, galloping in to his faulcon, was with his horſe ouerthrowne in a ditch, of which fall he being ſore bruſed, ſhortly after died. The newes of his death being brought to *Orchanes* his father, gaue vnto him (then being ſicke) juſt occaſion of great ſorrow: ſo that within two moneths after he died alſo, being foureſcore yeares old, when hee had thereof raigned 31 yeares; and died about the yeare of our Lord 1359. Some hiſtories report otherwiſe, both of his death, and of the time wherein he liued: as that he ſhould be ſlaine in a battell againſt the Tartars, or as others write, with an arrow at the ſiege of PRUSA, in the yeare of our Lord 1349. But *Ioannes Leunclauius* in his hiſtorie collected out of the Turks owne chronicles whom we follow as moſt probable, reporteth it as before.

The death of Solyman Beſſa, Orchanes his eldeſt ſonne.

The death of Orchanes.

This *Orchanes* was wiſe, courteous, and bountifull, more ingenious than his father in deuiſing warlike engins. He built diuers princely Churches, Abbeies, Colledges, and Cels, and was in his ſuperſtitious religion very zealous: inſomuch, that he appointed penſions to all ſuch as could in the church ſay the booke of *Mahomets* law by heart: and appointed competent maintenance for all Iudges of his courts, becauſe they ſhould not take any thing in reward of his ſubiects, for the peruerting of juſtice. He greatly inlarged his kingdome in ASIA, and not content to bee incloſed with the ſeas of EVXINUM and HELLESPONTUS, ſet faſt footing in EVROPE; which ſome attribute to his ſonne *Amurath*. He was vnto the Chriſtians alwaies a moſt mortall enemie, and ſo died.

FINIS.

Chriſtian princes of the ſame time with Orchanes.

Emperours	*Of the Eaſt*	*Andronicus Palæologus the younger.*	1325.	29.
		Iohn Palæologus.	1354.	30.
	Of the weſt	*Lewes of Bauaria.*	1314.	32.
		Charles the fourth, ſonne to Iohn king of Bohemia.	1346.	10.
Kings	*Of England*	*Edward the third.*	1327.	50.
	Of Fraunce	*Philip Valois.*	1328.	22.
		Iohn Valois.	1350.	14.
	Of Scotland	*Robert Bruce.*	1306.	24.
		Dauid Bruce.	1341.	
Biſhops of Rome		*Iohn the XXII.*	1317.	18.
		Benedict the XII.	1335.	7.
		Clement the VI.	1342.	12.
		Innocent the VI.	1354.	10.

AMVRATH.

Scæuus Amurathes, animo dum maxima versat:
Discordes Græcos, sternere Marte parat.
Totus & intentus fines extendere regni:
Europam penetrans, obuia quæque rapit.
Attoniti trepidant, nimia formidine Thraces:
In medio quorum, sceptra superba locat.
*Hinc Mæsos premit ille feros * miserumque Dynasten:* * Lazarum Seruiæ principem.
Cossoui in campis, obruit, atq; necat.
Sed non longa fuit sceleris tam dira voluptas
A seruo cæsus, concidit ense ferox.

RICH. KNOLLES.

Whileſt *Amurath* in his deepe thoughts, of greatneſſe plots the ground:
The wrangling Greekes by force of arms he ſeekes how to confound.
And wholy bent for to extend his kingdome, with his power,
Pierſing the confines of EVROPE, doth what he meets deuour.
As men diſmaid, the Thracians quake, to ſee their foule diſgrace:
Amiddeſt whom, the tyrant ſtout his ſcepter proud doth place.
The fierce Bulgarians he did meet, and in the field ſubdue:
And in COSSOVAS fatall plains, the wofull Deſpot ſlue. *Lazarus, Despot of Servia.*
But long is not the wickeds joy, which they in miſchiefe take;
Stabd by a Slaue, the wretch his end in that ſame place did make.

R. K.

THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THIRD KING OF THE TVRKES, AND THE GREAT AVGMENTOR OF THEIR KINGDOME.

Amurath the yonger ſonne of *Orchanes* ſucceeded his father in the Turkiſh kingdome, his elder brother *Solyman* being dead a little before his father. This *Amurath* with greater zeale than any one of the Turkiſh kings, aduanced the Mahometane religion, and had therein wonderfull ſucceſſe. In the beginning of his raigne, he gathered a great armie out of all parts of his kingdome, to PRUSA; purpoſing to paſſe ouer HELLESPONTUS, to inuade the Chriſtians in THRACIA. But vnderſtanding, that the other Mahometane princes in ASIA, had combined themſelues againſt him, hee was thereby enforced to leaue his former determination for EUROPE, and to turne his forces vpon them. In which wars he mightily preuailed againſt them, and returned with victorie to PRUSA. But hauing ſo ſubdued thoſe confederat princes, he the next yeare after proſecuted his warres before intended againſt the Chriſtians in EUROPE. For which purpoſe hauing leuied a ſtrong armie in ASIA, he paſſed ouer to CALLIPOLIS, accompanied with his tutor, whom the Turks call *Lala Schahin*: whoſe graue aduice and counſaile he moſt followed in all his waightie affaires, being at that time one of his cheefe counſellors. From CALLIPOLIS he marched to the caſtle of BENUTUM, which was by compoſition yeelded vnto him. From thence he went to TZVRVLUS, where the Chriſtians gaue him a ſharpe encounter: but in the end he wan the towne, and caried away the victorie. And ſo proceeding farther, tooke diuers other ſmall caſtles and townes in that part of THRACIA, which of the antient Romane Colonies was then called ROMANIA, and now of the Turks RUMILIA, namely MESINE, BUROOS, and others; whereof ſome he vttetly raſed, and into the reſt put ſtrong garriſons. At this time alſo, *Chaſi-ilbeg*, and *Eurenoſes*, two of his moſt valiant captaines, tooke certaine forts ſtanding vpon the riuer MERITZA, in auncient time called HEBRUS. Whereby they much troubled the inhabitants of the countrey thereabouts. Wherwith the captaine of DIDYMOTICHUM offended, gathered his ſouldiors together, intending to haue intercepted the great captaine *Chaſi-ilbeg*: in which attempt he loſt moſt of his followers, and was himſelfe there taken priſoner. For whoſe ranſome and certain other conditions, the citizens of DIDYMOTICHUM yeelded the citie vnto the Turks.

Amurath ſucceedeth his father Orchanes in the Turkiſh kingdome.

Didymotichum yeelded vnto the Turks.

Shortly after *Amurath* ſent his tutor *Lala Schahin* to beſiege HADRIANOPLE, now called ANDRINOPLE, but in antient time ORESTIAS: of whoſe comming the Chriſtians hearing, encountred him vpon the way, and fought with him a great battaile, wherin many were on both ſides loſt: but in the end, the Chriſtians being put to the worſt, retired againe to the citie. Of this victorie *Schahin* ſent newes vnto *Amurath*, with certaine of the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians: who thereupon ſending *Chaſis* and *Eurenoſis* before, he himſelfe with a great armie followed after to the ſiege of HADRIANOPLE: of whoſe comming, the gouernour of HADRIANOPLE vnderſtanding, fled ſecretly out of the cittie by night to ÆNUS. The citizens ſeeing themſelues ſo forſaken of their gouernour, yeelded their citie vnto *Amurath*, in the yeare of our Lord 1362.

Hadrianople yeelded vnto the Turks.

The taking of theſe ſtrong cities in THRACIA, eſpecially of DIDYMOTICHUM and HADRIANOPLE is (by ſome of the Turks owne Hiſtories) otherwiſe reported: which, becauſe it is neither improbable nor diſagreeing from the ſubtile dealings of the Turkes, and of themſelues alſo

recei-

receiued, I haue thought good to set downe as their owne Historiographers report the same.

The Turkish king *Amurath* had (as they say, and as truth was) in the beginning of his raigne concluded a peace with the Christians of THRACIA: during which peace, the Gouernour of DIDYMOTICHUM intending to fortifie his citie with new and stronger fortifications against the assaults of the Turkes, entertayned all the masons, carpenters, and other workemen hee could by any meanes get: which *Amurath* vnderstanding, secretly caused two hundreth good and lustie workemen and labourers to come out of ASIA, to offer their seruice vnto the gouernour; who gladly entertained them, vsing their helpe in that his great and hastie worke. Which thing some of the wiser sort of the citizens disliking, wished the Gouernour to beware of those Asian workemen, as by them suspected. But he presuming vpon the peace made with *Amurath*, and considering they were but base workemen, and no souldiers, had the lesse care of them: neuertheless (vsing their work all day) he commanded them to lodge without the wals of the citié euery night. *Amurath* vnderstanding that these workemen were thus by the Gouernour entertained, sent for the valiant captaine *Chasis-Ilbeg*, and requested him with thirtie other good souldiours disguised as poore laborers to go to DIDYMOTICHUM to seeke for worke, and in doing thereof to espie if any oportunitie might be found for the surprising of the citie. *Chasis* with these thirtie according to *Amurath* his direction, comming as poore men lacking worke, found entertainement at DIDYMOTICHVM, where they caried stones, morter, and such like things, euer shewing themselues verie diligent in their worke: *Chasis* with vigilant eye still awayting what might best serue his turne for the surprising of the citie. When night was come, the Turkish workemen and labourers after their accustomed manner, and as they were by the gouernour appointed, went out of the citie into the suburbs to their lodgings: from whence *Chasis* secretly departing in the night, came to *Amurath* and shewed him how one of the gates of the citie might vpon the sudden be taken, if it would please him to place a sufficient number of Turks in ambush neere vnto the citie, to joyne with him and the other Turkish labourers when occasion should serue. Which being resolued vpon, *Amurath* sent him backe againe to put this his deuise in execution: so *Chasis* returning to DIDYMOTICHVM brake the matter to so many of the Asian workemen as hee thought conuenient, fully instructing them what was to be done. The next day (according to his appointment) the Christians being then at dinner, these Turkish workmen and labourers fell at wordes among themselues, and from wordes to fayned blowes: in which counterfait brawle & tumult, they suddenly ran to one of the gates of the citie fast by (as was before appointed) and there laying hands vppon the warders weapons, as if it had beene to defend themselues against their fellowes, suddenly set vpon those warders, being in number but few, and then at dinner also, and so presently slew them: which done, they opened the gate of the citie, and let in the other Turkes which lay in wait not farre off: who with great celeritie entring the citie, presently took the same, and there put the cheefest of the citizens to the sword, sparing the rest of the meaner sort.

Rhodestum surprised by the Turke.

The citie of RHODESTUM (of the old writers called RHŒDESTUM) was by *Amurath* his commaundement, in this time of peace, by sudden assault giuen in the night by the lord *Eurenoses*, taken also.

With this foule dealing and breach of league, yet in force, the Christians hardly charged *Amurath*; who turned it ouer to the vntrulinesse of his captaines and men of warre, whom he threatned with great seueritie to punish: and to giue the better colour that it was done without his priuitie, he had fained himselfe sicke all the while these things were in doing. But being requested to restore these cities so wrongfully taken frō the Christians, he vtterly refused so to do, saying, That it was against the law of his great prophet *Mahomet*, to deliuer againe vnto the Christians, any towne or citie wherin the Mahometan religion had ben once openly taught. Wherevpon warres began againe to arise on fresh betwixt the Christians and him, wherein somtime the one preuayled, and sometime the other: in such sort as that those warres at length became vnto them both verie tedious. Wherefore *Amurath* made peace againe with the Christians of HADRIANOPLE, SELYBRIA, and CONSTANTINOPLE: yet desiring nothing more in heart, than to take the citie of HADRIANOPLE: which the better to bring to passe, he caused *Chasis-Ilbeg* as a discontented captaine to flye to HADRIANOPLE, pretending himselfe to haue been hardly vsed by the tyrant his master: where hauing in his companie other such dissembling fugitiues as was himselfe, he oftentimes issued out of the citie and valiantly skirmished with the Turks; which so greatly

greatly pleaſed the gouernour of HADRIANOPLE, that he thereby grew into his great fauour. Many other Turkes alſo vnder pretence of like diſcontentment, reſorted vnto *Chaſis*: wherewith finding himſelfe well ſtrengthened, he writ letters ſecretly vnto *Amurath*, That he would deliuer one of the gates of HADRIANOPLE vnto him at a certaine appointed time, if he would againſt the ſame time be readie to ſend him preſent ſuccors. All things being agreed vpon, *Chaſis* at the appointed time came in the dawning of the day to one of the gates of the citie, accompanied but with ten of his followers, as if he would haue gone forth to hunt, as he had before accuſtomed. But ſo ſoone as the gates were opened, he with the other ten well appointed for the purpoſe, furiouſly ſet vpon the warders, whom they ſlew; and being aided by the reſt of the fugitiue Turks (which with all ſpeed by appointment before made, reſorted vnto them) they poſſeſſed the gate; vntill a great power of the Turks, whom *Amurath* the night before had placed in ambuſh neere vnto the citie, hauing knowledge what was done, and hearing the alarme, ſpeedily came on, and by that gate entred the cittie: where was fought a cruell fight all that day, euen from morning vntill night. But in the end the Turks preuailing, tooke the citie, which they haue euer ſince poſſeſſed vnto this day.

Hadrianople the royall ſeat of the Turkiſh kings in Europe.

Theſe great cities of THRACIA thus takē, or otherwiſe as aforeſaid (for that I leaue for the Reader to thinke of as he pleaſeth) *Amurath* appointed the ſeat of his royall Court at HADRIANOPLE, as a place of all others moſt fit for the further inuaſion of the Chriſtians, and enlarging of his kingdom in EVROPE: from whence ſuch a world of miſchiefs & woe hath ſince that time ouerflowed a great part of Chriſtendome & drowned ſo many goodly kingdoms in EUROPE, as that both they, and moſt part of the reſt that yet remaine (dayly in dread of like deſtruction) might iuſtly accurſe and deteſt the wofull careleſneſſe and degenerate cowardiſe of the Greekes, were not they themſelues together with the glorie of their church and empire, ſwallowed vp in the ſame gulfe of calamitie and woe, and ſo become of all others moſt miſerable: but what auaile vaine complaints, but to encreaſe old griefes? wherefore againe to that we haue in hand.

The prowd Sultan *Amurath* (hauing to his great content thus ſeated himſelfe at HADRIANOPLE, in the middeſt of THRACIA) preſently ſent out his tutor *Lala Schahin* with a great power to inuade the countrey about PHILIPPOPOLIS with the countrey of ZAGORA, which lyeth towards the great mountain HŒMUS, where the beſt Turkiſh Scimitars were made; giuing like charge vnto *Eurenoſes*, for the ſubduing of the territorie of IPSALA: who both notably performed what hee had commaunded, and in ſhort time brought all thoſe countreys vnder his ſubiection, wherein hee ſhortly after placed diuers ſanzacks or gouernours, for the better aſſurance thereof being ſo lately gayned.

About this time (by the ſuggeſtion of *Cara Ruſtemes* a doctor of the Mahometan law) *Zinderlu Chelil*, then Cadileſher or chiefe Iuſtice amongſt the Turks, but afterwards better knowne by the name of *Catradin Baſſa*, by the commaundement of *Amurath*, tooke order that euerie fifth captiue of the Chriſtians, being aboue fifteen yeeres old, ſhould bee taken vp for the king, as by law due vnto him: and if the number were vnder fiue, then to pay vnto the king for euerie head 25 aſpers, by way of tribute: appointing officers for collecting both of ſuch captiues and tribute mony, of whom the aforeſaid *Cara Ruſtemes* himſelfe was chiefe, as firſt deuiſer of the matter. By which meanes great numbers of Chriſtian youths were brought to the court as the kings captiues, which by the counſel of the ſame *Zinderlu Chelil*, were diſtributed amongſt the Turkiſh husbandmen in ASIA, there to learne the Turkiſh language, religion, and manners: where after they had been brought vp in all painefull labour and trauaile by the ſpace of two or three yeeres, they were called vnto the court, and choice made of the better ſort of them to attend vpon the perſon of the prince, or to ſerue him in his warres: where they dayly practiſing all feats of actiuitie, are called by the name of Ianizars (that is to ſay, new ſouldiers.) This was the firſt beginning of the Ianizars vnder this Sultan *Amurath* the firſt, but had great encreaſe vnder *Amurath* the ſecond, in ſo much that *Iouius* with ſome other Hiſtoriographers, attribute the beginning of this order vnto him: which neuertheleſſe (as appeareth by the Turks owne hiſtories) had the beginning as is aforeſaid: and hath euer ſince been continued by the Turkiſh kings and emperors, by the ſame and ſome other greater meanes; ſo that in proceſſe of time they be grown to that greatnes as that they are oftentimes right dreadfull vnto the great Turke himſelfe: after whoſe death, they haue ſometimes preferred to the empire ſuch of the emperours ſonnes as they beſt liked, without reſpect of prerogatiue of age, contrarie to the will of the great Sultan himſelfe: and are at this day

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the greateſt ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire, and not vnlike in time to be the greateſt cauſe of the ruine thereof: the finger of the higheſt oftentimes (as wee haue before ſaid) turning euen thoſe helps which were by mans wiſedome prouided for the eſtabliſhing of kingdoms, vnto their more ſpeedie deſtruction; and eſpecially theſe continuall gariſons of martiall men, no leſſe to be feared than truſted, as in the courſe of this hiſtorie may appeare. G

When *Amurath* had thus a great while continued at HADRIANOPLE, determining now to returne vnto ASIA, he made *Schahin* his tutor *Beg-Lerbeg* or viceroy of ROMANIA; and *Eurenoſes* lord gouernour of the marches; *Zinderlu Chelil* hee made Vezir Azemes or lord preſident of his counſell, and changing his name called him *Cairadin Baſſa*, that is to ſay, The *Baſſa* that had well deſerued, his name witneſsing his good deſert. After this hee returned into ASIA, H where he ſpent that winter at PRVSA. Theſe two great men *Cairadin Baſſa* & *Cara Ruſtemes* before named, ſometimes two doctors of the Mahometan law, were (as the Turkiſh hiſtories report) the firſt that corrupted the Turkiſh court with couetouſneſſe and briberie, and are therefore of them euen yet much blamed.

Boga taken by Amurath, and recouered again and raſed by the Chriſtians.

Boga new built by the Turks.

Whilſt *Amurath* thus wintered in ASIA, news was brought vnto him, That the Chriſtians of SERVIA and BULGARIA had gathered a great armie for the beſieging of HADRIANOPLE: which cauſed him to prepare great forces in ASIA, to aid his captaines in EUROPE. But in returning out of ASIA, hee by the way tooke the towne of BOGA; where hee put to ſword all the Chriſtians that were therein able to beare armes, leading the reſt into captiuitie, and with the ſpoile rewarded his ſouldiours. This ſtrong towne was not long after againe recouered by the Chriſtians, who requited the Turkes with like meaſure, and doubting the keeping thereof, raſed it downe to the ground: yet was it afterwards reedified by the Turks, as it is at this preſent to be ſeene: which was done in the yeare of our Lord 1365. I

In the meane time, the Chriſtian armie of SERVIA and BULGARIA, in number betwixt fortie and fiftie thouſand, marching towards HADRIANOPLE, and now come very neere the ſame, fell in mutinie among themſelues. Whereof the Turks by their eſpials hauing intelligence, ſuddainely in the night ſet vpon them: who blinded with inward hatred, and no leſſe fearing one another, than their enemies, neglected to joyne their forces againſt them, but were readie to turn their weapons one vpon another; and ſo by their owne diſcord, more than by the enemies force, were made a prey vnto the Turks, by whō they were put to flight, & ſlain, with ſo great a ſlaughter, that the place wherin they fell, not far frō GERMIA, is thereof at this day called *Zirf Zindugi*, that is to ſay, the place wherein the Seruians were ouerthrowne. The news of this ſo notable a victorie, with the fift part of the ſpoile, & a great number of the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, were (after the barbarous manner of the Turks) ſent to *Amurath* into ASIA, being now readie with a great power to haue come ouer CALLIPOLIS: who joyfull therof, & glad to ſee ſuch a preſent, the aſſured witneſſe of the victorie, returned againe to PRUSA. This was done in the yeare 1366. In which yeare alſo *Amurath* with wonderfull triumph circumciſed his two ſonnes, *Baiazet*, and *Iacup*. At which time he alſo built a temple, with a monaſterie, and a colledge, at BILEZUGA: and another faire church at NEAPOLIS: at PRUSA he alſo built a ſtately pallace in the caſtle, with a great church at the gates thereof: in which citie he alſo founded an abbey and a colledge. K L

Germean Ogli, a great Mahometane prince in ASIA (whoſe territorie for the moſt part lay in the greater PHRYGIA, and the countries thereabout, bordering vpon the *Othoman* kingdome) hauing alwaies enuied at the riſing of the *Othoman* kings (as did all the reſt of the Mahometane princes of the *Selzuccian* familie) and fearing that their greatneſſe might after his death grow dangerous vnto his ſonne *Iacup*, being now himſelfe very aged; thought good for the more ſafetie of his ſtate, to joyne in alliance with *Amurath*. And for that purpoſe ſent *Iſaach* (a learned doctor of the Mahometane law) embaſſador vnto him, with many rich preſents, and to offer his daughter, the ladie *Hatun*, in marriage vnto his ſonne *Baiazet*: promiſing with her in dowrie diuers great cities and townes, with their territories in PHRYGIA and BITHYNIA, adjoyning vpon the *Othoman* kingdome; namely CUTAIE, SIMAU, EGREGIOS, TAUSANLE, and others. Neither M was this a ſmall dowrie, but well beſeeming ſo great a prince: the citie of CUTAIE being at this day the place whereat the Turkiſh emperours great lieutenant or viceroy in ASIA, is alwaies reſiant, as in the heart of his kingdome in the leſſer ASIA. Of which match ſo offered, *Amurath* liking well, contracted his ſonne *Baiazet* vnto the ſaid ladie: and for ſolemnization of the mariage, prepared all things with great magnificence, ſending his embaſſadours to moſt of the Mahometane

A tane kings and princes, both farre and neere, to inuite them thereunto: commaunding alſo moſt of the nobilitie of his kingdome, to honour the ſame with their preſence. The time of this mariage drawing neere, embaſſadours came to *Amurath* his court, from all the princes before inuited: amongſt whom the embaſſadour from the Ægyptian Sultan had the higheſt place. Theſe embaſſadors brought with them many great and rich gifts, ſuch as well beſeemed the great princes their maſters, which they with all reuerence preſented vnto *Amurath*. At length amongſt the reſt of his owne nobilitie came the lord *Eurenoſes*, whom he had before left gouernour of the frontiers of his kingdome in EUROPE: who beſides many other rich gifts, not eaſily to be valued, preſented vnto *Amurath* an hundred goodly boyes, with as many beautifull yong maidens,
B all Chriſtian captiues, ſitably attired in garments richly embrodered with gold and ſiluer, euerie one of them carrying a cup of gold in the one hand, and a cup of ſiluer in the other; the cups of gold hauing in them diuers precious ſtones of great value, and the cups of ſiluer being filled with gold. The richneſſe of this preſent was ſo great, that all the embaſſadours of the forraine princes much wondered thereat. All which rich gift, *Amurath* moſt bountifully beſtowed vpon the ſtrange embaſſadours: and the preſents which were ſent vnto him from other princes, he liberally gaue to *Eurenoſes*. The learned and religious which came to that mariage, hee ſo bountifully rewarded alſo, that none came to the ſame poore, but he went away rich. He had before ſent diuers of his nobilitie, with an hundred ladies and gentlemen, and a guard of three thouſand horſemen, to attend the comming of the bride. On the other ſide, the old prince *Germean-Ogli* meeting
C this honourable companie vpon the way, ſaluted euery man of account, according to his degree: and bringing them to one of his cities, in moſt royall manner feaſted them, beſtowing vpon them many rich and princely gifts: all which things with great ſolemnitie performed, he deliuered his daughter the bride to two of the moſt antient ladies, whereof the one had beene *Baiazet* his nurſe; and ſo taking leaue of his daughter, ſent her away, accompanied with his wife *Ienſes*, and other of his courtiers: who conueying her to PRUSA, ſhe was there in moſt roiall manner married to *Baiazet*. The cities and townes promiſed in dowrie, were accordingly deliuered into the poſſeſsion of *Amurath*, who ſhortly after tooke poſſeſsion of the ſame, and furniſhed them with his owne garriſons.

At this marriage *Chuſen Beg*, prince of AMISUM in GALATIA, by his embaſſadour ſold his
D territorie of AMISUM vnto *Amurath*, with many faire cities and townes: doubting as it was thought, how to be able to keep them, now that *Amurath* was come ſo neere him, whom he ſaw not to let ſlip any occaſion offered vnto him for the enlarging of his kingdome. When *Amurath* had in this ſort ſpent great time in ASIA, hee gathered a ſtrong armie to returne into EUROPE: but before his departure, he committed the gouernment of his kingdome in ASIA (which the Turks call ANATOLIA) vnto his ſonne *Baiazet*, joyning with him *Temurtaſes*, a valiant man of great experience: and hauing ſet all things in order in ASIA, paſſed ouer HELIESPONTUS to CALLIPOLIS, from whence hee marched towards HADRIANOPLE; and becauſe hee would take ſome thing in his way, he beſieged MAGALGARA, which hee in ſhort time woon: where *Lala Schahin* and *Eurenoſes* with all their forces came to him: which two captaines he ſent to be-
E ſiege the citie PHERÆ, which was by them after a few dayes ſiege taken. But he himſelfe to bee reuenged vpon *Lazarus* the Deſpot, led his armie into SERVIA: where after hee had without reſiſtance forraged the countrey foureteene daies, vnderſtanding by his captaines, that the ſtrong citie of NISSA, being the metropoliticall citie of SERVIA, was as it were the key of that kingdome, he preſently marched thither, and laid ſiege to the ſame, and by the aduice of *Iaxis Beg*, the ſonne of *Temurtaſes*, in ſhort time woon it. Which thing ſo daunted *Lazarus*, Deſpot or lord of SERVIA, that he deſpairing in his owne forces, hauing ſo ſoone loſt one of his ſtrongeſt cities, foorthwith ſent embaſſadours to *Amurath*, to entreat a peace: offering to pay him a yearely tribute of fiftie thouſand pounds, and to aid him with a thouſand men in his wars, whenſoeuer he ſhould require: vpon which conditions *Amurath* graunted him peace, and ſo departed out of
F SERVIA. In this expedition he alſo with much ado woon the great citie of APPOLONIA, neere vnto the mount ATHOS, and gaue leaue vnto moſt of the Chriſtians with their wiues and children to depart, and ſuch part of their goods as was not in the taking thereof ſpoiled by the ſouldiors. This done, he returned backe to HADRIANOPLE, leauing *Eurenoſes* vpon the marches, who ſhortly after tooke BERRHEA, with diuers other townes. At which time alſo, *Lala Schahin* woon ZICHNE and SERES, in the confines of MACEDONIA, with many other ſtrong townes

Amurath inuadeth Seruia.

Nyſſa taken by the Turks.

Appolonia woon by the Turks.

vpon the frontiers of THESSALIA and THRACE. In the citie SERES *Eurenoſes* made his abode G
as in a cheefe frontier towne: and becauſe the Chriſtians for feare of the Turks were all fled out
of the country about SERES, great numbers of people were ſent for out of ASIA, to inhabit that
countrey by the Chriſtians forſaken in the confines of MACEDONIA. *Amurath* had not long
continued at HADRIANOPLE, but that he was aduertiſed out of ASIA, that *Aladin* his ſonne in
law, king of CARAMANIA, did with fire and ſword inuade his dominions in ASIA: with which
newes he was exceedingly troubled. And for that cauſe ſending for his counſailors and nobilitie
to the court, told them, how that *Aladin* forgetting all the bonds of religion, faith, peace, and ali-
ance, with all hoſtilitie inuaded his prouinces in ASIA, whileſt he with the great danger of his
perſon, and greater terror of his enemies, ſought with honour the encreaſe of the Mahometane H
ſincere religion (as he tearmed it) in EUROPE: from which godly warres (ſaid hee) I am againſt
my will enforced to turne my ſword, in juſt defence of my ſelfe, againſt men joyned with vs both
in religion & alliance. And hauing thus declared his mind, he appointed *Chairadin Baſſa* his lieu-
tenant generall in EVROPE, and alſo made his ſonne *Alis Baſſa*, one of his counſaile, although he
were by ſome thought too yong for ſo great a place. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order accor-
ding to his mind in EUROPE, tooke paſſage from CALLIPOLIS into ASIA, and ſo to his court
at PRUSA, where he ſpent that winter. In which time embaſſadors came vnto him frō the Sultan
of ÆGYPT, for the renewing of their former amitie and friendſhip, which *Amurath* tooke very
thankefully, and ſent them backe againe loden with kind letters and princely rewards.

Amurath and Aladin prepare themſelues for warre.

When the Spring was come in the year 1387, he leuied a mightie armie to make war vpon the I
Caramanian king, his ſonne in law. Whereof *Aladin* certainely informed, prepared no leſſe
power to meet him, aſſociating vnto him all the other leſſe Mahometane princes of ASIA, which
were not vnder *Amurath* his obeiſance, to whom the *Othoman* kings were now growne terrible;
which princes brought with them great ſupplies to joyne with *Aladin*.

Aladin thus aided by his friends, thinking himſelfe now ſtrong ynough for *Amurath* his father
in law, ſent an embaſſadour vnto him, certifying him, That he was nothing in power inferiour to
him, and therefore did nothing feare him: yet if it pleaſed him to haue peace, that hee could for
his part be content to hearken vnto the ſame vpon reaſonable conditions: but if hee had rather
haue warre, he ſhould find him readie to dare him battaile in the field, whenſoeuer hee ſhould
come. For anſwere of which embaſſage, *Amurath* willed the embaſſadour to tell the perjured K
king his maſter, That he had of late contrarie to his faith before giuen, in moſt cruell manner in-
uaded his dominions, whileſt he was buſied in moſt godly warres (as hee tearmed it) againſt the
misbeleeuing Chriſtians: from proſecuting whereof, hee was by his violence (as hee ſaid) with-
drawne, contrarie to the law of their great prophet: for which outrages and wrongs, hee would
ſhortly come and take of him ſharpe reuenge; and that therefore hee was to expect nothing at
his hands but warre, for which he willed him ſo to prouide, as that at his comming he might not
find him wanting to himſelfe. *Aladin* by his embaſſadour hauing receiued this anſwere from *A-
murath*, aſſembled all the confederate princes, his allies, with great perſuaſions and greater promi-
ſes encouraging them to this warre: and they againe kiſsing the ground at his feet, as the manner
of that nation is before great princes, promiſed with ſolemne oaths neuer to forſake him, but to L
to doe all things which princes deſirous of honour and fame, ought by their oath to do for their
ſoueraigne, to whom they ought homage and dutie.

The death of Chairadin Baſſa.

In this great preparation for wars in ASIA, *Chairadin Baſſa*, generall gouernor in EUROPE di-
ed: which *Amurath* vnderſtanding, appointed *Alis Baſſa* his ſonne to goe into EUROPE, there
to be gouernour in his fathers ſtead. But he was ſtaied in his journey by vrgent occaſions, which
Amurath vnderſtanding, ſent for him backe againe in poſt.

Aladin forecaſting the great dangers like to enſue of this warre, ſent another embaſſadour to
Amurath, with reaſonable conditions of peace: to whom *Amurath* anſwered, That if *Aladin*
had made that offer one moneth before, hee would perhaps haue accepted thereof: but for ſo
much as he had done him great wrong, and that hee had now to his infinite charge drawne him M
into the field ſo farre from home, hee would not make any other end, than ſuch as the chance of
warre ſhould appoint: And whereas he in diſgrace had called me a heardſman or ſhepheard (ſaid
he) if he be not ſuch a one himſelfe, as he ſaith me to be, let him meet me in the field, and there trie
his valour. Hereunto the embaſſadour replied, ſaying, That the king his maſter made this offer
of peace not for any feare, but to ſaue the effuſion of innocent blood; which conſideration ſet

apart,

A apart, he ſhould find him not inferiour to himſelfe, either in number of moſt expert ſouldiours, or other warlike prouiſion: and that therefore, if he rejected this offer of peace, hee needed not to doubt but to meet with men of courage, which would beate themſelues ſo valiantly in the field againſt his Turks, as that he ſhould haue no great cauſe to rejoice of his comming thether. Which words of the embaſſador ſo netled *Amurath*, that in great rage he commaunded him to depart, and to will his maiſter, if hee were a man of ſuch courage and valour as he ſaid, to ſhew himſelfe in the field with all his forces, there to make an end of all quarrels; where hee doubted not but in ſhort time to chaſtice him according to his due deſerts. So after the embaſſadour was departed, marching forward three daies, *Alis Beg* came vnto him, of whoſe comming he not a lit-
B tle rejoyced: for why, he loued him deerelie, and although he was yet of yeares but yoong, relied much vpon his counſaile.

The Embaſſadour returning, recounted vnto *Aladin* all that *Amurath* had ſaid, not omitting his hard ſpeeches and proud threats, and how that hee hoped ſhortly to take from him ICONIVM and LARENDA (the principall cities of CARAMANIA) with many things more, leauing nothing vntold. Which *Aladin* hearing, ſaid vnto the confederate princes that were with him, Vetilie *Amurath* threatneth to take from vs our cities of ICONIUM and LARENDA, but let him take heed that we take not from him his faire citie of PRVSA. Then demaunding of the embaſſadour, of what ſtrength *Amurath* might be? it was anſwered by him, that he deemed him to bee about ſeuentie thouſand ſtrong. Whereat *Aladin* not a little rejoycing ſaid: Aſſuredly when he
C ſhall ſee our armie, he will not dare to giue vs battaile; or if he do, he ſhall fight vpon great diſaduantage, his men being both fewer in number than we, and ſore wearied with long and painefull trauaile.

In the meane time *Amurath* held on his way towards CARAMANIA, daily encouraging his ſouldiours with perſuaſions and gifts bountifully beſtowed vpon them, filling their heads with promiſes of greater, the warres once happily ended. At length he came to the great plaines in CARAMANIA called the French plains, becauſe in former time the Chriſtians (whom the Turks for moſt part call Frankes) in thoſe places encamped their great armies, as they went to the winning of IERVSALEM (as in the former part of this hiſtorie is declared:) into theſe plaines alſo came *Aladin* with his armie, and was now encamped within one daies march of *Amurath*, and
D ſo reſted that night.

The next morning *Amurath* put his armie in order of battaile, appointing the leading of the right wing, to his youngeſt ſonne *Iacup*, with whom he joyned *Gutluzes Beg*, *Eine Beg Subbaſſa*, *Egridum Subbaſſa*, *Seraze*, and *Cuſtendil*, two Chriſtian princes; all captaines of great experience: the left wing was led by *Baiazet* his eldeſt ſonne, with *Ferize* and *Hozze*, both valiant captaines: in which wings were alſo placed the Chriſtian ſouldiors ſent by *Lazarus* out of SERVIA, according to the late conuention of peace: in the maine battell he ſtood himſelfe: the vauntgard was conducted by *Temurtaſes*: and the reareward by the *Subbaſſa* of OXYLLITHUS (called alſo *Temurtaſes*) and *Achmetes*. *Aladin* on the other ſide, with no leſſe care and diligence ſet his men likewiſe in order of battaile, placing himſelfe in the maine battaile as did *Amurath*; and the prin-
E ces his Allies, with his other expert captaines, ſome in the right wing and ſome in the left, as he thought moſt conuenient: in ſuch ſort, as that in all mens iudgement he was in force nothing inferiour to his father in law.

The great battaile in the plaines of Caramania betwixt Amurath and Aladin.

Theſe great enemies thus ranged, with enſignes diſplaid came on couragiouſly, one directly vpon the other: where approaching together, the confuſed noiſe of trumpets, drummes, fifes, with other inſtruments of warre, the neighing of horſes, and clattering of armour, was ſo great, that whilſt warlike minds thereat rejoyced, cowards thought heauen fell. But the ſigne of battaile on both ſides giuen, *Samagazes*, one of the confederate princes, with exceeding courage firſt charged *Temurtaſes* in the vauntguard, and broke his rankes: at which time *Teberruſes*, a Tartar prince, and *Varſacides*, another of the confederats, deliuered their arrowes alſo vpon the vaunt-
F guard, as if it had been a ſhower of haile. Which *Baiazet* ſeeing, and how hardly *Temurtaſes* was charged, hauing before obtained leaue of his father, brake in vpon the enemie with ſuch violence, as if it had been the lightening: whereof he was euer after ſurnamed *Gilderun*, which is to ſay, the Lightening. *Ferizes* and *Hozza*, with the other valiant captaines in that wing, following *Baiazet*, with inuincible courage entred the battaile; where for a great ſpace was made a moſt dreadfull and doubtfull fight. A man would haue thought two wrought ſeas had met together,

swaying one against the other, doubtfull which way the current would at length fall. In this conflict many thousands were on both sides slain, so that the field lay couered with the dead bodies of worthie men and valiant souldiors: yet at length these confederate princes, finding themselues ouermatched by *Baiazet* and his souldiors, reseruing themselues to their better fortunes, turned their backes and fled: when *Aladin* seeing a great part of his armie thus ouerthrowne, and himselfe now readie to be charged with *Amurath* his whole power, despairing of victorie, sped himselfe in all haste to ICONIUM, his strong citie. The spoile which *Amurath* got in this battell was great, most part whereof he gaue in reward to *Temortases* and his souldiors, which had endured the greatest furie of that battaile. *Amurath* after this victorie with all speed marched to ICONIUM, and there besieged *Aladin* the Caramanian king, in his strongest cittie, giuing out proclamation in the mean time, That none of his souldiours vpon paine of death should vse any violence to any of the countrey people, or take any thing from them: to the intent it might appeare vnto the world, that he made that warre against that Mahometan king, rather to propulse injurie and wrong, than for desire of soueraignte or spoile. Which his so straight a proclamation, the Christians sent by *Lazarus*, amongst others, transgressed; and therefore by his commandement suffred (many of them) exemplarie punishment; which was the cause of the Seruian war which not long after ensued, fatall both vnto *Amurath* and *Lazarus* the Despot, as hereafter shall appeare.

Aladin flyeth to Iconium.

Iconium besieged by Amurath.

Aladin now on euerie side besieged in ICONIUM, and without all hope of escape, sent vnto the queene his wife, *Amuraths* daughter, bewailing vnto her his desperat estate, and requesting her by all the loue that so honourable a minded ladie might beare to her miserable husband, to aduenture her selfe to goe to her angrie father, and to craue pardon for his great trespasse and offence. The queene forthwith attiring her selfe, as was fittest for her husbands present estate, came vnto her father: where falling downe at his feet vpon her knees, with wordes wisely placed, and teares distilling downe her faire cheeks from her fairer eies, as if it had been from two fountaines; in most sorrowfull manner, craued her husbands pardon, imputing vnto the heat of youth whatsoeuer he had done: and would not be comforted or taken vp, vntill she had obtained grace.

Amurath most entirely loued this his daughter; and therefore for her sake not onely graunted vnto her, her husbands life (which in short time was like to haue been in his power to haue spilt) but also his kingdome, which he as a victorious conquerour might by law of armes haue of right detained. She now assured of her fathers promise, sent vnto her husband *Aladin*, willing him the next day without feare to come out of the citie, and in humble sort to acknowledge his fault before her father. Who the next morning accordingly came out, and prostrating himselfe before *Amurath*, acknowledged his vndutifulnes: of whom (for his wiues sake) he obtained pardon, and restitution to his kingdome, with many other great gifts, contrarie to his euil desert. The Latine histories mistaking the man, report that this Caramanian warre, to haue been fought against the king of CARAMANIA, *Amurath* his owne grandfather by the mothers side; and that he was by *Amurath* then spoiled of a great part of his kingdom: but it agreeth not with the Turkish histories, which make *Amurath* to be the sonne of *Orchanes* and *Lulufer*, the daughter of the gouernour of the castle of IARCHISER, as is before declared in the life of *Othoman*; which *Lulufer* lieth buried by her husband *Orchanes*, in PRUSA.

This great victorie gotten by *Amurath* against the Caramanian king, and the other confederat princes, was the true beginning of the greatnesse of the *Othoman* kingdome in ASIA: wherewith the other Mahometan princes of the *Selzuccian* family were so discouraged, that they were glad to submit themselues thus first vnto *Amurath*, and after that vnto his sonne *Baiazet*: vntill that *Tamerlan* the great Tartarian prince, some few yeares after, taking *Baiazet* prisoner in a great battaile at mount STELLA, abated the *Othomon* pride, and restored the other oppressed Mahometan princes to their old possessions and kingdomes.

Amurath returning homewards, by the way tooke the citie of DESPOTOPOLIS, and comming to CUTAIE brake vp his armie, and so in triumph returned to his court at PRUSA.

Lazarus, Despot of SERVIA (in old time called MYSIA) had sent a thousand armed men to *Amurath* in this the late Caramanian warre, according to the conuention of the peace not long before made betwixt them: some of which souldiours, were with great seueritie (to the terrour of others) executed in CARAMANIA, for transgressing *Amurath* his commandement. This great warre being ended, and the armie broken vp at CUTAIE, they with others were licensed to depart into

A into their own countrey. Whoſe Generall (whom they call the Vayuod) returning home, repor-
ted vnto *Lazarus* the Deſpot, the ſucceſſe of that war, and withall in what cruell and tirannicall
manner the men he had ſent were in that ſeruice vſed by the commandement of *Amurath*. With
whom (ſaid this Generall) you without cauſe haue made a moſt diſhonourable peace: firſt by
giuing your faith to ſuch a miſcreant, and then in ſending your loyall ſubiects in recompence of
their good ſeruice, to be ſo butchered at his pleaſure; beſide the ſhamefull tribute which you
yearely pay vnto him. Whereas if it would pleaſe you in the depth of your wiſedome, but to
know your owne ſtrength, you ſhould find your ſelfe in warlike force and power, nothing infe-
riour to the tirant: for wee your ſeruants being in number but a handfull, were in theſe his late
B wars a terrour vnto his enemies, and by our valour and not his owne, hee got the victorie ouer
them. What cauſe is there then, that you ſhould ſubject your ſelfe vnto your inferiour? I know
he cannot of himſelfe bring into the field aboue fiftie thouſand fighting men: but admit he were
able to bring a hundreth thouſand, are not you (if you ſo pleaſe) able to leuie a farre greater pow-
er? and for all other warlike prouiſion, you are ten fold better prouided than hee. Beſides that,
the mightie Chriſtian princes will ſend you ſuch aid againſt this hatefull and common enemie,
that being vnited with yours, his Barbarian forces will be nothing in compariſon of thoſe which
you ſhall then be able to bring into the field againſt him: which no doubt the Chriſtian prin-
ces will the rather doe, as men deſirous to quench this deuouring fire, in another mans houſe ra-
ther than in their owne.

C Theſe words of the Vayuod ſo much mooued *Lazarus*, that he determined in him ſelfe, to
breake that ſeruile league which he before had made with *Amurath*. And for that cauſe ſent his
embaſſadour with ſecret inſtructions to the king of BOSNA (in time paſt called ILLYRIA) his
neighbour: whereof the cheeſe point was, to craue his aid againſt the Turke their common ene-
mie. By whom the king of BOSNA returned anſwere, That it had been much better ſuch conſi-
deration had been thought vpon, before the foule contract (full of diſgrace both to himſelfe, and
all other Chriſtian princes) was vpon a vaine feare, by him raſhly made with the Turkiſh tirant:
Yet for ſo much as things done, could not bee vndone, letting that paſſe which was remedileſſe,
he promiſed to joyne with him his whole forces, againſt ſo dangerous an enemie. And therevp-
pon appointing a place for an enteruiew, met accordingly, and there fully concluded all the arti-
D cles of their confederation.

Lazarus the Deſpot by his embaſſadour craueth aid of the king of Bozna.

There was in the confines of BOSNA a caſtle called ALEXANDRIA, the captaine whereof
being a Chriſtian, was yet tributarie vnto the Turke; wiſhing vnto him ſuch good, as men op-
preſſed vſe to doe to them by whom they are ſo wronged. This captaine vnder the colour of
friendſhip went to *Amurath*, and in great ſecrecie opened vnto him the whole ſtate of the king-
dome of BOSNA; and withall, that the king thereof intended ſome great matter againſt him:
for preuenting whereof, he offered his owne ſeruice, and ſhewed ſome probable means, how that
kingdome might be brought into his ſubjection, if hee would but ſend ſome worthie Generall
with a conuenient power for the vndertaking thereof. This wonderfully pleaſed the ambitious
old tyrant, who therefore commaunded a rich garment to be caſt vpon the captaine (which a-
E mongſt the Turks is taken for a ſure token of the kings great fauour) and foorthwith appointed
his tutor *Lala Schahin*, according to this captains direction, to inuade the kingdome of BOSNA.
Who joyning himſelfe with this deceitfull captaine of ALEXANDRIA, with an armie of twen-
tie thouſand men entred into BOSNA; where ouerrunning a ſide of the countrey, he without re-
ſiſtance tooke great booties: and ſeeing no apparent cauſe of feare, to doe the more harme, by
the aduice of the ſame captaine, deuided his armie, which he ſent into diuers parts of the country,
the more to burne and ſpoile the ſame. Of all whoſe proceedings, the king of BOSNA by ſecret
meſſengers from the captaine aduertiſed, had in conuenient places laied ſtrong ambuſhes for the
intercepting of his enemies. So that as *Schahin* was returning homeward with a rich bootie, ha-
uing then with him but a thouſand men, ſuddenly appeared in his way thirtie thouſand Chriſti-
F ans well armed: which *Schahin* ſeeing, thinking it follie to oppoſe ſo few againſt ſo many,
would haue preſently fled; but the reſt of the gallants that were with him, preſuming of their
good fortune, and loth to looſe their rich prey, would needs firſt skirmiſh with the Chriſtians: in
which deſperate conflict they were almoſt all ſlaine, and the ſpoile they had taken, all recouered
by the Chriſtians. As for *Schahin*, he was glad by ſhamefull flight to ſaue himſelfe. The like miſhap
befell the other Turks in the other parts of BOSNA, who for the moſt part were likewiſe inter-

cepted and slaine: so that of twentie thousand scarce fiue thousand returned home. G

Amurath maried the emperour of Constantinople his daughter.

Whilest these things were doing in EUROPE, *Amurath* with great triumph at NEAPOLIS married the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE his daughter: whose two sisters were also giuen in marriage to his two sonnes: at which time he with great solemnitie circumcised three of *Baiazet* his sonnes. At this time also returned *Iazigi Ogli*, whom he had before sent embassadour to the Sultan of ÆGIPT, in requitall of the honourable embassage before to him sent from the said Sultan. Now *Amurath* vnderstanding of the losse of his men in BOSNA, with the reuolt of *Lazarus* Despot of SERVIA, was therewith much disquieted. Wherefore he commanded *Alis Bassa* his cheefe counsellour, with all speed to send foorth commissions into all parts of his kingdome, for the leuying of a royall armie: which was done in such post hast, that it was thought H he would haue taken the field before the beginning of the Spring. At which time also the other Mahometane kings and princes of ASIA, *Caraman Ogli*, *Teke Ogli*, and the rest, bound vnto him by homage, with diuers others of smaller power, were sent for, to aid him in this war: who partly for feare, and partly mooued with the zeale of their Mahometane superstition, brought their forces with great deuotion. Vnto this war against the Christians, came also great numbers of the Mahometanes from far countries, as voluntarie souldiors. *Baiazet* his sonne also, then gouernor of CUTAIE, with a great part of GALATIA, gathering all his forces, came to aid his father in this religious war (as it was by thē tearmed.) The Christian tributarie princes were not then forgotten: of whom two came, namely, *Custendyll* and *Seratzill*: other two forsaking *Amurath*, came not, which was *Sasmenos* prince of BULGARIA, and the prince of VARNA and DOBRITZA: with whom *Amurath* was highly offended. In the time of this so great a preparation, old *Lala Schahin*, *Amurath* his tutor and faithfull seruitor, died, being a man of great yeares: and *Temurtases* was appointed gouernour in his place.

The reuolting of the two Christian princes, *Sasmenos* and the prince of VARNA, much grieued *Amurath*: wherefore hee commaunded *Alis Bassa*, with an armie of thirtie thousand, to inuade and spoile *Sasmenos* his countrey, now called BULGARIA, and in antient time the lower MYSIA. *Alis Bassa* according to that was giuen him in charge, calling vnto him *Iaxis Beg*, the sonne of *Temurtases*, *Vlu Beg*, *Suratze Bassa*, with other captaines and commaunders of the Turks prouinces in EUROPE, assembled an armie of thirtie thousand, for the inuasion of BULGARIA. With this armie the Bassa tooke many strong townes and castles in BULGARIA, as K PIRAVADE, VENVZINA, MADRA, SVNI, with others.

In the meane time, whilest *Alis* Bassa had thus begun the wars against the Christians in BVLGARIA, *Amurath* hauing gathered a great armie in ASIA, determined in the beginning of the Spring, to passe ouer with the same into EUROPE: commending the gouernment of his countries in ASIA to *Temurtases Bassa*, *Ferices Beg*, *Temurtaces Subbassa*, *Cutlu Beg*, and *Haza Beg*: and so all things set in order in ASIA, he drew down his Asian forces towards HELLESPONTVS, where he was a while staied with cōtrary winds, but was afterwards transported to CALLIPOLIS by *Ienitze Beg*, Sanzacke there. This was the third time that *Amurath* brought his armie out of ASIA into EUROPE. But whilest he staied at CALLIPOLIS, *Baiazet* his sonne with a great power came unto him thither: *Alis Bassa* also vnderstanding of *Amurath* his arriuall in EUROPE, L retired out of BVLGARIA and came to him at CALCIDE, recounting vnto him the whole successe of his expedition into BVLGARIA.

Sasmenos prince of BVLGARIA, seeing his couutrey spoiled, his strong cities and castles taken by the Turks, and withall hearing of their great preparations for warre; by the aduice of his nobilitie, thought it best betimes againe to submit himselfe vnto *Amurath*: wherefore tying a winding sheet about his necke, in token that he had deserued death (after the manner of the Barbarians) he came to *Amurath* at CALCIDE, where falling flat vpon the ground, at the horses feet whereon *Amurath* sat, he in most humble wise craued pardon: offering by a certaine day to deliuer SILISTRIA the chiefe citie of his dominion into *Amurath* his possession, as a pledge of his fidelitie: who thereupon graunted him pardon, and to assure him of his fauour, commaunded a M rich garment to be cast vpon him, after the manner of the Turks, sending *Alis Bassa* at the time appointed to take possession of SILISTRIA. But *Sasmenos* repenting himselfe of that hee had so largely promised, would not deliuer his citie, but in strongest manner he could presently fortified the same. Wherewith *Amurath* more offended than before, commaunded the Bassa with fire and sword againe to spoile and wast his countrey: who according to his commaundement

entred

A entred againe into BULGARIA, and ſtrucke ſuch a terrour of his comming into the hearts of the people, that many ſtrong places were voluntarily yeelded into his power, namely, DIRITZE, COSSOVA, with the cittie TERNOVA, the ſeat of the princes court; TZERNEVI, NOVAKESTRI, ZISTOVA, with diuers others: and proceeding farther, he laid ſiege to NICOPOLIS, the ſtrongeſt citie of BULGARIA, vpon the ſide of the great riuer DANVBIUS, whither *Saſmenos* was for feare himſelfe fled. Who finding himſelfe vnable to hold out the ſiege, once again (with ſhame ynough) tying a winding ſheet about his necke, as he had done before, and taking his ſonne with him, went out of the citie, and in moſt abject manner falling downe at the Baſſa his feet, craued pardon: which the Baſſa, mooued with compaſsion to ſee the miſerie of ſo great a man, and
B hauing alreadie taken from him the greateſt part of his dominion, and now out of feare of further reſiſtance, eaſily graunted. And hauing thus ended the Bulgarian war, returned to *Amurath*, of whom he was right joyfully receiued.

Amurath had now made great preparation for the inuading of SERVIA, for which putpoſe he had drawne ouer into EUROPE the greateſt forces he poſsibly could out of ASIA: ſending alſo for his youngeſt ſonne *Iacup*, gouernour of CARASIA, who vnderſtanding his fathers pleaſure, repaired vnto him with all the power hee could make. This armie by *Amurath* thus aſſembled, was the greateſt that euer was before that brought by the Turks into EVROPE. *Lazarus* not ignorant of this great preparation made by *Amurath*, had drawn into the ſocietie of this war, the king of BOSNA (as is aforeſaid) with *Vulcus* prince of MACEDONIA, his ſonne in law,
C who both brought vnto him great aid: hee had alſo by his embaſſadors procured great ſupplies from other Chriſtian kings and princes, out of VALACHIA, HVNGARIA, CROATIA, SCLAVONIA, ALBANIA, BVLGARIA, and ITALIE, beſides great numbers of other voluntarie deuout Chriſtians, which all aſſembled and met together, did in number far exceed the great armie of the Turks.

With this armie *Lazarus* the Deſpot encamped vpon the ſide of the riuer Moroua the greater, not far from whence ſtood the ſtrong caſtle of SARKIVE, which *Alis* Baſſa had of late taken from *Saſmenos* the Bulgarian prince, ſtanding as it were betwixt BVLGARIA and SERVIA: this caſtle being now poſſeſſed of the Turks, was thought by *Lazarus* dangerous to his countrie, who therefore ſent one *Demetrius*, a right valiant captaine, with certain companies of ſelect men
D to take in the ſame. The name of this captaine *Demetrius*, was a generall terrour vnto the Turks, for the harme he had done them: ſo that they in the caſtle hearing that he was come, without further reſiſtance yeelded the ſame vnto him. Whereof *Amurath* vnderſtanding, ſent *Eine* and *Sarutze* Baſſa to recouer the ſame: but *Lazarus* doubting that the caſtle would hardly be kept in that dangerous war, ſent *Vulcus* his ſonne in law with twentie thouſand men, to bring away all that was therein, and in the citie neere vnto it, leaſt it ſhould become a prey vnto the greedie Turks; which he accordingly did, and at the ſame time raſed both the caſtle and the citie, before the comming of *Iaxis Beg*, ſent from *Amurath* to haue done the ſame exploit; which hee comming thither, found alreadie done to his hand by *Vulcus*.

The caſtle of Sarkine with the citie ioining vnto it, taken by the Chriſtians, and raſed.

As *Amurath* was marching towards SERVIA, *Seratze* and *Cuſtendyl*, two Chriſtian princes
E his tributaries, met him with their forces, whome hee cauſed to march before him as his guides: and paſsing through *Cuſtendyl* his countrey, was there refreſhed with plentie of all things neceſſarie: vntil at length paſsing the riuer of Moroua the leſſe, he drew ſo neere to the plains of COSSOVA (where the Chriſtian armie lay) that he with his ſonne *Baiazet* from a little hill tooke full view of the Chriſtian campe; which was ſo great, that it couered all thoſe large plains from ſide to ſide, and ſo daunted *Amurath*, as that returning to his armie he preſently entered into a great conſultation with his greateſt captains and commaunders, What courſe to take againſt ſuch a puiſſant enemie.

Theſe great armies being now come ſo nigh together, as that they might the one well deſcrie the other, *Amurath* had purpoſed the ſame day to haue giuen the Chriſtians battaile: but be-
F ing diſſuaded by *Eurenoſes*, both for that it was extreame hot, and his ſoldiours wearied with trauell, he reſted that night. The next morning as ſoone as it was day, he put his armie in order of battaile, placing his ſonne *Baiazet* with *Eurenoſes* and *Eine Beg Subbaſſa*, in the right wing; his youngeſt ſonne *Iacup*, with *Sarutze Baſſa* in the left wing; the maine battell he led himſelfe. *Lazarus* in the meane time had alſo ſet his armie in good order: giuing the charge of the right wing to *Vulcus* his ſonne in law; the left wing was led by the king of BOSNA, and his ſonne; in the

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maine battell ſtood *Lazarus* himſelfe; the Italians, Valachians, Hungarians, Bohemians, and Bulgarians, he placed in both wings. It is thought, greater armies than theſe two had ſildome before met in EUROPE, *Lazarus* as the Turkiſh hiſtories report (but how truly I know not) hauing in his armie fiue hundred thouſand men; and *Amurath* ſcarce halfe ſo many. G

To begin the battaile, *Amurath* had drawne a thouſand of his beſt archers, vnder the leading of *Malcozzeus*, out of the right wing of his armie; and the like number of archers out of the left, vnder the conduct of one *Muſtapha*: which ſo placed on both ſides of the armie, as he thought beſt, *Eurenoſes* a man of great experience, told *Amurath*, That the Chriſtians were for the moſt part well and ſtrongly armed, and ſhouldering cloſe together in their charge, would be like a rock of yron, vnable to be pierced: but if in joyning the battaile, hee would a little retire, the Chriſtians following vpon good hope, would ſo looſe their cloſe ſtanding (the cheefe part of their ſtrength) and leaue an entrance for his men. Vpon which reſolution, *Amurath* commaunded the archers to giue the firſt charge: which they courageouſly performed. At which time, the Turks armie gaue ground a little: which the Chriſtians perceiuing, with great force aſſailed the left wing of their armie, and after a hard and cruell fight put the ſame to flight: which *Baiazet* ſeeing, with ſuch furie renewed the battaile, that the Turks which before as men diſcouraged fled in the left wing, began now to turne againe vpon their enemies; and the Chriſtians hauing as they thought alreadie got the victorie, were to begin a new battell. In which bloodie fight many thouſands fell on both ſides: the brightneſſe of the armour and weapons, was as it had been the lightning: the multitude of launces and other horſemens ſtaues ſhadowed the light of the ſunne: arrowes and darts fell ſo faſt, that a man would haue thought they had powred downe from heauen, the noiſe of the inſtruments of warre, with the neighing of horſes, and outcries of men was ſo terrible and great, that the wild beaſts in the mountaines ſtood aſtonied therewith: and the Turkiſh hiſtories, to expreſſe the terrour of the day (vainly ſay) that the Angels in heauen amaſed with that hidious noiſe, for that time forgot the heauenly hymnes wherewith they alwaies glorifie God. About noone time of the day, the fortune of the Turks preuailing, the Chriſtians began to giue ground, and at length betooke themſelues to plaine flight; whom the Turks with all their force purſued and ſlew them downe right, without number or mercie. In which battell H I

Lazarus ſlaine. *Lazarus* the Deſpot himſelfe was alſo ſlaine. Howbeit ſome hiſtories report otherwiſe, as that he with his ſon were taken priſoner, and by and by afterwards (in reuenge of *Amurath* his death) cruelly ſlaine: otherſome alſo reporting that he died in priſon. *Amurath* after this great victorie, with ſome few of his cheefe captaines taking view of the dead bodies, which without number lay on heapes in the field like mountaines; a Chriſtian ſouldiour, ſore wounded and all bloodie, ſeeing him, in ſtaggering manner aroſe (as if it had been from death) out of a heape of ſlaine men, and making towards him, for want of ſtrength fell downe diuers times by the way as he came, as if he had been a drunken man: at length drawing nigh vnto him, when they which guarded the kings perſon would haue ſtayed him, hee was by *Amurath* himſelfe commaunded to come neerer: ſuppoſing, that he would haue craued his life of him. Thus this halfe dead Chriſtian preſsing neere vnto him, as if he would for honour ſake haue kiſſed his feet, ſuddenly ſtabbed him in the K

Amurath ſlain. bottome of his bellie with a ſhort dagger, which he had vnder his ſoldiors coat: of which wound that great king and conquerour preſently died. The name of this man (for his courage worthie of eternall memorie) was *Miles Cobelitz*: who before ſore wounded, was ſhortly after in the preſence of *Baiazet* cut into ſmall peeces. The Turks in their Annales ſomewhat otherwiſe report of the death of *Amurath*: as that this *Cobelitz*, one of the Deſpot his ſeruants, in time of the battaile, comming to *Amurath* as a fugitiue, offering him his ſeruice, and admitted to his preſence, in humbling himſelfe to haue kiſſed his feet (as the barbarous manner of the Turks is) ſtabbed him into the bellie and ſo ſlew him: being himſelfe therefore ſhortly after (as is aforeſaid) in the preſence of *Baiazet* moſt cruelly hewen into ſmall peeces. Whereupon euer ſince that time, the manner of the Turks hath been, and yet is, that when any embaſſadour or ſtranger is to come to kiſſe the Sultan his hand, or otherwiſe to approach his perſon, hee is as it were for honours ſake, lead by the armes vnto his preſence, betwixt two of the great courtiers: but indeed by ſo entangling him, to be ſure that he ſhall not offer him the like violence, that did this *Cobelitz* vnto *Amurath*. L M

The dead bodie of *Amurath* was preſently with all ſecrecie conueied into his tent by the Baſſaes and captaines preſent at his death: whether *Baiazet* was alſo brought with an enſigne before

before him, as the ſucceſsour in his fathers kingdome. His younger brother *Iacup* ſurnamed *Zelebi* (or the noble) yet ignorant of that had hapned, was by the great Baſſaes ſent for, as from his father: who caſting no perill, but comming into his fathers tent, was there preſently by them ſtrangled, by the commaundement of *Baiazet*, as moſt hiſtories report: howbeit the Turkes annales charge him not therwith. This was the beginning of the moſt vnnaturall and inhumane cuſtome, euer ſince holden for a moſt wholeſome and good policie amongſt the Turkiſh kings and emperours, in the beginning of their raigne moſt cruelly to maſſacre their brethren and neereſt kinſmen, ſo at once to rid themſelues of all feare of their competitors.

This *Amurath* was in his ſuperſtition more zealous than any other of the Turkiſh kings; a man of great courage, and in all his attempts fortunat: he made greater ſlaughter of his enemies, than both his father and grandfather: his kingdome in ASIA hee greatly enlarged by the ſword, mariage, and purchaſe: and vſing the diſcord and cowardiſe of the Grecian princes, to his profit, ſubdued a great part of THRACIA, called ROMANIA, with the territories thereto adjoyning, leauing vnto the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, little or nothing more in THRACIA than the imperiall citie it ſelfe, with the bare name of an emperour, almoſt without an empire: he wan a great part of BULGARIA, and entred into SERVIA, BOSNA, and MACEDONIA: he was liberall, and withall ſeuere: of his ſubjects both beloued & feared: a man of verie few words, and one that could diſſemble deeply. He was ſlaine when hee was threeſcore eight yeares old, and had thereof raigned thirtie one, in the yeare of our Lord 1390. His dead bodie was by *Baiazet* conuaied into ASIA, and there royally buried at PRUSA, in a faire chappell at the Weſt end of the citie, neere vnto the Bathes there: where, vpon his tombe lieth his ſouldiours cloake, with a little Turkiſh tulipant, much differing from thoſe great turbants which the Turkes now weare. Neere vnto the ſame tombe are placed three launces, with three horſe tailes faſtened at the vpper end of them, which he vſed as guidons in his wars: a thing in antient time not ſtrange. There ſtandeth a caſtle with a tombe, made in remembrance of him, in the plaines of COSSOVA, where he was ſlaine and his entrailes buried: which giueth occaſion for ſome to report that hee was there alſo himſelfe enterred.

Amurath buried at Prusa.

FINIS.

Chriſtian princes of the ſame time with Amurath the firſt.

Emperours	Of the Eaſt	*Iohn Palæologus.*	1354.	30.
		Andronicus Palæologus.	1384.	3.
		Emanuell Palæologus.	1387.	30.
	Of the Weſt	*Charles the fourth.*	1346.	32.
		Wenceſlaus, ſon to Charles king of Bohemia.	1378.	22.
Kings	Of England	*Edward the third.*	1327.	50.
		Richard the ſecond.	1377.	23.
	Of Fraunce	*Iohn Valois.*	1350.	14.
		Charles the fifth.	1364.	16.
		Charles the ſixt, ſurnamed, The welbeloued.	1381.	42.
	Of Scotland	*Dauid Bruce.*	1341.	29.
		Robert Stuart.	1379.	
Biſhops of Rome		*Innocent the VI.*	1354.	10.
		Vrban the V.	1364.	8.
		Gregorie the II.	1372.	7.
		Vrban the VI.	1378.	11.

BAIAZET.

Phi. Lonicer. Hiſt. Tur. li. 1.

Fulminis in morem celeri rapit agmina motu
Baizethes, fidei pacis & impatiens.
Regni Hadrianopolim ſedes ſibi legit vt eſſet,
Poſſet vt Europæ iungere regna ſuis.
Conſtantinopolim gemina obſidione fatigat:
Iam Græcas vana ſpe ſibi ſpondet opes,
Cum Tamburlano præbet ſua terga, catenis
Vinctus, & in cauea probra pudenda ſubit.

Prowd *Baiazet* moſt falſe of faith, and loathing bleſſed peace:
His warlike troupes like lightening, to ſhake he doth not ceaſe.
Of HADRIANOPLE he makes choice, for his imperiall ſeat,
That EVROPS kingdomes he might joyne vnto his empire great.
CONSTANTINOPLE he diſtreſt, twice with ſtraight ſiege and long:
And vainly thought to haue poſſeſt the Græcians wealth by wrong.
But ouercome by *Tamberlane*, faſt bound in fetters ſure,
Trod vnder foot, and cloas'd in cage, great ſhame did there indure.

THE LIFE OF BAIAZET, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FOVRTH AND MOST VNFORTVNAT KING OF THE TVRKES.

Aiazet, or as the Turks call him, *Baiasit*, of his violent and fierce nature surnamed *Gilderun*, or lightening; succeeded his father *Amurath* in the Turkish kingdome, his younger brother *Iacup* being strangled immediatly after his fathers death, as is before declared. He in the first yeare of his raign inuaded SERVIA, and there besieged CRATOVA, a citie of the Despots: whereunto the siluer mines of SERVIA (not the least cause of that warre) belonged. Which citie was yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, That the Christian inhabitants might with life and libertie depart. Who were no sooner gone out of the cittie, but that by his commaundement they were all most cruelly slaine by his men of warre, for that purpose sent out after them. At this time hee also woon VSCUPIA, with diuers other castles in the countrey neere vnto CRATOVA.

Baiazet inuadeth Seruia.

Sigismund at the same time king of HUNGARIE (a yong prince of great hope, and brother to *Wenceslaus*, then emperour of the West) aduertised from the Setuians his allies and confederats, of these proud proceedings of *Baiazet*: by his embassadours sent of purpose, requested him, That as he was a just prince, and wished to liue in quiet with his owne, to desist from doing of such open wrong, and from inuading of such countries of his friends and confederats, as he had no right in. Which embassadours so sent, *Baiazet* detained without answere, vntill such time as he had ouerrun a great part of the Despot his country, and therein done what he thought good. Then calling the said embassadours vnto him into one of the strong townes, which hee had in euerie corner filled with his owne souldiours, told them that they might there see, that his right both vnto that towne and the rest by him taken, was good inough, for as much as the vetie wals acknowledged the same: and so giuing them leaue to depart, willed them so to tell their master. Which his proud answere, by the same embassadors reported vnto the yong king, no lesse troubled him, than if open warre had by them been denounced vnto him, seeing the tyrant (as should seeme) pretending right vnto whatsoeuer hee could by force get: neuertheless, being himselfe not yet well setled in his kingdome, and in doubt of the contrarie faction (that altogether liked not of his election into HUNGARIE for their king) he was glad at that time to put it vp, and so to hold himselfe content.

Seruia the second time inuaded by Baiazet.

The next yeare, *Baiazet* by *Ferises Beg*, tooke the citie of VIDINA, with many other strong townes and castles in SERVIA, and afterwards returned to HADRIANOPLE. But whilest that hee thus raged in EUROPE, the Caramanian king inuaded and spoiled the frontiers of his countries in ASIA: which although he was not then at leisure, hee forgot not afterwards to reuenge to the full. At the same time *Eurenoses*, lord gouernour of the marches of his kingdome in EUROPE towards GRECIA, departing from SERRES (where he then lay) tooke the citie of SITROS in THESSALIA. And *Ferises Beg*, not content to haue taken VIDINA (as is aforesaid) passed ouer the great riuer of DANVBIUS, and greeuously spoiled VALACHIA: from whence he returned loaden with a great prey. This was the first time (that I read of) that the Turks euer passed

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ouer the riuer DANVBIVS. At this time also *Iegides Bassa* entred the kingdome of BOSNA, from whence he carried a great number of captiues to HADRIANOPLE, where *Baiazet* spent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring *Baiazet* passed ouer HELLESPONTVS to PRVSA, where he built a faire Mahometane temple, with a colledge, and an almes-house: which works finished, he returned againe into EVROPE, and built a monasterie at HADRIANOPLE: and so returned again into ASIA, leauing *Temurtases, Begler-Beg* (or his vice-roy) in HADRIANOPLE. After he was come into ASIA, he laied siege to the strong citie of PHILADELPHIA in LYDIA, which was at that time the onely cittie in the lesser ASIA, yet holden by the Christians in the middest of the Mahometane princes: for now was the Greeke emperour by the *Othoman* kings and the other Turkes quite driuen out of the lesser ASIA. In the beginning of this siege, *Baiazet* gaue straight commaundement to his souldiors, That they should not spoile or hurt any thing in the countrey belonging to the citizens: hoping by such faigned courtesie to make them the more willing to yeeld themselues vnto his obedience. But disappointed of his expectation, and finding them resolued to hold it out vnto the last, he forthwith gaue out contrarie commaundement not to spare any thing they could wast or destroy: which was accordingly by his greedie souldiours performed. After long siege, the citizens seeing the countrey about them vtterly wasted, & themselues vnable longer to indure, and out of all hope of releefe, yeelded their citie vnto the pleasure of *Baiazet*. It is written by some, that this famous citie was not besieged without the consent of the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE: and that the Greekes themselues, mooued with enuie to see that citie so long hold out, did helpe the Turks in the winning thereof.

Philadelphia besieged by Baiazet.

In time of this siege *Aiden Ogli* prince of CARIA, a Mahometane, came to *Baiazet*, and yeelded himselfe into his power as his vassale: vnto whom *Baiazet* restored certain places which he had in this expedition a little before taken from him: yet vpon such condition, as that hee should not from that time coine any money in his owne name, either be remembred in publicke prayers as a prince in their Mahometane temples, as he had before been: but that all such things should be done in the name of *Baiazet*, as his dread lord and soueraigne. With which disgrace the poore prince was glad to content himselfe, and to liue as his vassale. From PHILADELPHIA he led his armie into the countrey of SARVCHANIA, in antient time called IONIA MARITIMA, which he subdued vnto himselfe vpon like conditions. After that he passed farther, to MENTESIA, or MENTZ, sometime called MYNDOS in CARIA; the prince whereof for feare fled to *Cutrun Baiazet*, prince of CASTAMONA and part of PONTVS, leauing his countrey to the pleasure of the tyrant. And for as much as the young king of CARAMANIA had inuaded his countries whilest he was busied in EVROPE, *Baiazet* in reuenge thereof entred with his armie into CARAMANIA, and tooke CESARIA, with diuers other places there: so that the yong king discouraged with the losse of his towns, and fearing *Baiazet* his greatnesse, was glad to hold himselfe content with his losse, and to make peace with him as it pleased him to graunt it. As *Baiazet* was making this expedition into CARAMANIA, another yong Mahometane prince, the sonne of prince *Germian*, came vnto him with one of his cheefe counsellors, and were both by him sent prisoners ouer the strait to the castle of IPSALA, where they lay in durance many yeares after. Thus *Baiazet* hauing oppressed and wronged most of the Mahometane princes, the successours of Sultan *Aladin* in the lesser ASIA, at last returned againe himselfe in triumph to PRVSA.

The prince of MENTESIA, who for feare of *Baiazet* was fled out of his countrey, as is aforesaid, had now incited *Cutrun Baiazet*, prince of CASTAMONA, with a great power to inuade that side of *Baiazet* his kingdome which bordered vpon him. Which *Baiazet* vnderstanding, gathered a great armie to goe against this Mahometane prince. At which very time the Vayuod of VALACHIA, hearing of *Baiazet* his troubles in ASIA, with a strong armie passed ouer DANVBIVS into those parts of SERVIA and BVLGARIA that were by the Turks as then possessed; where he spoiled the countrey, and slew great numbers of the Turkes, making Mahometane saints and martyrs by heapes: for so the Turks account all them whom the Christians kill in their warre: which done, hee retired backe againe into VALACHIA, carrying with him also many of the Turks prisoners. *Baiazet* thus at once inuaded both in ASIA and EVROPE, deferred his warres purposed against the prince of PONTVS, vntill a more conuenient time, conuerting his forces against the Valachians. Wherfore passing ouer the strait to HADRIANOPLE, he sent his armie from thence to NICOPOLIS, and there passing the riuer of Danubius, entered

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into VALACHIA, burning and ſpoiling the countrey before him as he went. Where the Vayuod to repreſſe his furie, met him in the field, and gaue him battaile, but was therein ouerthrowne and many of his people ſlaine; ſo that at laſt he was glad to ſue for peace, which he obtained, by ſubmitting himſelfe to *Baiazet*, and yeelding to pay him a yearely tribute.

Theſſalia inuaded by Baiazet.

Whilſt *Baiazet* was thus buſied in VALACHIA, newes was brought vnto him that the Chriſtians of the Weſt with a fleet of gallies did great harm alongſt the coaſts of his dominions in ASIA. In reuenge whereof he entred with his armie into THESALIE, deſtroying all the countrey vnto THESSALONICA: in which expedition he took the citie of NEAPOLIS in GREECE, and IOANNINA in Ætolia, and after that returned into ASIA where he ſpent that Winter.

In the beginning of the next Spring, hee with a great power paſſed the ſtrait of CALLIPOLIS to HADRIANOPLE, intending to haue inuaded HUNGARIE. But as he was vpon the waie, it chanced that a Conſtantinopolitan ſpie was by the Turkes intercepted, with letters from the Greeke emperour to the king of HUNGARIE, giuing him warning both of the Turks preparation and comming. By which ſpie *Baiazet* alſo vnderſtood of another meſſenger before ſent into HUNGARIE, for like purpoſe. Whereupon *Temurtaſes* (then his great lieutenant in EUROPE) perſuaded him to deſiſt from his intended warres in HUNGARIE, and to beſiege the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, as a thing of more honour and leſſe danger; the cittie being alreadie (as he ſaid, and as in truth it was) ſurrounded with the Turkiſh prouinces: bringing in PHILADELPHIA (but a few years before woon) for example of the like exploit. Of whoſe counſaile *Baiazet* liking well, returned with his armie, and ſhortly after came and ſat downe therewith before CONSANTINOPLE: laying hard ſiege thereunto, firſt by land and after by ſea, with his gallies ſent from CALLIPOLIS. Which hard ſiege continued (as moſt hiſtories report) the ſpace of eight yeares: in which long time, hee draue the emperour *Emanuell Paleologus* to that ſtraight, that he was glad to leaue his citie, and himſelfe in perſon to craue aid of *Wenceſlaus* the Germane emperour, and *Charles* the ſixt the French king, and other Chriſtian princes alſo. At which time the cittizens were at length brought to ſuch extremitie, that they were euen at the point to haue yeelded vp the cittie: and happily had ſo done, had not *Sigiſmund* king of HUNGARIE (aſſiſted with a great armie of the French and other voluntarie Chriſtians, almoſt out of euery part of Chriſtendome, to the number of an hundreth and thirtie thouſand, vnder the leading of *Iohn*, countie of NIVERS, & after duke of BVRGUNDIE) for the releeſe of the beſieged emperour, paſſed ouer Danubius into the Turkiſh dominions; and there hauing recouered VIDINA, with certaine other ſtrong holds in BULGARIA, laied ſiege to NICOPOLIS: out of which citie the Turks oftentimes ſallied, and gaue him many an hot skirmiſh. It is reported that the young king *Sigiſmund* beholding the greatneſſe of his armie, in his great jolitie hearing of the comming of the Turke, ſhould proudly ſay: *What need wee to feare the Turke, who need not at all to feare the falling of the heauens; which if they ſhould fall, yet were we able with our ſpeares and halberts to hold them vp for falling vpon vs.* But *Baiazet* vnderſtanding what ſpoile the Hungarian king had made in his late gained countries, and of the ſiege of NICOPOLIS; commaunded the ladders and other great prouiſion now in readineſſe for the skaling and aſſaulting of the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE to be burnt, becauſe they ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians: and ſo raiſing his ſiege, marched with a right puiſſant armie to NICOPOLIS, ſending *Eurenoſes* before of purpoſe to intercept ſome of the Chriſtians, thereby to learne the ſtate of their campe and armie. But they hearing of his comming, ſo well looked to themſelues, that he with ſhame returned to his maſter as he came, without any one priſoner taken. Which thing much troubled *Baiazet*, as fearing he ſhould haue to doe with a warie enemie. *Sigiſmund* vnderſtanding of the approch of *Baiazet*, leauing a ſufficient power for the continuing of the ſiege, roſe himſelfe, and with the reſt of his armie went to meet his proud enemie. Of whoſe comming and approch *Baiazet* vnderſtanding, diuided his armie into two parts: & being now come within the ſight of the Chriſtian armie, made ſhew but of the one halfe, keeping himſelfe cloſe in ſecret ambuſh not farre off with the other. The Chriſtians deeming themſelues (as they were) farre moe in number than the Turks which they ſaw, deuided their armie alſo into two parts, purpoſing betwixt them to haue incloſed the Turks. Of all the Chriſtians that were there preſent, the French deſired to haue the honour of the firſt charge to be giuen vpon the Turks, and in their heat vpon good hope ſet forward (the Hungarians with a great part of the armie, not yet ſet in order) and ſo began the battaile: where betwixt them and the Turks was fought a right cruell fight, and in a

Conſtantinople eight yeares beſieged by Baiazet.

little time many thouſands ſlaine. But this fight had not long endured, when *Baiazet* with the other halfe of his armie ſuddenly ariſing, came on with ſuch violence, as wel became his ſurname of *Gilderun* or lightning; and ſo hardly charged the French, that they amazed at the ſuddeneſſe of the danger, and oppreſſed with the furie and multitude of the vnexpected enemie, ſtood at the firſt as men diſmaid: but ſeeing no remedie, encouraging one another, valiantly fought it out vntill they were almoſt all either ſlaine or taken priſoners; ſtill in hope to haue been releeued by the Hungarians and the reſt. In this hard conflict diuers of the French horſemen hauing forſaken their horſes, fought on foot as their manner was: which horſes running backe without their riders, vpon the Hungarians, cauſed them to doubt that the French were quite ouerthrown; wherewith diſmaied, they without further comming on all turned their backes and fled, in ſo great haſt as that it booted not the king or any other great commander to goe about to ſtaie their flight. The French thus by their too much haſt ouerthrowne, the Turks purſuing the Hungarians and the reſt of the Chriſtians, made of them a great ſlaughter: of whom alſo many were drowned in the great riuer DANUBIUS. At which time alſo the Turkes tooke ſo many priſoners, that it was thought euerie ſeuerall Turke had his priſoner. King *Sigiſmund* himſelfe, who but a little before had deſpiſed euen the falling of the heauens, had then alſo vndoubtedly fallen into the enemies hands, had hee not in a little boat by good hap got ouer DANVBIUS: not vnlike another *Xerxes*, who hauing couered the ſeas with his ſhips, and with a world of men paſſed ouer into GRECIA, was afterwards by the ſtrange change of fortune, himſelfe alone in a ſmall fiſher boat glad to get backe againe into ASIA. *Sigiſmund* being thus got ouer Danubius, and fearing the violence of the Hungarians for the loſſe of the battaile, fled by ſea into THRACIA vnto CONSTANTINOPLE; from whence he ſailed vnto the Iſland of the RHODES, and from thence ſailing through the Ægean and Ionian ſea, landed at length in DALMATIA: and ſo hauing wandered from place to place, toſſed with many fortunes, after eighteene moneths long and painefull trauaile, returned againe into HUNGARIE. Where hee found the ſtate of his kingdome in his abſence much troubled, the contrarie faction in the meane time hauing made choice of *Ladiſlaus* king of NAPLES for their king; who was euen thē with a great armie going to haue taken poſſeſsion of the kingdome, had not *Sigiſmund* in good time by the helpe of certaine of the cheefe of the Hungarian nobilitie preuented him. In this battaile, called the battaile of NICOPOLIS, were of the Chriſtians twentie thouſand ſlaine, and of the Turkes threeſcore thouſand. The countie of NIVIERS, the French kings neere kinſman, was there taken priſoner, with three hundred great commaunders more: where after he had indured great contumelie and reproch in the preſence of *Baiazet*, hee was commaunded to make choice of fiue other of the captiues, ſuch as he liked beſt, all the reſt being preſently cut in peeces before his face, and he with the other fiue left aliue, ſent priſoners to PRUSA: from whence they were afterwards ranſomed for two hundred thouſand duckats. This bloodie battaile of NICOPOLIS was fought in the yeere of our lord 1396.

Conſtantinople the ſecond time beſieged by Baiazet.

Baiazet after this great victorie, hauing worthily releeued his beſieged citie, returned againe to the ſiege of CONSTANTINOPLE, laying more hardly vnto it than before, building forts and bulwarks againſt it on the one ſide towards the land: and paſsing ouer the ſtrait of BOSPHORUS, built a ſtrong caſtle vpon that ſtrait ouer againſt CONSTANTINOPLE, to impeach ſo much as was poſsible all paſſage thereunto by ſea. This ſtraight ſiege (as moſt write) continued alſo two years, which I ſuppoſe by the circumſtance of the hiſtorie to haue been part of the aforeſaid eight yeares. *Emanuell* the beſieged emperor wearied with theſe long wars, ſent an embaſſador to *Baiazet* to entreat with him a peace: which *Baiazet* was the more willing to hearkē vnto, for that he heard news that *Tamerlane* the great Tartarian prince intended ſhortly to war vpon him. Yet could this peace not be obtained, but vpon condition that the emperour ſhould graunt free libertie for the Turks to dwell together in one ſtreet of CONSTANTINOPLE, with free exerciſe of their owne religion, and laws, vnder a judge of their owne nation; and further, to pay vnto the Turkiſh king a yearely tribute of ten thouſand duckats. Which diſhonourable conditions the diſtreſſed emperour was glad to accept of. So was this long ſiege broken vp, and preſently a great ſort of Turks with their families were ſent out of BITHYNIA to dwell in CONSTANTINOPLE, and a church there built for them: which not long after was by the emperour pulled downe to the ground, and the Turks again driuen out of the citie, at ſuch time as *Baiazet* was by the mightie *Tamerlane* ouerthrowne and taken priſoner.

A *Baiazet* in the beginning of his raigne, preſently after the death of *Lazarus* the Deſpot ſlaine in the battaile of COSSOVA, wan part of SERVIA (as is aforeſaid) the other part being ſtill holden by *Lazarus* his ſonne, called *Stephen* the Deſpot; who about this time ſent an honourable embaſſadour to *Baiazet* with louing letters, and royall preſents: by which embaſſadour alſo the old princeſſe, *Lazarus* his widdow, offred her faire daughter *Deſpina* (*Stephen* his ſiſter) a ladie of incomparable beautie, in mariage to him, if it ſhould pleaſe him to vouchſafe his handmaid (as ſhee termed her) ſo high a place. This ladie was long before promiſed vnto him, whilſt his father *Amurath* yet liued. Of this embaſſadour *Baiazet* was verie glad, but eſpecially for the faire ladies ſake: which being knowne vnto the princeſſe her mother, and the Deſpot her brother, B ſhe was forthwith honourably ſent to *Baiazet*, and ſo to him with great ſolemnitie and triumph ſhortly after maried. Of all his wiues, he held her deereſt, and for her ſake reſtored vnto her brother *Stephen* the citie and caſtle of SEMENDRE (otherwiſe called S. ANDREVV) and COLUMBARIUM in SERVIA: ſhe allured him to drinke wine, forbidden the Turks by their law; and cauſed him to delight in ſumptuous banquets, which his predeceſſours *Othoman*, *Orchanes*, and *Amurath* neuer vſed.

Baiazet married Deſpina the faire daughter of Lazarus the Deſpot.

As the Turkiſh kingdome grew in greatneſſe, ſo corruption the canker of great ſtates and common weales increaſed likewiſe: but eſpecially in the men of law and iudges of his courts. Wherewith *Baiazet* greeuouſlie offended, commaunded diuers of the ſame iudges to be apprehended, determining (to the terrour of others) to haue executed them; whoſe dangerous eſtate C was much pitied, and alſo fauoured of *Alis Baſſa*, and other the king his great counſellours: yet for ſo much as *Baiazet* was of a furious nature, and in his anger dangerous to bee ſpoken vnto, none of them durſt aduenture to intreat him in their behalfe; no not *Alis Baſſa*, *Charadyn Baſſa* his ſonne, ſometime iudge of PRVSA, although he was a man in ſuch ſpeciall fauour with him that he was therfore of the cõmon people not only reuerenced, but as the king himſelfe honored.

There was at that time in the court an Æthiopion jeaſter, who vnder ſome couert pleaſant jeaſt, would many times bolt out that to the king in his greateſt heat, which his graueſt counſellours durſt not once ſpeake to him of in ſecret: this jeaſter, *Alis Baſſa* requeſted to deuiſe ſome means to intreat with the angrie king in the behalfe of theſe Iudges, promiſing to giue him what he would reaſonably deſire, if he could appeaſe the kings diſpleaſure. The Æthiopian without D feare vndertooke the matter: and preſently putting vppon his head a rich hat all wrought ouer with gold after the manner of the Turks embaſſadours, and fitting himſelfe with other appparell better beſeeming an embaſſadour than a jeaſter; thus attired preſented himſelfe before the king with a great counterfait grauitie. Whereat *Baiazet* marualling, asked him the cauſe why he was ſo gaie. I haue a requeſt vnto your maieſtie, (ſaid he) and wiſh to find fauour in your ſight. *Baiazet* more deſirous than before to know the matter, asked what his requeſt was. If it ſtand with your pleaſure (ſaid the jeaſter) I would faine goe as your embaſſadour to the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, in hope wherof, I haue put my ſelfe in this readineſſe. To what purpoſe wouldeſt thou goe, ſaid *Baiazet*? To craue of the emperor (ſaid he) ſome ſortie or fiftie of his old graue monkes and friers, to bring with me hether to the court. And what ſhould they doe here, ſaid *Ba-* E *iazet*? I would haue them placed (ſaid the jeaſter) in the roomes of the old doting judges, whom you intend (as I heare) to put to death. Why (ſaid *Baiazet*) I can place others of my own people in their roomes. True (ſaid the Æthiopian) for grauitie of looke and countenance, and ſo would the old monkes and friers ſerue as well; but not ſo learned in your lawes and cuſtomes of your kingdome, as are thoſe in your diſpleaſure. If they be learned (ſaid *Baiazet*) why doe they then contrarie to their learning peruert juſtice and take bribes? There is a good reaſon for that too, ſaid the jeaſter. What reaſon ſaid the king? That can hee that there ſtandeth by tell better than I (ſaid the jeaſter) pointing to *Alis Baſſa*: who forthwith commanded by *Baiazet* to giue the reaſon, with great reuerence before done, ſhewed that thoſe judges ſo in diſpleaſure, were not conueniently prouided for, and were therefore enforced many times for their neceſſarie maintenance F to take rewards, to the ſtaying of the due courſe of juſtice. Which *Baiazet* vnderſtanding to be true, commaunded *Alis Baſſa* to appoint them conuenient ſtipends for their maintenance, and forthwith graunted their pardon. Wherevpon the Baſſa ſet downe order, That of euerie matter in ſuit exceeding one thouſand aſpers, the judge ſhould haue twentie aſpers fee for judgement; and for euerie writing and inſtrument out of the court, twelue aſpers: which fees they yet take in thoſe courts at this day.

Not long after, *Baiazet* in his furie ſent for certaine of his captaines and commaunders of his men of warre, with whom he was for ſome ſmall occaſion greeuouſly offended, intending in his rage to haue put them all to death; which was with him no great matter. Theſe captaines being brought before him, the councellors ſeeing him all in choler, ſat looking vpon the ground, hanging downe their heads (as the manner of the Turks is) not daring to looke him in the face, nor to ſpeake a good word for them. When ſuddenly the aforeſaid Æthiopian jeaſter ſtept foorth, earneſtly requeſting the king, not to ſhew them any fauour, but to execute them preſently as villaines and traitours; rayling vpon them, as if he had knowne ſome great fault by them. *Baiazet* (thinking he could haue accuſed them of ſome great crime, becauſe of his earneſtnes) asked what reaſon hee had ſo to exclaime againſt them. Reaſon (quoth the jeaſter) becauſe the knaues bee good for nothing, and they ſay that *Tamerlan* is with a great armie comming againſt vs: if you will but take vp an enſigne in your hand, and I goe before you with a drum, I will ſtrike vp ſuch a terrible march, and you make ſuch a dreadfull ſhew, that wee ſhall neede none of theſe bad fellowes or their ſouldiours in the field to get the victorie ouer our enemies. This conceit of the jeaſter ſtrucke ſuch a melancholie imagination into *Baiazet* his head, that hee ſtood muſing a great while as it were in a deepe ſtudie: at laſt hauing well conſidered the drift of the jeaſters ſpeech, and his furie now ſomewhat aſſuaged, graunted them pardon which they looked not for.

This Æthiopian jeaſter, *Baiazet* vpon a time ſent vnto the old queene his mother to bring her news of the good ſucceſſe of his wars againſt the Chriſtians, for that ſhe had ſo deſired: who comming vnto her, and by her commaunded to ſit downe, ſhe began to demaund of him, how the king her ſonne did, and of the ſucceſſe of his wars. Whereunto he anſwered, that he did verie well, and had won from the Chriſtians a great countrey, and greatly enriched his ſouldiours. But after a little more talke, the queene mother deſirous to heare againe the good newes (or elſe after the manner of ſome which thinke nothing ſufficiently told except it bee told an hundreth times) asked him againe how the king her ſonne did, and how he ſped in his wars. Whereunto he anſwered euerie word as before: but asking him the third time the verie ſame queſtion, how her ſonne did? Doeſt thou aske me ſo often (ſaid the Æthiopian) how hee doth? *Bre Cachpe* (O whoore, ſaid he) thou haſt brought forth a ſonne like a diuell, who roaming vp and downe doth nothing but burne and deſtroie the world where he commeth. Whereat the queene crying out; vp ſtart the Æthiopian, and betaking himſelfe to his heeles was neuer more afterwards ſeene.

Temurtaſes, Baiazet his great lieutenant in Aſia taken priſoner by Aladin the young king of Caramania

In the wars which *Baiazet* had againſt *Sigiſmund*, the Vayuod of VALACHIA had giuen aid vnto the Hungarian king; wherewith *Baiazet* being offended, determined now at length to be reuenged: and therefore intending to make warre vpon the Valachian prince, left *Temurtaſes* his great lieutenant at ANCYRA in ASIA, & ſo paſſed ouer HELLESPONTUS himſelfe againſt the Valachian. Vpon whoſe departure, *Aladin* his ſiſters ſonne, the yong king of CARAMANIA, with a great power came ſuddenly in the night to ANCYRA, and tooke *Temurtaſes* priſoner: who then feared nothing leſſe, than in time of peace to haue been ſo ſurpriſed, and caried away in bonds into CARAMANIA. But when he vnderſtood that *Baiazet* had ended his wars in VALACHIA, and was with victorie returned to PRUSA, he fearing his heauie indignation for ſo great an outrage, preſently releaſed *Temurtaſes* out of priſon, apparelled him richly after the maner of that nation, craued pardon for the wrong he had done him, and ſet him at libertie to goe whither he would, and withall ſent one of his noblemen with great gifts and preſents to *Baiazet* to make his excuſe in beſt maner he could: vnto which embaſſador *Baiazet* (yet in choler) would not giue audience, or ſuffer him to come in his ſight: but at the ſame time leuied a great armie to inuade CARAMANIA. Which *Aladin* vnderſtanding, and now out of all hope to appeaſe this mightie enemie, leuied all the forces he could in his owne kingdome, and withall entertained all the mercenarie ſoldiors he could get, intending to trie his fortune in the filed, as a man of valour, rather than to be thruſt out of his kingdome like a coward: & ſo in readineſſe, hearing of the cõming of *Baiazet*, met him vpõ the way, & at a place called ACZAC gaue him battell: but being too weak, he was ouercome & put to flight; in which flight his horſe ſtumbling, & he ſo falling to the groũd, was there before he could recouer himſelf, takẽ by his enemies which had him in chaſe, & ſo brought boũd to *Baiazet*: his two ſons, *Muhamet Beg* & *Alis Beg*, being takẽ in that battell alſo, were ſent priſoners to PRUSA. *Aladin* himſelfe was by *Baiazet* his cõmandement deliuered to his enemy *Temurtaſes*: who in reuẽge of the wrong he had before done him, preſently cauſed him to

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A be hanged: which when *Baiazet* vnderstood, hee seemed very sorrie that he had so put him to death, for that he was his owne sisters sonne. *Baiazet* following the course of his victorie, won ICONIVM, LARENDA, NIGDE, with all the rest of *Aladin* his kingdome. About this time also, AMASIA the great metropoliticall citie of CAPADOCIA was by the prince thereof deliuered vnto *Baiazet*, being too weake himselfe to defend the same against the force of *Casi-Burchanidin*, prince of the great and strong citie of SEBASTIA, his enemie; now growne to be a man of great power in that part of ASIA, and had solicited the Sultan of ÆGYPT to aid him against *Baiazet*. Whereupon *Baiazet* returning from the conquest of CARAMANIA, led his armie towards SEBASTIA, where the cittizens had a little before depriued *Casi-Burchanidin* of his gouernment, B for his crueltie, and placed his sonne in his stead: but in short time no lesse wearie of the sonne than before of the father, they with like inconstancie sent word to *Baiazet*, that if he would come that way, they would yeeld vnto him the citie: vpon whose approch, *Casis* (his son) for feare fled out of the citie to prince *Nasradin*, his brother in law. After whose departure, the cittizens according to their promise deliuered the citie vnto *Baiazet* at his comming, wherein hee left *Solyman* his eldest sonne gouernour. And so hauing in this notable expedition conquered the kingdome of CARAMANIA, and taken the great citties of AMASIA and SEBASTIA, with most part of CAPPADOCIA, and all that part of ASIA which the Turks call RUMILIA ASIATICA, he returned to PRUSA, and there wintered.

Amasia yeelded vnto Baiazet.

Sebastia deliuered to Baiazet.

The next Spring *BaiaZet* (hearing that his old enemie *Cutrun BaiaZet* prince of CASTAMO- C NA and PONTUS, was dead) came to CASTAMONA with a great armie: of whose comming, *Isfendiar* (*Cutrun Baiazet* his sonne, and then prince of that country) hearing, fled out of the citie to SYNOPE, a little citie vpon the coast of the Euxine: from whence he sent an embassador vnto *BaiaZet*, humbly requesting him, to suffer him to haue that little citie, as his seruant to liue in, (which he was sure he would otherwise bestow vpon some other of his seruants) & not to seeke the innocent blood of the sonne for the fathers offence. Which his request, *BaiaZet* moued with pitie, graunted: yet neuertheless tooke from him CASTAMONA, with the greatest part of his dominion in PONTUS, which he gaue to his sonne *Solyman*. At the same time he violently oppressed the prince *Germean*, and tooke from him the cities of DESPOTOPOLIS and HIERAPOLIS, with all the rest of his dominion.

Baiazet inuadeth Isfendiar, prince of Castamona.

D The prince of MENTESIA long before driuen out of his countrey by *BaiaZet* (as is before declared) and hauing all this while made his abode at CASTAMONA, doubting now of his own safetie after the death of his good friend *Cutrun BaiaZet*, in the habit of an hermit fled to the great Tartarian prince *Tamerlane*.

BaiaZet returning to PRUSA, there built a magnificent Mahometane temple; during which worke, hee with great superstition forbore drinking of wine, reposing himselfe with the companie of graue and learned men, and the administration of justice: whereby hee greatly woon the hearts of his subjects, and had now so enlarged his kingdome, that all kings and princes bordering vpon him stood in great feare of him.

It fortuned about this time, that *Achmetes* king of BAGDAT (or new BABILON) & EIRACVM, E with *Iosephus Niger* king of CHOLCHIS, enforced with the violent incursions of *Tamerlane* and his Tartars, for safegard of their liues were glad to flie into SYRIA: where they being discouered, were both cast in prison by the commaundement of the Ægyptian Sultan, who then commaunded ouer SYRIA: from whence they afterwards hardly escaping, fled to *BaiaZet* his court. Where after *Achmetes* had stayed two moneths, he by the aid of *BaiaZet* recouered the possession of EIRACVM, part of his own inheritance. *Iosephus* the other Mahometane king, hauing tarried in *BaiaZet* his court eight moneths, at length procured him to inuade the dominions of the Ægyptian Sultan, in which expedition hee mightily preuailed: and hauing slaine the Ægyptian Sultans generall, and discomfited his forces, took the citie of MALATIE or MELETINE in ARMENIA, with DIORIGE, DERENDE, and BEXENE, taken from the Turcomans, and spoiled F all the countrey thereabouts. From thence marching with his armie towards ERZNITZANE, the prince thereof, called *Tachretin*, met him vpon the way, yeelding his citie and country into his power; which *BaiaZet* presently gaue to *Iosephus Niger*: who after he had six daies enjoyed this new gouernment, finding the people vnwilling to be gouerned by him a stranger, surrendred the same again into the hands of him that gaue it. Whereupon the citizens of ERZNITZANE humbly requested of *Baiazet*, That they might be again gouerned by their old prince *Tachretin*, now

his vassale. Which thing he at their earnest request graunted: but taking his wife and children as G
a pledge of his loyaltie, sent the away to PRUSA, where they were all not long after made away.

The Mahometan princes of Asia oppressed by Baiazet, disguised flye vnto Tamerlane for aid.

When *Baiazet* had now many yeares thus mightily preuailed against the Christian princes in ROMANIA, BULGARIA, BOZNA, THESALIA, VALACHIA, and other places of EUROPE, as is before declared; and inflamed with insatiable ambition, had in worse manner oppressed the Mahometan kings and princes of ASIA, of whom some were by him slaine, some driuen out of their dominions into exile, some imprisoned, and othersome brought into such subjection that they liued as it were but at his deuotion; and was now growne to that greatnesse, that in the pride of his heart he stood in feare of no man, but was (as he thought) a terrour vnto the world, hauing vnder his obeisance great and large dominions in EUROPE, but farre greater in ASIA: H
It fortuned diuers of these miserable oppressed and discontented Mahometan princes, by great fortune as if it had been by appointment, to meet together at the court of the great Tartarian prince *Tamerlane*, whether they were fled for releese and succour. The prince *Germian Ogli*, after long imprisonment in the castle of IPSALA in EUROPE, brake prison, and with *Hissar-bey* his great councellour and prison-fellow, consorted themselues with a companie of loytering companions, roaming from place to place, delighting the country people with their apish toies: in which companie hee passed HELLESPONTUS, as a beareward, and at length with much adoe came to *Tamerlane* his court: whether the prince of MENTESIA was come before, in the habit of an Hermit (as is aforesaid) with his head and beard shauen: *Aidin Ogli* passing through the country as a pedler, with a packe at his backe, came thether also: The prince *Tachretin* as a I
seruingman, came attending vpon the prince *Isfendiar*: who came also (but in some better sort than the rest) as an embassadour from some other prince. All these poore princes, with diuers others in like miserie, in short time arriued at SAMARCAND (great *Tamerlane* his court;) euerie one perticularly complaining of his owne priuat greefe, and all together earnestly requesting that mightie prince, to take vpon him their defence, and to reuenge the wrong done vnto them by the Turkish tirant *Baiazet*. Whose pitifull complaints much mooued the noble Tartarian: but especially the long and wrongfull imprisonment of *Germian Ogli*: and the pitifull complaint and moane of *Tachretin*, who had of late lost his wife and children, by the crueltie of *Baiazet*. Yet in this matter of so great and important consequence, *Tamerlane* made no great shew of his forwardnesse (although he was by nature in nothing more delighted, than in the releeuing of K
the distressed, and chastising of the proud) but coldly answered those princes, That he could not tell, whether all were so as they had reported of *Baiazet*, or not, but that he well knew him to be a verie zealous king in setting forth of the Mahometane religion; and that hee had therefore made great warres vpon the Christians, in which godly cause (he said) perhaps they had refused to assist him, or else had giuen him some other greater occasion of offence, to him vnknowne: For I can hardly beleeue (said he) that so great and religious a prince as he, would without just and sufficient cause, offer such violence as you complaine of, especially vnto you his neighbour princes, and of the same religion with himselfe: neuertheless, whatsoeuer I intend concerning your request (said *Tamerlane*) I will send first an embassadour vnto him, to vnderstand more of him and his proceedings before I resolue vpon any thing: with which answere hee willed L
them vntill then to hold themselues contented. But as *Tamerlane* was about to haue dispatched his embassadour to *Baiazet*, he was aduertised that *Achmetes* late king of new BABILON, and *Iosephus* king of COLCHIS, both by him driuen out of their kingdomes, hauing broken out of prison from the Sultan of EGIPT, were now come to *Baiazet* his court, to craue his aid and assistance: wherefore he deferred to send his embassador, suspecting that *Baiazet*, incited by these two exiled kings, would first in their quarrell begin to make warre vpon him. But not long after vnderstanding, that they were both againe departed from his court (as is before declared) hee then dispatched his embassadour to *Baiazet*, with many rich gifts and presents, courteously requesting him, the rather for his sake, to deale kindly with these poore Mahometane princes, his friends; as also with the Greeke emperour *Emanuel* his allie, for whom he was now become an M
intercessour vnto him. Some report also, that he besides this, requested to haue the two aforesaid Mahometan kings of BAGDAT and COLCHIS deliuered vnto him; and withall seemed not a little to dislike of *Baiazet* his proceeding against the Turcomans his friends. But *Baiazet* being a prince of a great and haughtie spirit, and vnaccustomed to heare of any thing which fitted not his humor, highly offended with this embassage, in great scorne reiected the presents by *Tamerlane*

A *lane* ſent vnto him, and eſpecially certaine garments which *Tamerlane* after the manner of thoſe Eaſterne nations, had in kindneſſe amongſt other things ſent him: willing the embaſſadour to bid his maiſter meddle with his owne matters, and to preſcribe laws vnto his owne ſubjects, and not vnto him, with whom he had nought to doe; and to ſend his ragges for preſents vnto his inferiours, and not vnto princes of greater power and ſtate than himſelfe. Adding therevnto many other words full of deſpight and diſdaine, affoording him no better ſtile than the plaine name of *Tamerlane*: calling him the husband of an whore, if he met him not in the field; and wiſhing vnto himſelfe againe, to take vnto him his thrice diuorced wife, after ſhe had been polluted by another man (as the greateſt diſhonour that might be) if he failed to meet him whereſoeuer he durſt
B to dare him battaile. Which proud anſwere of the Turkes, by the embaſſadour reported vnto *Tamerlane*, and agrauated by *Axalla* (a Chriſtian of the race of the Genowaies, borne at CAPHA, and then one of the greateſt counſellors about him, and the Greeke emperors great friend) was ſo euill taken by him, that all other things ſet apart, hee reſolued to goe againſt the Turke, and to take in hand that war, as of all other the fitteſt for the encreaſe of his honour and glorie. Beſides that, he thought it not in reaſon fit for the greatneſſe of the Tartarian empire, to ſuffer ſuch an vnquiet neighbor to grow great; as ſtill encroching vpon other the weake princes confining vnto him, and adding conqueſts vnto conqueſts; and yet neuer the more contented, might in the
C end proue dangerous vnto his owne eſtate and ſoueraigntie: a common care to ſuch as be themſelues great, and mounted vp vnto the higheſt degrees of worldly honor, to haue in jealouſie and diſtruſt the ſuddaine riſing of others neere or farther off, as perillous or diſgracefull to themſelues, or their eſtate: whoſe growing greatneſſe they therefore ſeeke by all means to hinder; as did now the mightie *Tamerlane* the proceedings and encreaſing of the great *Othoman* king, *Baiazet*: & the rather being continually prickt forward ſo to do, by the ſolicitation of the Greeke emperor *Emanuel*, the other oppreſſed Mahometane princes, and by the great captaine *Axalla*, (as is aforeſaid) a Chriſtian: of whom for all that *Tamerlane* himſelfe, a Mahometane, for the great fidelitie, valour, and vertue he found in him, made no ſmall reckoning, but was contented euen in his greateſt and moſt waighty affaires to be by him aduiſed; diſliking of no man for his religion whatſoeuer, ſo as
D he did worſhip but one only God, creator of heauen & earth, and of all that therein is. Being himſelfe of opinion, That God in eſſence one, & in himſelfe immutable, without change or diuerſitie: yet for the manifeſting of his omnipotencie & power, as he had created in the world ſundry kinds of people, much differing both in nature, manners, and condition, and yet all framed to the image of himſelfe: ſo was he alſo contented to be of them diuerſly ſerued, according to the diuerſitie of their natures and manners; ſo that they worſhipped none other ſtrange gods, but him alone, the maker and creator of all things. Which was the cauſe that he permitted the vſe of all religions within the countries ſubject to his obedience, were they not meere Atheiſts, idolaters, or worſhippers of ſtrange and vaine gods.

Tamerlane his opinion concerning the diuerſitie of religions.

Neither was proud *Baiazet* as one ignorant of the power or purpoſe of *Tamerlane*, in the mean time idle, but ſtill proſecuted his good fortune for the enlarging of his empire, & increaſing of his
E ſtrength: wiſely deeming (as the truth was) whatſoeuer meſſages were ſent vnto him from *Tamerlane*, to be no other than meere threatenings and forewarnings of his more dangerous purpoſes and deſignes againſt him and his ſtate: which he was ſo far from fearing, as that to prouoke him the more, he ſpared no intemperat ſpeech, which might moue him to wrath; wiſhing (as ſhould ſeeme) for nothing more than to meet him in the field, there to trie the fortune of a battell with him. So weake is our foreſight of our fortunes to come, and the reach of our vnderſtanding for the apprehenſion or declining of the fatall doome euen preſently hanging ouer our heads; as that we oftentimes through ignorance moſt deſirouſly wiſh for thoſe things which are vnto vs the cheefe occaſions of our vtter ruin and deſtruction.

But here before we enter into farther diſcourſe of the mortall warre betwixt theſe two ſo puiſſant princes, it ſhall not bee much from our purpoſe to ſtep a little out of the way, to ſee what
F this mightie *Tamerlane* (of whom ſo many princes craued aid) was: who liuing, held the Eaſt in ſuch awe, as that he was commonly called, *The wrath of God*, and *Terrour of the World*; which he then filled with the glorie of his name. Moſt Hiſtoriographers report him to haue ben poorly borne, of baſe and obſcure parents: and ſo himſelfe alſo in his youth to haue liued as a poore ſhepheard or heardſman in the mountaines; where conſorting himſelfe with other ſturdie companions of like qualitie and diſpoſition, ſuch as there liued by robbing of marchants and other paſſengers,

The baſe opinion ſome haue, concerning the birth and riſing of Tamerlane.

passengers, hee became a masterfull theefe amongst them: vnto whom other such leaud mates daily still more and more resorting, hee in short time grew (as they say) to that greatnesse, that he is reported to haue beene of such power, as neuer man but hee euer yet came vnto. A matter almost incredible. For albeit, that the Romane empire, yea and this great empire of the Turks also, with some others, had their beginnings not much better or greater, the one vnder *Romulus*, and the other vnder *Othoman*: yet grew they not as vpon the suddaine, in their times, to any great lustre (neither was it possible for them of so small beginnings so to doe) but by many degrees, and that in long time; euery of the succeeding princes, according to their fortunes, adding something to their state, before it could be made great: whereas he (by their report) contrarie to the course of things both naturall and ciuile (which from their small beginnings grow to no notable perfection or greatnesse, but by degrees, and that in the long reuolution of time) taking his beginning of nothing, grew vpon the suddaine to be a burthen & terror vnto the world. Wherin our late Historiographers seeme too much to haue followed the report of the Turks, who by him brought low, and their kingdome almost in one battell subuerted, report nothing simply of him; but in what they may, detracting from his worthie praises, wrongfully charge him with many vntruths, not concerning his parentage onely, but euen in the course of his whole life also: making him (as they would haue the world to beleeue) first to haue beene a very abject amongst men; and then for his inhumane crueltie a very monster in nature, or (as it was long before, but more truly said of another great one much like himselfe) a lumpe of earth tempered with blood. Which incredible reports concerning so great a monarch, I list not to follow, as too full of dishonour: especially whereas others of no lesse credit than they, with farre more modestie and greater probabilitie report of him the greatest honour that may be. Hee was (as they and the others also say) borne at SAMERCAND, the cheefe citie of the *Zagataian* Tartars, pleasantly situated vpon the riuer IAXARTES: his father was called *Zain-Cham*, or as some others will, *Og*, prince of the *Zagataian* Tartars, and of the countrey of SACHETAY (sometime part of the famous kingdome of PARTHIA) third in descent from *Zingis*, the great and fortunate leader of the Tartars, before in the former part of this historie remembred. Which *Og*, as a prince of a peaceable nature (accounting it no lesse honour quietly to keepe the countries left him by his father, than with much trouble and no lesse danger to seeke how to enlarge the same) long liued in most happie rest with his subjects, no lesse happie than himselfe: not so much seeking after the hoording vp of gold and siluer (things of that nation not regarded) as contenting himselfe with the encrease and profit of his flocks of sheepe, and heards of cattell; then, and yet also, the principall reuenues of the Tartar kings and princes: which happily gaue occasion vnto some, ignorant of the manner and custome of those Northerne nations and countries, to account them all for shepheards and heardsmen; and so also to haue reported of this mighrie prince, as of a shepheards sonne, or heardsman himselfe: vainely measuring his nobilitie by the homely manner of his people and subjects, and not by the honor of his house, & heroicall vertues, such as were hardly to be found greater in any prince of that or other former ages. His peaceable father now well stricken in yeares, and wearie of the world, deliuered vp vnto him (not yet past fifteene yeares old) the gouernment of his kingdome, joining vnto him two of his most faithfull counsellours, *Odmar* and *Aly*, to assist him in the gouernment of his state (retiring himselfe vnto a solitarie life, the more at quiet to serue God, and so to end his daies in peace:) which two his trustie seruants and graue counsellors he dearely loued whilest they liued, and much honoured the remembrance of them, being dead. The first proofe of his fortune and valour, was against the Moscouit, for spoiling of a citie which had put it selfe vnder his protection; and for entering of his countrey; and for proclaiming of warre against him: whom he in a great battaile ouerthrew, hauing slaine fiue and twentie thousand of the Moscouits footmen, and betweene fifteene and sixteen thousand horsemen, with the losse of scarce eight thousand horsemen and foure thousand footmen of his own. After which battell he beholding so many thousands of men there dead vpon the ground, was so farre from rejoicing thereat, that turning himselfe vnto one of his familiars, he lamented the condition of such as commaunded ouer great armies, commending his fathers quiet course of life, accounting him happie in seeking for rest, and the other most vnhappie, which by the destruction of their owne kind, sought to procure their owne glorie; protesting himselfe euen from his heart to be grieued to see such sorrowfull tokens of his victorie. With this ouerthrow the Moscouit discouraged, sent embassadours to him for peace, which vpon such honourable conditions as pleased

Tamerlane honorably discended.

The cause why some haue reported him to haue been a shepheard or heardsman.

A pleaſed him to ſet downe, was by him graunted, and ſo the peace concluded. Now the Great Cham of TARTARIA (his fathers brother) being growne old, and out of hope of any mo children, moued with the fame of his nephew, after this victorie ſent vnto him diuers preſents, and withall offering him his onely daughter in marriage, and with her to proclaime him heire apparant vnto his empire; as in right hee was, being his brothers ſonne, and the daughters not at all ſucceeding in thoſe empires. Which ſo great an offer *Tamerlane* gladly accepted, and ſo the mariage was afterwards with great triumph at the old emperors court ſolemnized; and he proclaimed heire apparant vnto that great empire. Thus was *Tamerlane* indeed made great, being euer after this marriage by the old emperour his vncle, and now his father in law, ſo long as hee liued, notably ſupported, and after his death ſucceeding him alſo in that ſo mightie an empire. Yet in the meane time wanted not this worthie prince the enuious competitours of theſe his ſo great honours: inſomuch, that whileſt by the aduiſe and perſuaſion of the old emperour, he was taking in hand to make warre againſt the great king of CHINA (who had as then gone far beyond his bounds) and ſo was now well onwards on his way, he was by the conſpiracie of *Calix* (a man of greateſt power and authoritie in the Great Cham his court) almoſt thruſt out of his new empire: *Calix* with a right puiſſant armie hauing alreadie ceized vpon the great citie of CAMBALU, and the citizens alſo generally fauouring thoſe his traiterous proceedings, as diſdaining to bee gouerned by the *Zagataian* Tartar. For redreſſe whereof, *Tamerlane* was enforced with the greateſt part of his armie to returne, and meeting with the rebell (who then had in his armie foureſcore C thouſand horſe, and an hundred thouſand foot) in a great and mortall battell (wherein of the one ſide and of the other were more than fiftie thouſand men ſlaine) ouerthrew him (though not without the great danger of his own perſon, as being there himſelfe beaten down to the ground) tooke him priſoner, and afterwards beheaded him. Which ſo dangerous a rebellion, with the death of the traitour, and the cheefe of the conſpiratours repreſſed, and his ſtate in the newneſſe thereof by this victorie well confirmed, he proceeded in his intended war againſt the great king of CHINA; brake downe the ſtrong wall, which the Chinoies had made foure hundred leagues long betwixt the mountaines, for the repreſsing of the incurſions of the Tartars, entered their countrey; and meeting with the king, leading after him three hundred and fiftie thouſand men (whereof there were an hundred and fiftie thouſand horſemen, and the reſt on foot) in a great D and dreadfull battaile, with the ſlaughter of 60000 of his men, ouercame him, and tooke him priſoner: whom for all that he (in the courſe of ſo great a victorie wiſely moderating his fortune) ſhortly after ſet againe at libertie; yet ſo, as that hauing before taken from him the one halfe of his kingdome, and therein left *Odmar* his truſtie lieutenant, with a ſufficient power for the reſtraining of the proud king, if he ſhould againe begin to raiſe any new ſtirres; and withall, impoſed ſuch other conditions as pleaſed himſelfe, with the yearely tribute of three hundred thouſand crownes, he well prouided for the aſſuring of thoſe his new conqueſts: and ſo in triumph returned with victorie vnto the old emperour his father in law at CAMBALU, not a little glad to ſee both him and his daughter, who had in all thoſe warres ſtill accompanied him. But leauing him, now thus by birth great, by his fortune greater, but by his vertue greateſt of all (as able now to E draw after him almoſt the whole power of the Eaſt) let vs againe return thither from whence we haue for the better knowledge of him, thus with him digreſſed.

Tamerlane marrieth the daughter and heire of the great Cham of Tartarie.

The warre againſt the Turkiſh Sultan *Baiazet* (as is aforeſaid) by *Tamerlane* reſolued vpon, he ſent *Axalla* the great captaine to his countrey of SACHETAY (called of ſome ZAGATAI) to giue beginning to the aſſembling of his forces from all parts; to the end, that with the firſt of the Spring hee might ſet forward for the releeſe of ſo many diſtreſſed princes, and the abating of the pride of ſo great and mightie a tyrant as was *Baiazet*. Now had *Tamerlane* procured from the great Tartarian emperour, his vncle and father in law, an hundred thouſand footmen, and foureſcore thouſand horſemen; hoping to haue as many moe from SACHETAY his owne countrey, beſides the lords that for honours ſake would accompanie him in that F his ſo honourable an expedition, from whome hee made account alſo of fiftie thouſand men more which they would bring vnto him, and diuers other great ſupplies which hee expected from other places alſo: wherewith he doubted not well to performe what he had ſo honourably determined to take in hand, for the abating of the *Othoman* pride: for which and other ſuch like, he was (as hee would often times ſay) by God himſelfe appointed. So taking his leaue of the old emperour his father in law, and of the princeſſe his wife (then left behind him for

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the comfort of her aged father, he departed from CAMBALU towards SAMARCAND, the place of his birth and seat of his empire; leauing behind him the forces brought from the great emperour his vncle, to come after him to OZARA, where hee had appointed the generall meeting of his armie. At which time amongst other princes that thither brought or sent their supplies, the great Muscouite beeing requested so to doe, promised to send him fifteene thousand horse, with a certaine summe of money, and leaue for his armie to passe through so much of his territories as should be necessarie: all which hee afterwards performed vnto *Tamerlane*, being glad that hee did set vpon others, rather than on himselfe; and that so great a preparation, should fall vpon them, whose greatnesse was as dreadfull and dangerous vnto him as to any other. All the earth almost at that time being astonished at the sudden greatnesse of this *Othoman* king, and the happie successe he had in all his warres; not the least cause that mooued *Tamerlane* to oppose himselfe against him, deeming it much better to goe and set vpon him in his new conquests, than to stay vntill he therein setled, were come neerer vnto him, and so should debate the quarrell within his owne empire, to his dammage. A good and sound resolution: first in that it tended to the destruction of the enemies countrey; and then, that if any thing should fall out otherwise with him than well, his countrey should not thereby receiue any such astonishment as if the danger were neerer or within the bowels of the same. Now in the mean time that *Tamerlane* lay at SAMARCAND, *Axalla* the great captaine and *Tamerlane* his lieutenant generall, had assembled all the armie at OZARA. Whereof *Tamerlane* vnderstanding, sent for him to SAMARCAND to conferre with him about the setting forward of his armie. For although he were still accompanied with great renowned princes, yet were they no body in comparison of *Axalla*, whose sound counsel had won him such credit with his lord & master, as by his aduice he did all things, and without him nothing: which his so great authoritie and fauour with his prince, wanted not the enuie of the court; but that his great vertues, and rare found courtesie (in so great fortune) together with so many worthie seruices as he had done, supported him against the malice of the same. He by the commaundement of *Tamerlane*, leauing the charge of the armie at OZARA, with the prince of THANAIS, another of *Tamerlane* his great captaines, came himselfe to SAMARCAND, and there at large discoursed with him, about the estate and order of his armie. And shortly after, departing with *Axalla* and the rest from SAMARCAND, for to goe to OZAZA the place where all his armie met: being come thether, entred into a great consultation with his most expert captaines, about the taking of his journey, and conducting of his armie; as whether it were better to lead the same by the coasts of the Muscouite directly towards CAPHA, or else on the other side of the Caspian sea by the skirts of PERSIA. Where after long discourse and sundry opinions with their reasons deliuered, it was in the end resolued (although the way were the longer) to passe by the Muscouit, so to come vnto the Georgians, and to TREBIZONDA, and from thence to enter into the *Othoman* king his countrey. And so setting forward from OZARA, hee came at length to MARANIS, where he staid three daies looking for the forces which prince *Odmar* should send him from CHINA, not long before by him conquered: whereof he there receiued news, and there caused his armie to be paid, and a generall muster thereof to be taken. He had there also newes of the aid the Muscouite did send him: and caused an infinite quantitie of victuals, and most part of his furniture to be conuaied by the Caspian sea; being a great commoditie and ease vnto his armie, which marching by land, was of necessitie to passe some twentie leagues through places destitute both of victuals and water. *Tamerlane* all the way coasting alongst the sea shoare, passed the time in hunting, his armie not comming neere him by ten leagues; which was so great, that it extended it selfe full twentie leagues. Comming to the riuer of EDEL, he staied at ZARAZICH whilest his armie passed the riuer at MECHET, and two other bridges which he had caused to be made for that purpose. Now the Circassians, and Georgians, hearing of the approach of *Tamerlane* with his huge armie, by their embassadours offred him all the helpe and assistance they could, in his journey as he passed that way. These Georgians were (and yet are) Christians, a great and warlike people, of long time tributaries vnto the Greeke emperours: and afterwards sometimes tributaries, and sometimes confederats vnto the Persians: but alwaies enemies vnto the Turks, by whom (of late and in our remembrance) but especially by *Amurath* the third, they together with some part of the Persian kingdome, haue been greeuously oppressed, as in the processe of this historie may appeare. Of these warlike people glad of *Tamerlane* his comming, for the repressing of the Turke, *Axalla* drew great numbers vnto the seruice of his prince: who not a little esteemed of them, being all tall men, verie beautifull, of great strength and

Prince Axalla in great credit with Tamerlane.

A and courage, and withall moſt expert ſouldiours; as hauing oftentimes reſiſted the power of the *Othoman* kings, by reaſon of the aduantage their countrey affordeth them, being verie rough and hard to come into. By theſe kind people, *Tamerlane* was in euerie place honourably entertained, and his great armie with all neceſſaries plentifully releeued. In paſsing through which countrey and the reſt as he marched, he tooke ſuch order with his ſouldiours, that none of the people whereby he paſſed, were any thing by them injured; inſomuch that if a ſouldiour had taken but an apple, or other thing of like valour from any man, he died therefore, ſo ſeuere were his commaunds. It is reported that one of his ſouldiors, hauing taken a little milke from a countrey woman, and ſhe thereof complaining, he cauſed the ſaid ſouldior to be preſently killed, and his ſto-
B macke to be ript; where the milke that he had of late drunke being found, he contented the woman & ſo ſent her away, who had otherwiſe vndoubtedly died for her falſe accuſation had it not ſo appeared. Which his ſo great ſeueritie, and in other like caſes, was of many accounted for extreame crueltie: yet was it indeed the wholſome preſeruation of his armie, being ſo great, as that it was thought almoſt impoſsible to haue found ſufficient victuals for the releefe thereof; whereof for all that, there was no want, either of any thing elſe neceſſarie for the vſe of man, his campe being ſtill as a moſt populous and well gouerned citie, ſtored with all manner of things: wherevnto both artificers and marchants, from farre countreys reſorted with their commodities and marchandiſe, as vnto ſome famous mart; and the countrey people, without feare from euerie place brought in their countrey commodities, for which they receiued preſent money, and ſo in
C ſafetie againe departed. So marching on, he at length came to BACHICHICH, where hee ſtaid to refreſh his armie eight daies, and there againe tooke a generall muſter thereof, wherein were found (as moſt write) foure hundreth thouſand horſe, and ſixe hundreth thouſand foot; or as ſome others that were there preſent affirme, three hundreth thouſand horſemen, and fiue hundreth thouſand foot, of all nations. Vnto whom he there gaue a generall paie, and as his manner was, made vnto them an oration, informing them of ſuch orders as he would haue kept, to the end they might the better obſerue the ſame: with much other militarie diſcipline, whereof hee was verie curious with his captains. At which time alſo, it was lawfull for euerie common ſouldiour to behold him with more boldnes than on other daies, foraſmuch as he did for that time, and ſuch like, lay aſide his emperiall majeſtie, and ſhew himſelfe more familiar vnto them.

The number of Tamerlane his great armie.

D Now could he hardly be perſuaded, that *Baiazet* hauing ſubdued the moſt part of GRECIA, diſtreſſed the Greeke emperour, and ſo great meanes to recouer whatſoeuer hee ſhould looſe in ASIA, would bee ſo aduenturous as to come ouer the ſtraits out of EUROPE, to trie the fortune of a battaile with him; but rather warily protract the time, to wearie him at length with wants, that in a ſtrange countrey drew ſuch a world of people after him: wherein hee found himſelfe much deceiued, for hauing paſſed the Georgian countrey, and being come to BUYSABUICH, *Axalla* (whom he had not ſeen in eight daies before, becauſe he led the head of the armie) came vnto him with ſuch news as he knew would be right welcome vnto him: which was, that *Baiazet* had raiſed his ſiege of CONSTANTINOPLE (as indeed he had) for to come and defend his new conqueſts in ASIA; and that hee was certainly reſolued, to come to a day of battaile, not ſo much truſting vnto the multitude of his armie as to the valour and experience of his ſoldiors, being all men of long well trained vp in the wars. At which vnexpected newes *Tamerlane* greatly rejoiced: yet without inſolencie or vaunting, but rather with the countenance of ſuch an one as judged the euents of battailes to be (as they are) alwaies doubtfull: ſaying ſometimes, That a ſmall [illegible]ell conducted, did oftentimes carie away the victorie, from the confuſed multitude. Three daies he ſtaid at BUYSABUICH, and cauſed his ſouldiours continually to march forward, which at GARGA and CHIUSERIG paſſed ouer the riuer EUPHRATES: which he did the rather to maintain his armie vpon the ſpoile of the enemie, in attending his comming, than vpon himſelfe, or his allies. All the cities that yeelded vnto him by the way as he marched, he fauourably receiued; the other that refuſed to ſubmit themſelues to his obedience, he vſed with
F all extremitie: eſpecially the great and ſtrong citie of SEBASTIA, where certain of the forerunners of his armie were by the Turks there in garriſon cut off, and ſlaine, and the gates of the citie as it were in contempt of him, ſet wide open. Wherewith *Tamerlane* offended, ſent out certaine of his Tartarian horſemen, commaunding them vpon paine of his diſpleaſure ſo to beare themſelues againſt their enemies, as that he might at his comming either find the cittie taken, or the gates thereof ſhut againſt him: for he had his men at ſo great commaund, that no danger was

vnto

vnto them more dreadfull than his displeasure, neither did he punish any thing so seuerely, as cowardise: insomuch, that if in his disport of hunting the wild beast, any did for feare giue way to the Lyon or Beare, and slew him not, was sure to die therefore himselfe: and to turne his backe vpon the enemie, was no lesse danger than to run vpon his owne death. Now the Turks in garrison at SEBASTIA, seeing these Tartarian horsemen marching towards the citie, making little account of them, for that they were not in number many, issued out for to meet them; where they were so furiously charged by these few horsemen, that they were glad to retire, and for hast to shut part of their owne men out of the cittie, least the enemie following them at their heeles, should haue entered the gates together with them. Which Turkes so shut out, were by the Tartarians slaine at the gates of the cittie. Shortly after came *Tamerlane* with all his armie, and sat downe before the citie, where he lay still seuen dayes, not making shew of any violence at all, the defendants because the cittie was of great strength, all that while thinking that he had intended by long siege to distresse the same, and the more because of his long lying still. But about the eight day, the wals and towers of the cittie in many places vndermined, were suddainely ouerthrowne, leauing large breaches for the enemie to enter. Wherewith the Turkes in the cittie dismayed, foorthwith yeelded the cittie to *Tamerlane*, in hope so to haue saued their liues: but hee (as the Turkes report) being entered the cittie, commaunded a great number of deepe pits to be digged, and all the people of the cittie, without respect of age, sex, or condition, to be throwne into the same, and there buried quicke. Which done, the citie was by his commaundement vtterly rased also. After that, calling vnto him *Malcozzius*, the gouernour of the cittie, whom he had for that purpose onely spared, he commaunded him to goe and tell his master what was happened to his strong cittie of SEBASTIA, and what hee had there himselfe seene. Of which tragicall action, *Malcozzius* hauing made true relation vnto *Baiazet*, was by him demanded, whether of the two armies he thought bigger or stronger: for now *Baiazet* had assembled a mightie armie of three hundred thousand men, or as some report of three hundred thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand foot. Whereunto *Malcozzius* hauing before craued pardon, answered, That it could not bee, but that *Tamerlane* might in reason haue the greater number, for that hee was a commaunder of farre greater countries. Wherewith proud *Baiazet* offended, in great choller replied: Out of doubt, the sight of the Tartarian hath made this coward so afraid, that he thinketh euery enemie to be two.

Sebastia besieged by Tamerlane.

Sebastia yeelded to Tamerlane.

Most of the Latine histories report, that when *Tamerlane* had taken SEBASTIA, he put all the men to the sword, and bringing the women and chidren into the fields without the citie there ouer-ran them with his horsemen, excepting some few which were reserued for prisoners. As also that *Baiazet* there lost his eldest sonne *Erthogrul* (of some called *Orthobules*) whose death with the losse of the citie, so much greeued him (as is reported) that marching with his great armie against *Tamerlane*, and by the way hearing a countrey shepheard merrily reposing himselfe with his homely pipe, as he sat vpon the side of a mountaine feeding his poore flocke; standing still a great while listening vnto him, to the great admiration of many, at last fetching a deepe sigh, brake foorth into these words: O happie sheepeheard, which haddest neither *Orthobules* nor SEBASTIA to loose: bewraying therein his owne discontentment, and yet withall shewing, That worldly blisse consisteth not so much in possessing of much, subject vnto danger, as in joying in a little contentment, deuoid of feare. Howbeit the Turkes themselues reporting the taking of SEBASTIA, speake not [redacted] at all, but giue him lost six yeares before in the warres against *Casi Burchaniden*, and lieth buried by his father at PRUSA. In this cittie of SEBASTIA was lost twelue thousand Turkes, men, women, and children, as their histories report. The rest of the cities all the way as *Tamerlane* marched, warned by the destruction of SEBASTIA, yeelded themselues for feare of like danger: the cittizens whereof he courteously vsed, especially the Christians, whom he set at libertie, in respect of *Emanuel* the Greeke emperour, whom hee seemed wholly therein to gratifie. But he had not gone farre into the Turkes dominion, but that hee was certainely aduertised, how that *Baiazet*, with a great armie was comming against him, and now within thirtie leagues of him: which caused him after that time, to march with his armie more closely. *Axalla* leading the vantgard sent forth *Chiansor* prince of CIARCAN, with foure thousand Parthian horsemen, to get knowledge of the Turkes armie, and where *Baiazet* lay, as also what countrey that

A shepheard more happie than Baiazet.

was

was beyond SENNAS; and if he could learne any thing thereof, to make relation of it vnto him. This prince of CIARCAN was *Tamerlane* his kinſman, a man of great reputation, and next vnto *Axalla*, in whoſe abſence he had the cõmanding of the avantgard, his charge; who alſo ſent before him another Parthian captain with 500 horſemen. So he had not ridden ten leagues, but that he heard news of *Baiazet* his comming, & hauing ſurpriſed SENNAS, vnderſtood there the certaine eſtate of the Turks armie, which was then at TATAIA, & ſo marching forward. Wherof *Tamerlane* certified, cõmanded him not to retire frõ that place, vntill he did ſee the arriuall of the enemie, and thereof to giue him aduertiſement euery hower; being himſelfe reſolued to paſſe on no farther, as come to a faire large plaine, and a countrey of aduantage for the order of his battaile: for he knew that his armie was farre greater than *Baiazets*, and therefore made choice of thoſe great plaines. Yet for that his armie conſiſted of diuers nations, and withall conſidering that hee was not to fight againſt the Chinois, a ſoft effeminate people (as of late) but againſt the Turks, a moſt warlike nation, and well acquainted with all manner of fights and martiall ſtratagemes, hee thought it good to be well aduiſed how he proceeded againſt them. Wherefore hee preſently ſent for *Axalla*, with him to view the ſaid place, and to haue his opinion, Whether it would be for his aduantage or not, there to ſtay? who not miſliking of the choice of the place, yet adtuiſed him alſo to keepe SENNAS ſo long as he poſsibly could: and ſo ſent word vnto them that were therein, vpon the approch of the enemie to ſet fire vpon the ſame, and ſo to withdraw themſelues from thence, to the end, that the enemie ſhould not haue any deſire to encampe there, but come ſtill forward neere vnto thoſe plains where *Tamerlane* deſired to fight, eſpecially for that he was ſtronger in horſe than *Baiazet*. Thus the Turks ſtill marching on, thought to haue ſurpriſed ſome of their enemies in SENNAS, who as ſoone as they drew neere, retired all, excepting ſome hundred, left of purpoſe to fire the towne: who hauing performed the ſame, retired of purpoſe in great diſorder. Now the prince of CIARCAN had diuided his forces into two parts, and giuen commaundement to the firſt, that as ſoone as they perceiued the enemies to purſue the hundred horſe, that ſo diſorderly of purpoſe fled, they ſhould receiue them, and ſo retire all altogether. He in the meane time with the reſt of his power ſtood cloſe in a valley, neere vnto a wood ſide, vnſeene at all. Where hauing ſuffered two thouſand of the enemies horſe (the avauntcourriers of the Turks armie) to paſſe by him, he following them in the taile, charged them home; the other which before retired, now turning vpon them alſo: ſo that the Turks ſeeing themſelues thus beſet, and hardly laied vnto both before and behind, as men diſcouraged fled: in which flight moſt of them were ſlaine, and the reſt taken priſoners. This was the firſt encounter betwixt the Turks and the Parthians: all the priſoners there taken, were by the prince as a preſent ſent to *Tamerlane*, and amongſt the reſt the Baſſa of NATOLIA, who led theſe troopes: of whom *Tamerlane* earneſtly demaunded, what cauſed *Baiazet* ſo little to eſteeme of him, as to ſhew ſo great contempt of his armie, which he ſhould find ſtrong ynough to abate his pride. Whereunto the Baſſa anſwered, That his lord was the Sunne vpon earth, which could not endure any equall: and that he rather was aſtonied to ſee, how he from ſo farre, had enterpriſed ſo dangerous a journey, to hinder the fortune of his lord, in whoſe fauor the heauens (as he ſaid) did bend themſelues, to further his greatneſſe, and vnto whom all the world ſubjected it ſelfe; and that he committed great follie in going about to reſiſt the ſame. Vnto which ſo proud a ſpeech *Tamerlane* replied, That hee was ſent from heauen to puniſh his raſhneſſe, and to teach him, that the proud are hated of God, whoſe promiſe is to plucke downe the mightie, and raiſe vp the lowly. As for thy ſelfe (ſaid he) thou haſt alreadie felt (although I pitie thy miſhap) what the valour of my Parthian horſe is againſt thy Turkiſh: and thy maſter I haue alreadie cauſed to raiſe his ſiege of CONSTANTINOPLE, and to looke to his owne things here in ASIA. Furthermore, *Tamerlane* changing his ſpeech, demaunded of him, If his maſter did come reſolued to bid him battaile? Aſſure your ſelfe (ſaid he) there is nothing he more deſireth: and would to God I might acknowledge your greatneſſe, in giuing me leaue to aſsiſt my lord at that battaile. Good leaue haue thou, ſaid *Tamerlane*, goe thy waies, and tell thy lord, that thou haſt ſeene me; and that he ſhall in the battaile find mee on horſebacke, where he ſhall ſee a greene enſigne diſplaied. The Baſſa thanking him, ſwore that next vnto his lord, he vowed vnto him his ſeruice. And ſo returning, declared vnto *Baiazet*, how that he had ſeene *Tamerlane*: and truly reported vnto him all that he had willed him to ſay; not forgetting ouer all to publiſh his courteſie and bountie: who beſides that he had frankely ſet him at libertie, had alſo giuen him a very faire horſe well furniſhed, although he well knew hee was

The prince of Ciarcan dealeth politickly with the forerunners of the Turks armie.

to ſerue againſt himſelfe. Whereunto *Baiazet* anſwered no more, but that hee would ſhortly make triall of him, and that he well hoped, before the match were ended, to make him acknowledge his owne follie. The next day the two armies drew neere together, and encamped within a league the one of the other: where all the night long you might haue heard ſuch noiſe of horſes, as that it ſeemed the heauens were full of voices, the aire did ſo reſound, & euery man thought the night long, to come to the triall of his valour, and the gaining of his deſires. The Scythians (a people no leſſe greedie than needie) talked of nothing but the ſpoile, the prowd Parthians of their honour, and the poore Chriſtians of their deliuerance, all to be gained by the next dayes victorie: euery man during the night time ſpeaking according to his owne humor. All which *Tamerlane* walking this night vp and down in his campe, heard, and much rejoyced to ſee the hope that his ſoldiors had alreadie in generall conceiued of the victorie. Who after the ſecond watch returned vnto his pauillion, and there caſting himſelfe vpon a carpet, had thought to haue ſlept a while. But his cares not ſuffering him ſo to doe, he then (as his manner was) called for a booke, wherein was contained the liues of his fathers and auncеſtors, and of other valiant worthies, the which he vſed ordinarily to read, as he then did: not as therewith vainely to deceiue the time, but to make vſe thereof, by the imitation of that which was by them worthily done, and declining of ſuch dangers, as they by their raſhneſſe or ouerſight fell into. And afterwards hauing a little ſlumbered, he commaunded *Axalla* to be ſent for, who forthwith came vnto him with diuers other great lords and captaines, the cheefe commaunders of his armie: with whom after he had a while conſulted of the order of the battaile, he mounted on horſebacke himſelfe, and ſent euery one of them vnto their owne charges, to put the ſame in readineſſe. At the which very inſtant he receiued newes, that the enemie marched forward, and came to take his ground for the battaile: whoſe order of march *Tamerlane* was deſirous to ſee, that ſo accordingly he might marſhall his owne. And hauing cauſed three thouſand horſemen to aduaunce forward, with charge to begin the skirmiſh, himſelfe followed after to lodge euery part of his forces in ſuch places, as he had foreſeene to be fitteſt for his aduantage. Now ſeeing the Ianizaries march in a ſquare battell in the middeſt, and vpon the two fronts, two great ſquadrons of horſemen, which ſeemed to bee thirtie thouſand horſe; and another which aduanced and couered the battailion of the Ianizaries: he thought this their order to be very good, and hard to be broken; and thereupon turning himſelfe vnto *Axalla*, who was neere vnto him, ſaid: I had thought this day to haue fought on foot, but I ſee that it behoueth me now to fight on horſebacke, to giue courage vnto my ſouldiors to open the great battalion of our enemies. And my will is, that my men come forward vnto me as ſoone as they may, for I will aduance forward with an hundred thouſand footmen, fiftie thouſand vpon each of my two wings, and in the middeſt of them fortie thouſand of my beſt horſemen. My pleaſure is, that after they haue tried the force of theſe men, that they come vnto my auauntguard, of whom I will diſpoſe, and fiftie thouſand horſe more, in three bodies, whom thou ſhalt commaund: which I will aſsiſt with foureſcore thouſand horſe, wherein ſhall be mine owne perſon; hauing an hundred thouſand footmen behind me, who ſhall march in two ſquadrons: & for my arereward I appoint 40000 horſe, & 50000 footmen, who ſhall not march but to my aid. And I will make choice of 10000 of my beſt horſe, whom I will ſend into euery place where I ſhall thinke needfull within mine armie, for to impart my commaunds. Ouer the firſt fortie thouſand horſe the prince *Ciarcan* commaunded: ouer the formoſt footmen was the lord *Synopes* a Genouois, kinſman to *Axalla*, and his lieutenant ouer the footmen, a captaine of great eſtimation: the prince *Axalla* his owne charge conſiſted of fiue ſquadrons of horſemen. *Baiazet* his armie being alſo both faire, and great, came brauely ſtill on forward towards their enemies, who ſtirred not one whit from the place they had taken for the battaile: except certaine light horſemen Scythians, Parthians, and Muſcouits, who ſent out as looſe men, hotly skirmiſhed betwixt the two armies. Now was *Tamerlane* by an eſpie aduertiſed, that *Baiazet*, hauing before giuen order for the diſpoſing of his armie, was on foot in the middeſt of thirtie thouſand Ianizaries, his principall men of warre and greateſt ſtrength, wherein he meant that day to fight, and in whom he had repoſed his greateſt hope. His battaile of horſe was verie faire, amounting to the number of an hundreth and fortie thouſand horſe, all old ſouldiours. The Sultan of Egypt hauing alſo ſent vnto his aid thirtie thouſand Mamalukes, all verie good horſemen, with thirtie thouſand foot. So that his armie marching all in one front, in forme of an halfe Moone (but not ſo well knit together as was *Tamerlanes*, whoſe ſquadrons directly followed one another) ſeemed

The great and mortall battaile betwixt Baiazet and Tamerlane.

ſeemed almoſt as great as his. And ſo with infinite numbers of moſt horrible outcries, ſtill aduanced forward: *Tamerlane* his ſouldiours all the while ſtanding faſt, with great ſilence.

There was not poſsible to be ſeen a more furious charge, than was by the Turks giuen vpon the prince of CIARCAN, who had commandement not to fight before the enemie came vnto him: neither could haue been choſen a fairer plaine, and where the skilfull choice of the place, was of leſſe aduantage for the one or the other; but that *Tamerlane* had the riuer on the left hand of his armie, ſeruing him to ſome ſmall aduantage. Now this yong prince of CIARCAN with his fortie thouſand horſe, was in this firſt encounter almoſt wholie ouerthrowne: yet hauing fought right valiantly, and entred euen into the middeſt of the Ianizaries (where the perſon of *Baiazet* was) putting them in diſorder, was himſelfe there ſlaine. About which time, *Axalla* ſet vpon them with the auauntgard, but not with like danger: for hauing ouerthrowne one of the enemies wings, and cut it all to peeces, and his footmen comming to joyne with him as they had been commaunded, he faced the battalion of the Ianizaries, who right valiantly behaued themſelues for the ſafetie of their prince. This hard fight continued one hower, and yet you could not haue ſeene any ſcattered, but the one ſtill reſolutely fighting againſt the other. You might there haue ſeene the horſemen like mountaines ruſh together, and infinite numbers of men die, crie, lament, and threaten all at one inſtant. *Tamerlane* had patience all this while, to ſee the euent of this ſo mortall a fight: but perceiuing his men at length to giue ground, he ſent ten thouſand of his horſe to joyne againe with the ten thouſand appointed for the areareward, and commaunded them to aſsiſt him at ſuch time as he ſhould haue need of them: and at the verie ſame time, charged himſelfe, and made them giue him roome; cauſing the footmen to charge alſo, ouer whom the prince of THANAIS commaunded, who gaue a furious onſet vpon the battalion of the Ianizaries, wherein was yet the perſon of *Baiazet*, who had ſuſtained a great burthen. Now *Baiazet* had in his armie, a great number of mercinarie Tartarians, called *Deſtenſes*, with many thouſands of other ſoldiors taken vp in the countries of the poor exiled Mahometan princes; in whoſe juſt quarell, and the Greeke emperours, *Tamerlane* had chiefely vndertaken that war: theſe Tartarians and other ſouldiours, ſeeing ſome their friends, and otherſome their naturall and louing princes in the armie of *Tamerlane*; ſtroken with the terrour of diſloyaltie, and abhorring the crueltie of the proud tirant, in the heat of the battaile reuolted from *Baiazet* to their owne princes: which their reuolt, much weakened *Baiazet* his forces. Who neuertheleſſe with his owne men of warre, eſpecially the Ianizaries, and the helpe of the Chriſtian ſouldiours brought to his aid from SERUIA, and other places of EUROPE, with great courage maintained the fight; but the multitude, and not true valor, preuailed: for, as much as might be done by valiant and couragious men, was by the Ianizaries and the reſt perfourmed, both for the preſeruation of the perſon of their prince, and the gaining of the victorie. But in the end, the horſemen with whom *Tamerlane* himſelfe was giuing a freſh charge, and his auauntgard wholy knit againe vnto him, reenforcing the charge, he with much adoe obtained the victorie. *Baiazet* himſelfe wounded, and now mounted on horſebacke thinking to haue ſcaped by flight, fell into the hands of *Axalla*. Vnto whom he yeelded himſelfe (thinking it had been *Tamerlane*) who for a ſpace knew him not, but tooke him for ſome other great commaunder of the Turks. *Muſa* (ſurnamed *Zelebi* or, The noble) one of *Baiazet* his ſonnes, with diuers other of *Baiazet* his great captaines, were there taken alſo: and amongſt the reſt, *George* the Deſpot of SERUIA, who notwithſtanding this misfortune had that day gained vnto himſelfe the reputation of a great and worthie captaine; inſomuch that *Tamerlane* euen in the heat of the battaile, maruailing to ſee him, and the Seruians with the other Chriſtians which he had brought to the aid of *Baiazet*, ſo valiantly to fight, ſaid vnto ſome of the captaines that were neere vnto him, See how couragiouſly yonder religious fight: ſuppoſing them by their ſtrange attire, to haue been ſome of the Turks ſuperſtitious votaries. But being now taken, and afterwards brought to *Tamerlane*, hee was by him courteouſly welcomed: but yet withall reproued, for that he had fought for *Baiazet* againſt him, who was come in fauour of the Chriſtian emperour, and the other poore oppreſſed princes, ſuch as the Deſpot himſelfe was. Who thereunto boldly anſwered, That indeed it was not according to his dutie, but according to the proſperitie of *Baiazet*, vnto whom it ſeemed that all the world did bend: and that his owne ſafetie had cauſed him, though againſt his will, to take part with him. Wherevpon *Tamerlane* held him excuſed: and ſo without more adoe gaue him leaue at his owne pleaſure to depart.

The prince of Ciarcan ſlaine.

The Turks ouerthrowne.

Baiazet and his ſonne Muſa taken priſoners.

Baiazet also himselfe, being afterwardes brought vnto *Tamerlane* as a prisoner, and by him courteously entertained, neuer shewed any token of submission at all, but according to his proud nature, without respect of his present state, presumptuously answered him vnto whatsoeuer he demaunded. Wherewith *Tamerlane* mooued, told him, that it was now in his power to make him to loose his life. Wherevnto he answered no more, but, Doe it: for that, that losse should bee his greatest happinesse. *Tamerlane* afterwards demaunding of him, what made him so proud as to enterprise to bring into his subjection so noble a prince as was the Greeke emperour? he answered, Euen the same thing that hath mooued thee to inuade me, namely the desire of glory and soueraigntie. But wherfore then (said *Tamerlane*) doest thou vse so great cruelty towards them thou hast ouercome, without respect of age or sex? That did I (said he) to giue the greater terrour vnto mine enemies. And what wouldest thou haue done with me (said *Tamerlane*) if it had been my fortune to haue fallen into thy hands, as thou art now in mine? I would (said *Baiazet*) haue enclosed thee in a cage of iron, and so in triumph haue caried thee vp and downe my kingdome. Euen so (said *Tamerlane*) shalt thou bee serued. And so causing him to bee taken out of his presence, turning vnto his followers said: Behold a proud and cruell man, he deserueth to be chastised accordingly, and to bee made an example vnto all the proud and cruell of the world, of the just wrath of God against them. I acknowledge that God hath this day deliuered into my hands, a great enemie, to whom we must therefore giue thanks: which he performed the same day. For the battaile was won at foure of the clocke, and there was yet fiue houres of day light. The next day *Tamerlane* commaunded the dead to be buried, where amongst the rest, they found the bodie of the prince of CIARCAN dead, in the middest of the Ianizaries, where he lay enclosed with their dead bodies, in token he died not vnreuenged: whose vntimely death *Tamerlane* for all that greatly lamented; for he was his kinsman, and like inough one day to haue done him great seruice. Whose dead bodie *Tamerlane* caused to be embalmed, and with two thousand horse, (and diuers of the Turks prisoners, chained and tied together) to be conuaied to SAMERCAND, vntill his comming thether. All the other dead bodies were with all honor that might be, buried at SENNAS.

Baiazet brought before Tamerlane with his pride.

This great bloodie battaile fought in the yeare of our lord 1397 not farre from the mount STELLA (where sometime the great king *Mithrydates*, was by *Pompey* the Great, in a great battaile ouerthrown) was fought from seuen a clocke in the morning, vntill foure in the after noone: victorie all that while as it were with doubtfull wings, houering ouer both armies, as vncertaine where to light; vntill at length the fortune of *Tamerlane* preuailed. Whose wisdome (next vnto God) gaue that daies victorie vnto his souldiours: for that the politique tiring of the strong forces of *Baiazet*, was the safegard of his owne; whereas if hee had gone vnto the battaile in one front, assuredly the multitude finding such strong resistance, had put it selfe into confusion: whereas this successiue manner of aiding of his men, made them all vnto him profitable. The number of them that were in this battaile slaine is of diuers, diuersly reported: the Turks themselues reporting that *Baiazet* there lost the noble *Mustapha* his sonne, with two hundreth thousand of his men, and *Tamerlane* not many fewer: and some other speaking of a farre lesse number, as that there should be slaine of the Turkes about threescore thousand, and of *Tamerlane* his armie not past twentie thousand. But leauing the certaintie of the number vnto the credit of the reporters, like inough it is that the slaughter was exceeding great in so long a fight, betwixt two such armies, as neuer before (as I suppose) met in field together.

By this one daies euent, is plainly to be seen the vncertaintie of worldly things, and what small assurance euen the greatest haue in them. Behold *Baiazet* the terrour of the world, and as hee thought, superiour to fortune, in an instant with his state in one battaile ouerthrowne into the bottome of miserie and dispaire: and that at such time as he thought least, euen in the middest of his greatest strength. It was three daies (as they report) before he could be pacified, but as a desperate man, still seeking after death, and calling for it: neither did *Tamerlane* after he had once spoken with him, at all afterwards courteously vse him, but as of a proud man caused small account to be made of him. And to manifest that he knew how to punish the haughtie, made him to bee shackled in fetters and chaines of gold, and so to bee shut vp in an iron cage made like a grate, in such sort, as that he might on euerie side be seen; and so caried him vp and downe as hee passed through ASIA, to be of his owne people scorned and derided. And to his farther disgrace, vpon festiuall daies vsed him for a footstoole to tread vpon, when he mounted to horse: and at other times

Baiazet like a beast shut vp in an iron cage.

A times ſcornefully fed him like a dogge with crums fallen from his table. A rare example of the vncertaintie of worldly honour, that he vnto whoſe ambitious mind, ASIA, and EUROPE, two great parts of the world were to little, ſhould be now caried vp and downe cooped vp in a little iron cage, like ſome perillous wild beaſt. All which *Tamerlane* did, not ſo much for the hatred to the man, as to manifeſt the juſt judgement of God againſt the arrogant follie of the proud. It is reported that *Tamerlane* being requeſted by one of his noble men that might be bold to ſpeake vnto him, to remit ſome part of his ſeueritie againſt the perſon of ſo great a prince; anſwered, That he did not vſe that rigour againſt him as a king, but rather did puniſh him as a proud ambitious tirant; polluted with the blood of his owne brother.

B Now this ſo great an ouerthrow, brought ſuch a feare vpon all the countreys poſſeſſed by *Baiazet* in ASIA, that *Axalla* ſent before by *Tamerlane* with fortie thouſand horſe, and an hundreth thouſand foot, without cariages, to proſecute the victorie, came without reſiſtance to PRUSA; whether all the remainder of *Baiazet* his armie was retired, with the Baſſa *Muſtapha*: the countrey as he went, ſtill yeelding vnto him. Yea the great Baſſa, with the reſt, hearing of his comming, and thinking themſelues not now in any ſafetie in ASIA, fled ouer the ſtrait of HELLESPONTUS to CALLIPOLIS, & ſo to HADRIANOPLE; carying with them out of the battaile *Solyman*, *Baiazet* his eldeſt ſonne, whom they ſet vp in his fathers place; *Mahomet* his younger brother preſently vpon the ouerthrow being fled to AMASIA: of whom, and the reſt of *Baiazet* his children, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter. *Axalla* comming to PRUSA, had the citie without
C reſiſtance yeelded vnto him, which he rifled: and there with other of *Baiazet* his wiues & concubines, tooke priſoner the faire *Deſpina*, *Baiazet* his beſt beloued wife, to the doubling of his greefe.

Solyman ſet vp in his fathers ſtead.

Pruſa taken by Axalla.

Emanuell the Greeke emperour now hearing of *Tamerlane* his comming to PRUSA, ſent his embaſſadours (the moſt honourable of his court) thether before to *Axalla*: by whom they were there ſtayed, vntill the comming of *Tamerlane*; who receiued them with all the honour that might be, ſhewing vnto them all his magnificence, and the order of his campe, to their great admiration. For it reſembled a moſt populous and well gouerned citie, for the order that was therein, which brought vnto it plentie of all kind of victuals, and other marchandiſe, aſwell for pleaſure as for vſe. By theſe embaſſadours, the Greeke emperour ſubmitted all his empire together with his perſon, vnto *Tamerlane* the great conquerour, as his moſt faithfull ſubject and vaſ-
D ſaile: which he was bound (as he ſaid) to doe, for that hee was by him deliuered from the moſt cruell tirant in the world: as alſo for that the long journey he had paſſed, and the diſcommodities he had endured, with the loſſe of his people, and the danger of his perſon, could not bee recompenced, but by the offer of his owne life, and his ſubjects; which hee did for euer dedicate to his ſeruice, with all the fidelitie and loyaltie that ſo great a benefit might deſerue: beſides that his ſo many vertues, and rare accompliſhments, which made him famous throughout the world, did bind him ſo to doe. And that therefore he would attend him in his cheefe citie, to deliuer it into his hands as his owne, with all the empire of GREECE. Now the Greeke embaſſadours looked for no leſſe than to fall into bondage to *Tamerlane*, thinking that which they offred to be ſo great and delicate a morſell, as that it would not be refuſed, eſpecially of ſuch a conquering prince as
E was *Tamerlane*; and that the acceptance thereof in kindneſſe, and friendſhip, was the beſt bargaine they could make therein. But they receiued anſwere from this worthie prince, farre beyond their expectatation. For he with a mild countenance beholding them, anſwered them, That he was not come from ſo farre a countrey, or vndertaken ſo much paines for the enlargement of his dominions alreadie large inough, (too baſe a thing for him to put himſelfe into ſo great danger and trauaile for) but rather to winne honour, and thereby to make his name famous vnto all poſteritie for euer: And that therefore it ſhould well appeare vnto the world, that hee was come to aid him, being requeſted as his friend and allie: And that his vpright meaning therein, was the greateſt cauſe, That God from aboue had beheld his power, and thereby bruſed the head of the greateſt and fierceſt enemie of mankind that was vnder heauen: And now to get him an immor-
F tall name, would make free ſo great and flouriſhing a citie as was CONSTANTINOPLE, gouerned by ſo noble and ancient an houſe as the emperours: That vnto his courage, hee had alwaies faith joyned, ſuch as ſhould neuer ſuffer him to make ſo great a breach in his reputation, as that it ſhould be reported of him, That in the colour of a friend, he came to inuade the dominions of his allies: That he deſired no more, but that the ſeruice he had done for the Greeke emperour, might for euer be ingrauen in the memorie of his poſte-

ritie, to the end they might for euer wish well vnto him and his succeſſours, by remembring the good he had done them; That long might the noble emperor liue, happily to gouern his eſtate. And that before his returne he would ſo well conſider for the eſtabliſhing of the ſame, as that he ſhould not lightly fall againe into the like jeopardie, alwaies aſſuring himſelfe of his good will and fauour towards him. Eaſie it is to judge, what joy theſe Greeke embaſſadours receiued, to heare this ſo kind an anſwere from the mouth of *Tamerlane* himſelfe: who rather than he would ſeeme to breake his faith, refuſed an empire offered vnto him, with one of the moſt ſtately and magnificent cities of the world. Few princes (I ſuppoſe) would performe ſuch a part: but ſo there be likewiſe but few *Tamerlanes* in the world. Theſe embaſſadours by the commaundement of *Tamerlane*, were by *Axalla* royally feaſted, and all the honour done them that might be. One of them being ſent backe to carrie theſe vnexpected newes vnto the Greeke emperour, filled both him and all the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE with exceeding joy and gladneſſe, which both he and his ſubjects in generall ſpared not with bonfires and all other ſignes of joy and pleaſure to manifeſt. And the more to ſhew his thankefulneſſe, ſhortly after by the aduice of his graue counſailours, paſſed ouer the ſtrait into ASIA to ſee *Tamerlane* at PRUSA, and in perſon himſelfe to giue him thankes: who hearing of his comming, and very glad thereof, preſently vpon the firſt dayes journey ſent the prince *Axalla* to meet him, and to certefie him of the joy that he conceiued, to haue the good hap for to ſee him, as alſo to conduct him to PRUSA: where thoſe two great princes, with the greateſt magnificence that might be, met, and ſo ſpent one whole day together. The Greeke emperour the next day taking his leaue, was by *Tamerlane* with much honour conducted out of the cittie. Now had *Tamerlane* himſelfe conceiued a ſecret deſire to ſee this ſo famous a citie as was CONSTANTINOPLE, from which he was not now farre, yet would he not goe thither as a conquerour, but as a priuat perſon: which by the meanes of *Axalla* was accompliſhed, and he thereinto by the Greeke emperour priuatly receiued, and with all familiaritie poſsible, entertained: the emperour ſhewing vnto him all the rare and excellent things that were therein to be ſeene: and the other Greeke princes deuiſing all the meanes they could to do him pleaſure, and them which did accompanie him; who were in a manner all apparrelled after the Greeke faſhion. At which time the Greeke emperour himſelfe was curious to ſhew vnto him all the faire gardens alongſt the ſea coaſt, a league or two from CONSTANTINOPLE, and ſo priuatly conducting him, ſpent fiue or ſix daies, with all the mirth that might be poſsible: *Tamerlane* by the way oftentimes ſaying, That he had neuer ſeene a fairer citie: and that it was indeed the citie (conſidering the faire and rich ſituation thereof) of right, worthie to commaund all the world. He wondered at the coſtly buildings of the temples, the faire ingrauen pillars, the high pyramides, and the making of the faire gardens, and oftentimes afterwards ſaid, That he nothing repented him of his ſo long and dangerous a voyage, if it had been onely but to haue preſerued from fire and ſword ſo noble a citie as that was. In the Greeke emperour he commended greatly his mild nature and courteſie: who knowing him aboue all things to take pleaſure in faire ſeruiceable horſes, gaue vnto him thirtie of the faireſt, ſtrongeſt, and readieſt, that were poſsible to be gotten, all moſt richly furniſhed; and ſent likewiſe faire preſents vnto all the princes and great commaunders of the armie, and bountifully cauſed to bee deliuered vnto them all things which he thought to be neceſſarie for the armie. So after many great kindneſſes in ſhort time paſſed, and a ſtrait bond of friendſhip made, and by ſolemne oath confirmed betwixt the two great princes, *Tamerlane* with great contentment tooke his leaue of the emperour, and returned againe to his armie at PRUSA. Wherewith he now at his pleaſure without reſiſtance waſted and ſpoiled all *Baiazet* his dominion in ASIA, no man daring to make head againſt him.

Tamerlane goeth to Conſtantinople.

Tamerlan much delighted with the pleaſures of Conſtantinople.

The yeare being now well ſpent, and Winter drawing on, *Tamerlane* diſperſed his armie into diuers of the prouinces of the leſſer ASIA, expecting ſtill when ſome of *Baiazet* his ſonnes or other friends ſhould make ſute or meanes vnto him for his deliuerance, but none came: ſome fearing *Tamerlane* his heauie indignation, and others no leſſe dreading the fierce nature of *Baiazet* himſelfe, who if hee had beene deliuered, was like ynough (as was thought) to haue taken ſharpe reuenge vpon all them which forſooke him in the late battaile, and therefore neuer made interceſsion for him. Whereupon *Tamerlane* one day paſsing by him, ſaid vnto him: I maruell that none of thy ſonnes or friends either come to ſee thee or to entreat for thee, it muſt needs be that thou haſt euill deſerued of them, as thou haſt of others: yet how thinkeſt thou, If I ſhould ſet thee at libertie, would they againe receiue thee as their lord and ſoueraigne, or not? To whom

Baiazet

Baiazet boldly answered: Were I at libertie, thou shouldest well see, how that I want neither courage nor meanes to reuenge all my wrongs, and to make those disobedient & forgetfull, to know their duties better. Which his proud answere made *Tamerlane* to keepe a straighter hand ouer him.

In this great and bloodie warre, wherein the *Othoman* empire had almost taken end, the Sultan of Ægypt had (as is aforesaid) giuen aid vnto *Baiazet*: which *Tamerlane* tooke in so euill part, as that he resolued to be thereof reuenged. For as he was vnto his friends of all others most kind and courteous, so was he to his enemies no lesse terrible and dreadfull. Yet thinking it good before his departure out of the lesser Asia, to take some good order with these his new conquests: and finding nothing more honourable to resolue vpon, he restored vnto the poore Mahometane princes (*Tachretin*, *Isfendiar*, *Germian*, and the rest before fled vnto him for refuge) all their auncient inheritance, with something more; as he did also diuers cities and countries of Natolia vnto the Greeke emperour, for the yearely tribute of foure hundred thousand duckats of gold, and eight hundred thousand franks of siluer, which the emperour promised to pay vnto him yearely. And so hauing enriched his armie with the spoiles of the *Othoman* empire in Asia, he turned his forces against the Ægyptian Sultan, and so passing through Caramania, entred into Syria, then part of the Sultans kingdome: where neere vnto Alleppo (being before yeelded vnto him) was fought betwixt them a great and mortall battaile, the Sultan hauing in his armie an hundred thousand foot, and seuentie foure thousand horse: whereof there were thirtie thousand Mamelukes, accounted the best horsemen of the world. In which battaile, *Axalla* the great captaine, with the avauntguard of *Tamerlane* his armie, was hardly distressed, and *Axalla* himselfe taken: but foorthwith againe rescued by *Tamerlane*: who had hee not by his comming on with new forces, speedily restored the battaile, cunningly protracted by *Axalla*, that day was like ynough to haue made an end of his good fortune. But the victorie after a long and cruell fight (wherein were fourescore thousand men on both sides slaine) enclining to *Tamerlane*, the Sultan fled, *Tamerlane* pursuing him by the space of three leagues. After which victorie, *Tamerlane* deuiding his armie, sent *Axalla* with fortie thousand horse and fiftie thousand foot, to pursue the Sultan alongst the coast of Arabia: who oftentimes shewed himselfe, with some foure thousand horse to haue hindred *Axalla*, who hauing the smallest forces, followed him the neerest. *Tamerlane* himselfe in the meane time with threescore thousand horse, & an hundred thousand foot, marching alongst the sea coast, had all the cities as he went yeelded vnto him, as Magata, Aman, otherwise called Apamea, Tortosa, Barruto, & Nephthalin: only the strong citie of Damasco refused to receiue him, whereinto the Sultan had put the prince *Zamadzen*, with a strong garrison, who did what hee might to haue defended the same. But all in vaine, for *Tamerlane* hauing by batterie ouerthrowne a great part of the wall, by assault woon the cittie, only the castle yet remaining, as being of a wonderfull strength, and almost impregnable: whereinto such a multitude had at the taking of the citie retired themselues, as was not possible therein long to liue: who in short time pinched with hunger, and many of them dead, the rest vpon safeguard of their liues offered to yeeld: whom for all that *Tamerlane* would not receiue to mercie, to make them feele what it was to hold out against him: so that most of them dying of famine, the rest yeelded without condition, and were for their obstinacie almost all slaine. Which his seueritie towards them of Damasco, caused, that thirtie leagues off they brought the keyes of their cities vnto him, in token of their submission: whom he no way molested, more than in contributing vnto the charge of his armie. From Damasco he turned directly towards Ierusalem, at which time they of the citie had driuen out the Sultans garrison, as had almost all they of Iudea, submitting themselues vnto *Tamerlane*. At Chorazni the Sultan had left six thousand men in garrison for the defence of the place, who at the first seemed to stand vpon their guard: but afterward dismaied to see so great an armie before it, and that *Tamerlane* hauing approched the wals, was set downe to haue it, they submitted themselues and found mercie. In which citie *Tamerlane* left certaine of his men in garrison, for the better represing of the Mamalukes, who with often incursions troubled his armie. So marching on, he himselfe with certaine horsemen for his guard, rode to Ierusalem to visit the sepulchre so much reuerenced of all nations, and there to make his oblations: where hee was of the inhabitants joyfully receiued, and hauing sought out all the antiquities of that auncient citie, would be conducted vnto all the places thereabouts, where Iesus Christ had preached, euen as the pilgrimes doe: and comming to

A great battell fought betwixt the Sultan of Ægypt and Tamberlane.

Damasco woon by Tamerlane.

Tamerlane commeth to Ierusalem.

to the ſepulchre, gaue thereunto, and the deuout there, many rich and precious gifts, to the great contentment of all men (to ſee him honour thoſe holy places) but of the Iews only, who greatly blamed him for ſo doing: of whom of all others *Tamerlane* made no reckoning, but called them the accurſed of God. There had he newes that the Sultan had gathered all his forces, and being come into ÆGYPT, was there fortifying of his cities, eſpecially the great cities of ALEXANDRIA and CAIER. *Tamerlane* his armie in the meane time by his commaundement came towards ÆGYPT to DAMIATA: which ſtrong citie hee thought not good to leaue behind him, although he was by ſome perſuaded ſo to do, for that it was thought impregnable, as well in reſpect of the caſtle, as of the ſtrong garriſon that the Sultan had put thereinto. But he whoſe fortune nothing could hinder, would needs goe thither; and ſo hauing commaunded *Axalla* to ſet vpon it, followed himſelfe after with the reſt of his armie. Now *Axalla* hauing ſummoned the citie, and declared vnto the inhabitants (who were moſt of them Chriſtians) the mildneſſe and courteſie of *Tamerlane*, as alſo who himſelfe was, and what religion he held: cauſing many of the Grecke captaines to ſpeake vnto them, and to tell them of the miſerie they endured vnder the Moores and Mamalukes: ſo farre preuailed with them, that they all determined to aduenture their liues, to put the Mamalukes out of the cittie, with all them that fauoured the Sultan. And ſo in the night taking vp armes, made themſelues maſters of one quarter of the cittie, and deliuered one of the gates to *Axalla*: whereby he entering, put all the Mamalukes to the ſword, or tooke them priſoners, and ſo gained the citie. Whereof *Tamerlane* hearing, being as yet vpon his marche, was in good hope of ſo proſperous a beginning, to find an happie end alſo of his deſignes in EGYPT. For beſides the good fortune thereof, hee knew that this hauen of DAMIATA, might ſerue him with victuals out of all the parts of GREECE, as the emperour *Emanuel* had promiſed him, and wherein hee nothing failed him. Into which port *Tamerlane* hauing made his entrie, left there in garriſon two thouſand of the emperour *Emanuell* his ſouldiours, with a gouernour, of whom he tooke an oath for their obedience. So hauing ſtayed a ſpace at DAMIATA, he cauſed his vauntgard to march towards ALEXANDRIA: and hauing paſſed ouer the riuer, euen in an inſtant turned directly vnto CAIER: to the great aſtoniſhment of the Sultan, who made prouiſion for the defence of ALEXANDRIA, as the neereſt vnto danger. But vnderſtanding of theſe newes, vſed ſuch diligence, that he entred into the citie with fortie thouſand horſe, and threeſcore thouſand foot, euen as *Tamerlane* his armie aproached, purpoſing in perſon himſelfe to defend it. By whoſe comming, the great citie readie before to haue reuolted, was againe in his obedience confirmed, to the great hinderance of *Tamerlane* his affaires: for to remaine long before it, was impoſsible, for want of victuals for ſo great an armie in the enemies countrey. Yet notwithſtanding all this, did not *Tamerlane* forbeare to draw neere vnto it, and with all his armie to encampe neere vnto the ſame, hauing cauſed a great trench to bee made for to couer his horſemen, and thereby to lodge his armie more ſafely: during which time he cauſed diuers onſets to be giuen, as well to trie what confidence the enemie had in himſelfe, as to ſee how the people of the cittie, eſpecially the ſlaues (which in that populous cittie are infinite) were affected towards him: who certainely enformed him of the ſtate of the cittie, and the armie; as glad to ſee the ſame by him ſhut vp, and the proud Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſt. But thus lying ſtill at the ſiege, one day he thought it good to ſhew his armie before the citie, for to trie whether the enemie had a deſire to come to a daie of battaile or not: as alſo to view what forces he had, and ſo indeed to ſeeke occaſion to fight: In hope alſo, that if the Sultan did come foorth with all his armie into the field, ſome reuolt might happen within the cittie, as well by the ſlaues (vnto whom libertie was by him promiſed) as by the cittizens themſelues (diſcontented with the inſolencie of the Mamalukes entered of late into the cittie with the Sultan) vnto whom he had made it knowne by certaine ſlaues (for that purpoſe fled as fugitiues out of his armie into the cittie) how that hee was not come to hurt them, but onely for the deſtruction of the Mamalukes, both his and their enemies. But betimes ſtanding ſo in battaile array, no man came foorth, neither was there any tumult or ſturre raiſed in the cittie, as hee had expected. For the Sultan in ſo great a cittie well prouided of all things, was reſolued to wearie him out with lying ſtill, and not to put all to the hazard of a battaile. Which *Tamerlane* perceiuing, and ſet downe not to depart thence, but victorious, reſolued likewiſe to force him euen in his greateſt ſtrength, in the heart of his greateſt citie; although it were not to be done, but with great aduen-

Damiata taken by Axalla.

Tamerlane marcheth towards Caier.

Caier beſieged by Tamerlane.

aduenture: ſuch confidence he had in the ſtrength and multitude of his armie. Now his purpoſe was, firſt to take one of the cities (for CAIRE is diuided into three) & therin encamping himſelf, by litle & litle to aduance forward as he might, ſtil fighting with the enemy. Vpon which reſolution, he commaunded an aſſault to be giuen, and hauing brought his footmen vnto the place where he would haue them to giue the onſet (for the citie was not walled, but onely fortified with ditches and trenches) he commaunded the prince of THANAIS with fiftie thouſand footmen, to begin the aſſault, euen in the face of the enemie: which hee moſt valiantly perfourmed, and there began a moſt terrible and cruell fight. *Axalla* in the meane time, deeming (as the truth was) that the Sultan had drawn his greateſt forces vnto the place where the prince of THANAIS ſought to enter, as vnto a place of greateſt danger; fet a compaſſe about, and vpon another quarter of the citie, with ſmall reſiſtance paſſed the trenches; where he preſently left thirtie thouſand men to fill vp the ditches, and to make way for the horſemen to enter: aduancing forward himſelfe, againſt twentie thouſand ſent by the Sultan to haue ſtopped his further paſſage: the prince of THANAIS being at the ſame time almoſt beaten backe by the Mamelukes. But the way being made plaine, by them that were for that purpoſe left by *Axalla*, and ten thouſand horſe entred, which charged vpon the backs of the Mamelukes, where the Sultan himſelfe was; and they ſeconded by ten thouſand moe ſent in by *Tamerlane*, following himſelfe after, with all his power: the Sultan retired vnto a ſecond ſtrength, which he had made in the next citie. The fight endured full the ſpace of ſeauen houres, wherein were ſlaine of the Sultan his men aboue ſixteene thouſand: and of *Tamerlanes* betwixt ſeauen and eight thouſand. Who contented to haue diſlodged the enemie, and gained a third part of the citie, cauſed a retrait to be founded, in hope the next daie to winne all the reſt, as indeed he did. For the prince of THANAIS the next daie forcing the enemies trenches in one place, and *Axalla* in another, the Sultan after a great fight finding himſelfe hardly preſſed by the obſtinate enemie, and too weake long to hold out, retired, and ſo forthwith abandoned the citie, and encamped himſelfe along the ſide of the riuer NILUS, with purpoſe to paſſe the ſame, and to flye to ALEXANDRIA his ſecond ſtrength and refuge. Which *Tamerlane* ſuſpecting, followed after him with his horſemen (who onely were in order) and ſome few foot, hardly drawne from the citie, which their fellowes were in ſpoiling; ſo as hee was glad to promiſe them eſpecially, to regard and reward their good ſeruice. Againſt whom the Sultan vpon a narrow cawſey, had oppoſed twelue or fifteen thouſand men, whom he called his ſlaues (to fauour his paſſage) but were indeed his beſt ſouldiours, and ſtood faſt, the place ſeruing greatly for their aduantage: who for all that at length forced by their enemies, ſtill increaſing vpon them, (though not without great loſſe) caſt themſelues into the great riuer, and made a moſt honourable retrait: euerie man hauing his weapon in the one hand, and ſwimming with the other to the farther banke. The Sultan flying with ſome eighteene thouſand horſe (for the reſt were ſundrie waies fled or elſe drowned) is reported in his flight, to haue comforted his men, by telling of them, That they were not men that had vanquiſhed them, but gods, there appeared in them ſo great wiſedome, force, and valour: diuers of the Mamelukes taken in the late fight, being brought before *Tamerlane*, and by him courteouſly vſed, were of him demaunded, if they could be content to ſerue him, now that their maiſter was fled and gone? which they all vtterly refuſed. Whom notwithſtanding, for their fidelitie, *Tamerlane* ſet at libertie to goe againe vnto the Sultan: as no leſſe deſirous to be admired of his enemies for his bountie and courteſie, than feared for his force and valour. The wonderfull wealth of this ſo great and famous a citie became a preie vnto his ſouldiours: who for the ſpace of foure and twentie houres had the ſpoile therof, being then by open proclamation commaunded euerie man to repaire to his quarter. The citizens he ſet all at libertie, not ſuffering any of them to be taken priſoners. And ſo leauing ten thouſand good ſouldiours with a great number of others (whereof he caried a great multitude in his armie, planting euerie where as he paſſed as it were new colonies) and carying away with him ſuch of the inhabitants as he thought might hurt him, and taking order for all things neceſſarie for the keeping of ſuch a citie, he cauſed his armie to paſſe ouer the riuer for to follow the Sultan vnto ALEXANDRIA, to the end not to leaue his victorie vnperfect: *Axalla* haſting before with the avauntgard, for to hinder the Sultan for joyning his forces againe together; and the reſt of his armie conducted by the prince of THANAIS. He himſelfe with an infinite number of boats, and ſouldiors to attend vpon him, going by water, taking great pleaſure to behold the faire riuer, and his ſwift courſe ſometimes, and in an inſtant to become ſo calme as if it ſcarce mooued.

Caier aſſaulted by Tamerlane.

The

The cittizens of ALEXANDRIA hearing of his comming, and fearing what might betide them, besought the Sultan to haue compasion of their estate, and to withdraw himselfe into LIBIA, whether *Tamerlane* for the barrennesse of the countrey could not with any great power follow him; resolued for their parts to giue place vnto fortune, and to doe as the time required, and no more to resist so great a force, whereof they had alreadie made sufficient triall: promising yet to remaine in heart still his, and vpon the first occasion offered, to make the same to him appeare.

The Sultan flieth from Alexandria.

Whereupon the Sultan seeing all things desperate, determined for a time to retire, in hope, that time would bring some change: as also that *Tamerlane* his populous armie would not long remaine there. And so departing out of ALEXANDRIA with teares standing in his eyes, often times said, That God was angrie with him and his people, and that hee must of necessitie suffer the fatall ouerthrow of his estate, himselfe hauing done as much as in him lay, according to his charge, and the expectation the world had of him: and yet that he hoped at length to returne againe, and deliuer his people from the bondage, whereunto they must now needs submit themselues. *Tamerlane* comming to ALEXANDRIA (before yeelded to *Axalla*) there staied a great while, sending *Axalla* to pursue the Sultan, exceedingly grieued that he could not get him into his hands: and therefore still fearing some innouation to be by him raised, which caused him to deale the more hardly with them whom he suspected to fauour him. Now the bruit of these victories hauing with *Axalla* passed beyond ALEXANDRIA into LYBIA, had brought such a feare, not onely vpon the people adjoyning vnto these conquests, but also vpon all AFRICA (they supposing that *Tamerlane* did follow,) that two and twentie of the Moore kings sent their embassadours vnto him, to offer vnto him their obedience: the Sultan as a man forsaken of fortune, still flying before him. Of the neerest of which kings, *Tamerlane* tooke hostages: as for the other farther off, he contented himselfe with their faith giuen, and with the other outward signes of their good wils.

Tamerlane desirous to returne into his country.

Now after this long trauaile and paines taken, was *Tamerlane* more desirous than hee had before vsed, to see the pleasures of his owne natiue countrey: the rather thereunto moued by the request of his wife, then longing for his returne; and the newes hee heard of the sickenesse of the old Tartarian emperour his father in law; besides that, age it selfe began to bring vnto him a desire of rest: with whom also, the desires of his souldiors well agreed, as men now wearie to haue run so many and diuers fortunes. The onely stay was, that hee expected the comming of *Calibes*, an old and faithfull seruant of his, whom he for his good deserts had of his owne accord appointed gouernour of all his new conquests in ÆGYPT and SYRIA: A great honour no doubt, but not too great for him that had so well deserued. So mindfull was he of the good deserts of his faithfull seruants, as that he needed not by others to be of them put in remembrance, were they neuer so farre off, as was now *Calibes*, who at this time was with the third part of his armie making way for him along the great riuer EUPHRATES, for the conquest of MESOPOTAMIA and PERSIA: whose comming was now with great deuotion looked for of the whole armie, desirous to returne. Which their expectation he long delayed not, but being sent for, came to ALEXANDRIA, whither the whole armie was now by the commaundement of *Tamerlane* againe assembled. Vpon whose comming, *Tamerlane* departed from ALEXANDRIA, hauing there left the prince *Zamalkan* (a man of great reputation) with six thousand horsemen and ten thousand foot, as gouernour of that place, and lieutenant generall vnder *Calibes*: whom *Tamerlane* (as I haue said) had now appointed to commaund ouer all ÆGYPT and SYRIA, together with the countries newly conquered in LYBIA and BARBARIE: and now conducting him vnto the great citie of CAIRE, and there taking the best order he could for the preseruation of his new conquest, left him with fortie thousand horse and fiftie thousand foot. And so hauing sufficiently instructed him, how he would haue those kingdomes gouerned, dismissed him, not like a master, but as a companion, seeming very sorrie to leaue him destitute of his presence. So setting forward with his armie, conducted by the prince of THANAIS, *Tamerlane* himselfe, with a few to guard him, by the way turned aside vnto IERUSALEM: where he remained eleuen dayes, daily visiting the Sepulchre of Christ Iesus (whom hee called the God of the Christians) and the ruines of *Salomon* his temple: much wondering thereat, and at IERUSALEM, the seat of *Dauids* kingdome, and of that great *Salomon*; but grieued that he could not see them fully in their former beautie. He only despised the Iews, which had committed so cruell a murder against him that came to saue them. And to shew his deuotion towards

wards the holy citie, commaunded it to be free from all ſubſidies and garriſons of men of warre: and gaue great gifts vnto the monaſteries, and honoured them ſo long as he remained there. Departing from IERUSALEM, he came to DAMASCO: which great citie, as well for that it was infected with the opinion of *Iezides* (accounted an arch hereticke among the Mahometanes) as alſo euill affected to his proceedings, he cauſed to be raſed, and the bones of *Iezides* the falſe prophet to be digged vp and burnt, and his graue before much honoured, in deſpight to bee filled with dung. So marching on, and blaſting the world before him as he went (for long it were, and from our purpoſe to recount all his victories) he paſſed ouer the riuer EUPHRATES, and hauing conquered MESOPOTAMIA, with the great cittie of BABILON, and all the kingdome of PERSIA, loaded with the ſpoile of the world, and eternized for euer, he returned at length to SAMERCAND, the famous place of his birth, and glorious ſeat of his empire.

The miſerable death of Baiazet.

Now had *Baiazet* (but a little before one of the greateſt princes on earth, and now the ſcorne of fortune, and a byword to the world) with great impatiencie laine two yeares in moſt miſerable thraldome, for moſt part ſhut vp in an yron cage, as ſome dangerous wild beaſt: and hauing no better meanes to end his loathed life, did violently beat out his braines againſt the barres of the yron grate wherein he was incloſed, and ſo died about the yeare of our Lord 1399. Yet of his death are diuers other reports: ſome ſaying, That hee died of an ague, proceeding of ſorrow and greefe: others, that he poyſoned himſelfe: and the Turks affirming, that he was ſet at libertie by *Tamerlane*, being by him beforehand poyſoned, whereof hee died three dayes after hee was enlarged (a report not like to be true:) but howſoeuer it was, his end appeareth to haue ben right miſerable. His dead bodie at the requeſt of his ſonne *Mahomet*, was by *Tamerlane* ſent to ASPRAPOLIS, from whence it was afterwards conueyed to PRUSA, and there lieth buried in a chappell neere vnto the great Mahometane temple without the citie Eaſtward: where alſo lieth his beloued wife *Deſpina*, with his eldeſt ſonne *Erthogrul*. And faſt by in a little chappell lieth buried his brother *Iacup*, whom he in the beginning of his raigne murthered.

A compariſon betwixt Baiazet and Tamerlane.

These two great and mightie princes, *Tamerlane* and *Baiazet* (both of them whileſt they liued, a burthen vnto the world) as they tooke their beginning from the Scythes or Tartars, ſo were they of like honourable progenitors deſcended: *Baiazet* being the fourth in diſcent from the warlike *Othoman*, the raiſer of his familie; and *Tamerlane* in like degree from the great *Zingis*, the firſt and moſt fortunat leader of the Tartars (his countreymen) vnto the pleaſures of the Eaſt: both princes of great power and like ſpirit, wiſe, hardie, painefull, reſolute, and moſt skilfull in martiall affaires; but ambitious aboue meaſure, the ground of all the former troubles by them raiſed, to the aſtoniſhment of the world. Howbeit, the great vertues and other the honourable qualities of *Baiazet*, were in him by his chollericke and waiward nature much obſcured: which made him to exceed both in crueltie and pride: being alſo much more handfaſt than were his honourable predeceſſors. For which cauſes he was much feared and leſſe beloued of his ſouldiors and men of warre in generall, and of them at his moſt need forſaken. He vſed commonly to ſay, That his treaſures were his childrens meat, and not his ſouldiors pay: which by way of reproch was by a common ſouldior caſt in his teeth, when hee raged to ſee himſelfe by them forſaken in the great battell againſt *Tamerlane*, telling him as he fled, That he ran not away, but went to ſeek his pay, wherewith to prouide his children bread. Whereas all the aforeſaid vertues in *Tamerlane* were graced with diuers others of like nature, no man being vnto his friends more courteous or kind, either vnto his enemies more dreadfull or terrible. The good ſeruice of his ſeruants hee neuer forgot, either left the ſame long vnrewarded: being thereof ſo mindfull, as that he needed not by them or others in their behalfe, to be put in remembrance thereof, hauing alwaies by him a catalogue both of their names and good deſerts, which he daily peruſed. Oftentimes ſaying that day to be loſt, wherein he had not giuen them ſomething: and yet neuer beſtowing his preferments vpon ſuch as ambitiouſly ſought the ſame (as deeming them in ſo doing, vnwoorthie thereof) but vpon ſuch, as whoſe modeſtie or deſert he thought worthie thoſe his great fauours; ſo tempering the ſeueritie of his commaunds with the greatneſſe of his bountie, as that it is hard to ſay, whether he was of his nobilitie and men of war, for the one more feared, or for the other beloued; both, the great ſtaies of princes ſtates: feare keeping the obſtinat in their obedience, and loue, the dutifull in their deuotion. But with *Baiazet* it was not ſo, who deeming all done for him, but dutie, and by nature chollericke and proud (after the manner of tyrants) deſired aboue all to be of his ſubjects feared, not much regarding how little hee was of them beloued: not the leaſt

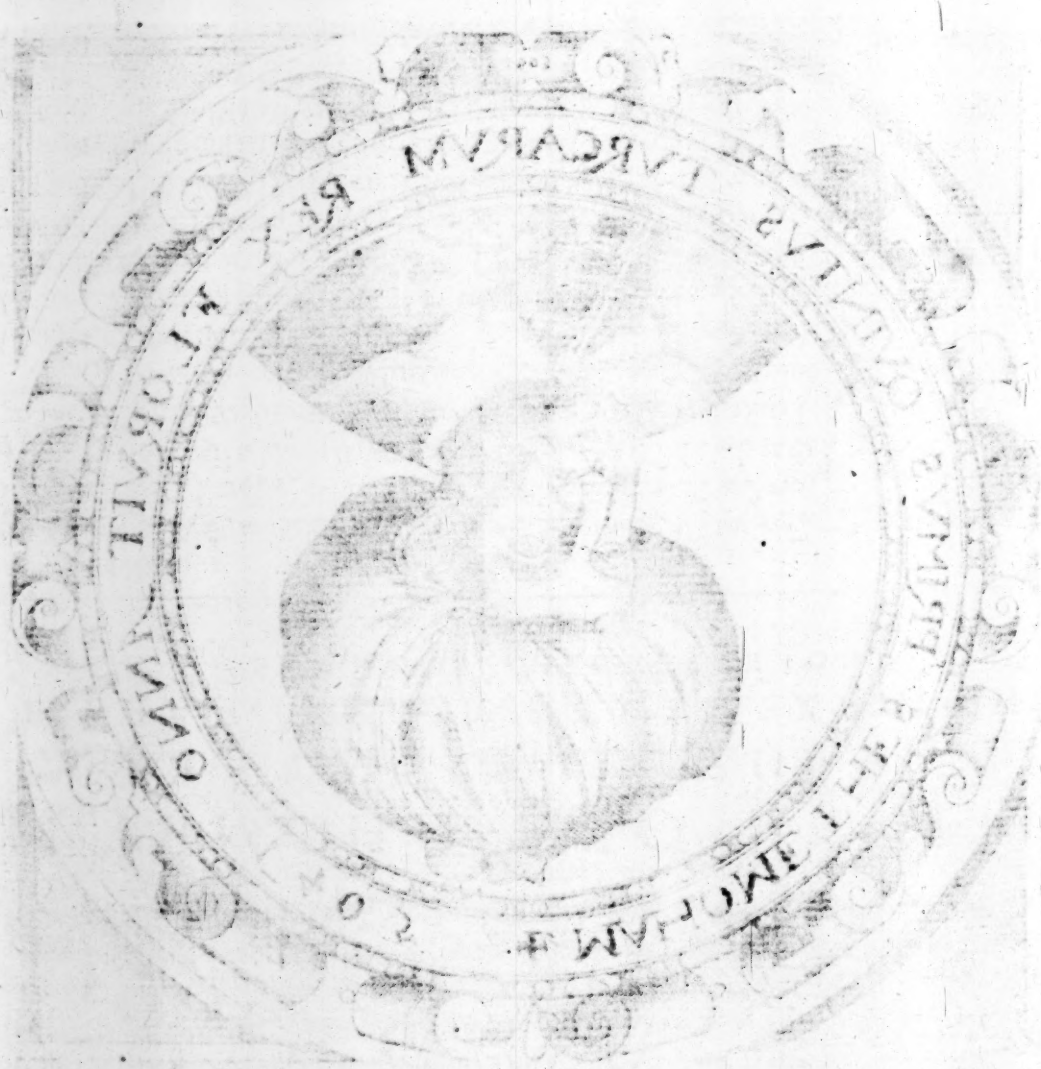
cauſe

Baiazet in his posteritie more fortunat than Tamerlane.

cauſe of his great fall and miſerie, and that therein he was of his owne ſo ſmally regarded: wher- G
in for all that he is to be accounted more fortunat than the other great conquerour his enemie, hauing euer ſince in the lineall deſcent of himſelfe, had one of the greateſt Monarchs of the world to ſucceed ſtill in his kingdome and empire: as hee hath euen at this day, the great Sultan *Mahomet*, the third of that name, who now in great majeſtie raigneth in CONSTANTINOPLE: Whereas the glorie of *Tamerlane* his empire, euen in his owne time growne to the height ther- of, and labouring with the greatneſſe of it ſelfe, and by him deuided amongſt his ſonnes, ſhortly after his death decayed, rent in ſunder by ambition and ciuile diſcord; and not long after, toge- ther with his poſteritie, rooted out by *Vſun-Caſſanes* the Perſian king, to the worlds woonder tooke end: nothing of the huge greatneſſe thereof now or ſince then remaining, more than the fame thereof: as doth alſo the miſerie of the other ſo brought low. But leauing this mirrour of H
miſhap (*Baiazet*) vnto his reſt, and *Tamerlane* for a while to triumph in SAMERCAND; let vs now proceed in the courſe of our Hiſtorie, yet not forgetting by the way to remember ſuch Chriſtian princes as then liued together with theſe two great Monarchs.

FINIS.

Chriſtian princes of the ſame time with Baiazet the firſt.	*Emperours*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Emanuell Palaologus.*	1387. 30.
		Of the Weſt	*Wenceſlaus, ſon to Charles king of Bohemia.*	1378. 22.
			Rupertus duke of Bauaria.	1400. 10.
	Kings	*Of England*	*Richard the ſecond.*	1377. 23.
			Henrie the fourth.	1399. 12.
		Of Fraunce	*Charles the ſixt, ſurnamed, The welbeloued.*	1381. 42.
		Of Scotland	*Iohn Stuart, otherwiſe called Robert the third.*	1390. 16.
	Biſhops of Rome		*Vrban the VI.*	1380. 11.
			Boniface the IX.	1390. 14.



Phil. Lonicer. Hiſt. Turc. lib. 1.

Vindicibus Mahomet patrium ſibi vendicat armis
Imperium, & fractas feruidus auget opes.
Quod patri abſtulerat violentia Tamberlani,
Imperio reddit Marte fauente ſuo.
Ille ſagittiferoſq; Dacas, validoſq; Triballos
Contudit, & populos Iſter amœne tuos.
Turcica ſic rurſus ſublata potentia, ſtragem
Attulit imperio Romule magne tuo.

By force of armes ſtout *Mahomet* his fathers kingdome gaines,
And doth the broken ſtate thereof repaire with reſtleſſe paines.
What ſo the force of *Tamerlane* had from his father tane,
He by his fortune and his force reſtor'd the ſame againe.
The Dacians he vanquiſhed, and Seruians in field,
And forc'd the people neere to thee faire ISTER, for to yeeld.
So once againe the Turkiſh ſtate (by him rais'd vp on hie)
Hath to thine empire, *Romulus*, brought great calamitie.

THE LIFE OF MAHOMET, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, FIFTH KING OF THE TVRKS, AND RESTORER OF THEIR SORE SHAKEN KINGDOME.

HOw wonderfully the Turkiſh kingdome was by the violence of *Tamerlane* ſhaken, and the majeſtie thereof defaced, it well appeareth, in that the Hiſtories of that time, as well thoſe of the Greekes, as of the Turks, in nothing more differ, than in the ſucceſſors of *Baiazet*, their late vnfortunat king. Some writing, that hee had two ſons, *Orchanes*, (otherwiſe called *Calepinus*) and *Mahomet*: and that *Calepinus* in the ſecond yeare of his raigne was ſlaine, and his kingdome poſſeſſed by *Mahomet* his brother. Others reporting, That *Baiazet* had two ſons, namely, *Calepinus* and *Muſtapha*: and that *Calepinus* ſucceeding his father in the Turkiſh kingdome, when hee had raigned ſix yeares, died, leauing behind him two ſonnes, *Orchanes* and *Mahomet*: and that *Orchanes* being young, was ſlaine by his vncle: whom *Mahomet* in reuenge of his brothers death, afterwards ſlew, & poſſeſſed the kingdome himſelfe. Others reckon vp ſeuen ſonnes of *Baiazet*: *Ioſua*, *Muſulmanes*, *Moſes*, *Calepinus*, *Ioſua* the yonger, *Muſtapha*, and *Halis*; with an vncertaine ſucceſsion amongſt them alſo. This diuerſitie of opinions, full of no leſſe vncertainetie; as I meane not to follow in report of this hiſtorie, ſo will I not ſpend any time in refuting the ſame (although much might be ſaid in the matter) but leaue theſe reports, together with the hiſtorie following, to ſuch credit, as they ſhall hap to find with the conſiderat readers.

Diuers opinions concerning the ſucceſſours of Baiazet.

The Greeke Hiſtoriographers (beſt like to know the Turkiſh ſucceſsion, as well by reaſon of their neereneſſe, as in that they were by them as their bad neighbours, ſo much troubled) make no mention at all either of *Calepinus* or of *Orchanes*: In like manner, *Hiſtoriæ Muſulmanæ Turcorum*, diligently gathered out of the Turks owne hiſtories by *Io. Leunclauius* (a learned phyſician, and himſelfe a great trauailer amongſt them, and therefore deſeruing the more credit) do not ſo much as name the ſucceſsion of *Calepinus* or *Orchanes*, after the captiuitie of *Baiazet*, but reiecteth them both as counterfeits. But in mine opinion (without prejudice to any, that vpon better reaſon may deeme otherwiſe) the great confuſion of the Turkiſh kingdome, in ſhort time wrought by the mightie *Tamerlane* and his Tartarians, with the ciuile diſcord and warre afterwards ariſing among the ſonnes of *Baiazet*, ſtriuing (all as it were at once) for the reſtleſſe roome of ſoueraignetie, which ſuffereth no parteners; and euery one of them, according to his hap or power, laying hand vpon ſome one part or other thereof, and bearing himſelfe therein for a time as a king, in countries ſo far diſtant; neuer leauing, vntill they had like the earth-borne brethren, wrought one anothers deſtruction; might giue juſt occaſion of ſuch diuerſitie of reports as is before ſpoken of, concerning the ſucceſsion of that time, in that troubled and rent kingdome: ſome reckoning one, ſome another: and ſome, ſuch as neuer were, to haue ſucceeded in the gouernment, and ſo vntruly augmenting the number of the Turkiſh kings. Wherefore leauing *Calepinus* & *Orchanes* vnto them that firſt found them, with that little, which without any good ground and leſſe probabilitie is written of their ſuppoſed raigne; I (following the authoritie of the Turkiſh hiſtorie) reckon this *Mahomet*, one of the youngeſt ſonnes of *Baiazet* (of whom we are now

to intreat) fifth king of the Turkes: who after great and dangerous wars, as well against his own brethren, as his forraine enemies, was at length solely inuested in the Turkish kingdome, about ten yeares after the captiuitie of his father *Baiazet*, as shall hereafter be declared.

The true posteritie of Baiazet.

Baiazet after the manner of the Turkish kings, hauing laied vp the hope of his posteritie in the common treasure house of nature, rather than in the bodie of one lawfull wife, had by diuers wiues and concubines seuen sonnes, *Erthogrul*, otherwise called *Orthobules*, *Emer-Soliman*, *Mustapha-Zelebi* (that is to say, the noble) *Isa-Zelebi*, *Musa-Zelebi*, *Sultan Mahomet*, and *Casan-Zelebi*. Of whom, *Erthogrul* the eldest was lost in the wars against *Casi Burchaniden*, as is beforesaid in the life of *Baiazet*. *Mustapha* was slaine in the great battaile against *Tamerlane*, and there buried in the bed of fame. *Casan* the yongest was a child in *Baiazet* his court, when his father was taken, and afterwards with his sister *Fatime* deliuered as hostages, by their brother *Solyman*, vnto *Emanuel* the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, where they both happely became Christians, and so shortly after died.

Solyman was by *Alis Bassa* president of *Baiazet* his counsell, and other great captaines, conueyed out of the battaile against *Tamerlane*, into EVROPE: and so by them at HADRIANOPLE saluted Sultan. *Mahomet* fled out of the same battaile to AMASIA in CAPADOCIA, where he was in his fathers time gouernour. *Isa* hearing of his fathers captiuitie, after the departure of *Tamerlane* with his Tartars, seized vpon PRUSA, a citie of BITHYNIA, the antient seat of the Turkish kings, with the countrey adioyning, and there raigned as king. *Musa-Zelebi* was taken prisoner with *Baiazet* his father, and afterwards set at libertie by *Tamerlane*. But of their fortunes more shall be said in this historie following.

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D wrote vnto him as followeth:

Sultan *Mahomet* vnto the Prince *Inall Ogli*.

Mahomet his letters to Inall Ogli the Tartar prince.

Whereas without any juſt or lawfull cauſe, or any war proclaimed, you haue inuaded our kingdome, and ceaſe not cruelly to kill our ſubjects, by God committed to our protection; and to ſpoile their wealth and labours, to the great diſturbance of the Mahometan common weale; and make no end of your malice and crueltie: you doe therein quite digreſſe from the manners and lawes of the true Mahometans or right beleeuers. For if thou wouldeſt not onely bee accounted, but indeed bee a true Muſul-man, thou ſhouldeſt forthwith depart out of my kingdome with thine armie; thou ſhouldeſt not thus ſhed the in-
E *nocent blood, or without cauſe thus wrong my people: but foraſmuch as thou knoweſt not what beſeemeth thee, neither wilt liſten vnto good counſaile, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpoſe, falſely perſuading thy ſelfe, this my kingdome to bee deſtitute of a lawfull inheritour; and therefore doeſt ſo great wrong and injurie vnto the defendours of the true Mahometan religion: I would thou ſhouldeſt know, that I with my ſo often victorious armie, will ſhortly by the power of God come againſt thee, and in plaine field according to thy deſerts chaſtice thee. Therfore whileſt thou yet mayeſt, reclaim thy ſelfe, and proceed not too farre in thine obſtinacie: too late repentance did neuer man yet good. Thus much we thought good to aduertiſe thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not bee ignorant of our purpoſe, but mighteſt ſo better conſider and diſpoſe both of thy ſelfe and thine affaires. In the yeare after the departure of the great Prophet* Mahomet 806.
F

Vnto which letters *Inall Ogli* returned this anſwere in writing.

Prince *Inall Ogli* to *Mahomet*.

Inall Ogli his anſwere to Mahomet.

Why doeſt thou Mahomet *with ſuch letters prouoke me? why doeſt thou ſo vnciuilly taunt me? be-*

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Sultan *Mahomet* vnto the Prince *Inall Ogli*.

Mahomet his letters to Inall Ogli the Tartar prince.

Whereas without any juſt or lawfull cauſe, or any war proclaimed, you haue inuaded our kingdome, and ceaſe not cruelly to kill our ſubjects, by God committed to our protection; and to ſpoile their wealth and labours, to the great diſturbance of the Mahometan common weale; and make no end of your malice and crueltie: you doe therein quite digreſſe from the manners and lawes of the true Mahometans or right beleeuers. For if thou wouldeſt not onely bee accounted, but indeed bee a true Muſul-man, thou ſhouldeſt forthwith depart out of my kingdome with thine armie; thou ſhouldeſt not thus ſhed the innocent blood, or without cauſe thus wrong my people: but foraſmuch as thou knoweſt not what beſeemeth thee, neither wilt liſten vnto good counſaile, but wilfully proceed in thy wicked purpoſe, falſely perſuading thy ſelfe, this my kingdome to bee deſtitute of a lawfull inheritour; and therefore doeſt ſo great wrong and injurie vnto the defendours of the true Mahometan religion: I would thou ſhouldeſt know, that I with my ſo often victorious armie, will ſhortly by the power of God come againſt thee, and in plaine field according to thy deſerts chaſtice thee. Therfore whileſt thou yet mayeſt, reclaim thy ſelfe, and proceed not too farre in thine obſtinacie: too late repentance did neuer man yet good. Thus much we thought good to aduertiſe thee, that thou ſhouldeſt not bee ignorant of our purpoſe, but mighteſt ſo better conſider and diſpoſe both of thy ſelfe and thine affaires. In the yeare after the departure of the great Prophet Mahomet 806.

Vnto which letters *Inall Ogli* returned this anſwere in writing.

Prince *Inall Ogli* to *Mahomet*.

Inall Ogli his anſwere to Mahomet.

Why doeſt thou Mahomet *with ſuch letters prouoke me? why doeſt thou ſo vnciuilly taunt me? being*

ing thy ſelfe but a boy, and in truth a verie child. It beſeemeth thee not to haue entred into theſe countreys, or to lay hands thereon, wrongfully gracing thy ſelfe with the title of a Sultan. Neither is there any cauſe, why thou ſhouldeſt complaine that I ſhould lie in waight or ſeek after thy life, thy kingdome, or any thing that thine is. I challenge vnto my ſelfe this kingdome, but none of thine: out of which it is reaſon for thee, as a wrongfull intruder of thy ſelfe, to depart; whom otherwiſe I will forthwith thruſt out, and ioyne the ſame vnto the reſt of my territories. Wherefore except thou without delay get thee packing, and ceaſe to oppoſe thy ſelfe againſt my deſignes. I denounce vnto thee all the calamities of warre: and wiſh thee with ſpeede to prepare thy ſelfe to battaile, for that I meane ſhortly to meet with thee. This yeare of our great Prophet, 806.

Inall Ogli ouerthrowne by Mahomet.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* according to his promiſe meeting with this Tartar prince, by plaine force ouerthrew him, and had of him a notable victorie.

The like good hap he had alſo not long after, againſt *Coſter Ogli*, and *Kiupeck Ogli*, two other Tartarian captaines, at the caſtle of CHARACHIZAR and the plaine of ARTVCK OVA. And hearing that one *Meſites*, a Turk, had fortified himſelfe in the ruines of SEBASTIA, and from thence ſpoiled the countrey round about, he ſent *Baiazet* one of his Baſſaes againſt him; who in ſhort time tooke him and brought him bound vnto him: by whom he was adjudged to die. But ſeeing in the man an inuincible courage, and contempt of death, at ſuch time as he ſhould haue been executed; mooued therewith, he gaue him his pardon: for which he euer after continued vnto him faithfull, and did him great ſeruice.

Mahomet hauing many times thus vanquiſhed the ſtragling Tartarian princes, which had ſought the ſpoile of his countrey, became thereby famous amongſt the great commaunders of *Tamerlane* his armie: in ſo much that the bruit of his name came at length to *Tamerlanes* eare, yet lying in the leſſer ASIA: who as he thought it not worth his greatneſſe and labour, himſelfe in perſon to goe againſt ſo weake an enemie; ſo he thought it not good or conuenient quite to neglect him, but by ſome other meanes (if he could) to ouertake him. For which purpoſe he began to ſpeake many times verie honourably of him, highly commending his great valour and forwardneſſe in ſo tender yeares. And calling for *Baiazet*, told him what great commendation he had heard of his ſonne *Mahomet*, and that he was therefore verie deſirous to ſee him: where if he found that true which was reported of his great vertues, he would beſtow one of his daughters vpon him in mariage, with many other great preferments: and therefore willed *Baiazet* to write vnto him, Not to doubt to come vnto him, to the great good both of himſelfe, and his father. Which thing *Baiazet* at the firſt doubting the worſt, requeſted *Tamerlane* not to beleeue of his ſonne, being yet verie young and not worthie of ſo great a fauour. Neuertheleſſe partly perſuaded by *Tamerlane* his proteſtations, and importuned by him that might now command him: hee with an euill will wrote to his ſonne *Mahomet* to ſuch effect as *Tamerlane* required. With which letters, and others of like purport from himſelfe, with many rich preſents, *Tamerlane* ſent *Hozza Mahomet*, (one of his ſecret councellours) embaſſadour to *Mahomet*, of whom he was right honourably receiued, and likewiſe entertained. But hauing read the aforeſaid letters, and thereby vnderſtood the cauſe of his comming; hee entred into counſaile with the great Baſſaes about him, whether he were beſt to goe to *Tamerlane* or not. Where his councellours were all cleere of one opinion, That it was not good for him to aduenture his perſon to the danger of ſuch a journey, or the mercie of ſo mightie an enemie, of whoſe faith he had no aſſurance. And if ſo be (ſaid they) he therwith offended, will by force ſeek to haue you, we at his comming will take the refuge of the woods and mountaines, and there ſhroud our ſelues vntill he be departed againe: for that he with his huge armie cannot here long ſtay in this bare countrey, for want of neceſſaries. Neuertheleſſe *Mahomet* hoping his journey might be both for the good of his father, and his owne aduancement; contrarie to the mind of all his councellours, reſolued to goe: and ſo hauing prepared all things needfull for the honour and ſafetie of his journey, ſet forforward. But as he was vpon the way in the marches of PONTVS, *Cara Iahia* whom he had before ouerthrowne, vnderſtanding of his comming that way, thinking now to bee reuenged; and hauing got vnto him ſome of the prince *Iſfendiars* forces, ſet vpon him by the way: but with as euill ſucceſſe as before, moſt of his men being there by *Mahomet* ſlaine, and himſelfe glad ſhamefully to flie. So trauailing on further, hee vnderſtood that *Alis Beg*, a great lord in thoſe countreys, went about to intercept him alſo: which cauſed him in ſuch haſt to goe on, that hee

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was vpon *Alis*, before he was aware of his comming, or well prouided for him: ſo that for feare he was glad to betake himſelfe to flight. *Mahomet* conſidering the danger he had eſcaped in that journey, and that the neerer he came to *Tamerlane*, the more like hee was to fall into greater, although happily without *Tamerlane* his knowledge: by the aduice of his graue and faithfull councellours, reſolued to go no further. Wherefore calling vnto him *Tamerlanes* embaſſadour hee thus ſpake vnto him:

Mahomet his ſpeech to Tamerlans embaſſadors.

You ſee the dangers and injuries I endure in this my journey, and my mind forbodeth greater to enſue: for which cauſes I may not goe any further, but here returne. Commend me therefore I pray you vnto the moſt mightie Tamerlane, *with my father: and tell them what dangers haue happened vnto me vpon the way. Which conſidered, I hope they will haue me excuſed. For which purpoſe I will alſo ſend in your companie an embaſſadour of mine owne.*

Mahomet at that time had with him a graue, wiſe, and learned man, called *Sophis Baiazet*, ſometime his ſchoolemaiſter: whom he ſent embaſſadour to *Tamerlane* and his father, to haue him vnto them both excuſed: and ſo departed, he homewards, leauing the way he came (for feare of further danger;) and they towards *Tamerlane*, who honourably receiued *Mahomets* embaſſadours and letters. But taking pleaſure in the man ſent vnto him, gaue him honourable entertainment, but would neuer after ſuffer him to returne againe vnto his maiſter.

It was not long after, but that old *Baiazet* died of impatiencie (as is aforeſaid:) whoſe dead bodie *Tamerlane* left at APROPOLIS with the prince *Germean*, to be deliuered vnto his ſonne *Mahomet*; with *Muſa* his elder brother (who all this while had ben kept priſoner with *Tamerlane*) if *Mahomet* ſhould require them. And ſo the mightie prince *Tamerlane*, after he had long time waſted PHRIGIA, CARIA, LYDIA, with the moſt part of the leſſer ASIA; and conquered all SIRIA, IUDEA, ÆGYPT, and PERSIA, with many other great countreys and prouinces; returned at laſt into his owne kingdome, vnto the great citie of SAMARCAND, which hee woonderfully enlarged, and beautified with the ſpoiles of a great part of the world, before by him waſted: where he afterwards in great peace and glorie raigned, no leſſe honoured than feared of all the princes of the Eaſt. To the terrour of whom, and for the aſſuring of his eſtate, he kept alwaies a ſtanding armie of fortie thouſand horſe, and threeſcore thouſand foot readie at all aſſaies: beſide other his great garriſons which he kept in SIRIA, ÆGYPT, CHINA, and CAMBALV; as alſo againſt the Muſcouit, and Turks; being commonly in euerie place threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, though not ſtill in field, but as occaſion required. Vntill that at length hearing of the riſing againe of the Turkiſh kingdome, vnder the *Othoman* princes, the ſonnes of *Baiazet*; with whom the oppreſſed Mamalukes of ÆGYPT, and the Greeke emperour (as doubtfull of his eſtate) had now alſo for feare of him combined themſelues: he by the perſuaſion of *Axalla* (then Generall of his imperiall armie) made great preparation for a ſecond expedition to be made for the vtter rooting out of the *Othoman* familie, and the conqueſt of the Greeke empire. But hauing now all things in readineſſe, and alſo giuen a good beginning vnto theſe his intended conqueſts, (one of the Turks great Baſſaes being by *Axalla* his lieutenant in a great battaile ouerthrowne, and thirtie thouſand of the Turks ſlaine) hee in the middeſt of theſe his great hopes, as alſo of his greateſt power, died of an Ague the 27 daie of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our lord 1402. A little before whoſe death, appeared a great and terrible blaſing ſtarre, portending as it were vnto the world the death of ſo great a prince. Hee was a man of the middle ſtature, ſomewhat narrow in the ſhoulders, otherwiſe well limmed, and of a great ſtrength. In his eies ſat ſuch a rare majeſtie, as a man could hardly endure to behold them without cloſing of his owne: and many in talking with him, and often beholding of him became dumbe; which cauſed him oftentimes with a comely modeſtie to abſtain from looking too earneſtly vpon ſuch as ſpake vnto him, or diſcourſed with him. All the reſt of his viſage was amiable and well proportioned: he had but little haire on his chinne; and ware the haire of his head long and curled, contrarie to the manner of the Tartars, who ſhaue their heads, hauing the ſame alwaies couered: whereas he contrariewiſe was for the moſt part bareheaded, commanding his ſonne alſo to be ſo by his tutors brought vp: his haire was of a dark colour, ſomewhat drawing toward a violet right beautifull to behold: which his mother comming of the race of *Sampſon* (as he gaue it out) willed him to nouriſh, in token of his diſcent: the cauſe that made him to be the more reſpected of his men of war; moſt part of them beleeuing that in thoſe haires was ſome rare vertue, or rather ſome fatall deſtinie: an old practiſe of many great commaunders of former ages, to fill the heads of their ſouldiours with

The great power Tamerlane continually kept.

The death of Tamerlane.

The diſcription of Tamerlane.

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some strange opinion conceiued of them, to bee the more of them honoured; as if in them had G
ben some one thing or other more than in other men. His lively counterfeit, as I find it expressed by them that write the best of him, you may here behold, with the testimonie of his greatnesse following:

TAMERLANE.

Paulus Iouius Illust. virorum, Elog. lib. 1. pag. 97.

Ille nouus Xerxes, orientis victor, & ingens
Quacunque permearet, horror gentium:
Compleuit totos Scythico qui milite campos,
Hoc se ferebat ore trux Tamerlanes.
Cuius in aduentum tutæ altis mœnibus vrbes
Ipsumque terræ contremiscebat solum;
Ipsi adeo montes, ipsæ per deuia valles,
Vim Barbarorum non ferebant agminum.
Quare ab caucaseis Asiam conuallibus omnem,
Ad vsque Nili flumina armis subdidit;
Eufratem, & Tigrim, & rapidum tranauit Orontem,
Vi, vastitate, cæde, cuncta proterens.
Vtque olim fœda cum tempestate coorta
Erumpit atra nube fulmen igneum:
Obuia quæque cadens perrumpit, & alta sonanti
Templa atque solidas strage turres disjecit.
Subsidit vasto Tellus labefacta fragori,
Humilisque mentes sternit humanas pauor:

Haud

Haud ſecus ille viam ferro molitus, & igni,
Euertit arces, opida æquauit ſolo.
Regem Aſiæ horribili captum impete Baiazetem
Caueaque clauſum ferrea circuntulit.
Hæc agitantem illum, & ſpirantem immania iuſſa
Quæ cunctus vndique orbis expaueſceret;
Exiguo cæca domitum molimine febris
Fatalis vno ſoluit hora triduo.
Deque tot inſanis opibus, de tot modo regnis,
Reliqua vna paruo gleba texit puluere.

In Engliſh thus,

Of *Tamerlane* a *Xerxes* new, which did the Eaſt ſubdew,
And in all places where he came, the nations ouerthrew;
That fild the fields with Scythian troupes, brought from thoſe climates cold,
This was the feature and the ſhape which thou doeſt here behold.
At whoſe approch, the ſtrongeſt townes could ſmall reſiſtance make,
The earth it ſelfe vnder his feet ſeeming for feare to quake.
The mountaines high, mating the skie, and vncouth valleyes low,
Vnable were the force to beare, where he did come or goe.
All ASIA from mount CAVCASVS, vnto the bankes of NILE,
With valiant hand he vanquiſhed and made his force to feele.
EVPHRATES, TIGRIS, and the ſwift ORONTES gaue him way,
With force, waſt, and deſtruction great, on what he liſt to prey.
And as in tempeſts great oft times, when all things goe to wracke,
The fierie lightning flaſhing forth, out of the clouds ſo blacke,
Doth breake downe what it lights vpon, and with a dreadfull fall
Ouerthrowes the temples, with their towers, and ſtately buildings all,
So that the earth diſmayd therewith, doth lower downe deſcend,
And fearefull wights wrapt vp in woe, are brought to their wits end:
In like ſort he with fire and ſword ſeeking all to confound,
The ſtrongeſt caſtles, towers, and townes, laid equall with the ground.
And like an whirlewind taking vp great *Baiazet* away,
Coupt vp in cage, ſo carried him, for his diſport and play.
But whileſt he rageth thus about, and plotteth in his head
Such hard commaunds and heauie doomes, as all the world ſhould dread:
A little feauer in three fits, oppreſſed him with woe,
And cloaſing vp his vitall ſpirits, did lay his head full low.
So that for all the world of wealth and kingdomes he poſſeſt,
The ſmall remainder of himſelfe in ſimple graue doth reſt.

Mahomet goeth againſt his brother Iſa.

His great empire by himſelfe deuided betwixt his ſonnes, was by their diſcord, and the ambition of ſome of their diſloyall ſubjects, in ſhort time after brought to great confuſion, and his poſteritie vtterly rooted out by *Vſun-Caſſanes*, the Armenian prince, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie may appeare. But to returne againe vnto our purpoſe, *Mahomet* deliuered of his greateſt feare, by the departure of *Tamerlane* out of thoſe countries, determined to goe to PRVSA in BYTHINIA, where his brother *Iſa* as then raigned: But vnderſtanding that *Iſa* had before taken the ſtraits whereby he ſhould paſſe the mount HORMINIVS, he tooke another way about, & came to PALÆO-CASTRON, where the valiant captaine *Eine-beg Sub-baſſa* then remained: who with all honor and gladneſſe receiued him, and there for certain daies refreſhed both him and his armie. Afterwards greater forces ſtill repairing vnto him, he marched thence to VLABAD, called in antient time LOPADIVM. Of whoſe comming *Iſa* before vnderſtanding, and hauing aſſembled his armie, marched thither alſo, and encamped on the other ſide of the town towards PRVSA, readie to giue him battaile. But *Mahomet* ſeeing his brother ſo forward, conſulted with his captaines,

captaines what were beſt to bee done: where *Eine Sub-baſſa* a man of great experience, and of late one of *Baiazet* his great councellours and captaines, told him, That it was not for their honours being brethren, to pollute their hands one in the others blood; but to aſſaie if the quarrell might by ſome other good meanes be compoſed, and they made friends. For which purpoſe *Mahomet* preſently ſent letters vnto his brother *Iſa*, concerning the partition of their fathers kingdome in ASIA betwixt them: offering vnto him the prouinces of AIDINIA, SARVCHANIA, GERMEANIA, CHARASIA, CHARAMANIA, with other countreys to them belonging: ſo that he might haue PRVSA with all the other prouinces about the ſame. Which letters, when *Iſa* had read, and ſaw that *Mahomet* offered him but titles for kingdomes, and ſuch countreys as were rather ſometimes tributaries vnto their father *Baiazet*, than any part of his kingdome, and now of late by *Tamerlane* againe reſtored vnto their ancient libertie and gouernours; ſharing out the beſt, and ſtrongeſt part thereof vnto himſelfe, he brake forth into choler and ſaid:

The anſwere of Iſa to Mahomet his offers.

What? doth not my fathers kingdome of right belong vnto me being the elder brother? Mahomet *is yet but a youth, and ſcarce crept out of the ſhell: by what right then can hee claime my fathers kingdome as his inheritance? If he can by the ſword win it, let him take it, and ſo hold it.*

Mahomet hauing receiued this anſwere, prepared himſelfe to the field, where his brother as readie as himſelfe, ſtood expecting his comming: and hauing ſet his armie in order of battaile, gaue the firſt charge: which was the beginning of a moſt cruell and bloodie fight, wherein as it commonly falleth out in doubtfull battailes, many were on both ſides ſlaine. At laſt the fortune of *Mahomet* preuailing, *Iſa* his armie began to retire: which he ſeeing, left nothing vndone for the encouraging of his fainting ſouldiours, which belonged to a politicke Generall, or valiant ſouldiour to doe; but preſsing into the thickeſt of his enemies, there with his own hand ſlew the antient and valiant captaine *Eine Subbaſſa*, who had many times beene Generall of the footmen in old *Baiazet* his warres. But what preuaileth courage againſt euill fortune? *Iſa* muſt either flie or die. And therefore hauing done what he could in ſo deſperate a caſe, being himſelfe on euerie ſide forſaken, in the end was glad himſelfe to flie to the ſea ſide: where finding a ſhippe readie bound for CONSTANTINOPLE, he paſſed ouer thether in ſaftie, and there yeelded himſelfe vnto the protection of the Greeke emperour *Emanuel*. In this chaſe *Mahomet* his ſouldiors tooke the valiant captaine *Temurtaſes* priſoner, another of *Baiazet* his great commanders, and brought him to *Mahomet*: who in reuenge of the death of *Eine*, commaunded his head preſently to be ſmitten off, and his bodie to be hanged vpon a tree by the hie way ſide. Of this victorie, *Mahomet* certified his brother *Solyman* at HADRIANOPLE, and in token thereof ſent him *Temurtaſes* his head. This battaile was much ſpoken of, both for that it was fought betwixt two brethren; and alſo for the death of the two famous old captains *Eine* and *Temurtaſes*, who both together as louing friends, had fortunatly fought many great battels vnder *Baiazet* his enſignes; and now as it were by deſtinie, and againſt their wils, without any priuat grudge, were both drawne into contrarie factions and ſlaine: both whilſt they liued wiſhing a good peace betwixt the ambitious brethren. But as the Turks vſe to ſay, *What is by God written in a mans forehead before his birth, cannot in his life be auoided.*

After this victorie, *Mahomet* thinking himſelfe now in ſure poſſeſsion of all his fathers dominions in ASIA, led his armie to PRVSA, where he was of the citizens joyfully receiued as their Sultan: and for his great bountie, of all men highly commended and honoured. From thence he went to NICE, and ſo to NEAPOLIS and there in both places was likewiſe receiued. Thether reſorted vnto him all the garriſons of CARASINA, SARVCHANIA, and AIDINIA, with other the inhabitants of thoſe countries, with all loyaltie ſubmitting themſelues vnto him, with ſuch honour and reuerence as belonged to their king.

The bodie of Baiazet honourably buried at Prusa.

All things thus ſorting according to his deſire in ASIA, he ſent to the prince *Germean* for the bodie of his father *Baiazet*, and for his brother *Muſa*, which were there left by *Tamerlane*, as is before declared. This dead bodie was by the ſame prince at the requeſt of *Mahomet*, with great ſolemnitie ſent to PRVSA, and there ſumptuouſly buried, with all the Turkiſh obſequies and ceremonies: the Turkiſh Alcoran or booke of their law, being read ſeauen daies vpon his tombe. All which time great cheere was kept for all cominers, and much giuen to the poore (vpon the Turkiſh deuotion) for *Baiazet* his ſoule: but aboue all others, exceeding bountie was extended to the poſteritie of their prophet *Mahomet*; which are knowne from others amongſt the Mahometans, by the colour of their apparell, which is all greene, and not lawfull to be worne of any but

but of them: ſo that they were by the bountie of *Mahomet* at that time greatly enriched. He alſo endowed the Abbey which his father had there lately built, with great lands and poſſeſsions for the maintenance thereof. All which things done, and the ſolemnitie paſt, he went in progreſſe to all parts of his kingdome, and was in euerie place joyfully receiued, and ſo afterward returned to AMASIA: and there in great pleaſure ſpent that ſummer. Where we will for a while leaue him to ſee what *Solyman* his eldeſt brother in the meane time doth at HADRIANOPLE: whoſe liuely countenance is by the skilfull workemans hand thus expreſſed.

Non malus es niſi te eneruet male ſuada voluptas
Quæque minus bello conuenit ingluuies.
Hoſpitio Mirxi fruitur iam Muſa Valachi:
Ille tuum vigilat pronus in exitium.

IAC. BOISARDVS.

Euill art thou not, except leaud luſt doe haſten on thy fall:
Or riot, which beſeemeth not a martiall man at all.
Thy brother *Muſa* entertaind by *Marke* to thine annoy,
Doth take no reſt, but waiteth ſtill how he may thee deſtroy.

Solyman

Soliman the eldeſt ſonne of *Baiazet* (who kept his court at HADRIANOPLE, there peaceably raigning all this while ouer the countries which his father *Baiazet* ſometime poſſeſſed in EVROPE) hearing what his brother *Mahomet* had done, and how violently againſt all right hee had driuen *Iſa* out of PRUSA, and made him glad to flie to CONSTANTINOPLE: was with this his outrageous dealing much offended, and thereupon calling vnto him his Baſſaes & faithfull counſellors, declared vnto them the vnnaturall proceedings of *Mahomet* againſt his brother *Iſa*. Wherein (ſaid he) *he doth me alſo great wrong in taking vpon him the ſoueraignetie ouer thoſe great dominions and countries in* ASIA, *which of right belong to me his eldeſt brother, and not to him the yongeſt of ſix. In reuenge of which injurie and wrong, I intend in mine owne right, to paſſe ouer into* ASIA *with a ſtrong armie, and by force of armes to recouer mine inheritance there, if I may not otherwiſe come by it.* Vnto which ſpeech one of his graue counſellors replied: *That in his opinion it was not the beſt courſe for himſelfe to goe in perſon into thoſe wars. For although* (ſaid he) *your brother* Mahomet *be but young, and therfore by your greatneſſe leſſe accounted of, yet is his fortune great, and his experience aboue his yeares. None haue yet had to doe with him, but they haue had ynough of him: yea, it is worth the noting, how politickly he hath borne himſelfe for his owne ſafetie, and the ſafegard of the countries which he gouerned all the while that the great and mightie* Tamerlane *with his innumerable forces couered the face of the countries faſt by him: moſt part whereof,* Mahomet *hath now ſince his departure, againe recouered. Wherefore it were beſt for you to ſend for your angrie brother* Iſa, *to* CONSTANTINOPLE, *and to make him generall of the armie you intend to ſend into* ASIA *againſt* Mahomet. *In which warres, it is not vnlike, but that one of your brethren will be loſt, whereby you ſhall haue one competitor of your kingdome the leſſe. So ſhall you afterwards with leſſe trouble ſubdue him that is left, or at leaſtwiſe pleaſe him with ſome part of that which they haue ſo mightely ſtriuen for.*

Good counſell.

This counſell was of *Soliman* and all the reſt well liked of, and approued. So was *Iſa* preſently ſent for vnto CONSTANTINOPLE, and a great armie leuied. Who being come to HADRIANOPLE, was by *Soliman* courteouſly welcommed, and made generall of his armie: and therewith ſhipped ouer the ſtrait of HELLESPONTVS into ASIA. Where at his firſt comming, hee poſſeſſed the whole countrey of CARASIA or LYDIA: and paſsing further, in all places where he came, was receiued of the people with great reuerence, they all promiſing him their obedience, if it were his fortune to preuaile againſt his younger brother *Mahomet*: wherewith he held himſelfe well contented. So comming to the cittie of BEG-BAZER, otherwiſe called DESPOPOLIS, he there wintered with his armie. In which time, hee with many kind and louing letters ſtill directed to *Mahomet* as his younger brother, ſeemed to be glad that he was ſo well obeyed and liked of by his ſubjects: and that preſuming of his loue and fauour, he was as his louing brother, and not as an enemie come into ASIA, to entreat with him of ſuch matters as much concerned the good of them both. Whereunto *Mahomet* with like diſſimulation anſwered, That hee was right glad of his comming, for which he needed not (as he ſaid) to make any excuſe, for that he was entred into a kingdome, in part his owne, and the reſt open before him: in token wherof, he commaunded a rich garment to be caſt vpon the meſſenger as a fauor, ſending alſo diuers rich preſents vnto his brother, with great prouiſion of victuals, and other neceſſaries for his ſouldiors.

Iſa with a great armie ſent by his brother Solyman into Aſia againſt Mahomet.

But Winter paſt, and the Spring come, *Iſa* marched with his armie to PRUSA, and there ſhewed vnto the cittizens the louing letters he had at ſundry times before receiued from *Mahomet*: and telling them that hee was in good hope that they ſhould in ſhort time right well agree; requeſted to haue the caſtle deliuered vnto him, ſometime their ſoueraigne: whereinto the better ſort of the cittizens had retired themſelues, and made faſt the gates againſt him: but when he ſaw that he could by no faire words or pollicie gaine the poſſeſſion of the caſtle, enraged with that repulſe, he ſet fire vpon that goodly citie, and burnt it downe to the ground. *Mahomet* not ignorant how his brother *Iſa* romed vp and downe his kingdome, vſing all kindneſſe to ſuch as yeelded vnto him; and exerciſing no leſſe crueltie vpon ſuch as refuſed his obedience: and how that hee had raſed the royall cittie of PRVSA: hauing gathered a ſtrong armie, marched in ten daies from AMASIA to PRVSA, and by the way meeting with his brother *Iſa*, in a great battaile ouerthrew him with all his forces. *Iſa* himſelfe, accompanied with no more but ten perſons, fled vnto CASTAMONA, prince *Iſfendiar* his cittie: who hearing of his arriuall there, entertained him with all the honour he could, in recompence of the great friendſhip he had before found at his hands, at what time he was an humble ſuter in his father *Baiazets* his court.

Pruſa burnt by Iſa.

Mi-

Mahomet comming to PRUSA, greeued exceedingly to see that faire citie so destroied: yet to comfort the poore citizens, he gaue exceeding summes of money to bee bestowed amongst them, and tooke order for the new building of the citie, and there continued certaine daies himselfe to see the worke begun.

Isa in the meane time, hauing incited the prince *Isfendiar* in his quarrell to inuade his brother *Mahomet*, and going thether himselfe in person, was by him now the third time ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neuertheless he with some small forces, twice afterwards entred into *Mahomets* dominion, but finding few or none willing to follow his euill fortune, was glad at last to flie to the prince of SMIRNA, by whom he was both honourably entertained and comforted.

This prince of SMIRNA mooued with *Isa* his pitifull complaints, in so manifest a wrong, did not onely promise him what helpe he could of himselfe, but also by his embassadours solicited the princes of AIDINIA, SARUCHANIA, and MENTESIA, to giue him aid in so just a quarrell, for the releese of *Isa* against his vsurping brother: These princes pitying the case of the distressed prince, and moued with the request of the prince of SMIRNA, and fearing also the ambitious spirit of *Mahomet*; amongst them sent such aid, that being all assembled together, *Isa* had now twentie thousand men in armes. *Mahomet* vnderstanding of this great preparation made against him, and hauing raised a strong armie, thought it not best to expect his brothers comming into his countrey (where perhaps many might joyne themselues vnto him, being so strong in field) but entred the prince of SMIRNA his country, with such speed, that he was vpon him and the rest of his enemies before he was looked for; where after a great & bloodie fight, he obtained of them a notable victorie. *Isa* hauing lost the battaile, and therewith his hope also, fled into CARAMANIA, and there in such obscuritie ended his daies, that no man can tell where nor how he died. This was the end of this noble prince, alwaies of greater courage than fortune. The prince of SMIRNA the chiefe authour of this warre, humbling himselfe to *Mahomet*, obtained his fauour. The other confederate princes which gaue aid to *Isa*, were shortly after by *Mahomet* for most part spoiled of their dominions. Which done he returned with victorie to the building of PRUSA, hoping now to liue at more quiet.

Isa flieth into Caramania, and there dieth in obscuritie.

But whilst *Mahomet* after this victorie, dreading no danger, was in the middest of his pleasures at PRUSA, he was certainly aduertised, That his eldest brother *Solyman* had raised a great armie in EUROPE, to inuade him in ASIA. Vpon which aduertisement, hee furnished the castle of PRUSA with a strong garrison, and all things needfull for the induring of a long siege, and placed *Iacup-Beg* (the sonne of *Firoses*) captaine therein; and afterwards departed himselfe, because that citie lately before burnt by *Isa*, was not as yet to be defended, much lesse to be accounted of as a place to retire vnto, if need should so require. From PRUSA he came to ANCYRA, & from thence directed commissions for the taking vp of souldiors in all parts of his kingdome. At which time hee writ letters also to *Doioran* a Tartar prince (whom hee had many times greatly pleasured) for aid: who presently came vnto him with certaine troupes of braue horse, promising him his faithfull seruice.

Not long after, hearing that his brother *Solyman* was with a puissant armie now come ouer HELLESPONTUS, he consulted with his best leaders, what course first to take; being himselfe of opinion, without delay to meet his brother in the field, deeming it great shame not to offer him present battaile. But he was by his more expert captaines aduised, to consider that he was to fight against his eldest brother, of whose good or bad fortune hee had as yet no experience: and that many secretly fauoured his quarrell, and claime, as the eldest sonne and right heire of his father *Baiazet*: and that therefore it were better for him to retire farther off into the strength of his kingdome, and so temporizing, to await all good oportunities which might chaunce, as it doth in nothing more than in martiall affaires; rather than to commit all to the hazard of one battell, wherein if fortune failed him, all were then vtterly lost. Vpon which resolution he retired from ANCYRA towards AMASIA. At which time *Doioran* the false Tartarian, marching out at the other side of the citie, fell to robbing and spoiling of *Mahomets* subjects as an enemie, burning the countrey villages as they went: which thing when *Mahomet* vnderstood, he with his horsemen pursued him; and ouertaking him before he was looked for, slue most part of his men, and recouered all the spoile which hee had before taken; all which *Mahomet* gaue to his souldiours. *Doioran* himselfe hardly escaping by flight. And so *Mahomet* hauing reuenged himselfe vpon his dissembling friend, held on his way towards AMASIA.

The caſtle of Prusa beſieged by Solyman.

Solyman being come into ASIA, led his armie towards PRUSA: where the citizens vnderſtanding of his comming, went out of the citie to meet him, and hauing done vnto him ſuch honour and reuerence as belonged to their Sultan, brought him peaceably into the citie. But *Iacup-Beg* ſtood vpon his guard, and would by no meanes deliuer vnto him the caſtle which was before by *Mahomet* committed to his charge: for which cauſe *Solyman* laid hard ſiege vnto it, and gaue therevnto diuers ſharpe aſſaults, whereby the defendants were greatly weakned, many of them being ſlaine, and the reſt for the moſt part wounded. Whereupon *Iacup* by letters ſent by one *Eine Hozze*, certified *Mahomet* how things ſtood, and that the caſtle could not long bee holden againſt the furious aſſaults of *Solyman*, except it were with ſpeed releeued: vpon which newes, he in all haſt made towards PRUSA, returning the ſame meſſenger before him with letters to the captaine of the caſtle, if happily he could find meanes to deliuer the ſame: Wherein he highly commended him for his faithfull ſeruice, and promiſed him ſpeedie releeſe. This meſſenger with his letters, chaunced by *Solyman* his ſouldiours to bee intercepted, and brought to *Alis Baſſa*, *Solyman* his chiefe councellour (a man of a ſharpe conceit) who of nothing could make ſomething, but hauing any thing to worke vpon, could doe wonders: He hauing ſtraightly examined the meſſenger, and peruſed the letters, ſuppreſſed the ſame, and preſently writ others in the name of *Mahomet*, commending the captaine for that hee had alreadie done in his ſeruice; but yet for as much as he could not poſsibly in time releeue him, he willed him therefore to deliuer vp the caſtle, and to prouide for the ſafetie of himſelfe and his garriſon, by ſuch conditions as he could beſt obtaine. Theſe counterfeit letters *Alis Baſſa* found meanes to bee as cunningly deliuered vnto the captaine, as they were craftely endited: who hauing read the ſame, and now out of all hope of releeſe, expecting alſo euery houre to be aſſaulted by the furious enemie; vpon reaſonable conditions yeelded the caſtle to *Solyman*. The newes whereof being brought vnto *Mahomet*, now come within one dayes march of PRUSA, exceedingly grieued him: but ſeeing no remedie, he returned backe againe to AMASIA; whither *Solyman* (now poſſeſſed of the cittie and caſtle of PRUSA, and hauing thereby got a great name in ASIA) ſhortly after came with his armie, and hardly beſieged his brother in AMASIA: but ſeeing no hope to win the cittie, he retired backe againe to PRUSA, and there after his wonted manner ſpent his time in riot and exceſſe, whereunto he was exeeedingly giuen. *Iacup Beg* for yeelding of the caſtle, was afterward by *Mahomet* ſtraightly impriſoned, and in danger to haue beene put to death, had not the great Baſſaes become earneſt interceſſours for him.

Mahomet lying at AMASIA, was by his ſecret eſpials aduertiſed, That his brother *Solyman* hauing diſperſed his armie, lay in great ſecuritie at PRUSA, guarded but with a ſmall power, paſſing his time in all voluptuous pleaſure, his common exerciſe. Wherupon he in all haſt marched with his armie thitherwards, to haue ſurpriſed him, before hee ſhould bee able to call together his diſperſed forces. But when he was come to the riuer SANGARIUS, hee was diſcouered by *Solyman Subbaſſa*, a great captaine, whom Sultan *Solyman* had ſent, for the taking vp of men in that ſide of the countrey. Who returning in all haſt, gaue *Solyman* knowledge of his brothers comming: with which ſuddaine newes he was ſo diſmayed, being now of ſmall ſtrength, that for the auoiding of the imminent danger, he would preſently haue fled into EUROPE, had not *Alis Baſſa* otherwiſe perſuaded him: telling him, That if he ſhould ſo cowardly flie away, it would not onely blemiſh and defame his honour, but diſcourage his friends alſo in ASIA, and encourage his enemies to purſue him perhaps vnto the gates of HADRIANOPLE: and that therefore it were better, with ſuch forces as hee had, to take the ſtraits about NEAPOLIS, and ſo to ſtay his brothers further paſſage into that countrey, vntill ſuch time as hee might aſſemble the reſt of his armie. According to which good counſell, he firſt tooke the beforenamed ſtraits and paſſages, whereby *Mahomet* was of neceſsitie to paſſe, and there ſtrongly fortified himſelfe. *Mahomet* comming thither, with great force entered thoſe ſtraits, but was ſtill valiantly by *Solyman* repulſed. The like attempt hee many times valiantly gaue, for that he knew himſelfe to be at that time too ſtrong for his brother: but *Solyman* hauing the aduauntage of the place, with little danger or loſſe fruſtrated thoſe his brothers braue attempts, although hee were then a great deale the weaker. *Alis Baſſa*, whoſe wilie head, fraught with long experience, could (with nothing) effect great matters, in the meane time was not idle, but (making *Solyman* before acquainted with his doings) ſent a ſecret meſſenger (one of his owne truſtie ſeruants) to *Mahomet* with letters, certifying him, That moſt of his nobilitie and great cap-

captaines had ſecretly conſpired to betray him into the hands of his elder brother *Solyman*, as the vndoubted heire of his father *Baiazet*; and ſo with the price of his head, to make their owne peace and attonement with him: and that for the performance thereof, they had bound themſelues firſt vnto *Solyman*, and afterwards one to another, by ſolemne oath. Which treaſon hee diſcouered vnto him, with great proteſtation of his loue and good will, as hee that had of long time eaten bread and ſalt (as the Turkes vſe to ſay) in his fathers court; and therefore could not but wiſh well vnto him, being one of his lord and maiſters ſonnes. Theſe letters ſomething troubled *Mahomet*, breeding in his head many a jealous conceit: for all that, he ceaſed not for ſix or ſeauen daies ſpace, to giue many a hot skirmiſh for the gaining of thoſe ſtraight paſſages, but all in vaine. In which time, it chaunced one of his ſeruants neere about his perſon, to flie vnto the enemie; which cauſed him the more to ſuſpect all that to be true, whereof *Alis Baſſa* had forewarned him. Which conſidered, and that by lying there he preuailed nothing, but loſt and wearied his men (for it was all that while exceding foule weather) and withall doubting to be betraied, returned as he came, to AMASIA. And *Solyman* glad alſo of his departure retired to PRUSA, giuing order into all parts of his kingdome, for the aſſembling of a great armie: but vnderſtanding that the king of CARAMANIA had made a league with his brother *Mahomet*, and that they were agreed to joyne their forces againſt him for the driuing of him out of ASIA, he forthwith drew all his forces to ANCYRA, as a place of more ſafetie.

Whileſt *Solyman* thus lay at ANCYRA, it fortuned that *Muſa* (which had all this while remained with his brother *Mahomet*, ſince he was ſet at libertie by *Tamerlane*) though not altogether well pleaſed with his owne eſtate, one daie by way of talke, thus ſpake vnto his brother: *You ſee* (ſaid he) *how our elder brother* Solyman *ceaſeth not to vex and moleſt vs daily, and is not vnlike in the end to preuaile againſt vs, to our vtter deſtruction: Now if it might pleaſe you to giue me leaue, I would goe to* Iſfendiar *prince of* CASTAMONA *and* PONTUS, *our brothers enemie, and of him procure ſhipping to paſſe ouer the Euxine ſea into* EUROPE: *where I doubt not to find oportunitie to make ſome great innouation in that kingdome, now in my brothers abſence: by reaſon whereof,* Solyman *ſhall of neceſsitie be driuen to leaue* ASIA, *to be again by you ſolie poſſeſſed: or elſe be brought in danger, there to loſe his kingdome in* EUROPE. *Which if it ſhall be my good hap to gaine out of his hands by your ſupportation, I promiſe you faithfully to hold the ſame of you, as of my lord and ſoueraigne.* This greatly pleaſed *Mahomet*, and therevpon not long after they concluded betwixt themſelues, one to ſtand faſt vnto another, and the one to help the other in what they could, during life; confirming the ſame with great ſolemnitie of their Turkiſh faith giuen, and taken. Wherevpon *Mahomet* furniſhed his brother *Muſa* with great ſummes of money and other needfull things, for the taking in hand of ſo great an enterpriſe.

Muſa thus furniſhed, taking his leaue of his brother, ſet forwards towards the prince *Iſfendiar*: who hearing of his comming met him on the way, and entertained him as a great prince. But after that *Muſa* had made him acquainted with his purpoſe for paſsing into EUROPE, and had obtained graunt of his helpe therein, he tooke his leaue of him for a time, and went to viſit the king of CARAMANIA; who alſo moſt honourably entertained him, and the rather in deſpight of *Solyman*. But whileſt *Muſa* was thus paſsing the time in CARAMANIA, it fortuned that *Marke* (of ſome called *Mirxes*) prince of VALACHIA, hauing his countrey much ſpoiled by *Solyman* his garriſons; and hearing that *Muſa* one of *Baiazet* his ſonnes, was with the prince *Iſfendiar*; he writ vnto him, promiſing to beſtow his daughter and heire in mariage vpon *Muſa*, if he would come ouer into EUROPE, and reuenge the wrong done vnto him by *Solyman*: whereof *Muſa* aduertiſed by the prince *Iſfendiar*, gladly returned out of CARAMANIA, and was by him tranſported ouer the EUXINE or blacke ſea, into EUROPE: where the prince of VALACHIA glad of his comming, receiued him with great honour, and according to his promiſe gaue him his daughter in mariage.

Muſa marieth the prince of Valachia his daughter.

The fame of *Muſa* his comming into EUROPE, and of his mariage, was in ſhort time bruted through all *Solyman* his kingdome in EUROPE, and wrought ſuch effect in the minds of the mutable vulgar people (alwaies deſirous of noueltie) that they all as it were with one conſent, ſubmitted themſelues vnto him, as vnto their lord and ſoueraigne. In ſo much that comming to the royall citie of HADRIANOPLE, in the abſence of his brother *Solyman*, hee was there receiued as their king.

Muſa in the abſence of Solyman receiued at Hadrianople as king

Solyman now lying at ANCYRA in ASIA, vnderſtanding of theſe proceedinges of *Muſa* in

EUROPE, and that he was poſſeſſed of a great part of his kingdome there, was therewith exceedingly troubled. Wherfore leauing his deputie in ANCYRA, he with all his army came to the ſtrait of BOSPHORUS, and there of *Emanuel* the Greeke emperour obtained paſſage, promiſing for the ſame to reſtore vnto him certaine places before taken from him in ASIA: for *Muſa* had ſo prouided, that he could haue no helpe of the Turkiſh ſhipping, which was by his commaundement all before brought ouer vnto EUROPE ſide. *Muſa* hearing of *Solyman* his ariuall in EUROPE, made towards him with a great power: but after that both their armies were come the one within view of the other, and now readie to joyne baitaile, many of *Muſa* his captaines forſooke him and fled to *Solyman* the elder brother and their vndoubted king: which *Muſa* beholding, was glad to flie, and to take the ſafegard of the woods and mountaines for his refuge. After which victorie, *Solyman* returning to HADRIANOPLE, tooke againe poſſeſion of his kingdome, and there without meaſure gaue himſelfe to riot and exceſſe, according to his woonted manner.

After the departure of *Solyman* out of ASIA, *Iacup-Beg* (but lately before againe receiued into *Mahomet* his fauour, and now left as *Solyman* his deputie) deliuered ANCYRA with the caſtle of PRUSA, and all the reſt that *Solyman* had gained in ASIA, to *Mahomet*; who ſhortly after led his armie through the countries of CARASIA, AYDINIA, SARUCANIA, TEKENSIS, and GERMEANIA, reducing them once again vnto his obeiſance: and afterwards returned to PRUSA, where he now the ſecond time tooke poſſeſsion of his fathers kingdome in ASIA.

Muſa goeth againſt Soyman.

Muſa ſtill aided by the Valachian prince his father in law, gaue many great attempts againſt his brother *Solyman*: but was ſtill put to the worſe. At length hauing gathered ſome good ſtrength, and diligently attending the leaſt ſmile of better fortune, drew neere vnto the place where *Solyman* lay, who at that time was (as his manner was) banqueting with great pleaſure in his campe, and full of wine. In ſo much that when newes was brought vnto him, That his brother *Muſa* was at hand with a great power; he in his drunkenneſſe cauſed the meſſenger that brought the newes to be beaten: and when he with greater earneſtneſſe than was to his liking, affirmed that his report to be true, he commaunded him to be ſlaine for troubling his mirth. But not long after, *Muſa* was come ſo neere, that the vauntcourrours of his armie did skirmiſh with ſome of *Solyman* his ſouldiours: when as *Chaſis Eurenoſes* one of his fathers old captaines, preſſing in, told him that *Muſa* was at hand, and had skirmiſhed with part of his armie. Whereof *Solyman* (now farre in wine) had no regard, but ſaid: Good tutor doe not trouble me no more, my brother *Muſa* dare not come ſo nigh me, if I doe but hold vp my cappe, he is gone. With which anſwere the old captain going out diſcontented, ſent in *Chaſan*, Aga of the Ianizaries: who boldly comming vnto him, told him plainly of the imenent danger, and ſharply reproued him for his intemperance and ſecuritie. With whoſe free ſpeech, *Solyman* mooued, in great rage commanded his beard to be cut off (then no ſmal diſgrace amongſt the Turks.) *Chaſan* preſently comming forth thus diſgraced, ſaid to them that ſtood waiting without: *This is the honour wherewith Sultan* Solyman *in his exceſſe, rewardeth his moſt faithfull ſeruants. Wherefore bee it knowne to you all, I will from henceforth (and not without cauſe) ſerue* Muſa, *a prince of greater temperance and diſcretion: who ſo will follow me, come and welcome,* So mounting to horſe, and accompanied with a number of his Ianizaries, of whom hee was greatly beloued, went ouer to *Muſa*: as did many other great captaines alſo with their companies, mooued by his example ſo to doe. But when *Solyman* vnderſtood that *Chaſan* with moſt part of the Ianizaries, and many other worthy captaines with the greateſt ſtrength of his armie, were reuolted to *Muſa*, then faſt by, and readie to ſet vpon him; it then repented him too late of his diſſolute folly: and finding no other remedy now to eſcape, hid himſelfe vntill it was darke night; then taking horſe, accompanied onely with *Caratze Beg* and *Cara Muchill*, two of his noblemen, and one countrey Turke (whom they had retained for their guide) thought to haue fled to CONSTANTINOPLE. This malicious clowne, hauing of purpoſe led them by vnknowne waies all that night too and fro, as it were in a maze, oftentimes miſnaming vnto them the places they paſſed by, as if they had been in the right way; brought them in the morning to a village not farre from the place from whence they departed the euening before: and there riding a little before them, of purpoſe, gaue warning to a ſturdie peaſant or two of his acquaintance, That *Solyman* was comming after: willing them to make ſtay of him. Theſe rude countrey churles, with ſome others of like breed, running out with bats and ſtaues, and ſuch other homely tooles as firſt came to hand, ſlew *Caratze*, and *Cara Muchill*, which would

Solyman flyeth.

would not yeeld vnto them but ſtood vpon their guard, and tooke *Solyman* aliue: where, as it commonly falleth out in the vulgar peoples furie, ſome cried out to kill him, and ſo to end the warres; ſome likewiſe to burne him; and ſome to hang him; and ſome few to ſaue him: euerie one as his rude affection lead him. In the heat of this countrey vprore came *Muſa*, who glad to ſee his brother *Solyman* ſo hardly beſet, cauſed him preſently to be there ſtrangled, when hee had raigned in HADRIANOPLE ſix yeares and ten moneths.

Solyman ſtrangled by his brother Muſa.

This was the miſerable end of *Solyman*, the eldeſt ſonne that *Baiazet* left aliue. A man much giuen to exceſſe, otherwiſe endued with many great vertues, being both of great valour and exceeding bountifull. In his time liued the learned doctor *Achmetes* which wrote the hiſtorie of *Alexander* the Great, in Turkiſh verſe, and publiſhed it in the name of *Solyman* himſelfe: for which he was by him bounteouſlie rewarded. The dead bodie of *Solyman* himſelfe, was by the commaundement of *Muſa* conuaied to PRUSA, and there lieth buried faſt by the bodie of his grandfather *Amurath*. So now of theſe *Cadmeian* brethren, remained none but *Mahomet* and *Muſa*, the one raigning in ASIA, and the other in EUROPE, diuers parts of world, and well bounded with the ſureſt bounds of nature: yet not ſufficient to content or containe their ambitious minds, vntill that the younger had moſt vnnaturally deuoured the elder: whoſe liuely counterfait, as it is by the skilfull workeman expreſſed, you may here behold.

This Solyman it that ſame whom ſome call Celebinus, and others ſome Calepinus, and reckon him for the fift king of the Turks.

Quid properas inſane tuum peſſundare fratrem?
Nam ſceleris tanti, Præmia digna feres.
Quicquid enim fratri malefeceris, hoc tibi frater.
Mox referet, nimis hæc in tua fata ruis. RICH. KNOLLEVS.

What haſteſt thou mad foole, thy brother to confound?
The guerdon of ſuch villanie, ſhall to thy ſelfe redound.
For looke what miſchiefe thou haſt wrought ſhall turne to thee againe:
Why doſt thou therefore fooliſh man ſo haſten on thy paine?

Musa presently after the death of his brother *Solyman*, tooke vpon him the Turkish kingdome in EUROPE: who in the beginning of his raigne displaced most of them which had born great offices before in the time of his brother *Solyman*, and had now of late reuolted to him; fearing to be by them betrayed or forsaken, as his brother was: and in their roomes placed other his owne creatures. And not so content, proceeded farther, vpon small causes most vnkindly to imprison and put to death many of them that had of him well deserued. Which cruell dealing so alienated the minds of his nobilitie, that many of them kept themselues out of the way, doubtfully expecting the euent of such his tyrannicall gouernment: *Chasis Eurenoses*, that old and renowned captaine, to escape his hands, was glad to feigne himselfe blind, so to absent himselfe from court. At this time hee also by his embassadours demaunded of diuers Christian princes his neighbours, such tribute as they had in times past either paied or promised to pay vnto his father *Bauazet*: and in that quartell inuaded diuers of them, namely, the princes of SERVIA and BULGARIA. Amongst others he sent *Ibrahim Bassa*, a learned man of great experience, and sometimes one of his fathers graue counsellours, vnto *Emanuell Paleologus*, the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, to demaund the like tribute of him. Who so soone as he was come to CONSTANTINOPLE, from thence by letters aduertised *Mahomet* of the vndiscreet gouernment of his brother *Musa* in his new gotten kingdome; and what vntimely stirres he began to make, before he was therein well setled, loosing the loue both of his subjects and neighbour princes: with much other matter concerning his misgouernment. Which things when *Mahomet* vnderstood, he sent a messenger with letters backe againe to CONSTANTINOPLE, requesting the Bassa to come ouer vnto him into ASIA, and in token of his great fauour sent him diuers rich garments, with many great and princely promises: wherewith the Bassa mooued, and detesting the cruell gouernment of *Musa*, went ouer vnto him to PRUSA, and there was of him honourably entertained, and sworne one of his priuie counsell: in which place of honour he long time afterwards serued him faithfully, and after him his sonne *Amurath* also.

Mahomet thinking, vpon the aduantage of his brothers euill gouernment, to find meanes to thrust him out of his kingdome, and so to draw the whole gouernment of the Turkish empire vnto himselfe, as well in EUROPE as in ASIA; assembled an armie of fifteene thousand choice souldiors to inuade his brother in EUROPE, before hee were there well established in his kingdome. And so shocking downe towards the straits of BOSPHORUS, by his embassador concluded a league with *Emanuel* the Greeke emperour, That one of them should neuer wrong or damnifie the other: and that if *Mahomet* should hap to obtaine the Turkish kingdome in EUROPE, he should alwaies honour and reuerence the emperour as his especiall good friend: but if it should chance him to be distressed or ouerthrowne by his brother *Musa*, that then the emperour should presently transport him and his armie backe agains into ASIA. This league was with great solemnitie of words on both parts confirmed. And shortly after *Mahomet* with all his armie was by the emperours shipping at the strait of BOSPHORUS neere vnto CONSTANTINOPLE, transported ouer into EUROPE: for *Musa* possessed of GALLIPOLIS, had stopped all the other passages.

The battaile betwixt the two brethren, Mahomet and Musa.

Musa hauing before knowledge of his brothers comming, was foorthwith in readinesse to meet him with a strong armie. So that *Mahomet* had not marched farre from the sea side, but that the vaunteourriers of his armie met with his brothers, at a place called INTZUGE, and there began a light skirmish: wherin *Musa* his forerunners were by *Mahomets* put to flight, and chased vnto *Musa* his campe. Whereof such a suddaine feare arose in the armie, that they were almost readie to flie, thinking *Mahomet* had beene vpon them with all his power: but vnderstanding the truth of the matter, both armies rested that night, which as then drew fast on. The next day these two brethren, armed with equall hope, brought their armies into the field, & gaue the signall of battaile, whereupon began a mortall and bloodie fight: in the furie whereof, *Michaell Ogli*, Bassa of ROMANIA, and certaine other of *Musa* his great captaines, vpon secret discontentment reuolted to *Mahomet*: wherewith many of *Musa* his souldiors discouraged, fled. Which *Mahomet* his souldiors seeing, pursued the chace with such earnestnesse and furie, that few were left with himselfe: yet with such as were left, in hope of good hap, he set vpon his brother: who although hee was halfe discomfited with the flight of the greater part of his armie, whom the enemies had yet in chace, yet stood he fast himselfe with seuen thousand Ianizaries, his best souldiors; so taking the vnexpected good hap, presented vnto him by his brothers forwardnesse,

neſſe, valiantly receiued his charge. But *Mahomet* finding there a greater ſtrength than hee had before ſuppoſed, and himſelfe too weake to withſtand the furie of the Ianizaries, becauſe moſt of his men alſo were following the chace, was now for ſafegard of his life glad to flie himſelfe to CONSTANTINOPLE: whether hee came accompanied ſcarcely with two hundred men: and was from thence, according to the agreement before made betwixt him and the emperour, ſpeedily ſhipped ouer into ASIA. *Muſa* hauing thus put his brother to flight, with great ſlaughter of his men, preſently tooke his tents with all that was therein, and there encamped himſelfe. They of *Mahomets* armie, which followed the chace of ſuch as had fled in the beginning of the battaile, not knowing what had happened to *Mahomet*, returning to the campe, doubting no perill, and finding it at their returne poſſeſſed by their enemies, ſtood as men amaſed and vtterly diſcouraged: at which time *Muſa* would not ſuffer his ſouldiours to put them to the ſword, as they would faine haue done, but commaunded them to bee deſpoiled of their armes and ſuch other things as they had, and ſo with life ſuffered them to depart.

After this ouerthrow, whileſt *Mahomet* lay ſtill at PRUSA, the prince of SMYRNA forcibly entred into AIDINIA, purpoſing to paſſe through into SARUCANIA: which thing *Mahomet* hearing, gathered a great armie, and entering into the princes countrey, made ſuch ſpoile as hee went, and ſo diſtreſſed the prince himſelfe, that he was glad to ſubmit himſelfe vnto him, and from thenceforth to hold his dominion of him, as of his lord and ſoueraigne, and ſo returned vnto AMASIA.

Mahomet could not well diſgeſt the loſſe he had ſo lately receiued in EUROPE, and therefore leuied an armie of choice ſouldiors out of all parts of his kingdome, once againe to trie his fortune againſt his elder brother *Muſa*. For the better ſucceſſe wherein, he by his letters craued aid of the prince *Duldager Ogli*, written to this effect:

Sultan *Mahomet* vnto the prince *Dulgader Ogli*, his father in law.

My purpoſe is to lead mine armie into ROMANIA *in* EUROPE, *and there againe to trie my quarrell with my brother* Muſa. *My hope is, that you will not with your aid be wanting vnto me your ſonne in law, in my ſo great affaires, neither for want of good will to hinder this my purpoſe. Fare you well, in the yeare of our great Prophet Mahomet* 814. *From* AMASIA.

Mahomet his letters vnto the prince Dulgader Ogli, his father in law.

Whereunto the prince returned this kind anſwere:

Prince *Dulgader Ogli* vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet*.

I doubt not moſt mightie Monarch, but that whither ſo euer your deſires ſhall draw you for the vndertaking of any great exploit, he that ruleth aboue in heauen, will be alwaies your aid, proſper your attempts, miniſter vnto you fit occaſions, and bring all your actions vnto moſt happie end, with moſt aſſured victorie. Wherefore ſeeing (God ſo diſpoſing our affaires) I cannot my ſelfe in perſon come vnto you with my power, and giue you my truſtie helpe in this your intended warre: yet will I in no caſe faile with all ſpeed to ſend my ſonne your ſeruant, to aid you with our forces, in this warre. Fare you well this ſame yeare of our Prophet 814.

The anſwere of prince Dulgader Ogli to Mahomet.

And ſo ſhortly after, the prince ſent vnto him his ſonne, according to his promiſe, with a companie of braue ſouldiors, excellently furniſhed: for the welcomming of whom, *Mahomet* his brother in law made a great and royall feaſt: and there in his mirth gaue vnto the young prince the rich apparrell hee wore himſelfe, with the horſe hee rode vpon, and all the rich plate of gold and ſiluer wherein they were ſerued at that feaſt, a matter of great value. And to euery one of his noblemen he gaue a rich garment, made for that purpoſe, with ſome other gift, as a fauour: and afterwards gaue them all to vnderſtand, That he intended forthwith to paſſe ouer into EUROPE, and there to recouer all his fathers kingdome, or els there to end his daies: As for the ſpoile and prey (ſaid hee) ſhall bee theirs that can win it: one horſe, one ſword, one horſemans mace ſhall content my ſelfe. So hauing furniſhed his armie with all things needfull for ſo great an enterpriſe, hee ſet forward, and came to the ſtrait of BOSPHORUS; and from thence gaue knowledge of his

his comming to the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE: who glad thereof (for the displeasure he bare to *Musa*) transported him and all his armie ouer that strait into EUROPE, and there in one of his countrey pallaces royally feasted him. At which time *Mahomet* requested the emperour to joine with him in that warre against their common enemie: but hee excused himselfe by reason of his great age; yet neuertheless, assisted him with certaine companies of valiant Christians, whose seruice afterward stood the Turke in great stead.

So *Mahomet* taking his leaue of the emperour, marched with his armie to the riuer WYZEN in THRACIA, where by the way he receiued letters from the antient captaine *Chasis Eurenoses*, aduising him to be very circumspect in his marching, and not to make too much hast to joine battaile with his brother: counselling him also (if he could by any means) to allure *Iegides Bassa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, to forsake his brother, and to follow his ensignes; for that in those men consisted *Musa* his greatest strength: and promised in good time to come vnto him himselfe also, if he were not too hastie. This messenger that brought this newes, *Mahomet* bountifully rewarded, and so sent him away. Shortly after, as he was marching towards HADRIANOPLE, part of the enemies armie, began to shew it selfe vnder the leading of *Cara Calile*, and was presently charged by *Michaell Ogli*, and put to flight. So holding on his way to HADRIANOPLE, hee laied siege to the cittie: where the cittizens sent out vnto him certaine of their grauest and most substantiall burgesses, to certefie him, That by reason of the garrison there left by *Musa*, they could not as then deliuer the cittie vnto him; but if it should please him to goe and trie his fortune in the field against his brother, who should be the commaunder thereof, he should find them readie to follow his good fortune, and to yeeld themselues, the cittie, and all therein, to his pleasure, if it were his good hap to carrie away the victorie. With which answere *Mahomet* contenting himselfe, raised his siege, and tooke the way towards ZAGORA. In that place *Musa* is reported to haue come secretly disguised into *Mahomet* his campe, and to haue taken full view thereof, but perceiuing himselfe too weake to encounter his brother, withdrew his armie into the safegard of the great woods and strong places: and so from thence retired with his armie towards PHILIPPOPOLIS, and so marched along the riuer MERITZE, called in antient time HEBRUS: Where *Iegides Bassa*, with *Hamza Beg*, and *Ismir Ogli* (three of *Musa* his great captaines) set vpon the rereward of *Mahomets* armie, and were by *Michael Ogli* repulsed. *Mahomet* holding on his way, came to SOPHIA: where as he went, *Musa* diuers times from the mountaines made shew of his armie, but durst not come downe into the plaine to giue him battaile. *Mahomet* hauing refreshed his armie at SOPHIA, marched to SARKIVE, where he receiued letters from *Iegides Bassa*, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, all secretly persuaded by old *Eurenoses* to reuolt vnto him: the tenor whereof in breefe was this.

Hadrianople besieged by Mahomet.

Iegides Bassa, *Barac Beg*, and *Sinan Beg*, vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet*.

We are three young men (most mightie Monarch) and haue with vs three thousand choice soldiors, men of incomparable valor, such as the world hath scarce the like: draw your forces neare vnto vs with as much speed as you can, and you shall find vs readie to come ouer vnto you. Fare you well.

Musa his cheefe captaines reuolt to Mahomet.

Whereupon he marched all the next night after, vntill he came to the riuer MORAVA, and there encamped: where the three aforenamed captains, according to their promise joined themselues vnto him with all their souldiors. Thither came also old *Eurenoses*, of all others the most famous captaine amongst the Turks, and now no longer blind, bringing with him a great companie of most expert souldiours. *Marke* the Despot of SERVIA (for the displeasure he bare vnto *Musa*) sent him aid thether also. By which supplies, *Mahomets* armie was greatly encreased: who after he had courteously welcomed all these new come captains, he began againe to march farther vntill he came to COSSOVA, the vnfortunate plaine; where *Hamza Beg* the prince of SMYRNA his sonne, hauing forsaken *Musa*, came vnto him with fiue hundreth horse, certifying him that all the nobilitie had forsaken his father: so, as he marched from place to place, his forces still encreased by the reuolt of his brothers. *Musa* seeing his souldiours thus daily fall from him, insomuch that he had almost none now left, but the souldious of the court (which were indeed his best men of warre, and alwaies vnto him faithfull, because he had been euer vnto them exceeding

ding bountifull) thought it beſt to attempt ſomething, before he were left himſelfe alone. Wherfore hauing yet with him ſeuen thouſand of thoſe expert ſouldiors, he drew neerer vnto his brother, ſeeking to haue taken him at ſome aduantage. But *Mahomet* hauing knowledge of his purpoſe, and contented to be aduiſed by his old expert captaines, had euer a vigilant eye vnto him. Yet at laſt, whether it were vpon good hope, or els prickt forward with deſpaire, *Muſa* vpon the ſuddaine, valiantly ſet vpon his brothers armie: but his ſouldiors oppreſſed with multitude, rather than ouercome with true valour, after a hard and bloodie fight were put to the worſt: which he ſeeing, deſperatly brake into the middeſt of his enemies, ſeeking there for death amongſt the thickeſt of them. But being knowne by *Baiazet Baſſa*, *Mahomet* his lieutenant generall, deſirous to take him aliue, he was beſet on euery ſide: where ſeeing himſelfe in more danger to be taken than ſlaine, hee with great courage brake from amongſt the middeſt of them, and fled. In which flight his horſe falling into a deepe muddie ditch (or as ſome others ſay, hoxed by *Sarutzes* his owne ſeruant, and himſelfe wounded) ouerthrew him, and there before he could againe recouer himſelfe was taken by *Baiazet Baſſa* (the great lieutenant) *Michael Ogli*, and *Barac Beg*, which had hardly purſued him out of the battaile: and ſo was with his handes bound, by them brought through the middeſt of the armie. Which pitifull ſight, greeued not a little the hearts of many; to ſee him but euen now ſo great a king, and one of the ſonnes of great *Baiazet*, by the ſtrange change of fortune, bound like a captiue ſlaue led forth to execution: yet were moſt part glad thereof, hoping this long ciuile wars would now in him take end. Shortly after came vnto him a noble man called *Balta Ogly*, ſent (as was thought) from *Mahomet* himſelfe; who after he had in few words bitterly reprooued him, for the crueltie by him before ſhewed vnto his brother *Solyman* in like caſe, cauſed him preſently to be ſtrangled with a bow ſtring. His dead body was by and by after, preſented to his brother *Mahomet*: who ſeeing it, ſhed a few Crocadils teares ouer it. He raigned three yeares and ſeauen moneths, and was afterwards conuaied to PRUSA, and there lieth buried by the bodie of his brother *Solyman*, in the ſame chappell with his grandfather *Amurath*.

Muſa taken.

Muſa ſtrangled.

Mahomet after the death of *Muſa*, now free from all competetours, tooke vpon him the ſole gouernment of the Turkiſh kingdome, as well in EUROPE as in ASIA. And here the Turkiſh hiſtories begin the raigne of this *Mahomet* fifth king of the Turks: accounting the troubleſome time from the captiuitie of *Baiazet*, vnto the death of *Muſa*, as a time of vacancie or Anarchi, wherein the Turkiſh kingdome was not at any time wholie poſſeſſed by any one of *Baiazet* his ſonnes. *Iſa* poſſeſsing one part, whereof hee was by *Mahomet* diſpoſſeſſed: who afterwardes vſurped all that part of the Turkiſh kingdome in ASIA, being the right of his eldeſt brother *Solyman*: Who at that time raigning in EUROPE, was depoſed and ſtrangled by his brother *Muſa*: who was in like manner ſerued by his youngeſt brother *Mahomet*, the onely ſonne of *Baiazet* then left, as is before at large declared. Which diuers mutations, and interrupted ſucceſsions, was the cauſe that the Hiſtoriographers doe ſo greatly diſcent vpon the ſucceſſour of *Baiazet*: ſome reckoning one, ſome another; and ſome more, ſome fewer; and ſome, ſuch as neuer were. But foraſmuch as *Mahomet* held all or moſt part of the Turkiſh kingdome in ASIA, during this troubleſome time; and in the end poſſeſſed the other part thereof in EUROPE alſo; I reckon him for the fifth king of the Turks, and ſucceſſour to his father *Baiazet*: including alſo in this Hiſtorie of his life, all that inteſtine and ſerpentine-like tragedie, wherin he himſelfe was the principall actor.

Whileſt *Mahomet* was (as is aforeſaid) thus buſied in his wars in EUROPE, againſt his brother *Muſa*: the king of CARAMANIA taking the aduantage of his troubles there, with a great armie inuaded his kingdome joyning vpon him in ASIA, burning and ſpoiling all before him as he went: *Eiuaſes Baſſa*, *Mahomet* his lieutenant, then lying at PRUSA, not able to withſtand him; and fearing his comming thether, becauſe it was the ſeat of the *Othoman* kings in ASIA, cauſed the citizens to bring the greateſt part of their wealth into the caſtle: whereinto he alſo receiued ſo many of the citizens as he conueniently could, willing the reſt to ſhift for themſelues as they might, in ſuch caſe of extremitie. Shortly after, the king of CARAMANIA (according to his expectation) came to PRUSA, and without reſiſtance tooke the citie, not as yet fully fortified; which he without delaie cauſed the ſecond time to be burnt downe to the ground: and afterwards laid ſiege to the caſtle, giuing many great aſſaults thereto by the ſpace of thirtie daies; but was alwaies valiantly repulſed by *Eiuaſes* the Baſſa, who ceaſed not continually to encourage his ſouldiours, ſtill putting them in comfort, That *Mahomet* hauing now ouercome his enemies in EUROPE,

1415.

Prusa burnt by the Caramanian king.

EUROPE, would in few daies vndoubtedly come to their releefe. It chaunced at the same time, that the dead bodie of *Musa*, sent to PRUSA to be buried, was honourably conuaied vpon the way, with much people following it. The Caramanian king hearing of the comming of such a multitude, and fearing it to haue been *Mahomet* with his power, raised his siege and with speed departed: whereat the Turks long time after jeasted, saying, If the Caramanian king runne away for feare of the dead bodie of the *Othoman* king; what would he doe if hee had come against him aliue? but the truth was, he feared *Mahomet* and his power.

Orchanes the sonne of *Solyman* (yet a boy) hauing liued at CONSTANTINOPLE euer since the death of his father, about this time departed thence, because of the league but lately made between the emperour and his vncle *Mahomet*, purposing to haue gone into VALACHIA: but by the way as hee was trauelling, the Turkish voluntarie souldiours vnderstanding that hee was the sonne of their late king *Solyman*, resorted vnto him in great numbers, offering in his quarrell to spend their liues. Of which insurrection *Mahomet* hearing, marched thether in all hast, with a great power to suppresse the same: of whose coming the souldiors with *Orchanes* vnderstanding, dispierced themselues and fled. As for *Orchanes* himselfe, he was by his vnfaithfull tutor *Zaganos* betraied vnto his vncle *Mahomet*: who presently caused his eies to be put out, and so sent him to PRUSA: allowing him great reuenewes to liue vpon, and euer after vsed him with great honour. The sister of this *Orchanes* he gaue in marriage to one of his noblemen, with a great dowrie. This is that *Orchanes*, whom some historiographers reckon vp among the Turkish kings, as one of the successours of *Baiazet*; and that hee was betrayed to his vncle *Moses*: erring as I suppose, both in the succession and the name, mistaking *Moses* for *Mahomet*.

1416 *Mahomet inuadeth the Caramanian king.*

Now *Mahomet* calling to remembrance the injurie which the Caramanian king had done to him in his absence, returning to PRUSA, assembled a great armie to reuenge himselfe of that wrong. At which time, he sent to the prince *Isfendiar* for aid, who sent him his sonne *Cassumes*. He commanded also the prince *Germian Ogli*, to make prouision for the victualing of his campe, as he should passe by his countrey: which was accordingly done. And so prouided of all things necessarie, he with his armie entred into the Caramanian countrey: Where he tooke the cities ASPROPOLIS, DESPOTOPOLIS, HIEROPOLIS, and besieged ICONIUM: but by reason of the imoderate raine which at that time fell, he was glad to make peace with the Caramanian king, called also *Mahomet*. And so raising his siege, departed towards PONTUS, where hee had not long staied, but that newes was brought vnto him, That the Caramanian king renouncing his league, was againe vp in armes. Wherefore returning into CARAMANIA, and so to ICONIUM, he there ouerthrew the king in battaile, and tooke both him and his son *Mustapha* prisoners: who redeemed themselues by deliuering diuers of their strong cities and castles into his hands: and afterward concluded a peace, they receiuing from him an ensigne (as the Turkish maner is) in token they were now become his vassales.

1417 *Valachia tributarie to the Turke.*

The Caramanian warre thus happily ended, he went ouer into EUROPE, and passing ouer DANUBIUS, foraged the countrey of VALACHIA TRANSALPINA, making there great spoile: for redresse whereof, the Valachian prince by his embassadours sent him such tribute as hee demaunded, and his son also to serue him in his court. About which time happened a great earthquake in PRUSA, and other places of ASIA, wherby many houses & towers were ouerthrown; after which ensued great troubles in most parts of ASIA: howbeit *Mahomet* going thether, by his presence kept all his dominions in peace and quietnesse.

Isfendiar prince of CASTAMONA and part of PONTUS, reseruing vnto himselfe CASTAMONA, with a little part more of his dominion, gaue the rest vnto *Mahomet*, vpon condition that he should restore no part thereof againe vnto his sonne *Cassumes*: who hauing long time serued in *Mahomet* his court and warres, could not be perswaded to returne againe vnto his father; and therefore was by him thus disinherited. Which great gift, *Mahomet* thankefully accepted, and in lieu thereof assigned vnto *Cassumes* other great and large possessions within his owne kingdome.

Mahomet after the death of his brother *Musa*, had sent *Scheiches Bedredin* (his brothers Cadelescher) to NICE in ASIA, as vnto a place of exile, allowing him neuertheless a great pension wheron to liue. This *Bedredin* had in his house one *Burgluzes*, *Mustapha* his steward: these two laid their heads together, how to raise some tumult or rebellion to trouble the peaceable gouernment of *Mahomet*. For which purpose, *Burgluzes* (according to the plot by them laid) tooke his way

way into AYDINIA (ſometime called CARIA) & there pretending a great zeale of reformed religion, with a wonderfull grauitie began to broach diuers new and ſtrange opinions, farre differing from the Turkiſh antient ſuperſtition, yet very plauſible and well fitting the humour of the vulgar people. By which meanes he was in ſhort time reputed for a famous learned deuout man, and had many followers, drawing after him much people, fit to begin ſome great innouation. *Bedredin* glad of his mans ſucceſſe, fled from NICE into the prince *Iſfendiar* his countrey, from whence he tooke ſhipping ouer the Euxine into VALACHIA, and there withdrawing himſelfe into a great forreſt, as if hee had beene ſome deuout and religious man, alluted vnto him a great number of outlawes and theeues which there liued. Whom when he had ſufficiently inſtructed and framed to his purpoſe, he ſent them in the habit of religious men into the countrey of ZAGORA, and other places in the frontiers of *Mahomet* his dominions, neere vnto him, as his diſciples: who with great boldneſſe and confidencie, publiſhed *Bedredin* his doctrine and authoritie; and how that he was by God appointed to be the king of juſtice, and commaunder of all the world: whoſe doctrine and manner of gouernment was (as they ſaid) alreadie receiued (as they gaue it out) in ASIA, being ſet forth but by one of his ſchollers, *Burgluzes*; whoſe fame was now diſperſed throughout all the Turks dominion: and that therefore, if any were deſirous of preferment, they ſhould repaire to *Bedredin*, who would in ſhort time ſhew himſelfe vnto the world, and promote his followers according to their deſerts. Many of the country people deluded with this phantaſie and practiſe of theſe ſeditious ſeed-men, reſorted to *Bedredin* in hope of preferment, and with them ſome of good calling alſo. At laſt, out of the forreſt commeth this great prophet, with banner diſplaied, attended vpon with a great multitude of the ſeditious vulgar people, which daily reſorted vnto him more and more. *Mahomet* for the repreſsing of theſe dangerous tumults, ſent his ſonne *Amurath*, and *Baiazet* the great Baſſa, with two thouſand men to apprehend *Burgluzes* in AYDINIA: but when they came thither, they found him guarded with three thouſand men well appointed, readie to aduenture their liues in defence of their fooliſh prophet. Neuertheleſſe, *Amurath* and *Baiazet* not diſmayed with the multitude of thoſe vplandiſh people, ſet vpon them: where was fought a right bloodie battaile, for the number, and many ſlaine on both ſides: yet at laſt the rebels fled; in which flight *Burgluzes* himſelfe was ſlaine, and hewen all to peeces. After which victorie *Baiazet* from thence haſted to MAGNESIA, and there executed *Torlac Kemal*, another ſeditious Turkiſh monke, which with two thouſand, by him ſeduced, did much harme in the countrey thereabout. At the ſame time alſo *Mahomet* ſent another power againſt *Bedredin*: but moſt of his followers ſeeing in him no ſuch matter, as was by his diſciples and himſelfe promiſed, and as they hoped for, were alreadie fallen from him; ſo that of that great multitude which before followed him, few or none were left with him, whereby he was eaſily apprehended by them that *Mahomet* had ſent againſt him: and ſo being brought to *Mahomet* to SERRAS, was there in the market place before a tauerne dore, faire hanged, without any farther harme.

Burgluzes ſlain.

Bedredin hanged

Mahomet in the ſhort time of his raigne finiſhed the great Mahometane temple at HADRIANOPLE, before begun by his brethren *Solyman* and *Muſa*. Where he alſo built a princely pallace, the ſeat of the Turkiſh kings in EUROPE, vntill the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE. Hee alſo built another temple, with a moſt ſumptuous abbey, and a publicke ſchoole thereto adjoyning, endowing the ſame with great reuenewes, ſuch as had by him and thoſe his brethren of late been taken from the Chriſtians. He gaue alſo great ſummes of money, yearely to be paid at MEDINA and MECHA, for the releeſe of poore pilgrims trauelling from far to the ſepulchre of their great prophet *Mahomet*, at MEDINA, or his temple at MECHA.

Shortly after *Mahomet* fell ſicke at HADRIANOPLE, and perceiuing himſelfe in danger of death, by his laſt will appointed his eldeſt ſonne *Amurath* to ſucceed him in his kingdome; and ſent *Eluan-beg* (a man in great fauour with him) in poſt to AMASIA, to will him with all ſpeed to repaire to the court at HADRIANOPLE. But feeling death to approch, and that hee could not poſsibly liue vntill the comming of his ſonne, he ſtraightly charged his Baſſaes with all ſecrecie to conceale his death, vntill his comming, for feare leaſt any trouble ſhould ariſe vpon the bruit thereof, before his comming thither. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order, he departed out of this world vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, about the yeare of our Sauiour Chriſt 1422, when hee had raigned ſeuenteene yeares: accounting in his raigne that troubleſome ten yeares next after the captiuitie of *Bataʒet*, in which time the Turkes kingdome was by his ambitious ſonnes rent in ſun-

Mahomet dieth at Hadrianopies

ſunder(as is aforeſaid) vntill it was at length againe by this *Mahomet* reſtored vnto the former integritie,about 7 yeares before his death,which the Turks account for the whole time of his raign: and the other troubleſome 10 yeares as a vacancie or Anarchie of their kingdome,as is aforeſaid.

The death of Mahomet cunningly concealed from the Ianizaries, by the three great Baſſaes.

Mahomet being dead,the three great Baſſaes,*Eiuaſes*,*Baiazet*,and *Ibrahim* (to rid themſelues of the feare they had of the Ianizaries,and other ſouldiors of the court) called a Diuano or counſell for the warres,as if the king had been aliue: wherein it was pretended,That *Mahomet* had determined to make warre vpon the prince of SMYRNA: and that for that ſeruice it was his pleaſure, That the Ianizaries ſhould forthwith paſſe ouer into ASIA, to the caſtle of BAGA. Whereupon preſſe money was preſently giuen them,and they ſent ouer with letters directed to the viceroy of ANATOLIA,for the aſſembling of an armie for BAGA. In the meane time,the great Baſſaes of the court ſat daily in counſell, placing and diſplacing, promoting and diſgracing whome they thought good,as if the king had ſo commaunded: The kings phyſicians alſo,to countenance the matter,were commanded continually to go too and fro with their potions and receits,after their wonted manner, as if they had had the king ſtill in cure: And letters were ſent in poſt to *Eluan Beg*, for ſpeedie diſpatch of the buſineſſe for which he was ſent into ASIA. Yet for all this cunning diſsimulation,the pentioners,and other ſouldiours of the court, wont to be neere vnto the kings perſon,and ſome of them alwaies of the priuie chamber, began to ſuſpect the matter: and comming to the Baſſaes, ſaid they maruailed that the king in ſo long time did neuer ſhew himſelfe as he had alwaies before done. Whereunto the Baſſaes anſwered, That he had been dangerouſly ſicke,and was as yet but a little recouered,and that therefore the phyſicians would not ſuffer him to looke abroad,or take the aire,for feare of caſting him downe againe. Then will wee our ſelues ſaid the pentioners goe in and ſee his majeſtie, and with that were readie to force in vpon the Baſſaes. *Eiuaſes* ſeeing their importunitie,deſired them to hold themſelues contented, and not as then to trouble the king, for that hee had that day, as hee ſaid,taken phyſicke; but to morrow(ſaid he)we will requeſt his majeſtie, if he ſo pleaſe to ſhew himſelfe, that you may ſee him: wherewith they for that time held themſelues content. Now amongſt the kings phyſicians there was one *Geordiron*,a Perſian,a man of a quicke ſpirit and ſubtill deuiſe, which found means to deceiue the pentioners: he deuiſed, that the dead bodie of the king being apparrelled in royall large robes,ſhould be brought betwixt two,as if he had been led into an high open gallerie; and being there ſet,to haue a boy ſo neatly placed behind him vnder his large robes,as that he vnperceiued,might moue the kings hand vp to his head, as if he ſhould ſtroke his face or beard, as his manner was. The next day the dead king being accordingly brought foorth by the Baſſaes in his rich robes,and wrapped with clothes about his head,as if it had been for feare of the aire,or of taking cold, and ſo placed in an high open gallerie,as was before deuiſed: ſuddainely the phyſician came running in fuming and raging,as if he had been halfe mad,readie to teare his clothes for anger; and in great choller caſting his cap againſt the ground,asked the Baſſaes,if they meant to kill the king,by bringing him into the open aire? We (ſaid he) haue with great pains, in long time,a little recouered him,and will you thus fooliſhly caſt him downe againe? Pardon vs good doctor (ſaid *Eiuaſes*) for theſe gentlemen (pointing to the pentioners) were ſo importunat to ſee his majeſtie,that to ſatisfie their deſires,he was content to be led forth of his chamber: whereof we hope ſhall enſue no harme. The pentioners ſeeing the king many times moouing his hand to his face, and as it were ſtroking his beard,held themſelues well contented, ſuppoſing him to haue beene aliue,although but weake,and therefore not willing to ſpeake vnto them. The phyſicians taking him vp amongſt them, carried him into his lodging againe, which was but faſt by,making as if they had carried an extreame ſicke man. Thus was his death cunningly concealed one and fortie daies,vntill the comming of *Amurath* his ſonne.

This *Mahomet* was both wiſe and valiant, and withall exceeding bountifull,but ambitious aboue meaſure: and may of right be accounted the reſtorer of the Turkes kingdome; for he recouered againe all thoſe countries in ASIA which *Tamerlane* had taken away and giuen vnto other Mahometane princes,after the ouerthrow of *Baiazet*. And when as the kingdome of the Turkes was rent in peeces and almoſt brought to naught by ciuile wars,and the ambition of himſelfe and his brethren; he at length got poſſeſsion of the whole,and ſo left it to his ſonne *Amurath* an entire kingdome,in the former greatneſſe,althogh not much by him augmented. His bodie lieth buried in a faire tombe made of artificiall ſtone,very beautifull to behold,in a chappell at the Eaſt ſide of PRUSA,where we leaue him at his reſt.

FINIS.

- Christian princes of the same time with Mahomet the first.
  - Emperours
    - Of the East: Emanuell Palæologus. — 1387. 30.
    - Of the West:
      - Rupertus duke of Bauaria. — 1400. 10.
      - Sigismund king of Hungarie. — 1411. 28.
  - Kings
    - Of England:
      - Henrie the fourth. — 1399. 13.
      - Henrie the fift. — 1413. 9.
    - Of Fraunce: Charles the sixt, surnamed, The welbeloued. — 1381. 42.
    - Of Scotland:
      - Iohn Stuart, otherwise called Robert. — 1390. 16.
      - Iames the first. — 1424. 13.
  - Bishops of Rome
    - Boniface the IX. — 1391. 14.
    - Innocent the VII. — 1405. 2.
    - Gregorie the XII. — 1407. 2.
    - Alexander the V. — 1410. 1.
    - Iohn the XXIII. — 1411. 5.
    - Martin the V. — 1417. 13.

Phil. Lonicer. Hiſt. Turc lib. 1.

Europam luctu & funeſtis cladibus implens
Sæuus Amurathes totus in arma ruit.
Maior at Huniades virtute & fortibus auſis,
Cogit eum trepida vertere terga fuga.
Conſilia Eugenij bellum furialia ſuadent,
Sacrorum antiſtes Martia ad arma ruit:
(Arma viri tractent, curet ſua templa ſacerdos)
Europæ exitium res tulit iſta graue.

Fierce *Amurath* doth EUROPE fill with blood and wofull cries:
And wholie giuen to martiall deeds, doth whole in armes ariſe.
But yet *Huniades* (than he, of greater ſtrength and might)
Enforced him right fearefully to turne his backe in flight.
Eugenius his infernall ſpels, ſtirs vp a fatall jarre:
Who hauing charge of ſacred rites, runs headlong into warre.
(Leaue martiall deeds to martiall men, and let the prieſt goe praie)
Such diueliſh councell, worſe receiu'd, wrought EUROPS great decaie.

THE LIFE OF AMVRATH, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, SIXT KING OF THE TVRKES, AND THE GREAT ESTABLISHER OF THEIR KINGDOME.

AFter that the death of *Mahomet* had been politiquely concealed one and fortie daies by the three great Baſſaes, *Baiazet*, *Etuaſes*, and *Ibrahim*: *Amurath* or *Murat* (as the Turkes call him) his eldeſt ſonne, at that time comming to PRUSA, was by them placed in his fathers ſeat, and the death of *Mahomet* at the ſame time publiſhed: whereupon great troubles began on euerie ſide to ariſe.

Murat is the ſame that we call Deſiderius.

The princes of SMYRNA and MENTESIA roſe vp in armes: and at THESSALONICA an obſcure fellow, crept as it were out of a chimneys corner, tooke vpon him the name and perſon of *Muſtapha*, the ſonne of *Baiazet*, which was ſlaine many yeares before, in the great battaile againſt *Tamerlane* at mount STELLA, as is before declared in the life of the vnfortunate Sultan *Baiazet*. This counterfait *Muſtapha* animated by the Grecian princes, and going from THESSALONICA to VARDARIUM, ſet ſo good a countenance vpon the matter, with ſuch a grace and majeſtie, that not onely the countrey people (apt to beleeue any thing) but men of greater place and calling alſo, as *Tzunites Beg*, the prince of SMYRNA his ſonne, with the ſonnes of old *Eurenoſes Baſſa*, perſuaded that he was the verie ſon of the great *Baiazet*, repaired vnto him, as vnto their naturall prince and ſoueraigne. From VARDARIUM he went to SERRÆ, and from thence to HADRIANOPLE, (*Amurath* being as then at PRUSA) where he was receiued as if it had been that noble prince *Muſtapha*, whom hee feigned himſelfe to be: ſo that in ſhort time he was honoured as a king in all parts of the Turkiſh kingdome in EUROPE.

Muſtapha the ſuppoſed ſonne of Baiazet raiſeth rebellion againſt Amurath.

Amurath to repreſſe this ſo great and dangerous a rebellion, ſent *Baiazet Baſſa*, a man of great authoritie in his court, with a ſtrong armie into EUROPE. This great Baſſa paſſing ouer HELLESPONTUS, found all the countrey reuolted vnto their new found king *Muſtapha*: but marching on towards HADRIANOPLE, with purpoſe to haue giuen him battaile, he was firſt forſaken of the Europeian ſouldiours, which he brought out of ASIA, and afterwards of all the reſt alſo: and ſo being left poſt alone, with his brother *Hamze Beg*, was for ſafegard of his life glad to yeeld himſelfe to *Muſtapha*; of whom he was gratiouſly entertained, and vpon promiſe of his loialtie, ſworne one of his priuie counſaile.

Muſtapha thus now poſſeſſed of the Turkiſh kingdome in EUROPE, and entertaining great thoughts, the better to maintaine his credit, leauied a great armie to make war vpon *Amurath* in ASIA. And as he was vpon his way, at a place which the Turks call SASLIDERE, or the place of Willows, his other counſailors repining at the great honor he gaue to *Baiazet Baſſa*, aduiſed him to beware that he truſted him not too farre, of whoſe ſmall faith he had ſufficient triall alreadie, and was like ynough when occaſion ſhould ſerue, to reuolt from him to *Amurath*, and to draw after him ſome great part of his armie, to the great perill both of himſelfe and all them his faithfull ſeruants and followers. Vpon which jealous conceit, this great Baſſa *Baiazet* was there forthwith as a traitour apprehended, and without further triall executed: at which time his brother *Hamze* was with much adoe ſpared. This done, *Muſtapha* proceeded on his journey, and paſſed

ouer with his armie at CALLIPOLIS into ASIA. *Amurath* vnderstanding of the proceedings of *Mustapha* in EUROPE, and of his preparation made for his inuasion of ASIA, created three new Bassaes, *Omer*, *Vruge*, and *Alis*, all three the sonnes of *Temurtases*; these he joyned with his old Bassaes, *Ibrahim* and *Etuases*. All these fiue he vsed as councellours for the wars, by whose aduice he sent for *Mahomet Beg*, surnamed *Michaell Ogli*, who in the time that *Musa* raigned, was vice-roy in EUROPE, and therefore a man well knowne to most principall men in *Mustapha* his armie, but had been kept prisoner in the castle of AMASIA, from the time that *Musa* was deposed and put to death by his brother *Mahomet*, vntill now that hee was after eight yeares imprisonment, for this speciall purpose inlarged and receiued into fauour.

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wards countenanced by the Greeke emperour, of whom he thought now to be reuenged. And therefore sending before him *Michael Ogli*, his lieutenant generall in EUROPE, with his European souldiors to inuade the countrey about CONSTANTINOPLE, followed himselfe after with the Ianizaries and his Asian forces: and encamping before the cittie, filled all that necke of land which lieth before it, from sea to sea. And so encamped, began right furiously to batter the wals, in hope so to haue made a breach, and by the same to haue entered the cittie: but finding the wals of greater strength than hee had before supposed, and the defendants still repairing whatsoeuer the furie of his artillerie had beaten downe or shaken, hee ceased his batterie, and comming on with all his forces, desperately attempted by assault to haue gained the citie: wherein his fortune was not answerable to his desire. For approching the cittie, with arrowes, as showers falling vpon the defendants, and scaling ladders in the mean time clapt vp to the wals, and the Ianizaries with others of his best souldiors courageously mounting the same; they were by the defendants notably repulsed and beaten downe, loosing some their hands, some their armes, some their heads, but most their liues, no shot falling in vaine from the wals. Which *Amurath* beholding, and grieued to see (though vnwilling) commaunded a retreat to be sounded, and the assault to cease: and shortly after seeing no hope to preuaile, in great rage raised his siege and departed. Vnto whom for all that the Greeke emperour not long after sent his embassadours, to entreat with him for peace; whereof he would by no meanes heare, but proudly threatened to be ere long of all his wrongs reuenged. Which caused the Greeke emperour to deuise what he might for the troubling of his estate, so to keepe him otherwise busied: as he did shortly after with the Caramanian king, by countenancing another *Mustapha* (surnamed *Cutzug* or the little) *Amurath* his younger brother, against him, to the raising of new stirres, and *Amurath* his no small trouble.

Mahomet the late king had fiue sonnes and seuen daughters, whereof *Amurath* was the eldest, and succeeded in his fathers kingdome; *Mustapha* the second, surnamed the little; *Achmetes* the third, who died before his father: the other two, *Iosephus* & *Machmutes*, both died of the plague, being but children, after the death of their father. Three of their sisters were married to the three sonnes of the king of CARAMANIA, *Ibrahim*, *Aladin*, and *Isa*: other two were bestowed vpon the sonnes of the prince *Isfendiar*, *Ibrahim*, and *Casimes*: the sixt was giuen in mariage to *Cozza-Beg*, viceroy in ANATOLIA; and the seuenth to the sonne of *Ibrahim Bassa*, who died at MECHA, whither she went vpon superstitious deuotion on pilgrimage.

At such time as *Amurath* was busied in his warres in EUROPE against *Mustapha*, the supposed sonne of *Baiazet*: the younger sonne of *Mahomet* (called also *Mustapha*) being but thirteene years old, and *Amurath* his brother indeed, was set vp to raise new troubles, by the king of CARAMANIA, and other princes, as well Mahometans, as the Christian princes of GRECIA; who thought it good pollicie, by that meanes to impeach the greatnesse of *Amurath*. This young prince *Mustapha*, strengthened with the forces of his friends, entered into his brothers dominions in ASIA, and besieged NICE, which was at length yeelded vnto him. *Amurath* aduertised of this new rebellion, by great gifts and large promises corrupted *Ilias Beg*, the young princes tutor, to betray the prince into his hands. Whereupon *Amurath* with great celeritie set forward with his armie from HADRIANOPLE, and in nine daies came to NICE, where he entered the cittie with small resistance, as was to him before promised, where *Mustapha* was by his false tutor to him presented: who because he would not spill one drop of the sacred *Othoman* blood (as the Turks call it) commaunded the executioner presently to strangle him with a bow string; which was done accordingly, and his bodie afterwards buried by his father at PRUSA.

Mustapha betraied & strangled.

Amurath hauing suppressed these two rebellions, and now out of all feare of any competitor, thought his fiue counsellers too many by three, and therefore remoued the three Bassaes, *Omur*, *Vrutzi*, and *Alis* (the sonnes of *Temurtases*) into honorable places; retaining of his counsell, onely the two old Bassaes, *Ibrahim* and *Eiuases*. But shortly after, *Eiuases* was secretly accused to *Amurath*, That he sought by his fauorits, the souldiors of the court, to aspire vnto the kingdome himselfe, and to depose the king; and that intending some such matter, hee did vsually weare a priuie coat. This suspicious report troubled the jealous tyrant: wherefore on a time as he rid accompanied with *Eiuases*, he cast his arme about him, as if it had beene in kindnesse: but finding him secretly armed, would needes know the cause thereof: whereunto *Eiuases* answered, That it was for feare of some enemies hee had in the court: but this excuse could by no meanes serue his turne: wherefore he was forthwith apprehended by the commaundement of *Amurath*, and both his eyes

Eiuases-Bassa hath eies put out.

eyes burnt out with a hot ſteele glaſſe.

Whileſt *Amurath* was thus buſied in ſubduing rebellions at home, *Muhamethes* the Caramanian king beſieged ATTALIA, a great cittie in PAMPHILIA, by the ſpace of ſix moneths, which was valiantly defended by *Hamza-beg*, *Amurath* his lieutenant there: at which ſiege the vnfortunat king himſelfe, as he was taking view of the citie, was ſlaine with a great ſhot out of the citie: whereupon *Ibrahim*, which ſucceeded him in the kingdome, brake vp the ſiege, & returned home to burie his father. At this time alſo, *Dracula* prince of VALACAIA, paſsing ouer DANUBIUS, did the Turks much harme about SILISTRA, but was afterwards enforced to ſubmit himſelfe to *Amurath*, and become his tributarie. *The king of Caramania ſlaine.*

About this time alſo *Tzunites*, the prince of SMYRNA, which had before aided the rebell *Muſtapha*, did by all meanes he could vex and moleſt *Iaxis-beg*, (*Amurath* his lieutenant in AIDINIA) & hauing by chance taken his brother priſoner, put him to death. This prince of SMYRNA was deſcended of the antient princes of AIDINIA, and therefore pretended an intereſt in that ſiegnorie: which his claime the people of the countrey ſecretly fauoured, ſo farre as they durſt for feare of the Turks. *Amurath* hearing of the harmes that this prince of SMYRNA did, commaunded *Hamze-beg*, viceroy of ANATOLIA, with all his power to make warre vpon him. The viceroy without delay aſſembled a great armie, and inuaded the princes countrey: and the prince being well prouided for his comming, meeting him vpon the way, gaue him battaile: wherein *Haſan* the princes ſonne, leading a great part of his fathers armie, had put one part of the Turkes armie to flight: and purſuing them with too much furie, left his father at the ſame time ſo hardly beſet by the viceroy, that he was glad to flie to his caſtle of HIPSILY faſt by. *Haſan* returning from the chace of the enemie, not knowing what had happened to his father, was by the Turkes in his returne ouercome and taken priſoner. After which victorie the viceroy preſently laid ſiege to the caſtle wherein the prince was. This ſiege continued a great while: at length, the prince brought to extremitie, was content to yeeld himſelfe vnto the viceroy, vpon condition he ſhould vſe no violence againſt the perſon of himſelfe or his ſonne, but to ſend them priſoners vnto *Amurath*: which thing the viceroy by ſolemne oath promiſed, whereupon the prince came out of the caſtle, and yeelded himſelfe priſoner to the viceroy. *Iaxis-beg*, whoſe brother the prince had before put to death, attended the going of *Hamze* the viceroy to his tent, where finding *Haſan* the princes ſonne ſitting vpon the ground, as the manner of the Turkes is, tooke him by the choller with great furie, and drawing him along to the feet of the prince his father, there moſt cruelly ſtrucke off his head: and in the ſame rage laying his bloodie hands vpon the aged prince, ſtrucke off his head alſo; to the great diſhonour of the viceroy, who had before giuen his faith for their ſafetie. The heads of the prince and his ſonne were ſet vpon two launces, within the ſight of the caſtle; which the defendants ſeeing, and now deſpairing of all reſcue, yeelded themſelues, with the caſtle. This infortunat *Tzunites* was the laſt prince of SMYRNA, after whoſe death all his territorie was vnited to the *Othoman* kingdome. After all theſe troubles, *Amurath* with great triumph married the daughter of the prince *Iſfendiar*.

Amurath hauing laied vp in the depth of his thoughts the remembrance of that the Grecian princes had done, in giuing aid to the rebels aforeſaid, thought it now high time to take reuenge of that wrong: and for that purpoſe gathered a great armie, wherewith he ranged at his pleaſure through MACEDONIA, vntill he came to THESSALONICA, ſurpriſing by the way diuers cities and caſtles, at that time belonging to the Conſtantinopolitane empire. This famous cittie of THESSALONICA, now called SALONICHI, for beautie and wealth ſometime not inferiour to any of the greateſt and moſt renowned cities of GRECIA, is ſituate vpon the borders of MACEDONIA, cloſe vnto a bay of the ARCHIPELAGO or the ſea ÆGEUM: which bay was in auntient time called THERMAICUS-SINUS, and now the bay of SALONICHI. To the Chriſtian congregation there dwelling, S. *Paul* wrote two Epiſtles, in the latter whereof, hee forewarneth them of a great defection to come before the latter day. Before this Chriſtian cittie, then in the protection of the Venetians, *Amurath* encamped his great armie of misbeleeuing Turkes; and laied hard ſiege to it, with moſt terrible batterie: at which time hee by ſecret meanes corrupted certaine of the wicked cittizens, to haue betrayed the cittie by a ſecret mine, and to haue let him in: which treaſon was by the Venetian gouernors perceiued, and the plotters therof for ſafegard of their liues glad to leape ouer the wals, and to flie into the Turks campe. *Theſſalonica beſieged.*

Amurath hauing greatly battered the wals of the cittie, the more to encourage his ſouldiors,

promiſed

promiſed to giue them all the ſpoile thereof, if they could by force winne it. The greedie deſire of this rich prey, wherein euerie common ſouldior promiſed vnto himſelfe whatſoeuer his fooliſh fancie or vnbrideled affection could deſire, ſo inflamed the minds of theſe barbarous ſouldiors, and eſpecially of the Ianizaries, that giuing a moſt terrible aſſault to the citie, they by force entred the ſame, and wan it. The Venetian ſouldiors fled to their gallies, lying at anchor in the hauen, and ſo got to ſea: but the infinite miſeries which the poore Chriſtian citizens indured in the furie of that barbarous nation, no tongue is able to expreſſe, or pen diſcribe: Death was leſſe paine than the ignominious outrages and vnſpeakeable villanies which many good Chriſtians there ſuffered, heartily wiſhing to die, and could not; and yet the furious enemies ſword deuoured all the people without reſpect of age or ſex, except ſuch as for ſtength of bodie, or comelineſſe of perſon, were reſerued for painefull labour or beaſtly luſt; which poore ſoules were afterwards diſperſed into moſt miſerable ſeruitude and ſlauerie, through all parts of the Turkiſh kingdome. The infinite riches of that famous cittie, became a ſpoile vnto the barbarous ſouldiours; the goodly houſes were left deſolate, void of inhabitants. Thus the beautifull citie of THESSALONICA, ſometime one of the moſt glorious ornaments of GRÆCIA, the late pleaſant dwelling place of many rich Chriſtians, was by the tyrant giuen for an habitation to ſuch baſe Turkes, as at their pleaſure repaired thether to ſeat themſelues, and ſo is by them at this day poſſeſſed. This calamitie happened to THESALONICA in the yeare of our Lord 1432.

Theſſalonica take by Amurath.

THESALONICA being thus taken, *Amurath* returned to HADRIANOPLE himſelfe, and at the ſame time ſent *Caratze* with the greateſt part of his armie into ÆTOLIA. *Charles* prince of that countrey, dying a little before the comming of *Amurath* to THESALONICA, and hauing no lawfull iſſue, had diuided the countrey of ACHARNANIA amongſt his three baſe ſons, *Memnon*, *Turnus*, and *Hercules*, leauing all the reſt of his dominion to his brothers ſonne, called alſo *Charles*. But ſhortly after, ſuch diſcord fell among theſe brethren, that *Amurath* ſending his Turks to aid one of them againſt the other, as he was by them requeſted, in fine brought all that countrey of ÆTOLIA into ſubjection to himſelfe, leauing nothing for the fooliſh brethren to ſtriue for, more than the bare titles of imaginatiue honour. The other Græcian princes of ATHENS, PHOCIS, BOETIA, and all the reſt of GRÆCIA, vnto the ſtrait of CORINTH, terrified by their neighbours harmes, were glad to ſubmit themſelues to the barbarian yoke, and to become tributaries vnto the Turkiſh tirant; vnder which ſlauerie they of long time moſt miſerably liued, if intollerable ſlauerie joyned with infidelitie may be accounted a life. Thus the Grecians loſt their libertie, (which their aunceſtors had many times before, to their immortall praiſe, worthily defended againſt the greateſt monarchs of the world) and are now ſo degenerate, by the meanes of the Turkiſh oppreſsion, that in all GRÆCIA is hardly to be found any ſmall remembrance of the ancient glory thereof: inſomuch that wheras they were wont to account all other nations barbarous in compariſon of themſelues, they are now become no leſſe barbarous than thoſe rude nations whom they before ſcorned. Which miſerie with a thouſand more, they may juſtly impute to their owne ambition and diſcord.

At this time amongſt the diſtreſſed princes of MACEDONIA, and GRÆCIA, one *Iohn Caſtriot* raigned in EPIRUS: who ſeeing how mightily the Turke preuailed againſt the princes his neighbours, and conſidering that hee was not able by any meanes to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemie; to obtaine peace, he was glad to deliuer into *Amurath* his poſſeſsion, his foure ſonnes, *Staniſius*, *Repoſius*, *Conſtantine*, and *George*, for hoſtages: whom *Amurath* faithfully promiſed, well and honourably to intreat. But aſſoone as he had got them within his reach, he falſified his faith, and cauſed them to be circumciſed after the Turkiſh manner, and to bee inſtructed in the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, to the great griefe of their Chriſtian parents: and afterwards, when he vnderſtood of the death of *Iohn Caſtriot* their father, hee poiſoned all the three elder brethren: And by *Sebalie* (one of his great captaines) ceized vpon CROIA, his cheefe citie, and all the reſt of his territories, as if they had by good right deuolued vnto him. But *George* the youngeſt, whom the Turks named *Scander-beg* or lord *Alexander*, for his excellent feature, and pregnant wit, he alwaies entirely loued, and as ſome thought, more paſsionatly than he ſhould haue loued a boy. Him he cauſed to be diligently inſtructed in all kind of actiuitie, and feats of warre, wherin he excelled al other his equals in *Amurath* his court; and riſing by many degrees of honor, came at laſt (being yet but verie yong) to be a great Sanzack or gouernor of a prouince, and was many times

appointed

appointed by *Amurath* to be generall of his armies; in which ſeruice hee ſo behaued himſelfe, that he got the loue of all that knew him, and increaſed his credit with *Amurath:* vntill at laſt he found oportunitie by great policie and courage, to deliuer both himſelfe and his natiue countrie, from the horrible ſlauerie of the Turkiſh tyrannie, as ſhall be afterwards declared.

Shortly after that *Amurath* had thus daunted the princes of GRECIA, he turned his forces into SERVIA: but the prince of SERVIA vnable to withſtand ſo mightie an enemie, to procure his fauour, ſent embaſſadours, offering to pay him a yeerely tribute, and to doe further what he ſhould reaſonably demaund. *Amurath* beſide the yeerely tribute, required to haue *Marie* (this princes faire daughter) in mariage; and that he ſhould not ſuffer the Hungarians to paſſe through his countrey to inuade him; and further, not at any time to denie paſſage vnto the Turkiſh armie, when he ſhould ſend forth the ſame for the inuaſion of the kingdome of BOSNA. All which vnreaſonable conditions the prince was glad to agree vnto, and ſent his faire daughter by *Saratze*, who was afterwards maried to *Amurath*.

About this time, *Ioſephus* and *Machmutes*, *Amurath* his brethren, and *Orchanes* the ſonne of *Solyman*, who had his eies put out by his vncle *Mahomet*, with many other men of great account among the Turks, died of the plague at PRUSA. *Plague among the Turks.*

Whileſt *Amurath* was thus buſied in his wars in EUROPE, the king of CARAMANIA his brother in law, inuaded his dominions in ASIA: for ſo it was agreed betweene the Chriſtian princes of EUROPE, and the Mahometan princes of ASIA, to whom the greatneſſe of the *Othoman* kingdome was now become dreadfull, That whenſoeuer hee inuaded the Chriſtians in EUROPE, the Mahometan princes ſhould inuade his countries in ASIA; and that whenſoeuer hee ſhould turne his forces into ASIA, the Chriſtian princes ſhould ſpoile his countries in EUROPE. Againſt this Caramanian king, *Amurath* tranſported his armie into ASIA: and as he went, ſeazed vpon the countries of SARUCHANIA, MENTESIA, and other prouinces, which were before but tributaries vnto him, driuing out the poore princes before him: and ſo entred into CARAMANIA, and inforced the king ſo farre, that he was glad to agree to ſuch conditions of peace as it pleaſed him to propound vnto him, and to ſend his ſonne to wait at his court. And at the ſame time picking a quarrell with *Iſfendiar* prince of CASTAMONA, cauſed him to become his tributarie, and to ſend his ſonne to his court alſo. By which meanes the name of *Amurath* became terrible to all the Mahometan princes.

When *Amurath* had thus quieted all his troubles in ASIA, he returned to HADRIANOPLE: and vnderſtanding that the Hungarians paſsing ouer DANUBIUS, had in his abſence made diuers incurſions into his dominions, hee was therewith greatly offended, and in reuenge thereof firſt ſent *Alis Baſſa* the ſonne of *Eurenoſis*, with an armie to inuade HUNGARIA; which he performed accordingly by the ſpace of a moneth, and returned from thence with rich bootie. Not long after, he himſelfe in perſon made another road into HUNGARIE, commanding the prince of SERVIA his father in law, to giue his armie free paſſage through his countrey, and charging *Dracula* prince of VALACHIA to aid him with his forces in that expedition: which his commandement both the Chriſtian princes (more for feare, than of good will) diligently performed. So *Amurath* hauing inriched his ſouldiors with the ſpoile taken in HUNGARIE, returned home and wintered at his court at HADRIANOPLE. *Hungarie ſpoiled by Amurath.*

The ſecret confederation betweene the Hungarians and the Mahometan king of CARAMANIA, was not vnſuſpected of *Amurath*; which he was the rather induced to beleeue, for that whēſoeuer he inuaded the one he was preſently ſet vpon by the other, either in EUROPE or in ASIA: of which plot he doubted not but that *George* prince of SERVIA (his father in law) was chiefe authour, although in ſhew he was therein the leaſt actor. Wherfore *Amurath* intending to ſpill the play, ſent for the prince his father in law to come to the court at HADRIANOPLE: but he doubting ſome Turkiſh tragedie, pretended great occaſions that he could not come; and fearing that which afterwards fell out, fortified and manned all his ſtrong cities and caſtles by all meanes he could poſsibly, eſpecially his chiefe citie SEMENDRE (otherwiſe called SPENDEROVIA) and left therein his ſonne *Gregorie* (or as ſome call him, *George*) as gouernour; for his other ſonne *Stephan* was long before in *Amurath* his court, with the queene his ſiſter. The prince of SERVIA himſelfe went into HUNGARIE to procure from thence ſome aid, hauing there alſo himſelfe certaine territories, which he had in exchange of *Sigiſmundus* (late emperour and king of HUNGARIE) for the citie of BELGRADE. It was not long after, but *Amurath* forgetting both the

the affinitie and league hee had with the prince his father in law, entered with a great armie into SERVIA, deſtroying all before him, and hardly beſieged SEMENDRE: where, after long ſiege, the young gouernour (the princes ſonne) doubting to fall into his enemies hands by ſuddaine aſſault, yeelded himſelfe, with the citie. Which thing ſo diſcouraged the reſt of the Seruians, that in ſhort time SOPHIA, NOVOMONT, with all the reſt of the cities of SERVIA were yeelded into the power of *Amurath*. After which conqueſt he returned to HADRIANOPLE, and hearing that the prince of SERVIA with the Hungarians, were making head againſt him; and that the two yong Seruian princes, *Gregorie* and *Stephen* his wiues brethren, had intelligence with their father, he commaunded them both to be caſt in priſon at DIDYMOTICHVM, and their eyes cruelly to be burnt out with a braſen baſon made red hot, a cõmon vnmercifull practiſe among the Turks.

Amurath contrary to his faith inuadeth Seruia and ſubdueth it.

About this time *Albertus* duke of AVSTRIA hauing before maried *Elizabeth* the only daughter of *Sigismund* the emperor, and ſucceeding his father in law both in the empire and kingdome of HVNGARIE (vnto which type of higheſt honour nothing more furthered him than the remembrance of *Sigismund*;) in the ſecond yeare of his raigne, before hee was well ſetled in thoſe new atchieued honours, died of the flix, as he was making great preparation againſt *Amurath* the Turkiſh king: who hauing lately driuen *George* prince of SERVIA and RASCIA out of his dominions, had now extended the Turkiſh kingdome euen vnto the borders of HVNGARIE. This *Albertus* dying, left his wife great with child. The Hungarians, in whoſe minds the remembrance of *Sigismund* was yet freſh, could haue beene contented to haue liued vnder the gouernment of the queene his daughter, the widdow of *Albertus* (then great with child;) but that the Turkiſh king was now growne ſo great, and come ſo nigh, that it was thought more than needfull by *Iohn Huniades*, and other of the Hungarian nobilitie, for the defence of that kingdome, not wholly to reſt vpon the deuotion of the people toward the queene, and the expectation of her iſſue, whereby they ſhould be nothing ſtrengthened: but to make choice of ſome great prince, by whoſe power they might the better defend themſelues and the kingdome againſt their dangerous enemies. Whereupon with conſent of the queene it was reſolued vpon, to make choice of *Vladiſlaus*, the yong king of POLONIA, then a prince of great power, but of farre greater fame and expectation: and by embaſſadors to offer vnto him the matiage of the queene, & with her the kingdome alſo. This embaſſage being ſent vnto *Vladiſlaus*, the matter was too and fro debated in the Polonian court, Whether it were to be accepted of or not? Some began to ſpeake of the inequalitie of the match, conſidering that the king was but in the prime of his youth, and the queene well ſtept into yeares; vrging farther, that nothing was offered in that match but wars; and that the Hungarians therein ſought for nothing more, than by the Polonian forces to defend themſelues againſt the Turks. Others of contrarie opinion, ſaid, That the vniting of thoſe two mightie kingdoms would be to the great good of them both, and to the great honour of the king, whoſe very name would thereby become terrible vnto the Turkes: and that it were greater pollicie, by the forces of both the kingdomes, to keepe the Turkiſh king from entring into HVNGARIE, than to leaue that kingdome to him for a prey, and afterward be inforced to fight with the ſame enemie in the heart of POLONIA: and as for inequalitie of yeares betwixt the king and the queene, it was not ſo great a matter, that in regard thereof ſo honourable and commodious alliance ſhould be rejected; for as much as princes doe more regard the vertues of their choice, with the increaſe of their honour, and wealth of their kingdomes, than the Summer fruit of youth and beautie, which of it ſelfe in ſhort time doth rot and periſh, although it be neuer ſo carefully kept and preſerued: and that for as much as there can be but one king in a kingdome, ſuch choice was to be preferred of kings as had not therein the greateſt hope of many children. After long deliberation, *Vladiſlaus* gaue anſwere vnto the embaſſadors, That he would accept of the offers by thẽ made: whereupon ſome of them returned to make relation thereof vnto the queene, and ſome of them ſtaied behind to haſten the king forward. But whileſt theſe things was a doing, the queen in the mean time was deliuered of a faire ſon, whom ſhe cauſed to be baptized and named *Ladiſlaus*. After the birth of this child, the queene mooued with a motherly affection, began to repent her ſelfe, that ſhe had giuen her conſent for the calling in of the Polonian king, to the prejudice of her ſonne. And being animated by ſome of the Hungarian nobilitie (who preſuming of the good grace they were in with the queene, hoped to grow great themſelues, if they might firſt draw the gouernment of that kingdome to the queene and her young ſonne) determined now by all poſsible means to exclude the Polonian king: but the greater part of the nobilitie better conſidering what was moſt expedient

Vladiſlaus accepteth of the kingdome offered.

for

for the preſent eſtate,and that they could neither with honor nor ſafetie flie from that which was before (for the common good) by the embaſſadours concluded; continued firme in their former reſolution,for the bringing in of *Vladiſlaus*: ſo that by this meanes, ſome taking part with the queene and her young ſonne,and others ſtanding faſt for *Vladiſlaus*, the kingdome of HUNGARIE was deuided into two factions,and as it were rent in peeces,and ſo grew to ciuile wars. The queene with ſuch as fauoured her claime, the more to gaine the minds of the common people (which are many times no leſſe carried away with ſhewes than matter) cauſed her ſonne *Ladiſlaus* being then but three moneths old,to be ſolemnely crowned king at ALBA-REGALIS,the vſuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian kings. But after that the Polonian king had entred into HUNGARIE with a goodly armie,and joined his forces with his friends, moſt part of them which before followed the queene and her ſonne,reuolted vnto *Vladiſlaus*. So that when ſhe had done what ſhe could,ſhe was glad at laſt to commit the tuition of her ſonne, together with the crowne of HUNGARIE,vnto *Fredericke* the third, then emperour: neuer ceaſing for all that, to the vttermoſt of her power,to trouble the gouernment of *Vladiſlaus*,continually ſtirring vp great wars againſt him both at home and abroad, vntill that at the laſt by her death her quarrell tooke end,together with her life.

In the middeſt of theſe ciuile warres, *Amurath* thought a faire oportunitie preſented vnto him,to make an entrance vnto the conqueſt of HUNGARIE,which kingdome he had in his ambitious mind alreadie deuoured. And therefore gathering a great armie, he marched along the riuer DANVBIUS,vntill he came to the ſtrong cittie of BELGRADE, called in antient time TAVRVNVM,and of ſome ALBA GRÆCA,but now commonly GREICS WEISENBURG. This cittie is enuironed on the Eaſt ſide with the famous riuer DANVBIUS, and on the South with the great riuer of SAVS or SAWE, which there falleth into DANVBIUS; and on the other two ſides is defended with ſtrong wals,with deepe and large ditches;and was then accounted the gate or entrance into HUNGARIE. Vnto this cittie *Amurath* at his firſt comming gaue two terrible aſſaults,& was in good hope ſo to haue woon the ſame,but yet was both times valiantly repulſed, with great ſlaughter of his men. Wherfore finding it to be a matter of more difficultie than was by him at the firſt ſuppoſed,he began to raiſe mounts againſt the citie, and high towers of wood to annoy the defendants,and furiouſly battered the wals. At this time alſo he cauſed great numbers of gallies and ſmall pinnaces to be brought into both the riuers of DANVBIUS and SAWE to aſſault the cittie on thoſe parts where was leaſt feared, and by that meanes alſo to keepe them of the cittie from all ſuccours to be ſent that way out of HUNGARIE. Yet for all he could doe or deuiſe,the citie was ſtill valiantly defended by the Chriſtian ſoldiors,which vnder the leading and conduct of *Ioannes Vranus*,a Florentine,gouernor thereof, with often ſallies and continuall ſhot ſlew great numbers of the Turks. At the time of this ſiege, *Vladiſlaus*, king of POLONIA, and lately elect king of HUNGARIE, was ſore troubled by the queene and her faction in HUNGARIE: which thing the Turkiſh king knew right well,and thereupon continued his ſiege,although famine began greatly to encreaſe in his campe;hoping in nothing more,than that the defendants deſpairing of helpe from the king,would in ſhort time yeeld vp the cittie. *Vladiſlaus* being ſo entangled with ciuile wars,as is aforeſaid,that he could not poſsibly prepare ſuch force as might relieue the beſieged citie:yet for as much as the Turkiſh king had not long before by his embaſſador required to joine with him in league & amitie,he thought good now to aſſay if he could raiſe the ſiege,by ſending vnto him the like embaſſage. Whereupon he ſent *Dobrogoſius*,*Oſtrorogeus*,and *Lucas Gorſenſis*,three of the Polonian nobilitie,embaſſadors vnto *Amurath*:declaring vnto him, That for ſo much as he had firſt offered by his embaſſadours, to joine with him in league before he came out of POLONIA, the remembrance thereof had taken ſuch deepe impreſsion in his mind, that hee would not take vp armes againſt him,although it were in his owne juſt defence, before hee had offered vnto him reaſonable conditions of peace: wherefore if hee would deſiſt from inuading of HUNGARIE,whereof *Vladiſlaus* was now by God his permiſsion,and conſent of the people,choſen king,and ſo raiſe his ſiege,that then they ſhould afterwards eaſily agree vpon the deſired peace: in concluding whereof,he ſhould not find *Vladiſlaus* inferiour to himſelfe in any manner of princely courteſie: but if he had rather to proceed in armes,& to make proofe of his ſtrength,he would then doe the beſt that he could,to make him know, that he was of ſufficient power,in ſo juſt a quarrell,to withſtand his greateſt forces, and to reuenge the wrongs to him done. When *Amurath* had receiued this embaſſage,he appointed the embaſſadors to withdraw

Belgrade beſieged of the Turks.

Belgrade in vain aſſaulted.

draw themselues for a while to SYNDEROVIA (a cittie of SERVIA, not farre off) vntill he might better consider of their demaunds: pretending, that he did it for their safetie; but as appeared afterward, secretly resoluing with himselfe, presently to do his vttermost deuoire for the gaining of the cittie, and vpon the successe thereof to shape them answere accordingly. Wherfore so soone as the embassadours were departed to SINDEROVIA, hee first by his messengers assaied the minds of the cittizens and souldiors with magnificall promises of large liberties, and infinit rewards and preferments, if they would yeeld vp the cittie: and many arrowes with letters made fast vnto them, full of like promises, were at the same time shot into the cittie. But when he saw no hope to preuaile by that meanes, hee called together the captaines and commaunders of his armie, and there in the presence of them all spake vnto them as followeth:

The notable speech of Amurath to encourage his souldiors to the assault of Belgrade.

Although I know it is in mine owne power, to graunt, or not to graunt, the peace whereof our enemies haue made a motion: yet it is my pleasure (worthie souldiors) to know your minds also. For so much as we haue that warre in hand, wherein with worldly felicitie, (whereof amongst you I hold the cheefe place) is also indangered our religion, and puritie of life; the defence and care whereof equally belongeth vnto vs all: for although we differ much one from another in the manner of our vocation and liuing here, yet after death we all hope for one and the selfesame felicitie. And therefore I would haue you to vnderstand, all that I shall say, as proceeding not of any regard of mine owne priuate, but vpon the consideration of the common good of you all. For as concerning mine owne estate, I possesse so large countries in ASIA, *such great dominions in* EUROPE, *that either part thereof (in good time bee it said) might seeme a sufficient kingdome: so that perhaps it might better stand with my estate, to take more care for keeping of that I haue, than to trauell for the gaining of more: but you are to consider with your selues, whether you haue euery man sufficient to suffice himselfe or not, and how long you thinke your selues assured of the same; and moreouer, that together with these worldly things we shall be driuen at length to forsake our profession and religion, if we shall now lay downe armes. For our enemies require, that we should first cease from warre, and then afterwards they thinke it meet to talke of peace. I will not speake of the indignitie, that men besieged, and in euill plight, should propound conditions of peace to them that besiege them, and are well furnished of all things; that feeble and cowardly men should promise peace vnto courageous and expert souldiors: I omit what labour and paines we haue taken in laying our siege, in raising of mounts, in making of shipping; all which our enemies commaund vs to forsake, as if they had vs alreadie bound or couped vp in hold, as we haue them. All* BULGARIA, *and the greater part of* RASCIA *is now by vs conquered, and most part of* SERVIA *is at our commaund: all which places are either by vs to be kept, or els all the rest of that we possesse in* EUROPE, *is with them to be quite lost and forsaken. Whosoeuer shall haue in their power this cittie which we besiege (and that our enemies know right well) shall haue not onely as it were a fortresse and bulwarke of defence for his owne, but also a castle and entrance for the subduing of others. The kingdome of* HUNGARIE *is now deuided in it selfe, and full of domesticall sedition: neither is it so much strengthened by the vniting of the kingdome of* POLONIA, *as it is by ciuile dissention weakened: and in this motion of peace nothing is sought for, but to gaine time for the pacifying of their priuate quarrels, that they may afterwards with their doubled forces set vpon vs. For if we shall breake vp our siege before we haue woon the cittie, they will easily find delaies so long to protract the conclusion of peace, vntill that either* Vladislaus *his good fortune, or els the Hungarians being of themselues better aduised, shall make an end of their ciuile wars. What manner and conditions of peace will they then require of vs, when they are at vnitie amongst themselues, and in armes against vs; seeing that now being in danger with mutuall discord, and almost by vs vanquished, doe thinke it reasonable (as if they had woon the field) that we should first raise our siege, and then entreat of peace? Their proud demaunds for the restitution of* BULGARIA *and* RASCIA, *with other countries and cities woon by our trauell and danger; alreadie sound in mine eares: Which if wee shall refuse to graunt, not onely the Hungarians being then at vnitie among themselues, but also the Polonians, joined vnto them, will bring those wars home to our dores which we now at great aduantage make vpon them, troubled with discord and ciuile broiles. And if for desire of peace we could be content to yeeld vnto such shamefull and miserable conditions, and restore vnto them all they should or in reason could desire; do you thinke the prince of* SERVIA *would rest contented with his owne? whose haughtie mind (I am sure) being inflate with the combining of two such mightie kingdomes, thinketh not onely of the recouerie of that hee hath lost, but euen now gapeth at all that is ours in* EUROPE. *He will not thinke himselfe satisfied, before he (hauing*

uing brought the Hungarian and Polonian forces against vs) shall see the same hauocke and spoile made in our kingdome with fire and sword, which he hath before seene made by vs in his owne. Where if his fortune should answere his desiignes (which God forbid, but yet it may chance) beside all the miserable and intollerable outrages, which are to be feared of an angrie conquerour, it is accounted with them for a godly and religious worke, to vse all cruell and vnspeakeable villanies against our nation, except wee will forsake the faith and religion deliuered vnto vs by our ancestors, and follow their new and incredible ceremonies. Neither doe they thinke they can more easily and effectually procure the fauor of God with any other kind of sacrifice or seruice, than by ouerthrowing and prophaning our temples, by scoffing at our most sacred and secret rites and ceremonies, by scorning our religion, and priests: and that you may know all the furie wherewith they rage against vs and our religion, they account all them for holy saints which die in fight against vs. There is no cause (valiant souldiors) that vpon the vaine hope of peace, we should expect whilest the enemie doth gather and vnite his forces and armes against vs, especially such an enemie as propoundeth not spoile and worldly honours, but immortalitie it selfe, as a reward of his victorie. We haue alreadie taken much more labour than we haue to take, we haue filled the ditches with restlesse labour, we haue cast vp bulwarkes equall with the wals, and part of the wals we haue beaten euen with the ground, so that you see the towne halfe opened: and that towne, by gaining whereof, all that ours is, may be made safe and quiet, and that which our enemie possesseth, subiect to our spoile and prey. If you will but a little inforce your selues as men mindfull of our good fortune and forwardnesse, you shall find our temples, our sacrifices, our religion, all worldly and heauenly felicitie to bee then assured vnto vs, when as you shall to morrow ouerthrow the very foundation of the enemies wall. Then (courageous souldiors) we may crie victorie, not for the present, but for euer. If this warre should bring vnto vs nothing els but an assured securitie of our estate, it were sufficient reward: for which we ought cheerefully to aduenture our selues to all dangers, and to challenge in combat euen death it selfe. But as this victorie doth defend all our things as with a deep trench or sure wall, so doth it lay open and expose all our enemies dominions vnto danger & spoile. Hitherto we haue striuen with nature her selfe in the rough and abrupt mountains of BVLGARIA *&* RASCIA, *where we were to striue with hunger, thirst, labor, & desperation: all them we haue ouercome, allured with no other reward, but that at length we might attaine vnto the wealth of fruitfull* HVNGARIE, *from whence we must fetch the guerdon of our victorie, and the ground of our glorie. We are come to the gates, which being laid open, we are not to passe ouer inaccessible rocks, or vncouth desarts, but we shal go through most pleasant places, decked both by nature her selfe, and the industrie of man, where the temperatnesse of the aire, and liuely springs, with the fruitfulnesse of the soile, doth euery where yeeld plentie of all manner of food both for man and beast, not only to serue for natures necessitie, but euen to glut our wanton desires. What thing soeuer curious indeuor hardly bringeth forth in other places, that the fertilitie of this soile yeeldeth plentifully of it selfe: so that it is to be thought, that nature adorned* HVNGARIE *with a certain extraordinary care, when as she would set forth a pattern of good husbandrie, for other countries to imitate. Neither hath she in any place ben more bountifull in bestowing her rich gifts: for gold, which other men most painfully dig vp, & that in few places, the Hungarians gather at their ease, as if it were a growing plant. It is in your power (worthie soldiors) whether you will to morrow open a way to all these good things for your selues for euer, or els leaue the way open for your enemies vnto all that you hold. I would that you would remember when you goe vnto the breach, that all the store of happie fortune is laid open vnto you for a prey, without any other defence, without any other garrison, without any other keeper; and that behind you are your wiues, children, your houses, your temples, and religion, together with the rewards of all your former victories: ouer whom (except you win this citie) the furie and insolencie of the victorious enemie, will most cruelly and shamefully insult. I, according as I shall see you fight at the breach to morrow, shall easily perceiue how you are set downe to commaund as conquerors, or els as slaues to be commaunded; and also what to answere to the most insolent demaunds of the proud embassadours. In the meane time make much of your selues, and together with your armour haue all things in readinesse, that to morrow with the dawning of the day we may assault the breach.*

The Turkish captaines for that time joyfully departed, as if they had been alreadie assured of the victorie, and of all those good things which *Amurath* had so liuely set before their eies. The next morning very early, *Amurath* commanded the assault to be giuen vnto a great breach which he had made in the wall with continuall batterie: the souldiours with great courage assailed the breach, especially the Ianizaries, who vnder the leading of *Haly-Bassa* valiantly woon the same,

and were entring the citie with assured hope of victorie. The Christians seeing all in danger to be lost, running to the breach from all parts of the citie, so forceably charged the proud Ianizaries on euerie side, that they were glad to retire with more hast than they before entred: in which retrait, many of them were slaine, and the rest flying out at the breach, were either slaine or burnt to death in the towne ditch with wild fire; whereof the defendants had cast great store vpon the Turks at the breach, which hauing taken hold vpon the faggots, hurdles, and other light matter, wherewith the Turks had vpon the sudden made their way ouer the towne ditch, did so terribly burne, that the Ianizaries which had entred the breach, being againe repulsed, were in that fierie lake consumed, or else with smoke strangled. In this assault *Amurath* is reported to haue lost eight thousand of his best men, beside seauen thousand others ouerwhelmed or strangled in the mines, by the countermines of the Christians. The other part of the Turks which at the same time assaulted the citie by water, out of their gallies and small ships, had as euill or rather worse successe: many of them were sunke with great shot, and some burnt by the fire cast from the wals, and so fired one another; and diuers of them in that sudden feare, for avoiding of that present danger, ran a ground vpon the shelfs in the riuer, and so split. *Amurath* wonderfully discouraged with the slaughter of his men, and shamefully beaten from the assault, returned to his camp with his Turks, much like men which had lately escaped from some great shipwracke. And thus partly by famine, and partly by the defendants force, hauing lost the greatest part of his armie, he determined now after seauen moneths siege to returne home. Yet because hee would not encourage his enemies, by shewing his feare, he sent for the embassadours into the campe, and with sterne countenance answered them in this sort.

Belgrade notably defended by the Christians.

Amurath his answere to the embassadours.

We will (said hee) *then talke of peace, when* Vladislaus *shall deliuer vnto vs all that part of* RASCIA *which he yet holdeth, and also this citie of* BELGRADE, *as a pledge of the league. And for this time I will raise my siege, to giue* Vladislaus *time to aduise himselfe: yet I would wish him, rather to accept of my friendship vpon these conditions, than by denying that little which is demaunded, to hazard the state of both his kingdomes. I aske but that which is mine owne by law of armes, before* Vladislaus *was called into* HUNGARIE: *and the Hungarians cannot transfer vnto him that right which they had not themselues. Wherefore if hee will proceed rather to striue for that which is other mens, than quietly to possesse his owne, I will in good time repaire hether againe, with my God the beholder and reuenger of wrong.*

With this answere he dismissed the embassadours, and forthwith rise with his armie, sore repenting his comming thether: yet because he would take something in his way, he left his nephew *Isa-beg* with certaine troupes of horsemen at SCOPIA in SERVIA, who so troubled the king of BOSNA, that he was glad to require peace of *Amurath*, and to promise vnto him a yearely tribute of fiue and twentie thousand duckats.

Vladislaus newly elected king of HUNGARIE, seeing that part of his kingdome which is called TRANSILVANIA, or PANNODACIA, to bee much subject to the incursion of the Turks, (who hauing got into their possession all the countrey of MOLDAVIA, and growne insolent by continuall victories ceased not to inuade and spoile the countrey of TRANSILVANIA) for remedie of that daily mischiefe, created *Iohn Huniades* Vayuod, or his vice-gerent in TRANSILVANIA. This *Huniades* as some write, was Earle of BISTRICE, borne in VALACHIA: others say that he was borne but of meane parents, and called *Huniades* of the village wherein he was borne, and grew to be great by his vertue and proweſſe. Whatsoeuer his parents were, he himselfe was a most politicke, valiant, fortunate, and famous captaine, his victories so great, as the like was neuer before by any Christian prince obtained against the Turks: so that his name became vnto them so dreadfull, that they vsed the same to feare their crying children withall. This worthie captaine according to the trust reposed in him, began to keepe the Turks short, by cutting them off, whensoeuer they presumed to enter into his countrey; and also by shutting vp the passages wherby they were wont to forrage the countrie of TRANSILVANIA; & when he had put his owne charge in good safetie, hee entred into MOLDAVIA, and neuer rested till hee had won it quite out of the Turks hands. And not contented with this, passed many times ouer DANUBIVS into the Turks dominions, making hauocke of the Turks, and carying away with him great bootie, with many captiues.

Now

Now were two great and worthie captaines met together, in places nigh one to another, *Huniades* in TRANSILVANIA, and the next part of HUNGARIE; and *Iſa* in RASCIA, and the vpper part of SERVIA: the one lying at TEMESVVAR, and the other at SINDEROVIA; both men of great ſpirit, and deſirous of honour. Of theſe two, *Iſa* in great fauour with *Amurath*, and by him highly preferred, to increaſe his credit with the Sultan his vncle, & to inlarge the bounds of the Turkiſh kingdome committed to his charge, continually forraged the countrey about BELGRADE, to the intent that hauing wearied the inhabitants with the harms he daily did them, and brought the citie into great wants, he might ſo at length gaine the ſame, for the moſt part abandoned of the citizens, which *Amurath* could not by force obtaine, and ſo to open away into HUNGARIE. Thus was the countrey by him ſpoiled, the villages rifled and burnt, and great numbers both of men and cattell daily caried away: yea ſometimes not contented to haue ſpoiled the open countrey, he aſſailed the verie ſuburbs of the citie, and was thence hardly repulſed: and finding *Huniades* the onely man that hindred his further proceedings, to requite him, and prouoke him the more, he brake ſometimes into his countrey, laying in euerie corner as he went ſtrong ambuſhes, ſo to haue circumuented that warie captaine, if it had been poſsible. But he, greeued to ſee the countrey thus ſpoiled, and purpoſing to be therof reuenged, ſecretly raiſed a ſtrong power, both of horſe and foot, and with his companion *Nicholas Vilach* a right valiant captaine, paſsing ouer DANUBIVS, came and encamped betwixt BELGRADE and SINDEROVIA, being about twentie miles diſtant. Of whoſe comming *Iſa-beg* vnderſtanding, forthwith ſet forward with a great armie againſt him, leaſt he ſhould by longer delaie, ſeeme to ſtand in doubt of his enemie, whom he had by many injuries ſo often prouoked. So marching on with his armie ranged in order of battaile, hee found *Huniades* as readie for battaile as himſelfe, who in both wings had placed his light horſemen, and behind them his men at armes, with certaine companies of crosbowes on horſebacke: in the middeſt ſtood his armed men with his archers, and other ſouldiours more lightly armed, readie at all aſſaies, all ſtrongly guarded with men at armes: after whom in the reareward followed alſo a ſtrong ſquadron of valiant footmen. The ſignall of battaile being giuen, there began a great and cruell fight, as amongſt men deſirous either to ouercome, or there honourably to end their daies. At the firſt encounter, the wings of *Huniades* his bataile were by the Turks enforced to retire: but comming to the men at armes, their furie was there ſtaied, and a cruell battaile fought, wherein many fell on both ſides, but of the Turks moe, who truſting to their agilitie and nimbleneſſe of bodie, were not able long to endure the ſhocke and ſtrength of the men at armes, but were there by heapes ouerthrowne, and moſt miſerably ſlaine. Which *Iſa-beg* beholding, and perceiuing the Hungarians couragiouſly to fight, as men almoſt in poſſeſsion of an aſſured victorie; to ſaue himſelfe turned his backe and fled to SINDEROVIA. The reſt beholding the flight of their generall, betooke themſelues to flight alſo: after whō the Hungarians fiercely followed, eſpecially *Huniades* himſelfe, who by his example to animate the reſt, left not the chaſe vntill he was come almoſt to the ſuburbs of SINDEROVIA: few of the Turks eſcaped, the reſt being either taken or ſlaine. *Huniades* after ſo great a victorie, with a rich prey and a multitude of priſoners returned to BELGRADE: hauing now ſufficiently reuenged himſelfe of the wrongs he had before receiued: after which time, *Iſa* the Turke was more quiet, as hauing ſufficient proofe of his valour. The fame of this victorie increaſed not a little the fame of *Huniades*, the report whereof comming to BUDA, filled the citie with joy and gladnes: but moſt of all king *Vladiſlaus*, who therevpon cauſed publique praiers, with thankſgiuing to be made in euerie Church: and by his letters gratulatorie, with many rich preſents, encouraged *Huniades* to the proſecution of the relgious warre, wherein was propounded vnto him not onely the increaſe of his wealth (a baſe regard in the honourable) but the immortalitie of his name, and hope of eternall bliſſe. 1440

Not long after this victorie, *Huniades* obtained a farre greater in TRANSILVANIA. For *Amurath* much greeued with the loſſe he had firſt by himſelfe, and after by his lieutenant *Iſa*, receiued at BELGRADE, and in the countrey thereabout; leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to yeeld vnto the Hungarians, repaired his broken forces with new ſupplies, with purpoſe againe to renew his warres in VALACHIA. And ſo hauing put all things in a readineſſe, ſent one of his Baſſaes called *Meſites* (his Viceroy in ASIA, a man of great wiſedome, experience, and valour) with a puiſſant armie vpon the ſuddaine by the way of VALACHIA TRANSALPINA, to inuade TRANSILVANIA. This worthie captaine according to his charge, departing out of SERVIA, and paſſing

Tranſiluania inuaded and ſpoiled by Meſites Baſſa.

sing ouer DANVBIVS, suddenly entred into *Huniades* his countrey, burning and spoyling what-
soeuer came in his waie, and killing all that he light vpon, man, woman, and child, without re-
spect of age, sex, or condition; filling all the countrey as he went, with tumult and terror. Wher-
of *Huniades* (but lately come into the countrey) vnderstanding, and hauing as then, no sufficient
forces to oppose against the furie of so puissant an enemie, either meanes to raise any, in so great
a confusion and feare; was wonderfully grieued thereat, and perplexed in mind, as not well know-
Huniades flieth. ing which way to turne himselfe. At length hee tooke his flight into ALBA IVLA, vnto his old
friend *George Lepe*, Bishop of that citie, a man of great vertue and grauitie: but whilest hee there
staieth with his friend, about the raising of a tumultuarie armie, the enemie was now come neere
vnto him; who hauing ouer-runne the greatest part of the countrey, had scraped together such a
bootie, and taken such a multitude of prisoners, that surcharged as it were with the spoile, he was
glad to march softlier: yet still burning the countrey before him. Which *Hnniades* and the good
bishop beholding out of the citie, so much greeued thereat, that albeit that they both well knew
themselues, with an handfull of men in hast taken vp hand ouer head, too weake to encounter
with their enemies: yet thought it better with such power as they had, to goe out, and so in de-
fence of their countrey honourably to die, than longer to behold the most miserable destructi-
Huniades & the bishop of Alba-Iula entrapped by the Turks. on of the same. But whilest they vpō this resolution (caried forth with too hot a desire of reuenge)
march vnaduisedly on headlong, without any scouts or espials sent out before them, they fell
before they were aware into such ambushes, both of horse and foot, as the craftie enemie had in
the secret woods and vallies wherby they were to passe, laid of purpose to intercept them; which
now with great force and horrible outcries breaking out vpon them on euerie side, dismaied
them with a great feare. *Huniades* and the bishop, seeing themselues so entrapped and beset with
the multitude of their enemies, as that they must needs perish if they should longer staie, fled in-
continently backe againe; after whom followed all the rest of their armie, and at their heeles the
egre Turks, who spared none of the flying Christians they could ouertake, but put them all to
the sword: neuertheless, most part of them escaped backe againe to ALBA IVLA. The Bishop
thinking to haue saued himselfe by the swiftnesse of his horse, comming to a riuer, in taking the
same was ouerthrowne, and there by the enemie slaine. With whose death the Bassa encouraged,
as also with the present victorie, began now more at libertie to range abroad, and at his pleasure
with fire and sword to wast that part of the country which yet remained vnspoiled: leauing in the
meane time (as a man out of feare) the rich prey hee had taken, together with his baggage and
cariages, to be carried all together, as a notable testimonie of his victorie vnto his great lord and
maister. *Huniades* in the meane time, with wonderfull celeritie running about the borders of his
country, and out of euerie towne and village taking such souldiors as he could, perswaded also the
Sicilians (or people commonly called Siculi) in defence of their wiues and children to take vp
armes: who all, in respect of the present necessitie, cheerefully did whatsoeuer he commaunded.
With this tumultuarie armie, he followed the Bassa (who thē in great pride was returning, laded
with the spoile of the whole countrey) with purpose to set vpon him, as time or place should giue
him occasion. In the meane time *Mesitis* being told, that *Huniades* with a great power was com-
ming after him, and now euen at hand: is reported to haue made no great reckoning thereof, but
to haue proudly answeared vnto him that brought the newes, *Let him come, and with the spoile of
himselfe enrich our victorie.* There was present when he thus said, one *Iohn*, one of *Huniades* his
espials, who discouered vnto him many of the Turkes designes, concerning the joyning of bat-
taile with him; but especially, that the Bassa had commanded through his armie, That aboue all
things they should in the beginning of the battell assaile the person of *Huniades* himselfe, for that
he being once slaine, the rest would easily be put to flight, as all depending on his direction: and
that for the performance thereof, he had appointed certaine companies of his best souldiours, gi-
uing them certaine tokens whereby they might know both him and his horse. There was then
in the armie, one *Simon Kemene* a right valiant and couragious gentleman, not much vnlike vnto
Huniades, with whom he chaunged both his horse and armour, appointing vnto him a strong
troupe of his choise horsemen to attend vpon him: neither was this counterfait *Huniades* vnwil-
ling to expose himselfe vnto the danger, accounting it honour inough, if by his death he might
saue the life of his friend, and preserue so worthie a defendour of the common weale. *Huniades*
following fast after the Bassa marching before him, sought by light skirmishes sometimes on the
one side, sometimes on the other, and sometimes in the reareward, to stay him, and at some ad-

uantage,

uantage, if any such were giuen, to fight with him, before he should get out of the countrey: At length finding such an oportunitie as he thought good to lay hold vpon, he with all his forces, as if it had ben a violent tempest, came vpon the Turks so sodainly, as that they had not time to put themselues into order of battell, but were glad confusedly to fight as they might, and without order: in which disordered fight many fell on both sides, but farre more of the Turkes. But whilest both armies with like obstinacie encounter together, certaine troupes of the most valiant Turks deserying *Simon* the counterfeit *Huniades*, and by the signes before deliuered vnto them, both of his horse and armour, supposing him to haue been *Huniades* indeed; with all their power made towards him, to haue slaine him, according as they had in charge: where meeting with right valiant men, of no lesse courage than themselues, there was fought a most terrible & bloodie battell, in such sort, as if in that very place should haue ben tried the whole fortune of the day. But the Turks still bending their forces more & more thither, for the killing of him, of who they stood in more dread than of all the rest: at length by plain force made a way vnto him, & hauing slain them that were about him, though not without their own great losse, furiously assailing him, slew him, vainly supposing it to haue ben the very generall himselfe: who had he there perished (as like inough it was he should, had hee not beene before warned of the Bassaes purpose) no doubt, but that the whole country had bin with him, or shortly after, quite lost. But *Huniades* in the mean time riding too and fro in the armie, encouraged his souldiors not to forsake the victorie they were now as it were in possession of, nor leaue vnreuenged so many slaughters and harmes so lately committed by their enemies, but to remēber as they were fighting, that they caried in their hands their wiues and children, and were in that one battell to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Sometime he with new supplies encouraged such as were ouercharged and euen now ready to flie; othersome he with cheerfull words staied, that had already turned their backs; performing in euery place all the parts both of a worthie commander and valiant souldior, as the necessitie of the time and place required. In the heat of this battell, fortune yet fauoring neither part, but both fighting with all their power, the Transiluanian prisoners that in great number were kept in the campe, wishing rather there to die than to be caried away in captiuitie, and thinking it now or neuer, time for them to attempt their deliuerance; with one consent brake in sunder their bonds, & with such weapons as first came to hand, set vpon their keepers, of whom they slew a great number: and so desperatly issuing out into the battell, encouraged their countrimen, and discouraged their enemies. Yet was the battell hardly fought, though not altogether with like courage, or for like cause: for why, the Transiluanians fought for their country, their wiues, their children, their liues, their libertie, their religion and altars: but the Turks for the rich prey they had before taken, and that they were by victorie in hope of. But at length the Turks by the breaking out of the prisoners (who laid about them like desperat men) out of hope of the victorie, began by little and little to retire: and the other on the contrary part, by this vnexpected aid encouraged, and quickly finding the enemies fainting, fought more fiercely than before. *Mesites* seeing his armie thus in euery part wauering, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but presently after, beholding some of his men retiring, as if they had fled, and othersome flying outright, and no means to stay them, for safegard of his life turned his horse and fled also: after whom the Hungarians followed with most terrible execution, as men desirous of the bloud of thē that had done them so great harme. In this chase *Mesites* himselfe with his son, were both slain: the report of whose death, in the pursuit, added swiftnesse vnto the Hungarians to the increasing of the slaughter of the Turks, whō for the desire of reuenge, they ceased not for certain daies to pursue, vnto the top of the alps. In this battell were slain of the Turks 20000, & of the Hungarians about 3000. *Huniades* with this victorie recouered all the prey the Turks had taken of the spoile of the country, together with their tents & baggage: vnto whom at his returne into the campe, a wonderfull number of the poore captiues came, and falling at his feet and kissing them gaue God thanks for their deliuerance by him: some called him the father, some the defender of his country; the souldiors, their inuincible generall; the captiues, their deliuerer; the women, their protector; the yong men & children, their most louing father. In all which joyfull acclamations, no honourable additions was heard, which in the judgement of all men, worthely agreed not with his deserts. He againe with teares standing in his eies, courteously embraced them, rejoycing at the publicke good: and himselfe giuing most heartie thanks vnto God, commaunded the like to be done in all churches of that prouince. Sometime he commended the souldiours valour, and in generall, the peoples loyaltie. The nobilitie and woorthie

A great battell betwixt Mesites and Huniades.

Great reioicing for the victorie.

captaines he extolled by name, according as their deserts had beene in that notable battaile, not detracting any thing from any mans worthie praises: part of the spoile of the Turks he appointed vnto deuout vses, and the other part he deuided amongst the souldiors: and willing as it were with the first fruits thereof to gratifie king *Vladislaus*, and the Despot of SERVIA, then present with him, he sent a great waggon, which ten horses could scarce draw, laded with the Turkes ensignes and the cheese of their heads, where the heads of the Bassa and his sonne stood formost, and aboue them was placed an old Turke, sometime well knowne vnto the Despot: who in this order presented vnto them, is said to haue thus deliuered his message, as followeth:

The speech of an old Turke, in deliuering the present vnto the king.

Huniades *your maiesties most humble seruant, and the most honourable Despots sonne, sendeth vnto you this part of the spoile gained by this late victorie, least he should seeme to defraud you of the honor of the battaile, happily fought vnder your good fortune. These heads of the Asian nobilitie hee sendeth you for a present, that you should not want the assured testimonie of so notable a victorie: these are two princes heads, the one of* Mesites Bassa *the generall, and the other of his sonne. The rest are the heads of the other great commaunders and Sanzacks. All these witnesse the greatnesse of the late slaughter, and exhort you to greater atchieuements. What your royall maiestie for the naturall instinct of pietie and religion ingrafted in you, may hope for; and what an occasion of immortalitie and glorie is offered vnto you,* Huniades *wisheth you hereby to consider: and humbly requesteth, that generall supplications may be commaunded, and a great armie prouided, for as much as all men suppose, that the Turke will gage his whole forces, and leaue nothing vnattempted, in reuenge of so great a slaughter of his people.*

Hauing ended his speech, he shewed vnto them the grisely mortified heads: which the nobilitie and others there present, earnestly beheld and wondered at, especially the king and the Despot, who by letters farther vnderstanding the whole proceeding of the warre, and fortune of the battaile, highly commended the discreet valour of *Huniades*, together with the glorious victorie, worthie (as they said) of a Romane triumph: for which, *Vladislaus* commaunded publicke supplications to be made in all churches through HVNGARIE, and by honourable messengers sent of purpose to *Huniades*, gaue him great thanks, according to his deserts, with many rich presents also, commending his faithfull and worthie seruice: and requesting him with like courage and care to prosecute the warre so happily begun, promising him, That hee should want neither men nor money, or any thing els needfull thereunto. Vpon this victorie, the countries of MOLDAVIA and VALACHIA, before tributaries vnto the Turks, now reuolted againe vnto the Hungarians, to the great greefe of *Amurath:* & the fame of *Huniades* was in short time dispersed through all EVROPE, and a generall hope conceiued of him, as of one most like to be one of the greatest champions of the Christian commonweale, as in his time vndoubtedly he was.

The report of this late ouerthrow, with the death of the Bassa *Mesites*, and the losse of his armie, being brought to HADRIANOPLE, much troubled the Turkish tyrant: but most of all the reuolt of the two countries of MOLDAVIA & VALACHIA. So that full of wrathfull indignation and desire of reuenge, he commaunded a great armie to bee raised against the next Spring, with intent to haue gone therwith himselfe: but afterward vpon better aduice changing his purpose, he committed the leading therof vnto one *Schech Abedin Bassa* (corruptly called *Sciabedin Bassa*) an eunuch, and yet neuertheless a right valiant and expert captaine, and his viceroy in EVROPE; with charge first to enter into VALACHIA, and there hauing done what harme hee could with fire and sword, to doe the like in MOLDAVIA: and after that with all his power to breake into TRANSILVANIA, there to reuenge vnto the full, the losses before receiued, and with the slaughter of the Hungarians to sacrifice vnto the ghosts of their dead friends & companions. The Bassa according to his charge, departing out of MACEDONIA, and marching through MYSIA, and so passing ouer Danubius, with an armie of fourescore thousand fighting men, whereof foure thousand were of the best Ianizaries, entred into VALACHIA, filling the country with feare and tumult; the Valachians now altogether in despaire to bee able to defend themselues against the furie of the Turks, and sore repenting them of their reuolt from them vnto the Hungarians. Whom for all that, *Huniades* comforted with cheerefull words, willing them betime to retire themselues vnto the safest places of their countrey, and not to expose themselues with their too weake forces against the furie of the Barbarians, promising in good time to come himselfe to their releese; not doubting by the power of Iesus Christ, to dare them battell in the plaine field, & to haue of them a glo-

Valachia grieuously spoiled by the Turks.

a glorious victorie, although they were in number farre moe than they were reported to be. The Baſſa diuiding his armie into two parts, forraged the countrey farre and neere, burning the countrey townes and villages before them, ſpoyling whatſoeuer came in their way, and killing whoſoeuer they light vpon, men, women, or children, without reſpect of age, ſex, or condition. But the Valachians for the moſt part, had retired themſelues, ſome into the mountains, ſome into the ſtrong townes, and ſome into places further off; ſo that few fell into the enemies hands, but ſuch as were not able to flie, or not regarding the danger had negligently ſtaied the enemies coming, and ſo periſhed. VALACHIA thus ſpoiled, the Turks paſsing ouer the mountaines, deſcended into TRANSILVANIA, as *Amurath* had commanded, with purpoſe there to haue done the like or greater harme, if poſsible it had been to haue ſo done: but there was *Huniades* with 15000 choſen ſoldiors readie to incounter thē. A ſmall power indeed, in compariſon of the multitude the Baſſa led: but all men of great experience and reſolution, in valour counteruailing the great number of their enemies, men reſolued rather to die than to flie. Of whoſe approch the Baſſa (vnto whom the name and fortune of the man was dreadfull) by his eſpials vnderſtanding, ſtayed his intended furie, and as one well aware with whom hee had to doe, without farther proceeding, encamped himſelfe with his armie, to ſee what power and courage the enemie had. But certainely informed by his ſcouts, for that purpoſe ſent out, That he was not in number a quarter ſo many as the Turkes, but lay ſtrongly encamped with his waggons and carriages, as in a ſure fort, in ſuch order, as that he could not without great danger bee aſſailed, and yet might at his pleaſure come foorth, and ſo if need were retire againe, as into a ſtrong hold: he wondered at his courage and skilfull maner of encamping; yet preſuming of his own multitude and ſtrength, he doubted not to march forward, and to offer him battell. Being come within halfe a mile the one of the other, although they were on neither ſide vnwilling to fight, yet hoping both for a great victorie, they thought it not beſt to attempt any thing raſhly, but betooke themſelues both vnto the higheſt of their wits, as willing in ſo great a conflict as well to ſhew the vttermoſt of their pollicie and skill, as of their courage and valour. The Turke thought it beſt not to joine battaile with his enemies in one front, for feare of confounding ſo great a multitude, but to deuide his armie into certaine battailions, and ſo to fight by degrees and in good order, whereby to make all his men profitable: or if he could not do ſo, then with his multitude to encloſe the Chriſtians round, and ſo to ouerwhelme them. On the other ſide, *Huniades* charged his ſouldiours, aboue all things to keepe their order, and in no caſe to ſuffer themſelues to bee deuided by their enemies. The next day, being come vnto a place which they call VASCAPE, both the armies by the breake of day began to diſlodge, at which time the Baſſa ſpent a good ſpace in the martialling of his great armie, as did alſo *Huniades*, ſeeking by prouident foreſight and pollicie to match the multitude of his enemies. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order, calling vnto him the cheefe captaines and commaunders of his armie, with cheerefull countenance encouraged them as followeth:

The moſt Chriſtian ſpeech of Huniades to encourage his ſouldiours againſt the Turke.

No courage (beleeue me) worthie companions, and fellows in arms, could haue induced me to encounter ſo great a multitude, did not neceſsitie it ſelfe enforce me, your approued valour perſuade me, & the aſſured hope I haue in Chriſt Ieſu aboue all things confirme me: hauing made choice of vs to fight this his ſacred battaile, and by our right hands to reuenge the diſhonour of his holy name. In which his eſpetiall choice we are to conſider how much hee hath beloued vs: and for the ſame to praiſe his infinite goodneſſe and mercie. Three ſuch commodities hath God thereby euen this day propounded vnto vs, if we will be the ſame men we haue been in times paſt, as that the leaſt thereof were ſufficient to encourage men of worth, for the ſame to lay downe their liues, held they them neuer ſo deare: Firſt, you are to fight for the health and welfare of your children, wiues, and countrey, joyned with your whole eſtate: then, for eternall glorie and renowne in this world: and laſt of all, for immortalitie and a crowne that ſhall neuer be taken from you, in the world to come. How many miſeries and calamities we haue in former times, and of late, receiued from the Turks, would to God you had rather heard thereof by report, than ſeene the ſame with your eies, and endured them in your ſelues. You had long ſince been bereft of your welbeloued wiues and children, whom moſt miſerable ſeruitude had ouerwhelmed; you had had neither houſe nor church, wherein to dwell or to ſerue God, had not the diuine power of God, and your rare proweſſe been at hand for preſent reſcue: your countrey, your goods, your honour, your libertie, you could not haue kept, had not your valor, confirmed by an aſſured confidence in the higheſt, preſerued all theſe things vnto your ſelues: The horrible furie of the Turke had now brought all theſe things into

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the power of it selfe, had they not been by your armes defended: and he by so many bloodie ouerthrows repressed. He could not before be staied: the Grecians, the Macedonians (both sometimes the greatest commaunders) the bold Thracians, the strong Bulgarians, the valiant Epirots, and Dalmatians, could not abide their force: The Athenians, the Thebans, the Lacedemonians, authors and maisters of the antient discipline of warre, willingly gaue place vnto these. Vnto vs, is this praise and great glorie of this victorie by God assigned, who often times with a small power, yea and that sometime against all hope, haue with a notable slaughter ouerthrown them, vanquished them, & put them to flight. Neither is there any men in the world whom they more feare and stand in dread of, than you, whom though in number but few, they haue by their daily slaughter and losses, learned no lesse to feare, than if you were many. And now to trie the vttermost of their power, they are come with their innumerable legions: but are not for that of you any thing the more to be feared than before, seeing that we all beare armes vnder the conduct of the most mightie God; and are by daily victorie, long experience, and approoued valour taught, what we are to dare: besides that, the greatest part of their armie is of common souldiours, slaues, or rude countrey pesants, or men by force by them compelled; more than the Ianizaries, are no good souldiours among them, the rest as men enforced, serue them for feare, and against their wils, and they by their cowardize brought into that bondage and slauerie. What Greeks, Macedonians, or Sclauonians soeuer are sent to their aid, forasmuch as they are not yet reuolted from the Christian faith, deeme them not to stand for them, but for vs; they long for vs the reuengers of their wrongs, and for you as victorious conquerours: in this warre they haue giuen vnto the Turkes their names, but vnto vs their hearts, and power, and pray heartily for our victorie: wherefore you ought so much the more valiantly and couragiously to fight, by how much greater you see the victorie, the honour, the prey before your eies. We are not to fight for other mens houses, and altars, but for our owne; so our present necessitie requireth, in such sort, that if wee our selues deliuer not our selues, and beare our selues vpon our woonted hope and valour, wee shall this day bee enforced to endure the greatest miserie that men may possiblie: First, the losse of our goods and substance, the captiuitie of our children, the deflouring of our daughters, the rauishing of our wiues, the slaughter of our parents, the burning of our houses, and churches; and that which worse is than all this, the scorne of our Sauiour Christ Iesus, and his saints, whose images you shall see in despight broken, or dragged in the durt, or moulten and conuerted into other prohane vses; all religion trodden downe, and God himselfe (if it were possible) with violence and dispaire driuen out of our hearts, if we stand not manfully vnto it as becommeth worthie champions. God is able with his little finger, if he so will, forthwith to destroy all the Turks in the world; but seeing he hath committed vnto our right hands the defence of his name, he first maketh proofe of our courage and valour, that finding the same faithfull, and readie, hee may strengthen and defend it with his owne right hand. He neuer yet forsooke any faithfull or deuout man, neither will our Sauior Christ be wanting vnto you, if you be not wanting vnto your selues: in the power of his name, which is aboue all names, he shal tread down his rebellious enemies, and exalt the righteous that put their trust in him. Moreouer, the causes that we and they combat for, are diuers, and our hopes much stronger: They fight for their Prophet, a most prophane man, author of all impietie, for spoile and prey, for the destruction of nations and countreys, for other mens kingdomes, for the enlarging of their dominions and territories, for worldly praise and glorie: But wee contrariwise beare armes for the sauiour of the world, for our faith and religion, for the Christian common wealth, for our native countrey, for our wiues and children, for our fortune and state; than which nothing can bee more excellent, more commendable, or honourable. What reward is laid vp for them in heauen which haue worthily protected or deliuered their countrey, or laid downe their liues in defence of their faith and religion? Neither, hauing often prooued, are we ignorant, that God will neuer forsake them that honour, feare, and serue him. Whereby (fellow souldiors) you may plainely perceiue, how farre your hopes are beyond theirs. Beleeue our Sauiour, promising vnto you an eternall reward: and shew your fidelitie and valour vnto God and your countrey together. Wherefore, seeing without the power of God wee can doe nothing, before the signall of battaile be giuen, I beseech you collonels, captaines, and lieutenants, by your effectuall and Christian exhortations in your regiments and companies, to encourage your souldiors, valiantly to fight the Lords battaile; and for the present, euerie man by taking a little earth in his mouth, to prepare himselfe according to the necessitie of the time, as it were to the receiuing of the lords supper: so hauing clensed your soules, embrace you one another, plight your mutuall faith with your right hand and a kisse; and make a perpetuall couenant among your selues, none of you to forsake one another in this holy battaile, but for your religion and countrey valiantly to fight it out, euen vnto the

the laſt man. And a little refreſhing your ſelues with a ſhort repaſt as you ſtand, vpon the ſignall giuen, thrice calling aloud vpon the mightie name of Chriſt Ieſu, fight with the like valour and courage ſo neere as you can, that he in the agonie of death fought for your redemption and libertie: which that you will willingly do, I requeſt and charge you this for our ſauiours ſake, for the loue of our countrey, and for the faith you owe both to God and man. I alſo pray and beſeech you, ſo to fight, as men reſolued either to gaine a moſt glorious victorie, (whereof I doubt not) or elſe if it ſhould otherwiſe chaunce, this day to purchaſe vnto your ſelues a bleſſed life in the kingdome of heauen: not to ſup in Hell with the Turks, but with the bleſſed wights in heauen: For Chriſt Ieſus our Sauiour will be alwaies preſent with vs, who (beleeue me, and ſo hope) will this day not onely deliuer vs out of the hands of the Turks, but to our immortall glorie lode vs with the rich ſpoyles of our enemies, and ſo in ſafetie bring all home againe with much ioy and triumph.

The Baſſa on the other ſide likewiſe encouraged his ſouldiors, putting them in remembrance of their former victories, exhorting them not to degenerate from their worthie anceſtours and themſelues, by whoſe great valour the glorie and empire of the Turkes had been ſo mightily encreaſed: and vnto whom their great prophet *Mahomet*, the interpretor of the gods, had foretold the empire of the whole world to be by all the gods allotted; and had by diuine inſpiration prophecied, that antient and ſtately nation in time to become the terror of the world, the ſcourge of the wicked, and commander of all nations. He farther declared vnto thē what an increaſe of kingdomes they had got in that ſhort time, ſince which they firſt paſſed ouer into EVROPE: and filled them with the hope of a great ſpoile; promiſing vnto them that ſhould in the battaile valiantly behaue themſelues, not onely the ſpoile and prey, but whole villages, towns, and cities, and other great preferments, according as they ſhould deſerue. As for the victorie, conſidering the weake power of their enemies, and the great number of themſelues, hee aſſured them thereof, if they would but a while valiantly fight it out like men. In concluſion, he told them, that hauing ouercome *Huniades*, whom onely, as hee confeſſed, he had found to bee the moſt valiant and skilfull captaine of the Chriſtians, nothing ſhould afterward be able to ſtand in their way, or to hinder their farther conqueſts: and that if this day they ſhould vtterly ouerthrow him, they ſhould gain the moſt honourable victorie that was euer yet got in EVROPE. Wherefore hee willed them aboue all things, in the battell to ſeeke after him; promiſing vnto him that ſhould kill him, a great reward, with moſt honourable preferments. Hauing thus ſufficiently, as he thought, encouraged his Turks, he ſet forward with his armie in order of battaile. His horſemen and footmen he deuided into two great wings, betwixt which marched the Ianizaries in a ſquare battaile, all men of approoued valour: after whom followed the rereward: vnto the wings he had alſo joyned certaine looſe companies of light horſemen to begin the battaile, and to flie about the enemies, and ſo as occaſion ſhould ſerue, either to charge or retire: *Huniades* likewiſe had placed in both wings two ſquare battailions of men at armes, and with them certaine horſemen with croſſe-bowes: before theſe wings he had alſo placed certaine troupes of light horſemen, to encounter the enemies: in the middeſt ſtood two ſquare battailes of men at arms: and betwixt them a ſtrong ſquadron of armed men, guarded behind with a conuenient number of pikemen and archers: both the wings he had compaſſed about with a multitude of carts and waggons, and they alſo well manned. So marching forward, and both armies being come within a quarter of a mile together, the ſignall of battaile was on both ſides giuen, and the battaile begun. *Huniades* ſeeing the multitude of his enemies, caſt his firſt battaile into the forme of a wedge, the more eaſily to deuide them: and they on the other ſide in forme of a paire of ſheeres, were readie to receiue him: where on both ſides they encountered together with ſuch furie and outerie, as neuer was thing more terrible to be heard or ſeene. The Turks truſting vnto the multitude of their nimble light horſemen, firſt with their light ſtaues, and afterward with their crooked Scimators fiercely aſſailed the Chriſtians light horſemen, in which firſt encounter many fell on both ſides. But the wedge battaile of the Chriſtians could not of the Turks be broken, as conſiſting all of valiant expert ſouldiors, and they alſo ſtrongly armed; who, doe the Turks what they could, with a great ſlaughter cut their armie in ſunder, but not without a great fight, and ſome loſſe alſo vnto themſelues. In the wings alſo the light horſemen for a while fought courageouſly and with like hope: But the Turks with that kind of fight better acquainted than the Chriſtians, & better appointed for that purpoſe, and exceeding in number alſo, put the Chriſtian light horſemen to the worſt, and enforced

A cruell battell betwixt Huniades and Abedin Baſſa.

ced them to retire to the men at armes. Here began the fortune of the Turks to ſtay, where both parts deſperatly aſſailing the one the other, was made a moſt terrible fight, wherein moſt part of the Turks light horſemen were ſlaine: for why, they were not able to abide the force of the men at armes, although in compariſon of them, but few; but were with their launces & arming ſwords ouerthrowne and ſlaine, no otherwiſe than if they had beene naked men: ſo that in both wings the Turks began now to faint. But the battaile in both the wings yet wauering and the victorie doubtfull, in the maine battaile was fought a moſt cruell fight: the Ianizaries with a ſtrong power of men at armes, and certaine troupes of light horſemen, compaſſed about the men at armes that ſtood (as we ſaid) in the maine battell of the Chriſtians, where the old Ianizaries with their crooked Semitaries, with great courage cut in ſunder the legs of the horſes of the men at armes; of whom many fell downe, and lying along vpon the ground, were made ſhorter by the head: as likewiſe on the other ſide, the Ianizaries whileſt they ſeeke the deſtruction of the men at armes, were themſelues ouerborne and troden vnder foot. Whereupon ſuch a ſlaughter was made, that the bloud ran like riuers, whileſt they deſperatly fight with furious rage both on the one ſide and the other. In this cruell fight moſt part of the Ianizaries were ſlaine, and many of the Chriſtian men at armes alſo. The Baſſa now perceiuing the Hungarians to haue the better, both in the wings and in the maine battaile, and yet in hope that with long fight they would faint (although hee ſaw great ſlaughter of his men in euery place) came on with the rereward, and a number of other freſh ſouldiors which he had left for the guarding of his baggage, all yet ſound men, in good hope ſo to ouerwhelme the wearied Hungarians. It was now foure houres that this cruell fight had endured, when as the Baſſa began it afreſh: neither was this by him done without reaſon; for why, he was afraid leaſt if his men ſhould turne their backes and flie, the whole armie ſhould follow after: and therefore to make vſe of all the men he had, he brought on his rereward, in hope that his enemies, now ſpent with long fight, would not longer endure a freſh charge. And the more to encourage his men, he commaunded them to compaſſe in the Hungarians round, and to diſpatch their wearied enemies, vainely boaſting, That it would bee the laſt battaile that euer the Hungarians would fight. On the other ſide, *Huniades* perceiuing the enemies purpoſe, ſuffered his men to bee in part enuironed, and by and by cauſed the waggoners with the armed carts and waggons to thruſt in behind them, and ſo to compaſſe them in, deuided in part from the reſt, and afterward with freſh ſupplies renewed the battaile with the enemie. The fight was great, and in euery place right terrible: and albeit that the ſlaughter of the Turks was in many places great, yet by reaſon of their multitude they felt it not much, but fought yet ſtill moſt deſperately: vntill that they in the right wing ſeeing themſelues compaſſed in behind with the waggons, & ſo from them charged with ſhot, darts, and other ſuch miſsiue weapons; ſtanding in doubt which way to turne themſelues, and beſet with danger on euery ſide, began to faint, and fearing the danger behind them, ſhruncke from the fight. On the other ſide, the Hungarians, now in good hope of victorie, with great and cheerefull outcries, as men inſpired with freſh ſpirits, more furiouſly aſſailed their fainting enemies afront, than before; encouraging them alſo that aſſailed thē behind in the waggons, to approch them neerer: with which double danger the Turks hardly beſet, fought diſorderly, and doubting to be all incloſed round, firſt retired, and preſently after betook themſelues to plaine flight. But they which were alreadie ſhut in betwixt the waggons and them that fought before thē, periſhed euery mothers ſon. They which fought in the left wing alſo, diſcouraged with the flight of their fellowes, fled likewiſe: after whom the Hungarians fiercely followed. The Baſſa himſelfe ſeeing both the wings of his battell put to flight, & his own battell ſore broken alſo, ſtricken with diſpaire fled, with certain companies of the Ianizaries, which he had ſtill kept about him againſt al euents, for the ſafegard of his perſon: after whō followed alſo ſo many other of the Turks as could; the reſt diſperſedly flying through the woods, forreſts, & mountains, either there periſhed with hunger, or falling into the hands of the Valachians, were by them ſlain. Of ſo great an armie as the Baſſa brought into TRANSILVANIA, ſcarce the one halfe returned againe ouer Danubius. It is reported by ſome that were in that battell, that if *Huniades* hauing them in chace, had purſued them vnto Danubius, ſcarcely one man of them had eſcaped ouer the riuer. But he contented with ſo great a victorie, & to haue driuen his enemies out of the field, purſued them not far: but entring into their campe, with the ſpoile therof greatly enriched both himſelfe and his ſoldiors. Beſide the great multitude of the Turks here ſlaine, 5000 more were taken priſoners, & 100 of their enſignes. Long it were to rehearſe and reckon vp the rich ſpoile there taken, the guilt armour, and goodly furni-

The Turks flie.

furniture, both of men and horſes, beſide the rich pauillions and tents there ſtanding. In breefe, the wealth there found, was ſo great, as that there was no man in *Huniades* armie, which was not thereby for euer enriched. *Huniades* for this ſo great a victorie, and for his countrey, deliuered from ſo great a feare, cauſed generall prayers with thankes giuing, for the ſpace of three daies, to be made in all churches of thoſe three prouinces, vnto whom that danger was threatened; and at VASCAPE, where the battaile was fought, hanged vp certaine of the Turks enſignes, as trophees of the victorie there gotten. This was the famous battaile of VASCAPE, wherein *Huniades* got the greateſt victorie that euer any Chriſtian prince before that time obtained againſt the Turkiſh kings. The fields thereabouts lay couered with the dead bodies of the ſlaine Turkes, whoſe carrion carkaſſes ſo infected the aire, that many of the better ſort of the inhabitants of the countrey were glad for a ſeaſon to leaue their dwellings, and to get them further off, for feare of infection. Afterwards he in great triumph came to BVDA, and there preſented vnto king *Vladiſlaus* the enemies enſignes, with ſuch a part of the ſpoile, as might both well declare the greatneſſe of the victorie, and beſeeme the greatneſſe of ſo great a prince, which the king thankefully receiued, highly commending his great valour, the fame whereof had in ſhort time filled euery corner of EVROPE.

Amurath a little before this great ouerthrow of his armie in TRANSILVANIA, aſſuring himſelfe of the victorie, had ſent a proud embaſſage vnto king *Vladiſlaus* into HVNGARIE, offering him peace, vpon condition, That he ſhould deliuer vnto him the ſtrong citie of BELGRADE or els yeeld to pay him a yearely tribute: vnto which, vpon the firſt report of the victorie, anſwere was giuen by the king, anſwerable to the proud demaund, That according to the iſſue of matters in TRANSILVANIA, hee would ſhortly in perſon himſelfe come and giue him farther anſwere. With which ſhort anſwere the proud embaſſadors were diſmiſſed and gone, a little before the comming of *Huniades* to BVDA.

How much this late ouerthrow greeued the great king *Amurath*, *Vladiſlaus* was not ignorant; either of his power and deſire of reuenge, as ſufficiently warned thereof by the worthie *Huniades*: for the withſtanding whereof, he thought it good not to be vnprouided. Wherefore calling together the ſtates of his kingdome, and with them *Iulian* the Cardinall of S. *Angel*, the Popes Legat; at ſuch time as they were all aſſembled, he propounded vnto them the greatneſſe of the danger threatened by the angrie Turke, leauing it vnto their graue conſideration, to determine how the ſame were by ſtrong hand and plaine force, or otherwiſe to be auerted. In which moſt honourable aſſemblie, *Iulian* the Cardinall, of purpoſe ſent thither by Pope *Vrbane* to ſtirre vp the Hungarians againſt the Turks, being requeſted by the king to deliuer his opinion firſt, ſpake vnto them as followeth:

The effectuall ſpeech of Iuliam the Popes legate in the parlement to perſuade the warre.

Since the time that the Turkiſh peſtilence began to rage in EVROPE, *no newes was euer more welcome vnto the great Biſhop, vnto the Apoſtolicall Senate, and other princes of* ITALIE *(moſt mightie king, and you other moſt worthie princes) than when it was told them, That* Vladiſlaus, *king of* POLONIA, *was by you alſo choſen king of* HVNGARIE: *For a fitter gouernour of the Hungarian ſtate, and leader of their power, could not the Hungarians any where haue found: as he in whom iuſtice, religion, wiſedome, valour, and martiall skill, doth ſo abound, that he ſeemeth rather for the good of this kingdome by God ſent from heauen, than here in earth choſen by men. By this happie & fortunat choice, the minds alſo of all the Italians, which before lay heauie and diſcouraged, were lightened and reuiued: and therefore, that this choice might be vnto the Chriſtian commonweale both glorious and fortunate, they made their ſolemne vowes and prayers. At ſuch time as the moſt holy Senat vnderſtood of the ciuile diſcord of this kingdome, and the danger of the Turks faſt by, it ſent me hither to deale with you for the appeaſing of thoſe troubles and repreſſing of that miſcheefe (as you haue oftentimes heard me ſay.) The kingdome is by your force and valour, by my mediation, and the death of the queene, well pacified: but yet the other remaineth full of honour, full of profit, full of ſafetie, glorie, and immortalitie, beſt ſitting* Vladiſlaus *conduct and fortune, and the valour of the Hungarians. The Turkiſh tyrannie and their proud commaund (worthie princes) is to be repreſſed: yea their ſeruile yoke, hanging euen now ouer our neckes, is to be ſhaken off, and to be driuen away. What you are to dare to doe, the valour and fortune of* Huniades *foretelleth you: the fortune ſaid I of* Huniades, *nay the fortune of the Chriſtian commonweale, and preſent mercie of our bleſſed Sauiour, which ſuffereth his people to be vp and downe toſſed, but not quite drowned. If ſo great an armie of the enemies was vanquiſhed and put*

to

to flight by the power of one of thy captaines, and that but small: what is to bee hoped of thee (most mightie king) if thou shalt lead foorth thine armies thy selfe in person, vnder thine owne conduct, and the protection of Christ Iesu. The eyes of all Christian princes are cast vpon thee, vpon the Hungarian and Polonian forces; vpon thee haue they reposed all their hopes, they all expect that thou shouldest bee the reuenger of the Barbarian crueltie, the defendor of the faith, and protector of EVROPE: *and that is it for which the Pope doth with his letters dayly solicite and importune you. And albeit that the common cause and quarrell of the Christian religion require it, yet doth the necessitie of* HVNGARIE *and* POLONIA *no lesse enforce it: of which, the one is most miserably and daily vexed with the Turkes forces and furie out of* SERVIA *and* DALMATIA; *and the other out of* MOLDAVIA *and* VALACHIA. *Now if any there be, whom neither the Zeale of religion, the necessitie of the cause, the hope of immortall fame and glorie, can moue, let their owne safetie, the present seruitude of their wiues and children, the safegard of their wealth and substance, the lawfull reuenge of the wrongs done them, stir them vp to take in hand this sacred expedition. So fit an oportunitie is now giuen vnto you, that at one and the selfesame time you may set your bodies in perpetuall safetie and happinesse, your soules in quietnesse and rest, and vnto both giue eternall glorie and happinesse. You lacke not (worthie captaines) money, the sinewes of the warre, which shall be brought vnto you from all parts of the Christian commonwealth, not lustie and courageous souldiours, not policie, not fortune, not the propitious heauenly powers, which haue made choice of you for the defence of the true faith and religion: you want nothing (woorthie princes) but will. It is an expedition necessarie, religious, profitable, and honourable: wherein are propounded most ample rewards both in this life, and in the life to come. Wherefore (most mightie prince, and you right worthie princes all) I pray and beseech you by the faith of Christ Iesu, by the loue of your children, by the health of your kingdome, and deliuerance from your present destruction, with valiant courage, and one consent to take this sacred war in hand, and so thereby to enroll your names in the eternall booke of fame. And sith that you are to goe, not so much to a worldly as a spirituall war, against the enemies of Christ and his truth, take vp your armes with such Zeale, courage, and cheerefulnesse, as the expectation and hope of men, as your valour, the present danger, and the mercies of God towards you, seeme of right to require.*

The pitifull complaint of the Despot, of the crueltie of the Turks, perswading the Hungarians to take the warre against them in hand.

The Legat hauing made an end, forthwith ensued the miserable supplication and teares of the Despot, perswading them, of the necessitie of that expedition to be taken in hand, declaring vnto them the crueltie of the Turks, their torments and strange tortures, his sonnes depriued of their sight, and spoiled of their genitoires, many halfe mangled, and moe cut in sunder with sawes; some slaine quick, and other buried aliue, with many other strange kinds of death, such as would abhorre any Christian eares to heare. And warning the Hungarians, by his example to beware how much they had need to looke to themselues, told them, That they were but by the riuer SAVVS, deuided from the Turks; which in Summer was oftentimes to be waded ouer, and in Winter hard frozen, and so to bee passed: that the countrey beyond DANVBIVS lay all open vpon them; and that he, sometime the rich king of SERVIA, was now driuen into exile by the power of the Turke, depriued of his kingdome, of his children, shamefully disgraced, spoiled of his wealth and fortune, glad to flie from place to place, and yet not able to find any safe place to rest in. First he fled (as he said) to RAGVSIVM, where by and by he was sought after, and endangered by the Turks: then into HVNGARIE, which was also forthwith by them on euery side infested; and whereof the Barbarian king now asked tribute, to haue some colour for the inuasion thereof: which dreadfull enemie was not farre off from it, but still houered euen ouer it: as well witnessed VALACHIA and TRANSILVANIA, two of the greatest and richest prouinces of the Hungarian kingdome; which had not the valour of *Huniades*, the fortune of the commonweale, and aboue all, the mercie of God, deliuered out of the hands of this filthie nation, the state of HVNGARIE had now ben vtterly forlorne. The euents of war (he said) were diuers, fortune vncertaine, and that God would not euery day bee tempted. Wherefore with many teares abundantly running down his aged face, he besought king *Vladislaus* & the rest, not to let slip this faire occasion, neither by cowardise or negligence to break off the course of their good fortune and victorie: but to make choice rather to become reuengers of other mens harmes than of their own, and to satisfie the good opinion the world had conceiued of them. He was (as he said) a sufficient example to all men. Besides that he offred a great sum of mony himselfe towards the defraying of the charges of the war, assuring thē also of great supplies both of men & mony from diuers other Chri-

Chriſtian princes. Which opinion of the Legat & Deſpots, being generally liked & approued, a decree was made by the whole court of parlament there aſſembled, That the king ſhould himſelfe in perſon with all ſpeed poſsible entertain that honorable war. So that though it were now vpon the approach of winter, yet were men taken vp in euerie place, and embaſſadours ſent vnto the Emperour, and the other neighbour princes, to pray of them aid againſt the common enemie. Who for the moſt part excuſed themſelues by their owne particuler affaires, but ſent no aid at all. Neuertheleſſe many deuout Chriſtians both out of FRANCE and GERMANIE, for the zeale they bare vnto Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion, forſaking wife and children, and whatſoeuer they had elſe, came and worthily ſerued vpon their owne charge. The Spring being come, and ſupplications made in all places for the proſperous ſucceſſe of that religious warre, king *Vladiſlaus* the firſt of May ſet forward from BUDA, where paſsing the riuer DANUBIVS and marching faire and ſoftly, and coming to the riuer TIBISCVS, hee there ſtaied three daies for the comming of his armie. Departing thence, and marching on alongſt the ſide of DANUBIVS, vntill he came within the ſight of BVLGARIA, hee there at a place called COBIS, ouer against SYNDEROVIA, paſſed ouer DANVBIVS with his armie, which was now growne verie great: and ſo marched directly to SOPHIA ſcituate about ſixe daies march from DANVBIVS, in the frontiers of BVLGARIA, ſo called of a moſt ſumptuous and magnificent temple there built by *Iuſtinian* the great emperour. Which citie being then old and ruinous, and but badly fortified, was eaſily taken; and afterward for that it was not well to be holden, was by the kings commandement burnt, as were all the other countrey townes and villages thereabouts, to the terrour of the reſt. Marching thence hee came vnto the riuer MORAVA and there encamped: where the plaine countrey, eaſily riſeth and falleth in manner of the ſea when it is mooued with a little wind. Here fiue hundreth light horſemen, being ſent ouer the riuer, not ſo much to ſeeke after preie, as to view the countrey which way the armie might moſt ſafely and eaſily paſſe, hapned vpon the Turks ſcouts, of whom they tooke foure: and vnderſtanding by them, that two thouſand of the Turks were comming at hand, knowing themſelues to weake to encounter them, they retired backe againe with all ſpeed they could vnto the riuer: where many of them, for feare, leapt headlong from the high and broken bankes, and ſo periſhed in the deepe; the reſt terrified with the misfortune of their fellows, ſtood ſtill doubtfully expecting what ſhould become of themſelues. Beyond the riuer was another hill, vpon the top whereof the king with a great number of horſemen were hunting: whom the Turks a far off diſcrying, and doubting to fall into ſome ambuſh, of purpoſe laid for them betwixt them and the riuer, without cõming on further, retired. Which they that before fearefully ſtaied on the farre ſide of the riuer perceiuing, and now encouraged by the comming of the king downe to the riuer, followed a while after, ſo to increaſe their feare; and ſo hauing well feared one another, retired on both ſides worſe afraid than hurt. The next daie the king paſſed ouer the riuer, ſending out his ſcouts to ſee if all were cleare before him: by whom he was aduertiſed that the Turks were at hand, hauing placed certaine ambuſhes faſt by, expecting but a fit time to ſet vpon him. Wherevpon entring into counſaile with his beſt and moſt expert captaines, what were beſt to be done; it was reſolued vpon, that *Huniades* the next night with ten thouſand choice horſemen, ſhould vpon the ſuddaine ſet vpon the enemie, then fearing nothing leſſe. Who conducted by the eſpials, was in the firſt watch of the night brought verie neere vnto them. The moone by chance as fauoring his great attempt, did then ſhine out, ſo that he might well diſcern how the enemie lay encamped, and which way for to charge them to his moſt aduantage; which was by the ſame way they were moſt like to flye, if they ſhould be put to the worſt: vnto which place he led his men, and there with a moſt hideous outcrie, entred the campe, as then for the moſt part buried in ſleepe and ſecuritie: when as the Turkes awaked with the ſuddaine noiſe as it were out of a dead ſleepe, and diſmaied with the horrour of the crie, began to betake them ſome to their weapons, ſome to their heeles. Of whom ſuch as fled, lighting vpon the enemies troupes ſtanding in their way, ran as faſt backe againe: the other ſcarce yet well awake, and ouercome with feare, and now ſcarcely themſelues, had much adoe to make themſelues readie to fight. *Huniades* in the meane time riding vp and downe amongſt his men, cheered them vp, ſtill crying out and calling vpon them, couragiouſly to aſſaile their ſleepie naked and fearefull enemies, and not to let ſlip ſo faire an occaſion and ſo notable a victorie now alreadie in their hands. At the firſt encounter the Turks rather made a ſtirre than fought; but after that they heard that *Huniades* was there, as men diſmaied with his name, they turned their

Sophia taken.

Huniades with ten thouſand horſemen aſſaileth the Turks by night.

backs and fled, finding which way ſoeuer they tooke, their fellowes halfe dead or wounded: yea ſuch a confuſion was raiſed amongſt them, with the greatneſſe of the ſudden feare, that thuſting together, with an inconſiderate deſire of flight, they trod one another vnder foot, and thruſt themſelues vpon one anothers weapons: the greateſt part of them driuen headlong into the thickets, and other ſtraits, and not able in time to get out thence, were there by the victorious enemie fiercely purſuing of them, ſlaine. All that night the fearefull Turks were with great ſlaughter held in chace: but as ſoone as it was day, the reſt that remained of them ran alſo the ſame fortune with their fellowes. A farre greater ſlaughter was there made, than a man would thinke that ſo few men could haue made, when as but with ten thouſand horſe, thirtie thouſand Turks were in one night ſlaine, and foure thouſand taken, with a number of their enſignes. Of *Huniades* his men were not many loſt, for the greatneſſe of the ſlaughter, moſt report not aboue fiue hundreth; for few of them found any enemie to reſiſt them. There was taken all the ſpoile of a moſt rich camp, the enemie hauing caried with them nothing out of it. *Huniades* hauing in ſo ſhort time gained ſo notable a victorie, and enriched his armie, returned to the king in great triumph: neither was that day more joyfull vnto theſe victorious ſouldiors, than vnto the reſt of the armie, who moſt joyfully expected their returne. The king and the Deſpot, hearing of the approach of *Huniades* from the ſlaughter of the Turks, with the great applauſe and joyfull acclamation of the other legions went to meet him three miles: and at ſuch time as at their firſt meeting *Huniades* was about to haue lighted to haue done him honour, he would in no caſe ſuffer him ſo to doe, but taking him by the right hand, joyed with him for the victorie, thanking God in the hearing of the whole armie, that hee of his mercie had giuen him ſuch a captaine, as without enuie in all mens judgements was worthie to rule the Romane empire. In briefe, he ſhewed how much his countrey, his kingdome, yea the Chriſtian commonweale was bound and indebted vnto him, gaue him his due praiſes, exhorting all others to imitate his glorie: the like honour did alſo all the reſt of the nobilitie vnto him. As for the common ſouldiors, they could not be ſatisfied with beholding of him, but embracing one another, as if they would haue died one in anothers armes, welcomed their victorious friends. So with joy joyning their forces together, and ſending the rich ſpoile of the enemie, with the priſoners chained together in long rancks, before them; the king and *Huniades*, in great triumph returned into the campe, where they cauſed generall prayers with thankeſgiuing vnto almightie God, for ſo great a victorie, to bee made thoughout the armie.

The meeting of Vladiſlaus and Humades after the victorie.

The Legat *Iulian*, generall of the voluntarie Chriſtians, which for deuotion ſerued of their owne charge, after ſo great a victorie moſt earneſtly perſuaded the king and the reſt of the great commaunders of the armie to proſecute their good fortune, and in God his ſo great fauor not to loiter, but daily to march forward, and to take in the reſt of BVLGARIA. Now had *Huniades* by his eſpials learned, that from SOPHIA it was but three dayes journey to PHILIPPOPOLIS, a great citie of THRACIA; and the like diſtance from thence to HADRIANOPLE, the cheefe ſeat of the Turkiſh tyrant; and as much more to CONSTANTINOPLE. The onely difficultie was, how to paſſe the great and rough mountaine HEMVS, which running a maruellous way in length, euen vnto the Euxine ſea, and mating almoſt the skie, deuideth the countries of BVLGARIA and SERVIA, from MACEDONIA and THRACE: and for the great height and roughneſſe thereof, is not to be paſſed ouer but in two places; the one made by the great emperor *Traian* and the Romanes, where as yet is to be ſeene a mightie ſtrong gate built of great ſquare ſtone, whereby the paſſage that way was opened or ſhut at the pleaſure of them that had the keeping thereof: the other neere vnto a little riuer, which the Bulgarians now call SALTIZA. By either of theſe waies if he ſhould find them open, *Huniades*, vnto whom the king had committed both the leading and the conduct of the armie, purpoſed to enter. Wherefore marching forward, they tooke all ſuch townes of BVLGARIA as ſtood in their way; ſome by force, ſome by compoſition: wherein was no ſmall helpe, the conformitie of the Chriſtian religion, the horrible crueltie of the Turks, and great affinitie of language, the moſt effectuall meanes to win the loue of ſtrangers: For the Polonians and the Bulgarians, both deſcended of the Sclauonians, and vſing the ſame language, the Polonian horſemen came to no towne, but it preſently yeelded. But being come vnto the mountaine HEMVS, to haue entered into THRACIA, the Winter weather being now very cold, they learned by their eſpials, that the aforeſaid paſſages were both faſt ſhut vp with great ſtones, timber, and ſuch other like matter, ſo ſtrongly, as that they were very hardly

to

to be forced. Wherefore *Huniades* leauing the straighter way made by the hand of man (which beside the former fortification at the great gate, the Turkes had in many places, with abundance of water poured downe the steepe hill in the night, and hard frozen with the coldnesse of the weather, made so slipperie, as that it was not possible either for man or beast there to stand, or to get vp that way) vpon Christmas euen came to the other, by which the riuer Saltiza runneth, the which he found likewise shut. Here they met with many inconueniences: first, the difficultie of the passage, which old *Amurath* had not without great reason shut vp, and there placed strong garrisons, so at ease and without danger of battaile (so often by his Bassaes vnfortunatly proued) to defend his kingdome in MACEDONIA and THRACIA from the inuasion of the Hungarians, whom now of all nations he most dreaded. Beside that, in the armie was such want of all things, as that the souldiors were readie to forsake their ensignes, and to rise vp in a generall mutinie: for the countrey neere vnto the mountaine HEMVS, rising high with broken rockes and inaccessible places, was altogether barren, and victuals failing in the campe, they were glad to liue with a little wheat and flesh boiled together, and that so sparingly, as that the soldiors began now generally to grow weake and faint. Besides that, the Winter was exceeding cold, and the frost so great, that many times they could not goe out of their tents to seeke for forrage or water. So that the armie enforced with hunger and cold, and the difficultie of the passage, began to retire, & had now vndoubtedly beene dissolued, had it not been for the often and earnest persuasions of *Huniades*: for he daily told them, that the greatest difficulties were alreadie past, that that which remained, was with their wonted valour and courage to be endured, whereunto nothing was high or difficult: that they should forthwith come into the borders of THRACIA, where they should find plentie of all things: that they were now come so farre, that if they would go backe againe, they should in those wast countries, through which they were to passe, find greater difficulties and dangers than in going forward: that these straights once opened, remained no more trauell, but cheerefully to fall to the spoile of a most rich and pleasant country. They were not (as he said) to stay in the middest of their fortunes, for that it was not alwaies permanent: and for that the contempt of God his fauours, caused them to be oftentimes taken from vs: all that was yet done (hee said) was nothing, if they proceeded not farther: for that whatsoeuer they had alreadie woon, was easily by the enemie to be recouered; except that those which yet remained (for that most part of them, as he said, were slaine with their houses burnt ouer their heads) were driuen out of THRACIA and MACEDONIA, and so quite out of EVROPE. So whilest the souldiours heard *Huniades* speake, euery man was well encouraged: but when they remembred the miseries wherewith they were enuironed, they cursed all the rash attempts of ambitious princes. In the meane time newes was brought by the scouts, that the Turkes were comming after them: but then began they to rejoice, as deeming it much more honor, manfully to die in battell, than to starue with hunger and cold. Against these Turks was *Huniades* sent, with certain troupes of horsemen: who encountering with them, easily inforced them with losse to retire. Eight times he encountred them (as the soldiors there present reported) and as often put them to flight. In retiring backe from the impregnable mountaine, the king with the greatest part of the armie went before; after whom followed *Huniades* & the Despot, a good daies march: when the Turks that kept the passage vpon the mountain, vnderstanding of their return, followed them downe the hill, in good hope to be of them well reuenged, before they should get out of BVLGARIA. *Carambey* the Bassa of ROMANIA, and brother to *Caly-Bassa* (a man of all others in greatest fauor with *Amurath*, and his brother in law, as hauing married his sister) was generall of this armie, and by him appointed for the keeping of these straits; with expresse charge, vpon no occasion whatsoeuer, although it made shew of neuer so assured a victorie, to fight with the enemie: for he thought it victorie ynough, without any losse to haue kept his enemies out of THRACIA. Which the old kings cõmand, *Carambey* for all that neglected, in good hope by a notable victory easily to answer the contempt of that he was commanded. The Christian armie descending down the broken mountains was come to a great mountaine, which the Bulgarians call CVNOBIZA, and part of the mountain HEMVS: at whose heeles followed *Carambey*, with his Turks, still houering ouer their heads, to take them at some aduantage: whom the Christians beholding, could not by their captaines be staied, but that they would many times by companies flie forth vpon them, and desperatly fight with them in places of great disaduauntage, saying, That they had rather die in fight like men, than to starue with hunger and cold. Here *Carambey*, being himselfe a man of great courage,

The Hungarians inforced with the difficultie of the passage of the mountaine Hemus, retire.

and deſirous of honour, and by the raſhneſſe of his enemies allured to fight; and withall, beſide the aduantage of the ground, perceiuing himſelfe to exceed his enemies both in ſtrength and number of men, could not be ſtaied but would needs giue battaile, with ſuch a deſire, as if he had been alreadie aſſured of the victorie. *Huniades* and the Deſpot had before perceiued that the Turks, prouoked with the brauing of their men, would aſſuredly fall vpon them, and were therefore much troubled with the abſence of the king, who (as is beforeſaid) was gone a dayes march before they ſaw they could neither ſhun battaile, neither if they could haue ſo done, would their deſperat ſouldiors be ſtaied, for the deſire they had to fight. Yet ſeeing *Carambey* comming down vpon them, they put themſelues (though vnwillingly) in beſt order they could to receiue him; perſuading their ſoldiors not raſhly in furie to run vpon their enemies, as deſperat men prodigall of their liues, but to keepe their rankes, and orderly to fight, and ſo like valiant men to carie away the victorie, or to leaue vnto their enemies a bloodie remembrance thereof. Now had *Carambey* ſent his horſemen downe the hill, and the battaile was begun, where both the armies met together with great furie, and a cruell fight was made both at the foot of the hill and amongſt the hils and vallies alſo: in which hard encounter many were ſlaine, as well on the one ſide as the other. The Polonian men at armes (whom the king but a little before had left with *Huniades* againſt all euents) with the Hungarian light horſemen (of whom the Deſpot had the leading) fought ſo that day, as if they had ſought for nothing more but how honourably to die. And the Turkes for a ſpace ſtood hard to it, ſo that many were there ſlaine: yet at length finding themſelues hardly laied to, as by deſperat men, reſolued to ſell their liues deere, they began to faint and to giue ground: when as *Carambey* comming in behind them with new ſupplies, rated the cowardly, ſtayed them that were flying, and ſometime with rough ſpeeches, ſometime with faire perſuaſion, encouraged the wauering, and reſtored the battaile, before almoſt quite loſt. Neither did *Huniades* and the Deſpot leſſe beſtirre them, but as ſoone as they perceiued the enemie a little to faint, by and by cried out Victorie; with cheerefull ſpeech encouraging their men, ſtill calling vpon them, To keepe their rankes ſtrong, and to vrge their preſent good fortune, aſſuring themſelues, that they fought againſt thoſe infidels, vnder the fauour and protection of the Almightie. And forthwith ſent certaine companies of footmen, who climbing vp the hill, amongſt the buſhes with their halfe pikes and bore-ſpeares paunched the Turks horſes as they paſſed by them. Theſe looſe companies did the Turkes horſemen much harme, and here began their battaile to decline; they which were comming downe, for feare of the danger retiring backe againe vnto them that were left aboue, for the keeping of the ſtraits. And the bolder ſort of them, which were come downe into the valleyes, compaſſed about with the men at armes, hardly recouered the riſing of the hill. *Carambey* in the meane while crying out behind them, one while called backe them that fled, another while releeued them that fainted, and to the vttermoſt of his power reſtoring the battaile, performed all the parts both of a valiant ſouldiour and worthie captaine, couragiouſly fighting himſelfe in the thickeſt of his enemies, and by his owne valour ſtaied for a time the loſt battaile. At length performing his laſt endeuour, deceiued by the ſnow, he fell into a bogg, where ſticking faſt with his horſe, and not able to helpe himſelfe, hee was taken priſoner by a common ſouldior. The reſt that eſcaped out of this bloodie battaile, retired themſelues vnto them that were left aboue vpon the mountaine for the defence of the paſſage. After whom the Chriſtians followed, through the vntract and rough places, vntill that hindered of their farther purſuit by the approch of the night, and the abrupneſſe of the way, they were glad to ſound a retrait, and ſo retired vnto the campe. Many other great men were taken beſide *Carambey*, but many moe ſlaine in the battaile, and moſt of all in the flight; few eſcaped, but ſuch as fled backe againe vp into the mountaines. In the retrait *Huniades* ſeeing ſo gallant a man as was *Carambey* (though to him altogether vnknowne) vnworthily bound, and led priſoner by a common ſouldiour, asked the ſouldiour, if he would ſell his priſoner? who ſaid, he would; and asked for him ten duckats (a poore price for ſo great a man:) vnto whom *Huniades* commaunded to be giuen foure hundred, and ſo ſent him to his tent, comforting of him vp with cheerefull words, and willing that he ſhould be well vſed. The Deſpot the ſame night comming to *Huniades* his tent, to conferre with him about the remainder of the war, and ſeeing ſo braue a man ſtanding among the reſt by the fire ſide, began to talke with him in the Turkiſh language, whereof hee had ſome knowledge, by reaſon of the neereneſſe of the nation, and ſuch matters as he had ſometimes to do with them; and hauing ſome geſſe by his talke what he

A great battell betwixt Huniades & the Baſſa Carambey.

The Turks ouerthrowne, and Carambey taken priſoner.

he was, and pittying his eſtate, asked *Huniades*, how he would ranſome him? who ſaid, that hee coſt him foure hundred duckats, but that he valued him at fortie thouſand, which the Deſpot offered to pay him. Thus by the ſtrange change of fortune was *Carambey*, of late ſo great a commaunder, and ſo neere alied vnto the great Turke, valued and prized twice in one day by his enemies, as a mirrour of the vncertaintie of worldly bliſſe and felicitie. The Polonians report ſomewhat otherwiſe of this battaile, as that *Vladiſlaus* ſhould himſelfe therin be preſent, and the cheefe that therein commaunded: howbeit the Hungarian writers, whoſe credit herein we follow, report it as before, not to haue beene fought vnder the good fortune of the king then abſent, but vnder the leading of *Huniades* and the Deſpot.

Out of this battaile (or as ſome others report, a little before out of the battaile of MORAVA) fled the great captaine *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*, now ſeeking to deliuer both himſelfe, and his natiue countrey of EPIRUS out of the thraldome of the Turks, as preſently after he did: whoſe vnwonted flight, not a little terrified the reſt of the Turks armie, and much furthered the Chriſtians victorie, whoſe proceedings he alwaies ſecretly fauored: hauing (as it was thought) ſecret intelligence with the great captain *Huniades*, who not without inſtructions from him (as ſome ſay) gaue that great ouerthrow vnto the Turkes at MORAVA. But of him and his worthie acts done for the deliuerance and defence of his countrey, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

Scanderbeg reuolteth from the Turks.

Shortly after this great ouerthrow and diſcomfiture of the Turks, the two great captaines *Huniades*, and the Deſpot, together with the king, conſulted for the remouing of the Turks gariſons left aboue for the keeping of the ſtait paſſages of the mountaine, and the proſecution of the war. Which *Vladiſlaus* (conſidering the difficultie of the matter, and his ſouldiors neceſsitie) thought it not good further to proſecute, but forthwith to returne. But *Huniades* and the Deſpot, the one thirſting after honour, and the other in no leſſe hope, by the good ſucceſſe of this war, to recouer again his loſt kingdome, ſayd, That the Turkes were in any caſe to be remooued, the paſſage opened, and the ſparks that yet remained, for feare of raiſing a greater fire, extinguiſhed: oppoſing againſt the difficultie by the king alleaged, the inuincible courage of his ſouldiours, whereunto they ſaid nothing was impoſsible or difficult. Vnto which opinion the king alſo (leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to diſtruſt the valour of his captaines or ſouldiours) eaſily yeelded, and ſo commaunded on God his name to ſet forward. The firſt that mounted the hill was the king his battaile, which by the roughneſſe and abruptneſſe of the mountaine hindered, oftentimes ſtaied. But *Huniades* ſtill caried with an earneſt deſire to proſecute the victorie, and leauing nothing vnattempted, in ſearching about found a crooked turning way, whereby he with his men more eaſily and readily got vp to the top of the mountaine euen with their enemies, vndeſcried or moleſted, by reaſon of the broken couert of the place: from whence they were in good hope eaſily to haue come vnto their enemies. But being come vp to the place they deſired, they found ſuch a deepe and wide gaping of the rocke, betwixt them and the enemie, as was neither to bee paſſed, or filled vp: yet being come verie neere, they attempted by crosbow ſhot, and great ſtones caſt out of ſlings, and other ſuch engines to haue remooued the Turks from their places: who were therewith and with their vnexpected approach, at the firſt ſo greatly both annoyed and diſcomfited, that they were almoſt at the point to haue forſaken the paſſage, had not *Alis Beg* (but the night before choſen for their Generall in ſtead of *Carambey*) encouraged them and taught them, how by ſhrowding themſelues vnder the broken rocks, and parapets with tumultarie labour caſt vp, to ſaue themſelues from the ſhot of their enemies. In the meane time alſo, *Huniades* by another more high and ſteepe way, whereby the enemie was alſo to be approached, had ſent vp other companies of ſouldiours: who fighting at too much diſaduantage, were by the Turks eaſily rejected. So at length ſeeing the vain attempt giuen by himſelfe vpon the top of the hill: and the deſperate danger of the other in climing the inacceſsible mountaine, where one might keepe downe an hundreth, diſpairing to inforce the enemie, hee by the kings commaund, cauſed a retrait to bee ſounded, and ſo againe retired downe the mountaine, to the great rejoycing of the Turks. The next daie the winter cold raging, and wants in the armie ſtill more and more increaſing, the king with the reſt of the great commaunders entred into conſultation, for the haſting of their returne out of that rough and barraine countrey, into places of greater plentie, before the armie were brought to any greater extremitie. Whereunto *Huniades* (giuing place vnto neceſſitie, which alwaies ſuffereth not to bee regarded that is ſeemely) now eaſily yeelded: onely the

Vladiſlaus ſeeketh in vaine to open the paſſage of the mountaine Hemus.

Deſpot ſpake againſt it, blaming them, that hauing taken the Generall, and put their enemies to flight, and victorie now as it were in their hands, they would not proſecute the ſmall remainder of the warre, but cowardly turne their backs vnto their vanquiſhed enemies: promiſing that hee himſelfe would find money inough for the prouiding of all things needfull for the releefe of the armie. So ſaid the Popes Legat alſo. But foraſmuch as the wants in the armie were great, and the ſouldiours preſently pinched with hunger and cold, they could with no hope of any profit, were it neuer ſo great, be perſuaded to ſtaie; openly crying out, that it was not their captains and lieutenants, which wanted nothing, but them the poore ſouldiours that ſtarued for hunger: as for the Deſpot, that he in hope of recouering of his kingdome, perſuaded things impoſsible, and no way to be performed, neither to be any thing mooued with the death of their men or cattell: Need (they ſaid) could not be vanquiſhed: but that when Winter was paſt, they would willingly returne againe vnto the ſacred warre: In the meane time Winter raging, and hunger commaunding, let vs giue ouer (ſaid they) and depart into more fruitfull places, there to refreſh our bodies, ſpent with labour, cold, and hunger. For which reaſons, the king ſending before his baggage, retired againe by the ſame way he came. Which the Turkes from aboue beholding, and ſtrengthened with new ſupplies, followed after them, as after men that had fled: oftentimes aſſailing them in the rereward, and ſetting vpon them ſometimes on the one ſide, ſometimes on the other, with often skirmiſhes both did and receiued much harme. Whoſe manner of fight was, to retire when they were themſelues charged, and preſently by great troupes to charge again their enemies, their backes once turned to them; and ſo troubled the armie, that it was conſtrained oftentimes to ſtay; beſides that, loaded with the rich ſpoile of the enemie, and much baggage, it could not of it ſelfe make any great haſt. Now was it by the way come into a great thicke wood, full of deepe boggs and water-courſes, hard to be paſſed through: where the reſt of the armie going before, in the rereward, at the entrance of the wood, were left certaine ſtrong companies of men at armes, as a wall againſt the purſuing enemies; whom the Turks with their readie light horſemen fiercely charged: where betwixt them, in the wood, was fought a great fight, and a great tumult raiſed: vnto the noiſe whereof, they which marched before haſtily returning, in skirmiſhing, many of them fell into thoſe deepe boggs and queachie places, out of which they could hardly rid themſelues againe. Beſides that, there were many crooked and troubleſome turnings and windings, with ſuddaine diſcents, ſo ſteepe, as that in going downe the ſame, their horſes came tumbling heeles ouer head, and there lay ouerthrowne, together with their riders: in ſuch ſort, as that to auoid theſe difficulties, they were oftentimes enforced to fight on foot. In which troubleſome skirmiſh, about foureſcore of the men at armes were loſt; but of the Turkes, beſide them which were ſlaine, were taken an hundred and ſeuentie, all whom *Huniades* cauſed to be preſently ſlain. In this wood the Chriſtians were more troubled with the difficulties of the place, than the enemies aſſaults. Wherefore wants daily more and more encreaſing in the armie, which by reaſon of the multitude of their carriages, abundance of their baggage, and often aſſaults of the Turkes, was able to make no way: the king for feare his armie ſhould in ſo long & ſlow a march through thoſe troubleſome and barren countries, be conſumed with hunger and other wants, cauſed all the carriages and baggage to be brought into the middeſt of the armie, and of it, all ſuch things as ſerued rather for burthen than vſe, to be there burnt: and the armes as well of ſuch ſouldiors as he had loſt, as of the enemie, to bee buried in the ground, and all the weake beaſts that ſerued for burthen, to be killed. So the armie well diſcharged of ſuch vnprofitable burthens, marched much more ſpeedily, neither was ſo much ſubiect vnto the aſſaults of the Turks, as before. And ſo at length by long journies, *Vladiſlaus* with his armie arriued at BELGRADE, where hee was of his ſubiects honourably receiued. And hauing there ſtaied certaine daies, and well refreſhed his armie, departing thence, and paſsing the riuer SAVUS, came to the royall citie of BVDA: where he was of all his ſubiects joyfully receiued alſo. The Legat and *Huniades* going on his right hand, and the Deſpot on the left: after whome followed other colonels, captaines, and lieutenants, with their companies; who at the firſt meeting with the cittizens, more than a mile out of the cittie, in token of their mutuall joy, gaue together ſuch joyfull acclamations and outcries, as that the heauens ſeemed to reſound, and the earth to ſhake with the noiſe thereof. Before the king, at his comming vnto the cittie, went a long companie of the notable Turkes captiues; and next before him, *Carambey*, bound in chaines, vpon whom all mens eyes were fixed. With them were alſo carried the enemies enſignes, and ſuch ſpoyles as had beene ſaued.

The Hungarians much troubled in paſsing a thicke wood.

Vladiſlaus honorably receiued at Buda.

Behind

Behind the king came *Huniades* in a triumphant robe, in the middeſt betwixt the Legate on the right hand, and the Deſpot on the left, as he that next vnto the king had beſt deſerued the honor of the triumph. Next vnto them followed the deuout Chriſtians, that for the zeale of religion had moſt honourably of their owne charges voluntarie ſerued in thoſe wars: and on both ſides of them the ciuile magiſtrates and beſt of the citizens: behind them came the reſt of the legions, and about them both vpon the right hand and the left, the promiſcuous common people, doubling and redoubling the praiſes of the king, and *Huniades*. Before all theſe went the prelates and prieſts in ſolemne proceſſion, ſinging hymnes and pſalmes of thankſgiuing vnto almightie God. *Vladiſlaus* comming vnto the gate of the citie, acknowledging God to haue been the authour of ſo great a victorie, alighting from his horſe, on foot went firſt vnto the Cathedrall church of our ladie; and there giuing moſt hartie thanks vnto almightie God, hanged vp the enemies enſignes, and part of the ſpoile, in perpetuall remembrance of ſo notable a victorie: which hee afterward cauſed to bee moſt liuely depainted in a faire table of moſt curious worke, and there in the ſame church to bee hanged vp: as were alſo the armes of all the noble Chriſtians that ſerued in that moſt famous expedition, which there long time after remained. Which ſolemnities ended, he went to his pallace in the caſtle, and there hauing giuen vnto euerie man, but eſpecially vnto *Huniades*, his due commendation, gaue them leaue to depart. Thus the Hungarians, with whom alſo the Polonians in moſt part agree, report of this notable expedition of their king *Vladiſlaus*: howbeit the Turks (notable diſſemblers of their own loſſes) confeſsing the great ouerthrow, call the Baſſa ſo ouerthrowne not by the name of *Carambey*, but of *Caſſanes*; and the noble priſoner that was taken, by the name of *Mechmet Beg*, Sanzacke of ANCYRA *Amurath* his ſon in law, and brother to *Cali-Baſſa* *Amurath* his great councellour, of ſome called *Carambey* after the name of his father.

Out of this late ſlaughter of the Turkes, wherein *Carambey* was taken, eſcaped that valiant prince and famous warriour *George Caſtriot* (of the Turks called *Scanderbeg*) as is before declared: whoſe noble mind had long time deſired to breake out of the golden fetters of the Turkiſh thraldome, and to be reuenged of the intollerable injuries by *Amurath* done to his countrey, his parents, his brethren, and himſelfe. Although hee had alwaies moſt warily diſſembled the ſame, for feare of the old tirant: being often times ſolicited and animated therevnto by ſecret letters and meſſengers from his friends in EPIRVS, knowing right well that the leaſt ouerture thereof, had been vnto him preſent death. But finding no fit meanes for the accompliſhing thereof, wiſely diſſembled the ſame, with all the ſhewes of loue and loyaltie vnto *Amurath* that might be: vntill that now in this great ouerthrow of the Turks armie, vnder the leading of *Carambey*, and in ſo great a confuſion, he tooke occaſion to put in practiſe what he had long before in his deepe conceit plotted, for the deliuerie both of himſelfe and his countrey from the Turkiſh bondage and ſlauerie. At which time *Scanderbeg* (for ſo from henceforth we will call him) hauing a little before imparted the matter vnto ſome of his truſtie friends and countrey men, no leſſe deſirous of libertie than himſelfe, but eſpecially vnto his nephew *Ameſa*, the ſonne of his brother *Repoſius*, a young man of great courage (in that great confuſion of the Turkiſh armie, when euerie man was glad to ſhift for himſelfe) had euer in his flight a vigilant eie vpon the Baſſaes principall ſecretarie; whom accompanied with a few Turks, he with his nephew *Ameſa*, and other of his faithfull friends cloſely followed, as he fled from the ſlaughter: but when he had got the ſecretarie with his few followers in place moſt conuenient for his purpoſe, he ſet vpon the Turks and ſlew them euerie one: and carying the ſecretarie away with him faſt bound, when hee had brought him whether he thought good, with great threats compelled him (ſore againſt his will) to write counterfait letters, as from the Baſſa his maiſter, vnto the gouernour of CROIA, commanding him in *Amuraths* name, Forthwith to deliuer vnto *Scanderbeg*, the new choſē Gouernor, the charge of the citie with the garriſon there: cunningly enterlacing many other things in the ſame letters, wherby the matter might ſeeme more probable. Which letters ſo extorted, he preſently ſlew the Secretary, & as many more of the Turks as came in his way, of purpoſe that his doings might be the longer kept from knowledg of *Amurath*, who not hearing what was become of him, might reaſonably conjecture that he was ſlaine by the Hungarians amongſt the reſt of the Turks.

Scanderbeg wiſely diſſembleth his deſire for the deliuerie of himſelfe and his countrey.

Whileſt the fame of this great ouerthrow is going to HADRIANOPLE, and there filleth the Turks court with ſorrow and heauineſſe, in the meane time *Scanderbeg* hauing with him three thouſand Epirot ſouldiours which followed him out of the battaile, as men deſirous rather

to fight for the libertie of themſelues and of their countrey, than in the quarrell of the Turke, was with incredible celeritie come into the vpper country of DIBRA, in the borders of EPIRUS, about ſeauenty miles from CROIA: into which countrey he was moſt joyfully receiued, where he ſtaied but one daie, and choſe a few of thoſe three hundreth which he brought with him, to wait vpon him when he went to CROIA, as if they had been his domeſticall ſeruants: the reſt, with other three hundreth luſtie ſouldiours, which were then come vnto him out of DIBRA, he appointed to be led by ſecret by-waies through the woods and mountaines by perfect guides, vntill they came ſo nigh CROIA as was poſsible for them to come, vnperceiued; and there to ſtaie vntill he might find oportunitie to conuaie them into the citie to oppreſſe the Turkiſh garriſon. So hee with a ſmall companie of his followers, as if they had been his priuat retinew, tooke the way towards CROIA. But when he began to draw neere to the citie, he ſent *Ameſa* before with two ſeruitours attending vpon him, as if he had been his Secretarie, to certifie the Gouernour of his comming. This young gentleman, as he was of a moſt ſharpe wit, and well ſpoken, ſo had he framed his countenance and attire, that he ſeemed to be a naturall Turke: who aſſoone as he was come into the citie, he went vnto the gouernor, whom after he had ſaluted according to the Turkiſh manner, hee deliuered his meſſage as from *Scanderbeg* his maiſter, with ſo good grace and words ſo well placed, that all he ſaid was verily beleeued for truth. But when *Scanderbeg* himſelf came, and had deliuered the great commaunders letters, the Gouernour made no further queſtion of the matter, but preſently deliuered vnto him the gouernment of the citie, and the next day departed out of CROIA with all his houſhould towards HADRIANOPLE. *Scanderbeg* hauing by this pollicie got the gouernment of the cheefe citie of EPIRVS, the night following found meanes in the dead time of the night, to receiue into the citie the ſouldiors of DIBRA, who were by this time come according as he had before appointed: moſt part of them hee placed in moſt conuenient places of the citie, and for the ſpeedie ſuppreſsion of the Turkiſh garriſon, hee with the reſt firſt ſet vpon the Turkes which kept the watch vpon the wall, and ſlue them; and afterwards breaking into their priuate houſes, ſlew many of them in their beds: the Chriſtian citizens alſo taking vp armes at the ſame time, helped to increaſe the ſlaughter of the Turks, ſo that in the ſpace of a few houres, there was none of the Turkiſh garriſon left aliue, except ſome few which were content to forſake their Mahometan ſuperſtition, and to become Chriſtians. Many of the Turks might ſo haue ſaued their liues, and would not, chooſing rather to die, and (as it is reported) alſo to kill themſelues, than to forſake their damnable ſuperſtition: ſo ſmall is the regard of life vnto reſolute mindes, in what quarrell ſoeuer.

The citie of CROIA being thus happily by *Scanderbeg* recouered, wherein appeared both the greateſt difficultie, and hope of his good or bad ſucceſſe in ſo great an attempt; he preſently ſent *Ameſa* backe again into DIBRA, and other ſpeedie meſſengers likewiſe into all the parts of EPIRVS, to diſpierce the newes, and to ſtirre vp the people to take vp armes for the recouerie of their loſt libertie: but flying Fame, the ſpeedie poſt, had preuented the meſſengers by him ſent, and alreadie filled euerie corner of EPIRVS with report of *Scanderbeg* his comming, and of all that was done at CROIA. And the oppreſſed Epirots which had long wiſhed to ſee that happie daie, were now vp in armes in euerie place, wanting nothing but leaders; whoſe comming although they greatly deſired, yet they ſtayed not therevpon, but running together by heapes (as the maner of the common people is in all great tumults) they ſet vpon the Turkes garriſons which lay abroad in the countrey, and ſlew moſt part of them; whereby it came to paſſe, that no Turke could ſtirre in the countrey, but that he was ſnatched vp and ſlaine, ſo that in few daies there was not a Turke to be found in EPIRVS, but ſuch as lay in garriſons in ſtrong townes. In this furie of the people, the Gouernour of CROIA, with all his retinue, was by the countrie people by the way as he went ſet vpon and ſlaine, and all his goods taken as a prey.

Scanderbeg commeth with his armie to Petrella.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus recouered CROIA, and ſcoured the countrey; yet to remoue the garriſons which *Amurath* had put in euerie ſtrong citie, was thought to be a matter of great importance, and more difficultie. For which purpoſe he commaunded thoſe whom he had appointed for captaines, ſpeedily to repaire vnto CROIA with all the power they could make. At which time alſo, diuers noble men his nigh kinſmen, reſorted vnto him with their followers: ſo that within a few daies, he had together at CROIA twelue thouſand ſouldiours well appointed. With this armie he marched from CROIA to PETRELLA, a ſtrong citie 25 miles diſtant from CROIA, and encamped before it. This citie is ſtrongly ſcituate vpon the top of a ſteepe rocke mountaine,

mountaine, as all the rest of the cities of EPIRUS be, and was by the Turks well furnished with men, munition, and others things needfull: yet *Scanderbeg* was in good hope, that the Turkish garison there, terrified with the fortune of the garrison of CROIA, and the slaughter of the Turks in the countrey round about, would be glad to hearken vnto reasonable conditions. Which to make proofe of, as soone as he was encamped, he sent one of those souldiours which had followed him out of HUNGARIE (a faithfull and wise fellow) vnto PETRELLA, to offer vnto the souldiors, That if they would yeeld vp the citie, it should be at their choice, either to continue in seruice with *Scanderbeg*, with whom they should find most bountifull entertainement; or else to depart in safetie with bagge and baggage at their pleasure, with an honourable reward to bee diuided amongst them. The subtile messenger comming thether, and framing his tale according to the present occasion, and necessitie of the time; first declared vnto them, how that *Amurath* of late vanquished by the Hungarians in a great battaile, and looking euerie day to bee set vpon by diuers other Christian princes, was so busied that he had no leasure to looke into EPIRVS, or to send them any releefe: after that, he in the name of *Scanderbeg*, offered them the conditions before rehearsed, setting the same forth with many great words; willing them oftentimes by the way to consider the dreadfull miserie that but the other day befell to the garrison at CROIA, and other their fellowes abroad in the countrey, whose dead bodies as then lay in euerie corner of EPIRVS for a prey to the hungrie dogs and greedie wolues: which thing was easily beleeued of them of the garrison, for that diuers of the Turks lately fled out of the countrey into the citie, had themselues seene the same to be true. The Gouernour hauing a little considered of the matter, was content to giue vp the citie, vpon condition that he with the souldiours might in safetie depart with such things as they had: not couenanting vpon any further reward, because it should not be said that he had sould the citie. Which when *Scanderbeg* had faithfully promised to performe, the Turkish Gouernour comming forth with all his garrison, yeelded vp the citie: and *Scanderbeg* mindfull of his promise, gaue vnto them both meat and money, and sent them with a sufficient conuoy of horsemen in safetie out of EPIRVS.

Petrella yeelded vnto Scanderbeg.

When *Scanderbeg* had thus gained PETRELLA, he placed therein a conuenient garrison, and set all things in order as he thought good: but suffered none to enter into the citie, more than the appointed garrison, although it was then verie cold and frostie weather. This done, he presently raised his campe, and following his good fortune, marched towards PETRA-ALBA in such hast, as if the citie had been running away from him; well knowing, that though Time be euer more pretious, yet neuer more than in martiall affaires, wherein the least moment is often times of such power as to effect or frustrate mens greatest designes. PETRA-ALBA is a citie in the country of ÆMATHIA distant from PETRELLA thirtie miles, strongly scituat vpon the top of a mountain, neere vnto the riuer ÆMATHVS. *Scanderbeg* had scarcely well encamped himselfe before this citie, but that the Gouernour thereof, terrified with the fortune of CROIA, and PETRELLA, offered to deliuer vp the citie, vpon the same conditions that were graunted at PETRELLA: which being agreed vpon, the citie was forthwith deliuered, and the conditions by *Scanderbeg* faithfully performed.

Petra-Alba yeelded.

PETRA-ALBA being thus taken, & all things set in order: *Scanderbeg* caried with the course of his victorie, without delay came to STELLVSA, which is also a strong citie of ÆMATHIA, fiftie miles distant from CROIA, pleasantly (as it were of purpose) built vpon the top of an high hill, standing in the middest of a pleasant and fruitfull vallie, with great plaines round about it. There *Scanderbeg* encamped a little before the going downe of the sunne, and rested that night. In the morning he sent a messenger to the cittie, with like conditions as were accepted at PETRELLA and PETRA-ALBA: which most part of the garrison souldiours of the Turks would gladly haue accepted, but that *Desdrot* the Gouernour of the citie, with some few others, earnestly withstood the rest; whereupon a great contention arose amongst the garrison souldiours. But the greater part desirous to yeeld vp the citie, when they could by no meanes persuade the Gouernour and those few which tooke his part, to yeeld to their desires; they violently set vpon him, and deliuered him with the rest to *Scanderbeg*, fast bound, and so yeelded vp the citie. For which fact, fearing to returne to *Amurath*, some of them remained with *Scanderbeg*, and afterwardes became Christians: the rest were either honestly prouided for, or else well rewarded and suffered to depart whether they would. All the other weaker places of EPIRVS wherein any of the Turkish garrisons lay, hearing that the strongest cities were alreadie deliuered vnto *Scanderbeg*, in short time

Stelluſa yeelded by the garriſon.

time yeelded themselues vpon like conditions: onely SFETIGRADE (otherwise called the holy citie) remained in the possession of the Turks: which citie is placed in the vpper country of DIBRA, in the frontiers of EPIRVS, vpon the top of an high & steep hill, as if it were an Eagles neast. Vnto this citie came *Scanderbeg* with all his armie: and hauing placed his tents, hee began first to assay if he could gaine it by composition, as he had done the rest: and the rather to moue them by the examples of others, he caused his embassadours to declare vnto them all that had happened at CROIA, PETRELLA, PETRA-ALBA, and STELLVSA, especially how he had vsed the garrison of STELLVSA which yeelded vnto him, with all bountie and courtesie; and how that on the contrarie part he had the gouernour in bands with all his wilfull partakers, whome they should presently see executed before their faces, if they forthwith deliuered not the citie. This message troubled the minds of all the garrison, but especially of the gouernour, seeing before his eies in the wofull example of another man, what might by and by happen vnto himselfe. Whereforе fearing to deliuer his owne opinion and to giue answere vnto the embassadour, for offending the inconstant multitude and vnknowne minds of the people, he first entertained the embassadours honourably, and afterwards turning himselfe vnto the citizens and souldiours, said vnto them: *Worthie men and most faithfull souldiors, what is your pleasure, or what shall we answere to these our enemies demaunds?* Then one of the souldiors that stood by (a rough bold spirited fellow) vnwilling for his owne part to giue vp the citie, and deeming the gouernour to be of the same mind, in that he had tearmed them worthie and faithfull, and *Scanderbeg* by the name of an enemie, drawing out his sword, and with his right hand shaking it on high, answered:

A notable speech of a common soldior to the rest of his fellowes for the holding out of the citie against Scanderbeg.

Most valiant Gouernour, this same and the like, shall make answere for vs. Nothing was to lesse purpose, than with premeditated words to seeke to terrifie valiant minds, first with the diuerse fortune of CROIA, *and then of* STELLVSA; *for as the faces and countenances of men are diuers, so also are their minds and dispositions. Euery man wisely directeth his owne actions, according to his owne proper humour, and by the same plaies the foole or bedlam. We prescribe no laws to them of* PETRELLA, *nor to them of* STELLVSA, *neither let them prescribe any vnto vs. Let neuer so base examples of cowardly slaues euer enter into the thoughts of courageous men: braue minds disdaine to imitate other men in their honest actions, much lesse in their cowardise. And why? for euery man liueth after his owne fashion. Wherefore let* Scanderbeg *proceed, let him kill the gouernour of* STELLVSA *before our faces, let him sacrifice our fellow souldiors, doe you therefore thinke that we shall die in their bodies? Shall our liuing spirits be there extinguished? shall our blood there be spilt? But ô happie bodies, ô ghosts of me euer to be reuerenced, which in worthie defence of your libertie and faith haue indifferently contemned gold, siluer, death, and torture, and whatsoeuer els miserable worldlings hold deere in dismall! Wherefore carrie thou backe againe vnto thy master this answere from a common souldior, If he seeke to impose these conditions vpon vs, let him once more bare that arme of his, which men of courage feare not so much as he thinketh. He may peraduenture inforce vs to these conditions of his, if God forsake vs: but assuredly, persuade vs vnto them, shall he neuer. And yet for all that, your master* Scanderbeg *is not the man we haue long since heard him reported to be, of an honourable mind, easie to forgiue, and such a one as will indifferently judge betwixt the enemie and himselfe: for why then doth he hold in bonds the gouernour of* STELLVSA, *for that he freely, justly, and honorably stood in defence of his king, his faith, and libertie? Why doth he threaten him with death, whereas he hath not deserued the same, although he hath resolutely offered himselfe thereunto, for defence of his libertie?*

All they which were present, listened with great attention to the soldiors speech, neither was he interrupted by any, vntill he had said what he would. Thē the soldiors thronging about him, and beating their swords & targets together, withall gaue a great shout, in token that they all approued his speech for answer. So the gouernor, encouraged with the cheerefulnes of his soldiors, returned the embassador without other answer than that of the common soldiors, and presently appointed euery man to his charge, and with great carefulnesse ordred all things for the better defence of the citie. But whē *Scanderbeg* had heard the answere that was sent him from the citie, deliuered by the mouth of a cōmon soldior, he smiled thereat & said: *He is vndoubtedly a valiant soldior: if his deeds be answerable to his speeches: but if my force faile me not, I will also make him happy amongst the happy ghosts of thē of* STELLVSA: and by & by commanded the gouernor of STELLVSA, with the other captiues to be brought before him, & there caused some of thē which were content voluntarily to

Scanderbeg his short answere to the souldiors speech.

forſake their Mahometane ſuperſtition, to be preſently baptized, to the great greeſe of the other Turks. *Desdrot* the Gouernour, with the reſt, to the terrour of the defendants, were in their ſight put to death: whereupon the garriſon ſouldiors with great indignation gaue a great ſhout from the wall, and bitterly rayled vpon the Chriſtians.

Desdrot gouernour of Stelusa, executed.

Scanderbeg conſidering the ſtrength of the citie, with the time of the yeare, vnfit for ſouldiors to keepe the field, for Winter was now growne on; left *Moſes Golemus*, a moſt valiant captaine, with a garriſon of three thouſand ſouldiors, to keepe in the Turkes garriſon at SFETIGRADE, and to defend the borders of EPIRVS, vntill he might at more conuenient time himſelfe returne againe to the ſiege: and ſo with the reſt of his armie repaired to CROIA, when hee had in the ſpace of little more than one moneth, to his immortall praiſe, recouered his kingdome, and driuen the Turks out of euery corner of EPIRVS, excepting onely SFETIGRADE: which citie alſo not long after was by compoſition deliuered vnto him. During all this time, from his firſt comming into EPIRVS, he neuer ſlept aboue two houres in a night, but with reſtleſſe labour proſecuted his affaires. He euer fought againſt the Turkes with his arme bare, and that with ſuch fierceneſſe, that the blood did oftentimes burſt out of his lips. It is written, that he with his owne hand ſlew three thouſand Turkes in the time of his warres againſt them. But of his great and worthie victories obtained againſt the two mightie Turkiſh kings, *Amurath*, and *Mahomet* his ſonne, more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in due time and place.

After that *Scanderbeg* had thus by great force and pollicie wrung his inheritance out of *Amuraths* hands, and ſcoured the Turks out of euery corner of EPIRVS; he proceeded further, and ouerran part of MACEDONIA, making ſundrie incurſions into the heart of that countrey, being then in the Turks poſſeſsion, whereby he ſo enriched his ſouldiours, that they deſired of him no better pay. Which was ſo vſuall a thing with this reſtleſſe prince, as that it began to grow into a prouerbe in moſt princes courts, That the ſpoile of *Amurath* his dominions, was *Scanderbegs* reuenewes. Complaint hereof came daily to *Amuraths* court, which the craftie aged ſire (being then troubled with the Hungarian warres) ſeemed at the firſt to make no great account of, but as of that hee could eaſily and at his pleaſure remedie; although hee was therewith inwardly greeued at the heart. But when the certaine report of one miſcheefe as it were in the necke of another, continually ſounded in his eares, and that he ſaw no end to be expected of theſe miſeries; he ſent *Alis Baſſa*, one of his greateſt men of warre, with an armie of fortie thouſand ſelect ſouldiors, at once to ſubdue the countrey of EPIRVS, and to bring it againe vnder his obeiſance. The ſetting forth of this great armie, vnder the conduct of ſo famous a captain, repleniſhed the minds of the Turks with ſuch an aſſured hope of victorie, that a man would haue thought *Scanderbeg* had been alreadie taken, and now brought to execution: yea the common ſouldiors before their ſetting forth, were oftentimes at vaine contention for the diuiſion of the ſpoile they were neuer like to haue: *So readie are men to promiſe wonders to themſelues, whileſt they conferre but with their owne deſires.* And on the other ſide, Fame, the forerunner of great attempts, had filled all the ſmall countrey of EPIRVS, with great terrour and feare of *Alis Baſſaes* comming. The countreymen with their families fled into the ſtrong citties, and the cittizens within their wals fell to fortifying the ſame, and kept continuall watch and ward, as if the enemie had then lien euen faſt by them: the aged men and women commended themſelues and all theirs firſt vnto God by prayers, and then to the courage of the luſtie ſouldiors with teares, as in caſe of extreame perill and danger. Onely *Scanderbeg* was nothing mooued either with the terrible report of the Baſſaes comming, or the vaine feare of his ſubjects; but alwayes kept the ſame cheerefulneſſe both of countenance and ſpeech, as he was wont, being well acquainted with the tumult of the Turkiſh wars, and hauing (as was ſuppoſed) certaine intelligence before from his ſecret friends in the Turkes court, of all *Amuraths* deſignes. So that hauing ſet all things in order for the ſafetie of his countrey, he began to leuie an armie at CROIA: at which time moſt part of his ſubjects of EPIRVS, which were able to beare armes, repaired vnto him: the confederate Chriſtian princes alſo, his neighbours, and for moſt part his kinſmen, ſent vnto him great ſupplies: beſide other deuout and warlike minded Chriſtians, which voluntarily reſorted vnto him from farre, in great numbers. Out of which multitude of people he choſe only eight thouſand horſemen and ſeuen thouſand foot, when as he might haue raiſed a far greater armie: and placing ſome few in garriſons in the frontier cities where he thought moſt conuenient, all the reſt he ſent home againe to their dwellings. At which his confidencie, his friends, yea and his enemies alſo much maruelled, that when hee might

Macedonia ſpoiled by Scanderbeg.

Alis Baſſa with an armie of forty thouſand ſent againſt Scanderbeg.

might haue had so many, he would take the field with so few. With which small armie of fifteene thousand, he marched from CROIA, fourescore miles to DYBRA: where hearing by his espials, of the approch of his enemies, after he had with cheerefull speech encouraged his souldiors, he encamped with his armie in the lower countrey of DYBRA, neere vnto a wood side, right in the way where the Bassa must needs passe. In which wood, he placed *Gnee Musachee*, and *Ameſa* in ambush with three thousand men: commanding them to stand close, vntill they saw he had throughly joyned battaile with the Bassa, and then with all their force to breake forth vpon his rereward. The Bassa marching forward, came and encamped neere vnto *Scanderbeg*, a little before the going downe of the Sunne, and there rested that night, making great shew of mirth and joy, with great fires in euerie corner of the campe, as the Turkish manner of encamping is. Wheras in *Scanderbegs* campe, all things were silent, and no shew of any fire at all; for so *Scanderbeg* had commanded: which made the Turks the more carelesse, deeming thereby the Christians as good as alreadie discouraged. The next morning *Scanderbeg* ranged his armie in order of battaile, placing *Tanusius* in the left wing, with fifteen hundreth horsemen, and as many foot; and *Moses* in the right with like number: and leading the maine battell himselfe: The reareward was committed to *Vranacontes*, a man renowned in those daies, both for his grauitie in counsell, and for his valour in armes, fit to command or be commanded; but afterwards, amongst the rest most famous, for the worthie defending of CROIA against *Amurath*, being then there himselfe in person. *Alis Bassa* contemning the small number of *Scanderbeg* his armie, seeing nothing therein to be feared more than the good order thereof, gaue the first charge with a small troupe of horsemen: who at the first encounter retired, as if they had fled, of purpose that the Christians hastily pursuing their vntimely hope, might disorder their battaile, and so giue occasion to their owne ouerthrow. But by the commaundement of *Scanderbeg* (who easily perceiued the Bassaes meaning) their dangerous forwardnesse was warily waied, and all with safetie kept in good order. So both armies comming on, the wings beganne the battaile a fresh, and *Scanderbeg* with great courage bringing on his maine battell in the face of the Bassa, valiantly charged him. But by that time that the battailes were throughly joyned, *Musachee* and *Ameſa* suddenly issued out of the wood, and fiercely set vpon the rereward of the Turkes armie, where they made great slaughter, and forced many of the Turkes for feare to flie. Thus was the Bassaes great armie driuen to fight both before and behind, being hardly beset and laied vnto with a small number. The Bassa had placed his best souldiours neerest vnto himselfe in the maine battaile, as his most assured strength and last refuge: these valiant men stood fast, and renewed the battaile, before almost lost. And here *Scanderbegs* fortune was euen at a stand: vntill that the well aduised and valiant captaine *Vranacontes* hauing receiued the wearied souldiors into the rereward, and setting all things there in safetie, accompanied with certaine troupes of fresh souldiors which he brought out of the rereward, brake through the Bassaes armie with such slaughter of the Turks, that hee made way for *Scanderbeg* and all the rest of his armie. The Turks discomfited with the inuincible courage of these old souldiours, and the slaughter of their fellowes, which lay by heapes wallowing in their owne blood, betooke themselues to flight; whom the Christians fiercely pursued, and slew of them two and twentie thousand: at which time were also two thousand others taken prisoners, with foure and twentie of the Turks ensignes: whereas of the Christians were slaine not past a hundreth and twentie. The enemies tents with all their cariages, were at the same time taken also. After this great victorie, when *Scanderbeg* had made all his seauen thousand footmen, horsemen, by giuing vnto them the horses of the slaine Turks, he brake into the enemies countrey, and entred farre into MACEDONIA, where he filled the desires of his souldiours with the wealth and spoile thereof, sparing nothing that fire and sword could deuoure: and so with victorie returned to CROIA, where he was of his subjects joyfully receiued. *Alis Bassa* with the remainder of his discomfited armie, returned to HADRIANOPLE, and there by *Amurath* was hardly charged of cowardise, and want of discretion, for that he had lost so puissant an armie to so weake an enemie. Whereof when he had cleared himselfe by the modest rehearsall of his former victories, and the testimonie of all the other captaines present with him in that battaile, he was pardoned, and so againe receiued into fauour, and that great ouerthrow imputed to the chance of warre.

The battell betwixt Alis Bassa and Scanderbeg.

A great slaughter of the Turks.

Amurath hauing reciued two so great ouerthrowes, first from *Huniades* and the Hungarians, and now from *Scanderbeg*; and seeing himselfe elsewhere beset with so many mischiefes, as that he could not tell which way to turne himselfe; tormented with dispaire, and desire of re-

Amurath in dispaire.

uenge, whereof hee saw small possibilitie, fell into such a melancholie passion, that ouercome with the darke conceits thereof, he was about to haue become the bloodie executioner of himselfe, had not *Cali Bassa* by his graue aduice comforted vp his dying spirits: by whose persuasion, contrarie to his haughtie nature, he yeelded by his embassadors sent for the same purpose, to desire peace of *Vladislaus* king of HVNGARIE, vsing the exiled Despot of SERVIA (his father in law, then present with the king) as a meane therein. Who at the first gaue small credite vnto the embassadours, or vnto such things as they told him, vntill that at length better persuaded of the true meaning of the Turke, he so wrought the matter both with the king and the rest of the nobilitie, and especially with *Huniades*, that there was an honourable peace concluded. The capitulations whereof were, first, That *Amurath* withdrawing all his forces and garrisons, should clearly depart out of SERVIA, and restore the same vnto the possession of *George* the Despot, the right lord and owner thereof; deliuering also freely vnto him his two sonnes, *Stephen* and *George*, who bereft of their sight, he had long time kept in straight prison. Also, that from thenceforth he should make no claime vnto the kingdome of MOLDAVIA, nor to that part of BVLGARIA which he had in the last wars lost. And finally, that he should not inuade or molest the Hungarians, or any part of their kingdome, during the whole time of that peace: and to pay 40000 duckats for the ransome of *Carambey*. Vnto which hard conditions, when the Turkish tyrant full sore against his will had condiscended, a peace for ten yeares was forthwith on both parts concluded, and the same by solemne oath confirmed: king *Vladislaus* taking his oath vpon the holy Euangelists, and *Amurath* (by his embassadors) vpon their Turkish Alcoran. This was the most honorable peace that euer Christian prince had before that time made with any of the Turkish kings, and most profitable also, had it been with like sinceritie kept, as it was with solemnitie confirmed.

Amurath by the persuasion of Cali Bassa seeketh for peace of king Vladislaus.

The capitulations of the ten yeares peace concluded betwixt Vladislaus and Amurath.

Amurath with this peace deliuered of his greatest feare, conuerted all his forces against the Caramanian king, in reuenge of the injuries by him done, whilst he was occupied in the Hungarian warres. This king of CARAMANIA knowing himselfe vnable to withstand so great an enemie, durst neither meet him in the field, nor trust himselfe to the strength of any his cities or strong castles, but fled into the mountaines, there fortifying himselfe more surely than in any other his strong holds. *Amurath* entring into CARAMANIA, made great spoile in the country as he went, and tooke great booties. At last comming to ICONIVM, he laid hard siege to the same. The poor king seeing his kingdome spoiled, and his cheefe citie in danger to be lost, sent embassadours, and with them his wife also, which was *Amuraths* sister, to intreat for peace; offering to pay vnto him yearely the double tribute which hee before paied, and for the performance thereof to giue his sonne in hostage. Vpon which conditions *Amurath* graunted him peace, and so returned. In this warre, *Aladin*, *Amuraths* eldest sonne, died, to the great greefe of his aged father, being slain with a fall from his horse, as he was hawking.

Amurath inuadeth Caramania.

Old *Amurath* throughly wearied with continuall warres, and other troubles incident vnto restlesse roomes, resolued now to retire himselfe to a more priuat and quiet kind of life: and therfore sent for his sonne *Mahomet*, being then but fifteene yeares old, to whom hee voluntarily resigned his kingdome, appointing *Caly Bassa* his tutor, with one *Chosroe*, a learned doctor of their law, to be his trustie counsellors and cheefe directers. And so taking with him *Hamze-Beg*, one of his noblemen in whom he tooke greatest pleasure, departed to MAGNESIA, and there as a man wearie of the world, gaue himselfe to a solitarie and monasticall kind of life, in the companie of certaine religious Turkish monks, as they accounted of them.

Many great kings and princes, as well Mahometanes as Christians, glad before of the Hungarian victorie, were now no lesse sorrie to heare of the late concluded peace betwixt king *Vladislaus* and the old Sultan *Amurath*: as being of opinion, That the prosecution of that warre so happily begun, would haue beene the vtter ruine and destruction of the Turkish kingdome. Wherefore they sought by all possible meanes to induce the young king *Vladislaus* to breake the league he had so lately and so solemnely made with the Turke: especially *Iohn Palæologus* the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, did by letters importune the king to remember the confederation he had made with the other Christian princes, for the maintenance of the wars against the common enemie of Christianitie: which princes were now prest and readie (as he said) to assist him with their promised aid: adding moreouer, That whereas *Amurath* had diuerse times sought to joyne with him in amitie and friendship, hee had vtterly rejected that offer of peace, preferring the vniuersall profit (like to ensue to all Christendome by that religious warre) before his owne proper securitie and profit, being for his part in readinesse to joyne his forces

with the kings, if he would presently enter into armes: which he could neuer doe in better time than now, whileſt *Amurath*, terrified with his late ouerthrow, and ſtill beſet with doubtfull war, had drawne his greateſt forces out of EVROPE into ASIA, in ſuch diſordered haſt, as that it ſhould ſeeme he rather fled for feare of his enemies in EVROPE, than marched to encounter his enemies in ASIA, and now being wearie of all, had betaken himſelfe vnto a priuat kind of life. To conclude, he requeſted the king not to leaue him and the other Chriſtian princes of ſmall power, as a prey vnto the Turke, who would aſſuredly with all hoſtilitie inuade them, ſo ſoone as he thought himſelfe ſafe from the danger of the Hungarians. At the ſame time alſo, and vpon the departure of the Turkes embaſſadours, for the performance of ſuch things as they had promiſed; letters came from *Francis* the Cardinall of FLORENCE, Generall of the Chriſtian fleet, declaring how that *Amurath* hauing left almoſt none in EVROPE, was with all the power hee could make, gone ouer into ASIA againſt the Caramanian king, leauing a moſt faire occaſion for the Chriſtians eaſily to recouer whatſoeuer they had before loſt in EVROPE: and that hee was in good time come with his fleet vnto the ſtraits of HELLESPONTVS, according vnto promiſe, and there lay readie to embarre the Turks paſſage backe againe out of ASIA. Both theſe letters being read in the Counſell, ſo much mooued the king, with all the reſt of the nobilitie of HVNGARIE there preſent, as that they were neuer more ſorrie or aſhamed for any thing they had done in their liues, than for the league ſo lately with *Amurath* concluded: for why, they ſaw that all the plot they had laied, for their immortall glorie, was now by this haſtie peace that they had made with the Turke, without the good liking or knowledge of their confederats, brought to nought; and that they had thereby moſt ſhamefully deceiued the generall expectation that the Chriſtian commonweale had conceiued of them; and that they, of long time called the protectors of the Chriſtian faith, the defendours of true religion, the reuengers of Chriſt his name, and deliuerers of the faithfull nations; ſhould now be accounted the breakers of the Chriſtian league, men forgetfull of their confederation both with the Latines and the Greeks, contemners of immortalitie, and louers of their owne profit onely. In this doubtfulneſſe of minds whilſt they ſtood yet thus wauering, *Iulian* the Cardinall and Legat, alwaies an enemie vnto the peace, and by reaſon of his place a man in greateſt authoritie next vnto the king, tooke occaſion to diſſuade the ſame as followeth.

The cunning ſpeech wherewith Iulian the Cardinal perſuadeth king Vladiſlaus to breake the league he had before made with Amurath.

If any of you right worthie (ſaid hee) *ſhall happily maruell, that I ſhould ſpeake of breaking the league, and violating our faith, let him firſt vnderſtand, That I at this preſent am to perſuade you to nothing els, but the faithfull obſeruing both of the one and the other: led with like repentance with you, repentance I ſay, and not ſorrow, when as I, as from a watch-tower foreſeeing all theſe things which were decreed againſt my will, to ſort alſo contrarie to your expectation, am now for the dutie of my legation, and the zeale vnto the Chriſtian religion, enforced with you to doubt: and ſo much the rather, for that at this preſent the queſtion is of the loſſe and hazard of all our honours and credit in common: which except we by common conſent, and wonted valour, endeuour to amend; ô how much it is to be feared, leaſt for ſhame neither may you goe out of* HVNGARIE, *or I returne to* ROME, *where all things are with moſt deepe iudgement cenſured. Conſider I pray you into what miſeries this haſtie reſolution hath caſt vs. We haue entred into league with the Turke, an infidell, to violate our faith with the Chriſtians, and to breake the holy league before made with the great biſhop, and the other Chriſtian princes our confederats. And that for what, for what profit I ſay? Forſooth, that ſo we might againe recouer* SERVIA, *long before deſtroied. Verily a ſmall and wofull profit, which may againe in ſhort time be cut off, and deprieth vs of others farre greater, and of much longer continuance. For what can bee more fond or inconſiderat, than in our conſultations to haue regard to our priuat profit only, and not the publicke, without reſpect of religion, honeſtie, or conſcience? It is not demaunded of you at this preſent (right honorable) what you owe vnto the periured Turke: but you are by me* Iulian, *the great biſhops and the confederat Chriſtian princes Legat, and Agent, before the tribunall ſeat of your owne conſciences, accuſed of breach of faith, breach of league, and breach of promiſe; and thereof euen by your owne iudgement, rather than by the iudgement of God, or other man, I will condemne you. Anſwere me you noble Worthies: After you had happily ſix moneths made warres againſt the Turkes in* BVLGARIA *and the borders of* THRACIA, *and after that, triumphantly returning into* HVNGARIE, *receiued you not honourable embaſſages from almoſt all* ITALIE, *and from the great emperour, with common reioycing for your ſo glorious a victorie, and exhortations to continue*

the war? We receiued them. Did not you in my preſence, and I the author therof, willingly make a moſt holie league with the Italians and Greeks, That the one ſhould with their aid and power meet you out of THRACIA; and the other with a great fleet ſhould come into the HELLESPONTVS? We made it. If you made it, why breaking this, made you another with the Turks? or by what right can you keep the ſame, being made? Wherefore, if the laſt yeare you made a league with the great Biſhop (God his vicar here on earth) if you be men, if you be in your wits, if you be Chriſtians, this ſecond league is to be broken, leaſt you ſhould violate the firſt, and that a moſt Chriſtian league: which except you doe, I feare leaſt that as Iudas betraied Chriſt, ſo you may ſeeme to betraie his vicar; or that God, whom hetherto you haue alwaies found preſent, propitious, and fauourable, you ſhall hereafter find him angrie, and an enemie to your proceedings. And now I pray you tell me, what will you anſwere vnto the Conſtantinopolitan emperour; who according to your appointment, hath now with the firſt taken the field, and in ſo great an oportunitie expecteth but your comming? what will you anſwere the great Biſhop? what the Venetians and Genowaies, who haue their great fleet readie as was appointed? what the Burgundians, who for their zeale vnto the Chriſtian faith & religion, haue long ſince paſſed the Ocean, and ſo by many dangers of the ſea now flote in the HELLESPONT? Deuiſe (I praie you) if you can, ſome excuſe and colour, that we may not ſeeme altogether vnlike our ſelues: if out of your hidden skill you can coine any thing, ſhew it. You promiſed with the firſt of the Spring, that you would be in the field: and now your ſouldiors both the Spring and Summer, play, ſo great and ſo wholſome occaſion paſſing away, through your wofull ſlouth and negligence. O the great blindneſſe of mens minds! O groſſe cowardiſe! O deteſtable league, made to the deſtruction of the common weale! Some man happily will blame mee, and aske, why I ſuffered it with the reſt? I was preſent I confeſſe: but as much as in mee was, I intreated it might not be. I diſliked it: and as many of you here preſent can teſtifie, I vtterly condemned it. I was ouercome by the wiſedome and authoritie of Huniades, and the compaſſion of the Deſpot, leaſt vnhappie man, he ſhould by my interceſſion ſeeme longer to want his kingdome and children: and leaſt any man ſhould call me a contemner or impugner of your good, I full of ſorrow, and vnwillingly, gaue way; not ignorant the health of the Chriſtian common weale to be therin weakened, the hope of your immortall glorie extinguiſhed, and vs all (by your leaue may I ſay it) accounted breakers both of diuine and humane leagues, forſworne men, and traitors vnto all good Chriſtians. Wherefore except before the report of our perfidiouſneſſe be further bruted, we deliuer our ſelues from this infamie, nothing can be greater or more miſerable than our ſhame or villanie: if we will ſo do, we may not ſo eaſily, as juſtly and religiouſly do it. Hauing made reſtitution againe of SERVIA and the captiues, what remaineth els for you to do noble worthies, but to repaire your armie, to prepare what ſo is needfull for war, & to keep your firſt league with the Chriſtian princes? and to ſay, That king Vladiſlaus, after his league made with the Greeke and Latin princes, could not without the conſent of thoſe his confederats and allies, vnder whoſe good fortune that common war was vndertaken, conclude any thing, eſpecially with the enemies of the Chriſtian religion? And that therfore, if any thing were agreed vpon betwixt him and the Turk, it was fruſtrate, & the firſt league to be ſtood vpon. Who is ſo partiall an eſteemer of mens actions, that would not eaſily judge, That in caſe Faith were giuen to both, it were rather to be kept with a Chriſtian, than with a Turk; with a beleeuer, than with an infidell? Againſt a perfidious enemy it is lawfull (as they ſay) for a man to vſe all cunning, force, and deceit, deluding craft with craft, and fraud with fraud. By craft the Turke firſt paſſed ouer into EVROPE, by little and little he crept into that kingdome, he neuer kept faith with any, he grew to this height rather by cunning than by ſtrength: and are you become ſo blind, as to thinke it better to keepe your promiſe with the Turke, deuoid of all faith and humanitie, rather than with the faithfull Chriſtians, and eſpecially the moſt holy Biſhop? All great things are done by deuice and policie: the Romanes our anceſtors vprightly and religiouſly alwaies kept their leagues with their confederats, but deluded the deceitfull with their cunning. Cæſar was of opinion, That for ſoueraigntie the law was ſometimes to be broken. And Philip, the father and maſter of him that conquered ASIA, oftentimes vſed cunning and deceit for the deſire of rule: yet were not theſe men called traitors. It is ſometime lawfull for the commonweale ſake, neither to ſtand to our leagues, neither to keepe our faith with them that be themſelues faithleſſe. Lawfull it is to breake vnlawfull oaths, and eſpecially ſuch as are thought to be againſt right, reaſon, and equitie. Was it lawfull for Diomedes, vowing for to ſacrifice vnto the gods whomſoeuer he firſt met at his returne into his countrey, to kill his ſonne by that his vow and oath? verely it was a great impietie. Wherefore a juſt and lawfull oath is in the judgement of all men to be religiouſly kept, but ſuch an oath as tendeth not onely vnto priuat but publicke deſtruction, that ought to be vaine and fruſtrate. Wherefore before our faithleſſe dealing be far-

ther spread abroad, I beseech you worthie men, and thee especially most glorious king, not in any point to violate your faith, for the good of the Christian commonweale giuen vnto the most holy father and the other Christian princes. The league you haue made with the Greekes and the Latines, faithfully and religiously keepe; the expedition by common consent taken in hand by the example of your confederates, prosecute; the foundation of immortall glorie by you laid, build vpon. Deliuer the Christian prouinces oppressed with the Turkish seruitude, satisfie the hope conceiued of you, and deceiue not the expectation the world hath now conceiued of you, than which, nothing can be more dishonourable: make no conscience of the league you haue made with the Infidell, but thinke it a great impietie and wickednesse to violate the holy league made with the great bishop, and the other Christian princes: thinking, that if you should doe otherwise, God (which he of his mercie forbid) would become of that your falsified faith a most seuere and sharpe reuenger: and that you can do nothing more acceptable vnto our Sauior Christ, or more glorious to your selues, than to deliuer the oppressed Christian countries from the cruell slauerie and bondage of the Turke. Suffer not this so fit an occasion to slip away, than which, a fitter can neuer be giuen. EVROPE *is vnfurnished of the Turks, busied in the Caramanian war; their returne is embarred by the Christians fleet, now in the sea of* HELLESPONTVS; *you need but to goe see, and as it were to take a view of* THRACIA, MACEDONIA, GRECIA, *and* EPIRVS, *there is no enemie there left to oppose himselfe against you. Wherefore for God his cause, I request you aboue all things to continue the Christian league, and with your happie and victorious forces, to march forward into* MACEDONIA *and* THRACIA, *as is before by you with the other Christian princes your confederates, agreed.*

Iulian the Cardinall absolueth king Vladislaus and the rest from their oath before giuen to Amurath.

In conclusion, hauing much spoken of the authoritie and power of the great bishop, he in his name disanulled the league whatsoeuer, by the king made with the Turke; and absolued him, with the rest whom it might concerne, from the oath they had giuen, and the promises they had made. Which so well contented both the king and the rest, that there was now no more question of the oath, or of the lawfulnesse of the warre, but a decree made for the continuation of the league with the other Christian princes their confederats (and for the prosecution of the warres against the Turks) as was with them before agreed: whom they could now say, they were not to forsake, and to leaue them as a prey vnto the Turke their greedie enemie; now for nothing more in danger, than for that, at their request they had taken vp armes in their quarrell. Vnto which vnfortunat decree, both the Despot and *Huniades*, the cheefe authors of the late peace betwixt the king and *Amurath*, easily consented: the Despot, induced with the great hope he had conceiued of the good successe of the war; and *Huniades*, with the desire of the kingdome of BVLGARIA promised vnto him by *Vladislaus*, and by faire charter also (as some said) assured vnto him.

Of this the kings resolution for the breach of the peace with the Turke, notice was with all speed giuen vnto the Constantinopolitane emperour, and *Francis* the Florentine Cardinall, then lying with a fleet of seuentie gallies at the straits of HELLESPONTVS: for feare least they hearing of the former concluded peace, should alter also or els quite desist from their former purposes. In the meane time whilest these things were yet in plotting, the Turke ignorant hereof, according to his promise had withdrawne all his garrisons out of SERVIA, and other places before agreed vpon in the late concluded peace, restoring the same vnto the Despot, and others the lawfull owners, although it was not done at the very prefixed day, at which it should haue been done. In which time also he set at libertie great numbers of captiues, & amongst the rest, the two blind sonnes of the prince of SERVIA; faithfully performing whatsoeuer he had before vpon his religion promised in the league with the Christians before concluded, so desirous hee was of peace with the Hungarians. Howbeit, *Vladislaus* by the counsell of *Huniades*, detained to his own vse certaine of the strong holds in SERVIA: for which cause, *George* the Despot euer afterwards bore a secret grudge against *Huniades*.

Now as king *Vladislaus* (hauing by the persuasion of *Iulian* the Cardinall, renounced the league betwixt him and *Amurath*) was preparing his forces, the fame of the Epirot prince *Scanderbeg* was also (by the recouerie of his fathers kingdome of EPIRVS out of the Turkes hands, and by the late ouerthrow of *Alis Bassa*) growne great, euery man speaking of him honour and praise. Wherewith *Vladislaus* moued, and reasonably perswaded what a furtherance it would be vnto his haughtie designes (aiming at no lesse than the vtter ouerthrow of the Turks kingdome in EVROPE) if he might vnto his owne great preparations joine also the strength of that so fortunate

tunate a prince, by the conſent of his nobilitie, with all ſpeed diſpatched away his embaſſadours with letters vnto him, certifying him of his honorable purpoſe, for the rooting out of the Turks, and in that common cauſe praying his aid againſt ſuch a dangerous and dreadfull enemie: the purport whereof here followeth.

Vladiſlaus king of Hungarie and Polonia, vnto the noble *Scanderbeg*, prince of EPIRVS, greeting.

The letters of king Vladiſlaus to Scanderbeg.

It may be that ſome good hap hath deferred this our late congratulation vntill this preſent, to the intent we might at this time together with you, rejoyce in the double ſucceſſe of your proſperitie: firſt, for the happie recouerie of your eſtate; and then, for that the ſame hath by your wiſedome and valour beene of late ſo notably defended. Wherefore in this we rejoyce, not onely in your behalfe, but in the behalfe of all good Chriſtians, that it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſſe, by your valour to haue giuen ſo great an encreaſe and comfort vnto the Chriſtian commonweale: for as much as amongſt other our great euils, the loſſe of the Albanian people hath not beene to be accounted the leaſt, at ſuch time as Iohn Caſtriot, *a worthie prince, your father, oppreſſed by* Amurath *and by the vngratefull deſtinies taken out of this world, had neither the meanes to leaue vnto you his kingdome and ſcepter (as vnto his ſonne, then liuing in his enemies power) either was able yet otherwiſe to prouide for his affaires. And would to God this your father, moſt happie in ſuch a ſonne, might haue till now liued: whoſe felicitie had in that ſurmounted all others, if he might but haue ſeene you before his death. For as you ſeeme vnto me aboue all other princes in the world (without offence bee it ſaid) moſt accompliſhed with all the good graces and perfections both of bodie and mind, ſo are you endowed alſo with a certaine diuine and wonderfull fortune: vnder the good conduct whereof, not onely the whole kingdome of* EPIRVS *may thinke it ſelfe in ſecuritie; but all the reſt of the other nations alſo, lately by the deteſtable fraud and violence of the* Othoman *kings diſmembred from the realme of* MACEDON, *may alſo recouer the former beautie of their antient lawes and liberties. For (to ſay nothing of thoſe things which euen from your childhood hauing continually made you enuied, haue heretofore purchaſed vnto you an immortall fame and glorie euen amongſt the Barbarians themſelues) what can be more glorious than this victorie, which (as wee haue heard and beleeue) you to your ſingular admiration, haue obtained by the ouerthrow and vtter diſcomfiture of* Alis Baſſa, *with his ſo great and mightie apower? But now ô* Scanderbeg *(God ſo appointing it, who in his deepe and ſecret wiſedome hath reſerued you vnto theſe ſo dangerous times, for the publicke good and comfort of the Chriſtian commonweale) there offers it ſelfe vnto you an obiect of farre greater glory, with a moſt faire and fit occaſion for you to reuenge your ſelfe of all the wrongs and injuries both new and old, by* Amurath *the Turkiſh Sultan done, not in priuate to the perſon of your ſelfe onely, but vnto the whole ſtate and kingdome of* EPIRVS *alſo; and not the domeſticall and ciuile miſeries of your own countrey onely, but the publicke calamities alſo, and thoſe opprobrious diſgraces done againſt the Chriſtian faith and religion in generall, now oppreſſed (I will not ſay extinguiſhed:) and that is, if you with your victorious forces will ſuccour vs in this extremitie of our affaires, not yet altogether deſperate. Hereunto doe all the princes of* HVNGARIE *and* POLONIA, *and all other men of courage inuite you,* Iulian *the Cardinall of S.* Angell *entreateth you, with all thoſe deuout and courageous Chriſtians, which long ſince here with vs, and readie in armes, wiſh for nothing more than the preſence of your victorious enſignes. Which ſo faire an occaſion (by God himſelfe now offered) if you refuſe not, will in all mens iudgement bee a ſure meane to vanquiſh and ouerthrow our common enemie the Turke, and to driue him quite out of* EVROPE, *wrongfully by him of ſo long time poſſeſſed. I neede not therefore (as I ſuppoſe) to vſe any kind of perſuaſion vnto you in this cauſe and quarrell, the defence whereof doth purchaſe vnto vs health, light, and libertie: but being neglected, I feare and abhorre to forbode what may enſue thereof. Wee Chriſtians haue beene too too ſlacke and backeward in helping one another: the flame hath now well neere conſumed vs all, whileſt no man thought it would haue come neere himſelfe. What doe we ſee of the Greeke empire? what of the Bulgarians, and Seruians? yea mine owne loſſes and manifold calamities, alreadie, and yet alſo to bee endured, who is able to recount? The braue and moſt valiant princes, the ſureſt bulwarkes and defences of the kingdome of* HVNGARIE, *from time to time loſt; and the puiſſant armies with one and the ſame fatall chaunce of warre conſumed and brought to nothing, who is able to reckon vp? Inſomuch that there is no houſe, wife, or matrone, in all* HVNGARIE, *which is not in ſome*

measure partaker of this heauinesse. All this doe the Christian princes heare of, and yet the miserable estate and condition of their allies can nothing mooue any one of them: but suffer vs thus as a sacrifice for the rest, to be on all parts exposed to the rage and furie of the common and mercilesse enemie. Onely Eugenius *the most holy bishop of* Rome, *and* Philip *duke of* Burgvndie, *haue not refused to beare a part of the burthen of this our afflicted fortune: The one hath sent hither his Legat* Iulian *the Cardinall, with notable and puissant succours; and the other with his fleet at sea, and comes as farre as* Hellespontvs, *so much as in him lieth doth notably hinder the Turkes passage into* Evrope. *And one other hope there is not now farre from vs, and that is, your helpe, whereof we are so desirous: which we require of you, mooued thereunto, partly by your valour so well knowne, and partly in regard of the imminent perill and common danger of vs all. And albeit we are not ignorant, how euill you may be at leisure to take such an expedition in hand, for the late troubled estate of your affairs, and your new recouered kingdome, as yet scarcely well established: yet notwithstanding, let it not withhold you or keepe you backe; assuring you, that as this expedition cannot be but vnto you most honourable, euen so this your present desert shall not be bestowed vpon vngratefull or thankelesse men: but that which you shall now first begin and vndertake for our preseruation & dignitie, we will from henceforth and euer continue for your glorie and for the increase of your greatnesse. Fare you well from our regall citie of* Byda, *the fourth of Iuly* 1444.

Of this the kings motion, *Scanderbeg* liking well, and thinking it farre better now in so fit a time, with his owne forces joined vnto the Hungarians his friends, throughly to busie *Amurath*, than in short time after, himselfe alone to sustaine his whole power: by the generall consent of the Albanian princes his confederats and allies, yeelded vnto his request; in liberall tearmes promising him by his letters, in good time to be present with him with thirtie thousand good souldiors. The copie of which letters I thought it not amisse here to set downe also.

Scanderbeg prince of the Epirots, vnto *Vladislaus* king of Hvngarie and Polonia, greeting.

Scanderbeg his answere by letters vnto king Vladislaus.

Your letters most inuincible king, I haue with like joy and contentment receiued: which I in the generall assembly of my cheefetaines hauing caused publickly to be read, there was not any one of them which was not of opinion, but that so just an occasion of war by you offered, was forthwith to be joyfully on our behalfe also embraced. And so euery man doth both publickly and priuatly affirme, That nothing could haue happened vnto them more acceptable from God, than that they might by some notable seruice testifie their gratefull minds, and bind vnto them so excellent a prince: as also to giue so fit succors vnto the Christian commonweale. In which forwardnesse of my people, I my selfe tooke great contentment and pleasure, both in regard of your selfe, and in the behalfe of the publicke and common cause: seeing my men of warre, and all other my subjects, of what state or degree soeuer (without any persuasion vsed on my part) to be so cheerefully and couragiously minded in defence of the faith, and of the Christian religion; and so well affectioned towards your most royall majestie. And to say the truth, who is he (if he be not hatefull vnto God and man) albeit there were no question of religion, or of the common danger, that would refuse so just and lawfull a warre? for such a king, as vnto whom alone we may and ought to attribute, That we Christians doe not onely raigne, but euen liue, breath, and enjoy the libertie of our speech. Who would not willingly take vp arms, and aduenture himselfe into most manifest and certaine danger for the people of Hvngarie; *by whom in all ages the Christian commonweale hath with their so many trauels and so much of their blood, beene so mightily supported and defended? who euen from the very cradle haue beene continuall enemies vnto our enemies, and haue as it were euen vowed themselues for the honour of the Christian religion and name. Would God (most mightie and redoubted* Vladislaus) *it had beene in my power to haue brought vnto you such forces to this honourable warre, as were answerable vnto my courage and desire: then happily* Evrope *should not longer lie in this ignominious estate, oppressed by* Amurath; *neither should the fields of* Varna *or* Basilia *so often smoke with the blood of the Hungarians, nor euery corner of* Macedonia *with the blood of the Epirots: both nations being as it were become the expiatorie sacrifices of others sinnes and offences, we all now by turnes perish, whilest euery man thinketh himselfe borne but for himselfe alone. But why do I vnto my selfe poure forth these vaine complaints. Truly, it neither repenteth me of my forces, neither as I suppose (if it shall please God, that our forces may once meet and*

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joyne together in ſo happie a warre) ſhall the Chriſtian commonweale haue any cauſe to ſorrow or be agreeued with the iſſue and euent of our fortune. For vnto thoſe fifteen thouſand good ſouldiors which lately diſcõfited Alis Baſſa *on the borders of* Macedonia, *my purpoſe is to ioine as many moe vnto them: with all which ſtrength as ſoone as conueniently I may, I will begin to ſet forward, ready to follow your enſignes to all euents whatſoeuer. And ſo fare you well, from* Croia *the third of Auguſt* 1444.

Theſe letters being diſpatched away vnto the king, *Scanderbeg* forthwith began to leauie his forces. And firſt of all he cauſed with new ſupplies to be made ſtrong, all thoſe companies wherwith he had ouerthrowne *Alis Baſſa*; not ſuffering any one of them to abſent himſelfe from this expedition. Vnto whom being in number fifteen thouſand, all men of approoued valour, hee joyned other fifteen thouſand moe, no leſſe valiant than they: ſuch a power as hee neuer either before or after raiſed for the recouerie, or defence of his kingdome. And ſo furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for ſo honourable a war, cheerefully ſet forward, accompanied with the vowes and hope of all his moſt faithfull and louing ſubjects. But being come to the borders of Servia, he found the ſtrait and difficult paſſages of that rough countrey ſhut vp by *George* the Deſpot, (lord thereof, a man adorned with all the graces of nature, but otherwiſe a verie wicked damned Atheiſt, and a Chriſtian but in name only) who but lately before reſtored vnto his kingdome by the helpe of king *Vladiſlaus*, hauing changed his mind, did now mightily cleaue vnto the Turke his ſonne in law (by whom he had before been himſelfe exiled) and in fauour of his quarell, and deſpight of the Hungarians, but eſpecially of *Huniades*, had ſtopped vp the waies and paſſages whereby *Scanderbeg* was with his armie to paſſe: who by his embaſſadour ſent of purpoſe vnto the Deſpot, complained to him of that wrong, putting him in mind of the perjurious dealing of *Amurath* with him, notwithſtanding he had maried his daughter; and of the great pleaſures the Hungarians had done him; of both which he had good proofe: requeſting him if it were but in regard of the common cauſe of Chriſtianitie to giue vnto him (as vnto his friend by whom hee was neuer in any thing wronged) paſſage; and not to ſtaine himſelfe with the perpetuall note of infamie, That he being a Chriſtian prince, and of late ſo mightily oppreſſed by the Turk, ſhould now to the great hinderence of the Chriſtian cõmon weale take part with him, againſt his friends and deliuerers. But what auaileth praiers or requeſts, bee they neuer ſo reaſonable, with a man ſet downe to miſchiefe? *Scanderbeg* out of hope by any other meanes to open his way, but by plaine force, reſolued ſo to doe: although it much grieued him to ſpend thoſe forces vpon a Chriſtian prince, which he had prepared againſt the capitall enemie both of himſelfe and all good Chriſtians, old *Amurath* the Turkiſh Sultan.

But whileſt he thus diſcontented, ſpendeth his time with his armie vpon the borders of Servia, beſet with many difficulties: *Vladiſlaus* prickt forward by the continuall ſolicitation of *Iulian* the Cardinall, or elſe drawne on by his owne ineuitable deſtinie, hauing aſſembled a great armie of valiant and couragious ſouldiours out of Hvngaria and Polonia (yet in number farre inferiour to that he had the yeare before, for that moſt of the voluntarie ſouldiours were returned home) ſet forward from Segedinvm, and in the beginning of Nouember (a time vnfit for wars) paſſed ouer Danvbivs, and entring into Bvlgaria came to Nicopolis, the Metrapoliticall citie of that kingdome (but then in poſſeſsion of the Turks;) where he burnt the ſuburbs therof, and in that fruitfull countrey therabouts refreſhed his people three or foure daies, where he alſo muſtred his armie and tooke a view thereof: at what time *Dracula* Vaiuod of Valachia, a man of great experience in martiall affaires, being then preſent, and conſidering the ſmall number of the kings armie, began to perſuade him to retire, ſaying, Hee had ſufficiently learned by his owne harmes, to deeme aright of the power of the Turkiſh Sultan; who (as hee ſaid) was wont many times to carie more men with him into the fields in his diſport of hauking and hunting, than was there in the kings campe: wherefore he ſhould doe well, not to expoſe thoſe his ſmall forces vnto ſo manifeſt perill, in ſuch vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, but to reſerue them vnto a more fit oportunitie, when hee might with greater power encounter his puiſſant enemie. This his counſaile moſt men of greateſt experience, and not caried away with other priuat reſpects, thought wholeſome: but the Cardinall, authour of this fatall warre, extolling with great words the laſt yeares victorie obtained againſt the Turke, with glorious promiſes of great aid, as well by ſea from the Pope, and the Venetians, as by land from the emperour of Constantinople and other Chriſtian princes; augmenting alſo the great troubles in Aſia,

King Vladiſlaus ſetteth forward againſt the Turks.

SIA, and promising an easie and happie successe vnto these wars in EVROPE; perswaded the king that *Dacula* his speech proceeded either of ignorance, vpon a superficiall judgement which he made of the kings power there present, without regard of further strength from his friends; or else of the priuat respect of his owne securitie, in regard of a commodious league made a little before betwixt him and the Turke. So that the poore prince seeing his counsell mightily impugned by the Cardinall, and not so well taken, as it was meant by him; stood in doubt whether to leaue him to his owne fortune, and himselfe to his quiet peace, or casting off the Turkish league, to joyne with the king in this chance of warre: but at length resolued as a martiall minded man, preferring the vncertaine glorie of the field before his owne assured rest, said vnto the king:

Seeing that either your princely fortune, which hath euer hetherto fauoured your high attempts: or else the hope of friends helpe, which I pray God faile you not at your need; or the secret designement of your destinie, vnable to be auoided, doth draw your majestie into a different opinion from me: that your resolution which I cannot by reasonable persuasion alter, I will as the suddenesse of time, and my small abilitie will permit, most gladly further.

Dracula aideth Vladislaus with his sonne and 4000 horse.

And therewith presented vnto the king, his sonne, with foure thousand horsemen well appointed, to serue him in these wars; wishing vnto him such good successe as he himselfe desired. Afterward when he was about to take his leaue of the king, he preferred vnto him two lustie yong men, perfect guides for that countrey, with two horses of incredible swiftnesse, and with teares standing in his eies said vnto him:

His last farewell vnto the king.

Take this small gift in good part, as a poore refuge to flie vnto, if your fortune happe to faile you, which I tremble to thinke vpon: I pray God they be giuen in vaine, and so they shall if my prayers may preuaile. Yet if necessitie shall inforce you to vse them, you shall find them seruiceable at your need.

And so taking his last farewell of the king, returned into VALACHIA. *Vladislaus* marching on from NICOPOLIS toward THRACIA, tooke many townes and forts by the way, which the Turks for feare yeelded vnto him: at last he came to SVMIVM and PEZECHIVM, where the Turkish garrisons trusting as much to the strength of the places, as to their owne valour, stood vpon their guard: but the king laid siege to both the said places, and tooke them by assault; where he put to sword fiue thousand of the Turks.

The Turks Bassaes terrified with these vnexpected troubles, aduertised *Amurath* thereof, requesting him to leaue his obscure life, and to leauie the greatest power he could in ASIA, for the defence of the Turkish kingdome in EVROPE, which otherwise was in short time like to be lost: blaming also his discretion, for committing the gouernment of so great a kingdome, to so yong a prince as was *Mahomet* his sonne, vnto whom many of the great captaines did halfe scorne to yeeld their due obedience. *Amurath* herewith awaked, as it had been out of a dead sleepe, left his cloister, and with great speed gathered a stong armie in ASIA, & came to the straits of HELLESPONTVS; where he found the passage stopped by the Venetian and Popes gallies, and was therfore at his wits end. But marching along the sea side vnto the straits of BOSPHORVS, he there found means to conuay ouer his whole armie: vsing therin (as some write) the helpe of the Genoway marchant ships, paying vnto the Genowayes for the passage of euery Turke a duckat, which amounted to the summe of 100 thousand duckets: or as some others affirm, corrupting with great bribes them that were left for the defence of this passage. And being now got ouer, joyned his Asian armie with such other forces as his Bassaes had in readinesse in EVROPE: and so marching on seuen daies, encamped within four miles of VARNA, a citie pleasantly standing vpon the Euxine sea side in BVLGARIA, where the Christian armie lay: for *Vladislaus* hearing of *Amurath* his comming with so great an armie, had retired thether, hauing but a little before taken the same citie of VARNA from the Turks, with CALACRIVM, GALATA, MACROPOLIS, and others vpon the sea coast.

Vpon the first report that *Amurath* was with such a mightie armie come ouer the strait of BOSPHORVS, *Vladislaus* who before was in good hope that he could not posibly haue found any passage, entred into counsaile with the commaunders of his armie, what course was now best to take: where many which before had been most forward in that action (presuming that *Amurath* could by no means haue transported his armie) were now so discoraged with the fame of his comming, that they aduised the king in time to retire home, and not to oppose so small an armie against such a world of people as was reported to follow the Turke. But other captaines of

of greater courage, and eſpecially *Huniades*, ſaid, It was not for the kings honour, firſt to inuade his enemies dominions, and preſently to turne his backe vpon the firſt report of their comming; wiſhing him rather to remember the good fortune of his former wars, and that he was to fight againſt the ſame enemie whom he had victoriouſly ouerthrowne the yeare before: as for the multitude of his enemies, he had learned by experience (as he ſayd) not to bee mooued therewith, for that it was the manner of the Turkiſh kings, more to terrifie their enemies with the ſhew of a huge armie, than with the valour of their ſouldiours, which were nothing to bee accounted of, but as effeminat, in compariſon of the Hungarians. Whereupon the king reſolued to trie the fortune of the field.

Vladiſlaus vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that *Amurath* the night before encamped within foure miles, was now putting his armie in order of battell; committed the ordering of all his forces vnto the valiant captaine *Huniades*: who with great care and induſtrie diſpoſed the ſame, garding the one ſide of the battaile with a fenne or marriſh, and the other ſide with cariages, and the rereward of his armie with a ſteepe hill. Therein politiquely prouiding, that the Chriſtian armie, being farre leſſe than the Turks in number, could not bee compaſſed about with the multitude of their enemies, neither any way charged but afront. The Turks armie approaching, began to skirmiſh with the Chriſtians, which manner of fight was long time with great courage maintained, and that with diuers fortune, ſometime one partie preuailing, and ſometime the other; but with ſuch ſlaughter on both ſides, that the ground was couered and ſtained with the dead bodies and blood of the ſlaine. At length the battaile beeing more cloſely joyned, the victorie began to incline to the Chriſtians, for *Huniades* had moſt valiantly with his Tranſiluanian and Valachian horſemen, put to flight both the wings of the Turkiſh armie, and made great ſlaughter whereſoeuer he came. Inſomuch, that *Amurath* diſmaied with the flight of his ſouldiours, was about to haue fled himſelfe out of the maine battaile, had hee not been ſtaied by a common ſouldiour, who laying hands vpon the raines of his bridle ſtaied him by force, and ſharpely reprooued him of cowardiſe. The captaines, and prelats about the king (whom it had better beſeemed to haue been at deuout prayers in their oratories, than in armes at that bloodie battaile) encouraged by the proſperous ſucceſſe of *Huniades*, and deſirous to be partakers of that victorie, fooliſhly left their ſafe ſtations, where they were appointed by him to ſtand faſt, and diſorderedly purſued the chaſe, leauing that ſide of the battell where they ſtood, open vnto the Turks: But they were not gone farre, before they were hardly encountred by a great part of the Turks armie, for ſuch purpoſe placed in a vallie faſt by. In which fight *Leſco* one of the moſt valiant captains of the Hungarians was ſlaine; and the Biſhop of VBRADIVM a better church man than ſouldior, and the firſt man that diſordered the battaile, ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight through the fenne, was there filthily ſtrangled in the deepe mud, after he had with his horſe therein ſtruggled a great while. The Biſhop of AGRIA, a man of greateſt authoritie with the king, was at the ſame time alſo loſt, with many other church men more. The Cardinall, with ſome other of the expert captaines retiring toward their former ſtandings, were hardly aſſailed by the Turks, who by the comming in of the king and *Huniades*, were with great ſlaughter forced to retire, and euen readie to flie. *Amurath* ſeeing the great ſlaughter of his men, and all brought into extreame danger, beholding the picture of the Crucifix in the diſplaied enſignes of the voluntarie Chriſtians, pluckt the writing out of his boſome, wherin the late league was compriſed, and holding it vp in his hand with his eies caſt vp to heauen, ſaid:

The great battell of Varna fought betweene king Vladiſlaus and Amurath.

Behold thou crucified Chriſt, this is the league thy Chriſtians in thy name made with mee: which they haue without cauſe violated. Now if thou bee a God, as they ſay thou art, and as we dreame, reuenge the wrong now done vnto thy name, and me, and ſhew thy power vpon thy perjurious people, who in their deeds denie thee their God.

Amurath prayeth vnto Chriſt.

The king with *Huniades* furiouſlie purſued the chaſed Turks, with bloodie execution a great ſpace: when as the king in his heat hardly perſuaded by *Huniades* to returne againe vnto his campe, at his comming thether found the Cardinall *Iulian*, with *Franke*, one of his cheefe captaines, and others, ouercharged with the Turkes, which had againe made head againſt that part of the Chriſtian armie: and there yet ſought couragiouſlie, by reaſon of their multitude, being alſo backt by the Ianizaries, which all this while had ſtood faſt with their old king, as his laſt and moſt aſſured refuge, but were now come in. There began a moſt cruell and fierce fight: in the ſucceſſe whereof, the Turks well ſaw the whole eſtate of their kingdome in EVROPE to conſiſt,

A cruell fight.

many

many were there ſlaine on both ſides : the Turks feeling their loſſe leſſe than indeed it was, by reaſon of their multitude; and the Chriſtians, by reaſon of their courage. A great while the victorie ſtood doubtfull, inſomuch, that at length the Turkes began to ſhrinke backe, in that part of the battaile where the king and *Huniades* fought. But in the left ſide, they preuailed ſo vpon the Chriſtians, that they were euen readie to haue fled. Which when *Huniades* (hauing a vigilant eie vnto euerie part of the armie) perceiued, hee with ſpeed made thether, and there againe with his preſence reſtored the battaile almoſt before loſt. Which done, hee returned againe towards the king, who in the mean time had moſt valiantly repulſed a great number of the Turks, and was now come vnto the Ianizaries, *Amurath* his laſt hope. There was to be ſeene a thouſand manners of death, whileſt both the armies fought more like wild beaſts in their rage and furie, than warie and politique ſouldiours. In this confuſed medly, the yong king *Vladiſlaus* with greater courage than care of himſelfe, brake into the battaile of the Ianizaries : at which time, *Amurath* himſelfe was by a valiant Frenchman a knight of the Roads, firſt wounded with a pike, and after aſſailed with his ſword, and had there ended his daies, but that hee was ſpeedily reſcued by his guard, by whom this worthie knight after great proofe of his valour was there ſlaine in the middeſt of his enemies. *Vladiſlaus* being got in alſo amongſt them, valiantly performed all the partes of a worthie ſouldiour, vntill ſuch time as his horſe being ſlaine vnder him, hee was forthwith oppreſſed by the multitude of his enemies and ſlaine: his head being ſtrucke off by *Ferizes*, one of the old Ianizaries, was by him preſented vnto *Amurath*; who commaunded it preſently to be put vpon the point of a launce, and proclamation to be made, that it was the head of the Chriſtian king : which was afterwards ſo caried through the principall cities of MACEDONIA, and GRECIA, as a trophey of the Turks victorie. *Huniades* after hee had in vaine giuen diuers braue attempts, to haue reſcued the kings bodie, retired with a few Valachian horſemen, and ſeeing no hope of better hap (for all the Chriſtians being diſcouraged with the death of the king, had now taken themſelues to flight) gaue place to neceſsitie and reſeruing himſelfe to his future fortune, fled ouer the mountaines into the thicke woods, from whence with much difficultie he got ouer DANVBIVS into VALACHIA, and was there (as ſome write) by *Dracula* prince of that countrey taken priſoner : In reuenge whereof, after hee was enlarged by the Hungarians, hee ſo aided *Danus* againſt *Dracula*, that in fine, *Dracula* and his ſonne were both ſlaine, and *Danus* placed in his roome. *Iulian* the Cardinall flying out of the battaile, was found by that worthie man *Gregorie Sanoſe*, lying in the deſert forreſt by the way, ſide mortally wounded, and halfe ſtripped: by whom hee was in few wordes ſharpely reproued, as the wicked authour of that perfidious warre : and there left giuing vp the ghoſt. Many of the Chriſtians which fled out of that battell fell into the enemies hands, and ſo were ſlaine : but greater was the number of them, which were drowned in the fennes, or that by hunger and cold periſhed in the woods, or elſe after long and miſerable trauaile, finding no paſſage ouer DANVBIVS fell at length into the Turkiſh ſlauerie. This great and mortall battaile as it was with diuers fortune fought, ſo was alſo the preſent report thereof moſt vncertaine : for the Turks that were at the firſt put to flight, reported in the townes thereby as they fled, that the battell was loſt: and they which had all the daie endured the fight, not altogether aſſured of the victorie, and not knowing whether the Hungarians had retired themſelues, whileſt they ſuſpected ſome deceit in the kinges campe, by reaſon of the great ſilence therein, ſtaied two daies before they durſt aduenture to take the ſpoile thereof. The number of them that were ſlaine in this battaile, as well on the one ſide as the other, was great; as the mounts, and little hils, raiſed of the bones and bodies of them that were there buried, doe yet at this daie declare. Howbeit the certaine number was not knowne, ſome reporting moe, ſome fewer. Yet in this moſt agree, that of the Chriſtian armie being not great, ſcarce the third part eſcaped: and that the Turkes bought this victorie, with a farre greater loſſe, although it was of them leſſe felt, by reaſon of their multitude, made leſſe by that ſlaughter ; as they that report leaſt thereof affirme, by thirtie thouſand. Which may well ſeeme rather to be ſo, for that *Amurath* after this victorie, neither farther proſecuted the ſame, nor ſhewed any tokens of joy at all, but became verie melancholie and ſad, and being of them about him, demanded why after ſo great a victorie, he was no merrier: anſwered, That he wiſhed not at ſo great a price, to gain many ſuch victories. Yet in memoriall thereof hee erected a great pillar, in the ſame place where the king was ſlaine, with an inſcription of all that was then done: which as they ſay is yet there to be ſeene at this day. This bloodie battaile, was fought neere vnto VARNA (in ancient time called DIONISIOPOLIS

Amurath in danger.

King Vladiſlaus ſlaine.

Huniades ſpeed.

NISIOPOLIS (a place fatall vnto many great warriors, and therfore of them euen yet abhorred) the tenth day of Nouember, in the yeare of our Lord Chriſt 1444.

Some malicioufly impute the loſſe of the battaile of VARNA, and the death of the king, to *Huniades*, who (as they ſaid) fled out of this battaile with ten thouſand horſemen: but this report agreeth not with the noble diſpoſition of that courageous and valiant captaine, but ſeemeth rather to haue been deuiſed, to excuſe the foule dealing of the cleargie; who as moſt hiſtories beare witneſſe, were the cheefe authors both of the warre, and of the lamentable calamitie enſuing thereof.

From the battaile of VARNA *Amurath* returned to HADRIANOPLE, hauing loſt the greateſt part of his beſt ſouldiors, and there with great ſolemnitie buried the bodie of *Caraſia*, viceroy of EVROPE, ſlaine in that battaile: and then calling together all his nobilitie, againe reſigned vp his kingdome vnto his ſonne *Mahomet*, retiring himſelfe vnto MAGNESIA, where he liued a ſolitarie and priuat life, hauing before vowed ſo to do, in the great feare he was in, in the late battaile againſt *Vladiſlaus*: but after hee had a ſhort time performed theſe his vowes in that obſcure and melancholie life, he weatie thereof, as ſome ſuppoſe, as not a little reuiued with the late victorie, or els ſolicited by *Caly Baſſa* and other great counſellours, returned againe to HADRIANOPLE, reſuming vnto himſelfe the gouernment of the kingdome, to the great diſcontentment of his ambitious ſonne *Mahomet*.

Amurath perform his vowes reſigneth his kingdome to his ſonne Mahomet, which he in ſhort time after taketh again vpon him.

Scanderbeg yet ſticking in the borders of SERVIA, and hearing what had happened vnto king *Vladiſlaus* with the Hungarians, was therewith exceedingly greeued: and hauing now loſt the hope whereupon he had vndertaken that ſo great an expedition, reſolued to returne home again into EPIRVS. Neuertheleſſe, to be in ſome part reuenged of the wicked Deſpot, he with his armie forcibly brake into his country, and there did exceeding great harme. In his returning homewards, great numbers of Hungarians and Polonians, lately eſcaped from the ſlaughter at VARNA, repaired vnto him, whom he (according to the extremitie of their fortune) courteouſly releeued: and furniſhing them with ſuch things as they wanted, prouided them ſhipping to RAGVSA, from whence they might in ſafetie returne into their owne countries. Thus by the diſloyaltie and trecherie of the faithleſſe Deſpot of SERVIA, was *Scanderbeg* ſtayed from being preſent at the bloodie battaile of VARNA, to the vnſpeakeable loſſe of the Chriſtian commonweale: for it could not be, but that ſo many thouſands of moſt reſolute and expert ſouldiors, vnder the leading of ſo worthie a cheefetaine, muſt needs haue done much for the gaining of the victorie. And what more glorious ſight could a man haue wiſhed for, than to haue ſeene ſo puiſſant an armie in the field againſt the ſworne enemie of Chriſtendome, directed by two ſuch valiant and renowned cheefetaines, as neuer either before or ſince their time was ſeene the like in one battell againſt the enemies of Chriſt and the Chriſtian religion? They were both men of inuincible courage, of exceeding ſtrength, and agilitie of bodie, wiſe, prudent, and ſubtile; both of long time exerciſed in the Turkes warres, the greateſt terrour of that nation, and moſt worthie champions of the Chriſtian religion, being therein both very zealous. Of the two, *Huniades* was at that time accounted the better commaunder, and the more polliticke, as a man of greater experience in martiall affaires, by reaſon of his greater yeares: which was well counteruailed by *Scanderbeg* his perpetuall good fortune, ſtill as it were attending vpon him, & by his experience afterwards gotten, as in the courſe of his hiſtorie well appeareth.

The compariſon betwixt Huniades and Scanderbeg.

Amurath aduertiſed of theſe proceedings of *Scanderbeg*, as alſo of the great harmes by him done in MACEDONIA, and that the frontiers of his dominions bordering vpon EPIRVS, were by his furie vtterly waſted and ſpoiled, and his people there for moſt part ſlaine, and that the reſt had for feare forſaken their dwellings and left the countrey deſolate and vnpeopled; was therewith exceedingly mooued. Yet for ſo much as he ſtill ſtood in dread of the Hungarians, and was now himſelfe clogged with yeares, and therefore more deſirous of reſt; conſidering alſo the young yeares of his eldeſt ſonne *Mahomet*, as yet vnfit for the gouernement of ſo great and troubleſome a kingdome; with the perpetuall good fortune of *Scanderbeg*, and mallice of *Huniades*: he thought it not beſt to conuert all his forces vpon him, but to proue if he could cunningly draw him into ſome diſhonourable peace for a time, that ſo he might afterwards at leiſure bee the better reuenged of him. For which cauſe he writ vnto him letters, mixt with grieuous threats and ſome faigned courteſies, as followeth:

Amurath

Amurath Ottoman, king of the Turkes, and emperour of the East, to the most ingratefull *Scanderbeg*, wisheth neither health nor welfare.

The sullen and crafiie letters of Amurath to Scanderbeg.

I neuer wanted honourable preferments to bestow vpon thee all the while thou diddest liue in my court, of all others most vnkind Scanderbeg; *but now I want words wherewith to speake vnto thee, thou hast so highly offended my mind, and touched mine honour, that I know not in discretion what words to vse vnto thee, but of late one of my domesticall seruants. For neither will hard speech mollifie the naturall fiercenesse of thy proud disposition, neither art thou worthie of better, which hast farre exceeded all hostilitie. And because thou wouldest omit no occasion to prouoke me, hast of late proceeded to that point of follie, that thou hast had thine owne affaires, and the welfare of thine owne subiects, in small regard, by confederating thy selfe in armes with the Hungarians, against me. It greeueth mee to rehearse other thy vnkindnesse, and as it were to touch those sores, if my mind would euer suffer me to forget the same, or that thy so manifold & horrible treasons, and strange examples of a most vnthankfull mind, were to be couered with silence. Yet I thought good to aduertise thee (although perhaps too late) least that thy vnstaied heat doe vntimely ouerthrow thee, with thy vnluckie kingdome: and then thou wouldest make humble confession of thy long transgression, when thou hast lost thy selfe, and left no hope of refuge in thy desperat estate. We haue hitherto sufficiently suffered thy manifold iniuries: thou hast sufficiently prouoked the majestie of the* Othoman *empire, with wrong and contumelious despight, and I with patience haue borne all these thy contempts. Thinkest thou that my armie by thee betrayed vnto the Hungarians, shall be vnreuenged? Thinkest thou that so many cities and townes in* Epirvs, *by thee rent from the bodie of my empire, with my garrisons there slaine, shall be forgotten? Or thinkest thou with thy late committed outrages to escape my reuenging hands? Remember the destruction of mine armie vnder* Alis Bassa; *the wasting and burning of my dominions; and lately, the Hungarian warres, by thee so far as in thee was, countenanced; with the territories of* George, *the Despot of* Servia, *my father in law, by thee spoiled. At length amend thou graceless man, and expect not farther, whether my indignation will breake out. Let not these trifling allurements of thy good fortune, so puffe vp thy foolish desires, and sharpen thy conceits, that thy miserable fortune afterwards may moue euen thy greatest enemie, or my selfe, to compassion. I would thou shouldest at length remember my courtesies (if any sparke of humanitie remaine in thy sauage nature) and make me not longer sorrie, that I haue so euill bestowed the same. And although it is not the part of an honourable mind, to rehearse those things which we haue in bountie bestowed vpon any man; yet is it the token of a most vnthankfull nature, so easily to forget all kindnesse past, as to need to be put in remembrance therof. Wherfore* Scanderbeg, *I cannot but bewaile thy hap, and lament thine estate: For, to let passe the health of thy soule (which thou a very reprobat, esteemest as nothing) not to speake of the lawes of* Mahomet, *by thee despised, and the holy prophet by thee contemned, for the Zeale thou hast vnto the Christian superstition: what hast thou (which now holdest thy poore and base kingdome in such price) euer wanted at my hands of all those things which most delight the desires of men? Diddest thou euer want armour, horses, a great traine of followers and seruants, money, or other superfluities, the allurements of all ages? Or diddest thou want matter to exercise thy valour, for encrease of thine honour? Wast thou euer denied preferments, dignities, and honours of all sorts fit for thine age, both at home and abroad? Was any man in my court deerer vnto me, than thy selfe? What growing wit, not of strangers onely, but of them that were neerest vnto my selfe, was better welcome vnto me than thine? With what carefull instruction did I cause thee to be brought vp? When thou wast deliuered vnto me almost a child, I daily cherished and encreased thy hoped towardlinesse, with learning and nurture: I haue at all times honoured thee with rich rewards, magnificall praises, and honours of the field (which of all worldly things is most glorious) so that in all feats of armes no souldior was to me better knowne, or captaine of me more honoured. For all these great benefits,* Scanderbeg, *thou now shewest thy selfe such an one, that I may be thought not to haue brought vp such a man as I hoped for, but a very serpent in mine owne bosome. But the loue of thy countrey did moue thee: which if thou hadst asked of me, would I haue denied the same vnto thee? Which (if thou doest well remember) I so oftentimes voluntarily profered vnto thee? But thou haddest rather to gaine the same by trecherie, than to receiue it at my hands of courtesie. So, thine be it therefore on God his name, and that with my very good will. And verely, according to my accustomed clemencie towards all them whom I haue once well knowne, and beene familiarly acquainted with,*

with, I now pardon thee all thou haſt offended me; not for any thy preſent deſerts, which are none, but becauſe in this publique enmitie, it pleaſeth mee to remember my former kindneſſe in priuat towards thee, and thy faithfulneſſe ſometimes in my affaires; eſpecially for that the time was much longer wherein thou ſeruedſt me, than the time wherein thou haſt offended me. CROIA and thy fathers kingdome (although thou haſt gained the ſame by fowle treacherie) I giue vnto thee, vpon condition thou willingly reſtore vnto me the other townes of EPIRVS, which by no right belong vnto thee, but are mine by law of armes, by my ſelfe honourably wonne. Whatſoeuer thou haſt taken from my father in law, the prince of SERVIA, thou ſhalt forthwith reſtore, and make him an honourable recompence for the other harmes thou haſt done vnto him; and for euer hereafter, thou ſhalt as well forbeare to offer violence to any our friends, as to aid any our enemies. So ſhalt thou for euer auoid the diſpleaſure of the Turks, and ſtand in my good grace and fauour, as thou haſt done before: except thou haddeſt rather (being taught by thine owne harmes) then in vaine crie for mercie, when thy furious outrage ſhall haue me in perſon, an implacable reuenger. Thou knoweſt thy forces, thou knoweſt the ſtrength of mine armes; thou haſt before thine eies the freſh example of the Hungarian fortune, ſo that thou needeſt no further admonitions. Yet I would thou ſhouldeſt write at large what thou intendeſt to do. Thou maieſt alſo conferre with Ayradin *our ſeruant, our truſtie and faithfull meſſenger, of whom thou ſhalt vnderſtand more than are in theſe letters compriſed. Farewell if thou be wiſe. From* HADRIANOPLE.

To theſe letters *Scanderbeg* gaue ſmall credit, and leſſe to the meſſenger, but leaſt of all to the old Fox himſelfe, whom he well knew to haue written nothing ſimply of good meaning, but onely to gaine a ceſſation from warres, vntill he might at better leaſure ſet vpon him with all his forces: wherefore calling *Ayradin* the meſſenger vnto him, whom he rather held for a craftie ſpie, than an honourable embaſſador, after hee had many times both publiquely and priuatly diſcourſed with him, ſo farre forth as was poſsible to ſound the depth of his comming, and had alſo further entertained him with all honourable courteſies, hee ſhewed him all his campe, with the ſtrength thereof; which hee did, becauſe he would not haue the craftie meſſenger to thinke, that he was any thing afraid of his maiſters greatneſſe. And at laſt greatly complaining of *Amurath* his cruell and perfidious dealing againſt his father, his brethren, and himſelfe, he ſent him away with ſuch anſwere in writing as followeth.

The ſouldiour of Chriſt Ieſu, *George Caſtriot* ſurnamed *Scanderbeg*, prince of EPIRVS, to *Amurath Ottoman* king of the Turkes ſendeth greeeing.

The reſolute anſwere of Scanderbeg to Amurath his letter.

Thou haſt in times paſt (as thou writeſt) exceeded mee in many kinds of courteſies, and at this preſent I will exceed thee in modeſt and temperat ſpeech: For I thinke there is no greater token of a baſe mind, than to be able to forbeare to giue railing and opprobrious words, euen vnto our moſt mortall enemies. Wherefore we haue with patience receiued and ſeene, both thy letters and meſſenger: and to confeſſe a truth, they haue miniſtred vnto me greater occaſion of ſmile, than choller: whileſt at the firſt thou ſhameſt not to accuſe me of much ingratitude, & treſon: and preſently following a milder paſſion, ſeemeſt carefull of my ſoules health, being ignorant of thine own miſerable eſtate, as a ſtudious defender of a moſt damnable errour. And at laſt, keeping neither law of armes, nor orderly courſe anſwering to our affaires, doeſt moſt inſolently and vnaduiſedly, as a valiant conqueror to his vanquiſhed enemie, propound many conditions of peace, of ſuch qualitie and condition, that mine eares ſcorne to heare the ſame. Truely Amurath, *although thy immoderat railing might mooue a man of greateſt patience to intemperat ſpeech: yet I impute the ſame partly to thy great age, and partly to the waiwardneſſe of thy nature; and the reſt, to thy conceiued griefe, which I know thou canſt hardly moderat: and the more, for that I haue not ſet downe my ſelfe to contend with thee in foule and vnſeemly language, but with armes and the juſt furie of warre. Yet I pray thee, wherfore doeſt thou ſo exclaime vpon me before God and man: as though thou hadſt firſt ſuffered wrong and injurie from me, and that thou hadſt not in truth firſt don the ſame. Doeſt thou call my neceſsary departing, a perfidious treacherie? my natiue countrey by my policie and valour recouered, doeſt thou obiect to me as a villanie? obiect the ſame ſtill and ſpare not; charge mee with ſuch crimes for euer, I care not. The long catalogue of thy kindneſſe towards me, which thou reherſeſt, I could willingly rmēber, if it drew not with it the woſull remembrance*

of my greater miſeries. Which if they were to be compared together, the greatneſſe of thy good deſerts would be ouerwhelmed with the multitude of thy greater tyrannies; which I had rather thou ſhouldeſt count with thy ſelfe, than bluſh whileſt I repeat them. Euery man that knoweth them, may meruell how I had power to endure them, or that thou waſt not wearie at laſt of thy crueltie and ſecret hatred. Thou tookeſt away my fathers kingdome by force; thou diddeſt murther my brethren; and my ſelfe thou diddeſt moſt wickedly vow to death, when I little feared any ſuch crueltie. And doth it now ſeeme ſtrange to thee, ô Amurath, *that an inuincible mind, deſirous of libertie, ſhould ſeeke to break out of the bonds of ſo great ſlauerie? How long at length diddeſt thou thinke I would endure thy proud and inſolent bondage? which for all that I many yeares endured, and refuſed not thy commaund. I expoſed my ſelfe to publicke and priuat dangers, both voluntarily and by thy deſignement: ſpeeches were giuen out daily by thy ſelfe, and the admonition of my friends concerning thy deepe trecherie, was rife in mine eares: yet for all that, of long time I ſimply beleeued both thy words and deeds to haue beene deuoid of all fraud, vntill thy cankered mallice began too too apparently to ſhew it ſelfe, then began I alſo to gloſe with thee, wholly metamorphoſed into thine owne conceits, vntill I found occaſion to recouer my libertie. Wherefore there is no cauſe thou ſhouldeſt now greeue, if thou be well beaten with thine own rod. But theſe are but trifles,* Amurath, *in compariſon of thoſe things which I haue laied vp in hope and reſolution of mind. Therefore hereafter ſurceaſe thine angrie threats, and tell not vs of the Hungarian fortune. Euery man hath his owne reſolution, and euery man a particular gouernour of his actions: and ſo will we with patience endure ſuch fortune as it ſhall pleaſe God to appoint vs In the meane time, for direction of our affaires, we will not requeſt counſell of our enemies, nor peace of thee, but victorie by the helpe of God. Farewell from our campe.*

When *Amurath* had read theſe letters, and further conferred with *Arradin*, hee was filled with wrath and indignation, wondering at the great reſolution of ſo ſmall a prince, preſently caſting in his mind (as was thought) the difficultie of that warre. Yet becauſe he would giue no token of feare, oftentimes ſtroking his white beard, as his manner was when he was throughly angrie, with a diſſembled cheerefulneſſe of countenance ſaid:

Amurath his paſſionat ſpeech in his rage againſt Scanderbeg.

Thou deſireſt (wicked man) thou deſireſt the title of ſome honourable death: we will giue it thee (beleeue vs) wee will giue it thee. Wee our ſelues will bee preſent at the buriall of our foſter child, and in perſon (though vnbidden) honour the funerall pompe of the great king of Epirvs; *that thou ſhalt neuer complaine among the damned ghoſts, that thou diddeſt die a baſe or obſcure kind of death.*

And for becauſe at that time, by reaſon of many great occurrents, hee could not conuert his whole power into Epirvs, he ſent *Feriſes*, one of his beſt captaines, with nine thouſand choice horſemen, to keepe *Scanderbeg* in doing, and to ſpoile his countrey ſo much as he could. Which was with ſuch ſpeed done, that it was thought *Feriſes* would haue beene in the heart of Epirvs, before *Scanderbeg* could haue had knowledge of his comming. But for all his haſt, he could not ſo preuent the flying fame, but that *Scanderbeg* hearing thereof, and hauing his men alwayes in readineſſe, placed fifteene hundred good footmen in ambuſh vpon the rough mountaines, leading into the valley of Movea, whereby the Turks muſt needs paſſe into Epirvs; placing alſo two thouſand horſemen, as he thought moſt fit & conuenient for his purpoſe. *Feriſes* deſcending from the high mountaines full of woods and buſhes, by the broken and ſtonie waies leading into the valley, was in that troubleſome and intricate paſſage fiercely ſet vpon by *Scanderbegs* readie footmen, ſuddainely ariſing out of ambuſh, where the Turks hauing no vſe of their horſes, but rather by them encombered, were ſlaine as Deere encloſed in a toyle. In this conflict ſeuen hundred and ſixtie Turks were taken priſoners, and a greater number ſlaine, and *Feriſes* himſelfe, with the reſt, enforced to flie, crying ſtill out as hee fled, *Better ſome ſaued, than all loſt*. *Scanderbeg* hauing thus ouerthrowne *Feriſes*, purſued him into Macedonia, and with the ſpoile there taken, rewarded his ſouldiours, as he had alſo many times before done.

Amurath greeued with the ouerthrow of *Feriſes*, preſently ſent *Muſtapha* a politicke and hardie captaine, with a new ſupplie of ſix thouſand ſouldiours to take the charge from *Feriſes*: commaunding him in no caſe, nor vpon any occaſion, to enter farre into Epirvs: but onely to burne and ſpoile the frontiers thereof, ſaying, That he would account it for good ſeruice, if he might but vnderſtand, that the trees and fruits of that countrey, had felt the force of his anger.

Muſtapha

A *Mustapha* hauing receiued his charge, when he began to draw neere the borders of EPIRVS, continually sent out scouts before his armie, to see if the passages were cleere, and so warily entred the vallie of MOCRE, A where *Ferises* not long before was ouerthrowne. In this fruitfull vallie, being the frontiers of *Scanderbegs* dominion, *Mustapha* entrenched his armie, vpon the rising of a hill, and placed espials vpon the tops of the high mountaines round about, by them to discouer the comming of the enemie, and to haue notice thereof by signes into the campe: then reseruing foure thousand horsemen with himselfe, to keepe his campe, hee sent forth the rest of his armie, about nine thousand horsemen, to forrage and spoile the countrey; giuing charge before, that euerie man vpon paine of death should presently retire to the campe, vpon signe giuen from
B thence, as to a place of safetie and refuge. The Turkish armie ranging ouer that rich and pleasant vallie, burnt the villages, cut downe trees, spoiled the vineyards, and made hauocke of all things that fire and sword could destroy; in that point executing *Amuraths* commaund to the full. At length *Scanderbeg* drawing neere to this vallie, with foure thousand horsemen and a thousand foot, was aduertised of all the enemies doings, by an Epirot souldiour, who greeuously wounded had hardly escaped from the Turks: of him he vnderstood, what number of Turkes were burning and destroying the countrey, of the campe also kept by *Mustapha*, and how espials were placed vpon the mountaines. *Scanderbeg* hauing well considered *Mustapha* his warie proceedings, and seeing no pollicie to bee vsed against so carefull an enemie, resolued to vanquish him by plaine force, by assaulting him suddainely in his trenches, before his dispierced souldiors
C could repaire to the campe: and hauing to this purpose, with effectuall persuasions encouraged the minds of his valiant soldiors, readie of themselues to follow him through all dangers; whē he had set all things in order for assaulting the enemies camp, speedily entred the vallie, and was presently discouered by the enemies espials, from the tops of the high hils, and a signe giuen to the campe, from whence also the appointed signe was giuen for the dispierced soldiors to retire: but most of them being straied from the campe; and busied in taking the spoile of the country, heard not or saw not the sign giuen: Those which were within the hearing therof retired to the campe, and at their heeles followed *Scanderbegs* souldiours, terrifying them with calling vpon the name of *Scanderbeg*. Many of the Turks were by the Christians slaine in the entrance of the campe, with their booties in their hands, and presently the Turks trenches were now by *Scanderbegs* sol-
D diors couragiously assaulted, and the Turks beaten from the top of them. They hauing wonne the trenches, preuailed still vpon the Turks, filling all their camp with feare and slaughter. There was no vse of shot in that medlie, by reason of the straightnesse of the place, for they were now come to pell mell. *Mustapha* seeing his souldiours put to the worst, and that the campe was not long to be defended, tooke horse and fled by the port which was furthest from the enemie. The rest of the souldiors fled also, making such poore shift for themselues as they could. In this battaile 5000 Turks were slaine, and but 300 taken; for the Christians enraged with the spoile of the country, reuenged themselues with the slaughter of the Turks. *Scanderbeg* lost in this conflict but 20 horsemen, and 50 footmen. The rest of the Turkes armie dispersed in the countrey, hearing the tumult in the campe, misdoubting the fortune of their fellowes, fled also: yet many of
E them were in that fight pursued and slaine.

Scanderbeg his valiant resolution for the assaulting of Mustapha in his camp.

After this ouerthrow, *Mustapha* returning to *Amurath*, the better to excuse the misfortune of himselfe, and the other captaines before sent, greatly commended the inuincible courage of *Scanderbeg*, and his wonderfull skill in feats of armes; persuading *Amurath* either to send a greater power against him, or else none at all, saying, That to send such small armies, was but to minister matter to the increase of his glorie, and the infamie of the Turks; and to vse pollicie against him the maister of pollicie, was but meere follie. It greeued *Amurath* to heare the praises of his enemie, although hee knew the same to be true, by the continuall fortune he had alwaies against his great captaines *Alis-bassa*, *Ferises*, and *Mustapha*: wherefore he determined for a time not to prouoke him further, but to suffer him to liue in peace: yet commaunded *Mustapha* to renew his
F armie for defence of the borders of his kingdome towardes EPIRVS, against the innouation of *Scanderbeg*; but straightly commaunding him in no case to inuade any part of EPIRVS, neither vpon any occasion offered, or conceiued hope of victorie, to joyne battaile with *Scanderbeg*, for feare of such euill successe as before.

At this time also the Grecians of PELOPONESVS now called MOREA, hauing before fortified the strait of CORINTH from sea to sea, with a perpetuall wall, which they called HEXA-

MYLVM, and deep trenches about six miles in length, had also built fiue strong castles in the same wall, of purpose to take away all passage by land into that rich countrey, and began now not only to denie the yearely tribute they were wont to pay vnto the Turkish king, but also to inuade such princes of ACHAIA their neighbours, as were content to remaine still the Turks tributaries; amongst whom *Nereus* prince of ATHENS, and *Turacan* Gouernour of THESSALIA for *Amurath*, ceased not by continuall complaints to incense him against them of PELOPONESVS. Who hauing his armie in readinesse, although it was now winter, and he himselfe verie aged, set forward from HADRIANOPLE, and marching through THESSALIA, came into ACHAIA, where most of the Grecians were before fled for feare into PELOPONESVS. So passing on with his armie, he came to the strait commonly called ISTMVS, where the famous citie of CORINTH somtime stood; and there encamped his armie neere vnto the strong wall, and castles, lately before built, hoping that the Grecians of PELOPONESVS, terrified with the multitude of his armie, would without resistance submit themselues: but when he perceiued them to stand vpon their guard, and to trust to their strength, he laid battrie to the wall foure daies, and hauing made it saultable, brake throgh the same with his armie. The Grecians hauing lost the wall (their cheefe strength) fled, some to one strong hold, and some to another, as their fortune led them; the Turks at their pleasure spoiling and destroying that rich & pleasant country, sometime the nurse of worthie wits, and famous captaines: where they found wonderfull riches, and tooke prisoners without number; insomuch that they were sold among the Turks at most vile price. There *Amurath* for his pleasure, cruelly sacrificed six hundreth Christian captiues, to the hellish ghost of his dead father *Mahomet*: & afterwards imposing a yearely tribute vpon the Peloponesians, and others Grecian princes now yeelding againe vnto him, as an induction to their futher slauerie vnder the Turkish tirannie, he returned, taking in his way the two famous cities of PATRAS and SICYONE. Thus the rich countrey of PELOPONESVS, and all the rest of GRECIA, sometime fountaine of all learning and ciuilitie, became tributarie to the barbarous and cruell Turkes, in the yeare of our Lord 1445.

Peloponnesus made tributarie vnto the Turke.

1446 *Baiazet borne.* Old *Amurath* now clogged with yeares, and wearied with long wars, was content to take his rest at HADRIANOPLE: during which time, *Baiazet* the sonne of *Mahomet* was borne in the yeare 1446, who afterwards of long time with great glorie gouerned the Turkish empire at CONSTANTINOPLE, as in his place shall appeare.

The Hungarians after the calamitie of VARNA, wherein they had together with *Vladislaus* their king, lost most part of their nobilitie also; in a generall assembly of their states, made choice of *Ladislaus*, the posthumous sonne of *Albertus* (and then in keeping of *Fredericke* the emperour) for their king. But for as much as he being then but a child of fiue yeares old, and chosen king, more for the remembrance of the emperour *Sigismund* his grandfather, and *Albertus* his father, and for the good hope conceiued of him, than for any other thing presently to bee expected from him; it was thought more than necessarie, to make choice of some notable and woorthie man, vnto whom they might (during the time of the kings minoritie) commit the gouernement and protection of that so great and turbulent a kingdome. Many there were in that honorable assemblie well thought of, both of themselues and others: but such was the glorie and valour of *Huniades*, and so great the remembrance of his worthie deserts both of the kingdome of HVNGARIE, and of the Christian commonweale in generall, as without his seeking, procured vnto him the generall fauour and suffrages of all; yea so farre, that euen they which most enuied at his honour, as ouershaddowing their own, were glad to hold their peace, for that without him it was commonly thought the state of that shaken kingdome could not long stand: So by the generall consent of all the states there assembled, hee was with the great applause of the people chosen and proclaimed gouernour, as of all others most fit for so great and heauie a charge: wherein he quietly spent some few yeares in deciding of ciuile controuersies, in composing the quarrels of the nobilitie; not forgetting in the mean time the indifferent administration of justice to all men, ending many controuersies farre from the place of judgement, and that without all suspition of corruption, vsing therein such expedition and neuer-wearied patience, in hearing euery mans cause, that sitting, going, standing, riding, hee dispatched many great and waightie matters: alwayes shewing himselfe affable and courteous, as well vnto them of the poorer sort, as others of greater calling, that had any sutes vnto him. So that it was of him truly said, That no man was than he vnto his friends more friendly, or vnto his enemies more crosse and contrarie.

Huniades in the minoritie of the king, chosen Gouernour of all the kingdome of Hungarie.

In

In time of peace he was alwayes prouiding for warre, heaping vp great treaſure; and ſuch other things, as without which, the warres could not be maintained. But aboue all things, he was carefull of the good agreement of the nobilitie, taking great paines in reconciling their diſpleaſures conceiued one againſt another, and that with ſuch dexteritie, as that he was both of them and others generally both beloued and feared.

In the meane time, whileſt he was thus buſied in diſpoſing of the ciuile affaires of the commonweale and the adminiſtration of juſtice, hee was aduertiſed by his eſpials, how that the old Sultan *Amurath* was raiſing great forces both in ASIA and EVROPE, and that as the common fame went, for the inuaſion of HVNGARIE. For the withſtanding whereof, *Huniades* not vnprouided, as neuer vnmindfull of ſo dangerous an enemie, or of any thing more deſirous, than in ſome ſort to be reuenged of the great loſſe receiued at VARNA; in the fourth yeare of his gouernment and in the yeare of our Lord 1448 accompanied with moſt part of the nobilitie of HVNGARIE, and the Vaiuod of VALACHIA his friend and confederate, ſet forward againſt the Turke, with an armie of two and twentie thouſand choiſe ſouldiours. So hauing paſſed the riuer TIBISCVS, or TEISE, and trauailing through VALACHIA, a little beneath where the riuer MOROVA running through SERVIA, falleth into DANVBIVS, he with moſt part of his armie paſſed that great riuer; the reſt in the meane time taking paſſage ouer at a towne called SEVERIN. *Huniades* with his armie being thus got ouer into SERVIA, by his embaſſadours requeſted the Deſpot, as he had oftentimes before, to put himſelfe into that moſt Chriſtian warre; and remembring the great benefits he had receiued from the Hungarians, not to ſhew himſelfe therfore vngratefull, than which, nothing could be more diſhonourable: and to encourage him the more, certified him both of his owne ſtrength, and of the aid brought vnto him by the Vaiuod; and that for the good ſucceſſe of the warre, there wanted nothing but his preſence and direction, with ſuch troupes of light horſemen as he knew he had euer in a readineſſe. Wherewith he requeſted him with all ſpeed to follow him. But he being a man of no religion, and better affected vnto the Turke than to *Huniades*, the more cleanly to withdraw himſelfe from this warre, pretended many excuſes: firſt, the league he had with *Amurath* his ſonne in lawe, which he ſaid he might not breake, for feare that if things chanced not well, he might ſo fall againe headlong into his old miſerie; then, the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the time, Autumne being now paſt, which difficulties in thoſe cold countries they had to their coſt too much felt in the late warr: Theſe with many other ſuch like he alleadged, in excuſe that he came not: but the truth was, the malice of the man, grieued to ſee *Huniades* preferred before him in the gouernment of the kingdome, and diſdaining to ſerue vnder his enſignes, being himſelfe Deſpot, and king of SERVIA, deſcended of the royall race, the cauſe of his backwardneſſe: ſo that blinded with enuie, he could not there rightly judge of himſelfe, or what was fit for him in this caſe to haue done. But *Huniades* angrie with his vnkind anſwere, threatned him with his owne hands to be reuenged vpon him, and to giue away his kingdome to one more worthy thereof than he, if he ſhould with victorie returne. So paſſing through SERVIA, as through the enemies countrey, he came into BVLGARIA. After whoſe departure, the falſe Deſpot by ſpeedy meſſengers aduertiſed *Amurath* both of the comming of the Hungarians, and of their ſtrength; yea he certified him of euerie daies march, and how that *Huniades* was but with a ſmall companie of his owne, and ſome weake ſupplies of the Vaiuods come ouer DANVBIVS: whom if he ſhould not preſently meet, but ſuffer him to come on further, and ſo with his armie to get betwixt him and home, hee might ſo ſhut him in, as that he ſhould hardly be able to ſcape his hands. All which he did, partly for enuie, partly to gratifie the Turke, and the better to keepe friendſhip with him. So *Amurath* not contemning the Deſpots counſell, ſuffered *Huniades* without reſiſtance to enter a great way into his countrey, and comming two or three daies march behind him, ſo ſtopped the paſſage as that he could not poſsibly retire, but that he muſt needs fight. And now they were both come vnto a great plaine in BVLGARIA, which the Hungarians call RIGOMEZV, and the Raſcians the plaine of COSSOVA, through the middeſt whereof the riuer SCHICHNIZA riſing out of the mountaines of ILLIRIA running, at length falleth into MOROVA, and ſo into DANVBIVS: this plaine is about 20 miles in length, and in bredth fiue, enuironed on each ſide with pleaſant mountaines, in manner of a theatre, the riuer and low vallies at the foot of the mountaines being garniſhed with many countrey villages and townes. Into this fatall plaine when as the Hungarians firſt, and after them the Turks, were as into a place of combate deſcended;

1448

Huniades goeth againſt the Turke.

The falſe Deſpot giueth Amurath knowledge both of Huniades his comming, and of his ſtrength.

an old woman dwelling in one of the villages vpon the riuer ſide faſt by, where both armies of late paſſed, with a loud voice cried out, *Oh how much I now feare, the hard fortune of the Hungarians.* When as their paſſage ouer by the foord troubled the riuer but one daie, and the Turks three. By the ſmall number of their armie, diuining their enſuing ouerthrow. In the middeſt almoſt of this plaine ariſeth a ſmall hill, by the foote whereof the riuer SCHICHNIZA runneth; not farre beyond which, toward the head of the plaine, was a certaine tower built like a piramides, in memoriall of *Amurath* the firſt of that name, and third king of the Turks there ſlaine: which tower, *Amurath* fearing leaſt *Huniades* marching before him, ſhould take, and ſo become vnto him ominous (for in ſuch matters the Turkes are verie ſuperſtitious) hee made the more haſt, of purpoſe to joyne battaile with him before he ſhould come to the foreſaid tower. *Huniades* being come vnto the hill, eaſily ariſing in the middeſt of the plaine, there encamped, expecting the comming of *Scanderbeg*; who was ſaid (according to appointment made betwixt him and *Huniades*) to be euerie houre comming. Wherefore *Amurath* fearing leaſt the tower faſt by ſhould be taken, and the enemies power ſtrengthened by the comming of the Albanois, prouoked *Huniades* to battaile; who ſtill refuſed the ſame, in hope of his friends comming: which made the Turke more fierce vpon him, ſeeking by all meanes he could to draw him to battaile, but eſpecially by cutting him off from water and forrage: for why hee much preſumed vpon his multitude, hauing in his armie about foureſcore thouſand fighting men. At length *Huniades* for want of water and other neceſſaries, enforced to fight, vpon S. *Lukes* day being then Thurſday, commaunded his ſouldiours to make themſelues readie: and diuiding his armie into two and thirtie battailions, in ſuch order as he ment to giue battaile, the more to encourage them ſpake vnto them as followeth:

The omynous ſpeech of an old woman.

The notable ſpeech of Huniades to encourage his ſouldiours againſt the Turks.

At length (valiant ſouldiours and fellowes in armes) the day is come, wherein you may reuenge that diſhonour, or diſgrace, you receiued in the battaile of VARNA; *and recouer your former credit of conſtancie, and praiſe, if you will play the men: the enemie oppoſeth againſt you, but theſe reliques of his armies, by you ſo often broken and diſcomfited; who although they be in number moe than you, yet are they in hope, quarrell, and ſtrength, far inferior. For what can they hope for, which fight not for their owne, but for another mans kingdome? and in conquering, procure vnto themſelues nothing but bondage in this life, and torment in the life to come, and in both perpetuall and endleſſe miſerie? Whereas you on the other ſide, howſoeuer the matter fall out, fighting for your owne kingdome, your children, your countrey, your houſes and altars, may aſſuredly hope for in both, eternall and vndoubted bliſſe. You haue alſo far greater cauſe to fight, as they which if they do not valiantly ouercome their enemies, are in danger with themſelues to looſe alſo all that theirs is. The ſtrength of both are ſufficiently tried. Once we vnfortunatly joyned battaile at* VARNA, *where if wee might make exchange of our fortunes there found, happily the Turke would make choiſe of our flight, rather than of the great ſlaughter of his owne men: who being not able to ouertake vs, was there notably beaten, with the loſſe of a great part of his armie: whoſe great loſſe there receiued, may counteruaile our diſhonour; although the loſſe, he ſuffred perforce, but we our flight by choiſe. But of that our ouerthrow, the angrie powers from aboue (willing to reuenge our breach of faith) were as I verily beleeue, the cauſe, rather than our cowardiſe: for euen there, all the authors of that perfidious dealing, euen there I ſay, euerie one receiued the juſt guerdon of their treacherie. Whereas we againſt our wils, drawne into that wofull warre, by the mercie of God yet liue with you, preſerued for the defence of the Chriſtian commonweale, and eſpecially of* HVNGARIE, *that it ſhould not be ouerrunne with the Turkiſh power and rage. The number of your enemies is not of you to be feared, when as you with few, haue oftentimes learned to fight with their multitudes, and caried away from them the victorie. Hetherto we haue rather fought by the power of God than man, and in the name of Chriſt Ieſu our Sauior, haue eaſily ouerthrowne their prophane battailes. Which way ſoeuer wee haue turned our ſelues, in his moſt mightie name, we haue with our victorious armes opened our way, for that wee fought vnder the leading and conduct of the higheſt, whoſe helpe we haue alwaies felt at hand: neither ſhall we thereof this daie faile, if we be mindfull of his forepaſſed loue towards vs, and of our wonted valour. God is alwaies preſent with them that in his juſt quarrell fight couragiouſly. Hereunto is joyned the ſafe manner of our fight, by reaſon of our men at armes, and barbed horſes, who like a ſtrong caſtle cannot eaſily be ouerthrowne. Our battalions are ſuch as may eaſily be commaunded, and yet ſtrong inough againſt our enemies: whereas their great multitude breedeth but confuſion. We haue many notable and forcible engines of warre, which they haue*

haue not. Beſides that, euerie houre we looke for the worthie Scanderbeg *his comming. The danger is not ſo great, as that we ſhould feare it; or ſo little, as that we ſhould contemne it. Backe againe without victorie we may not goe, for that our armie is hardly by the ſtraits of theſe mountaines to bee led: and if the way were neuer ſo eaſie, yet without doing that we came for, and glorie with victorie, we may not retire. Vnto the valiant, all difficulties are propounded. Wherefore ſith this your laſt labour is at hand, wherein the whole ſtrength of the Turkes may be for euer cut off, I pray and beſeech you (fellow ſouldiors) by that God vnder whoſe power and protection wee ſerue, and by the loue you beare vnto your countrey, your wiues, your children, and wealth, vpon the ſignall of battaile giuen, ſo to ſhew your valour, as men reſolued to be fully reuenged of the injuries by that filthie and wicked nation done both to God and man: and eſpecially of the loſſe receiued at* VARNA. *We loſt there a deuout king, who for our ſafetie, and for the breach of his faith, ſacrificed himſelfe; by which royall ſacrifice, that diuine anger is appeaſed: vnto whoſe ghoſt, I beſeech you, in this battaile to make an honourable ſacrifice. Not forgetting withall, to reuenge the death of other worthie men in that battaile ſlaine. This feare of the Turks, is at once and euen this day to be cut off; and ſo, as that it ſhould neuer grow againe: and the kingdome of* HVNGARIE, *ſo to be deliuered from the danger of moſt cruell ſlauerie, as that it may by this daies worke gaine perpetuall reſt, and glorie, vnto the enioying of the pleaſures both of this life, and of the life to come. Wherefore (worthie ſouldiours) we muſt fight with all our force, for that our honour ſo requireth, our profit ſo perſwadeth, and neceſſitie enforceth. As for our ſelues, howſoeuer the matter fall out, all ſhall be with vs well: If victorie, perpetuall bliſſe and happineſſe ſhall thereby be procured vnto our countrey, and immortall fame vnto our ſelues; but if we ſhall be ouercome, here we ſhall be moſt honourably buried in the bed of fame, to liue in heauen with God and his ſaints for euer. Wherefore I beſeech you ſo to fight, as men reſolutely ſet downe to ouercome, or if it ſhall otherwiſe fall out, as men reſolued honourably to die.*

With this the Generals ſpeech, all the minds of the hearers were greatly enflamed, and they all by his words, and their owne hot deſires, ſufficiently encouraged. Neither did old *Amurath* on the other ſide with leſſe care or diligence marſhall his armie and encourage his Turks, ſparing neither cheerefull ſpeech, glorious promiſes, or ſeuere commaund: Whoſe armie being brought into the plaine, and ranged in order of battaile, filled the ſame from the one ſide to the other, euen vnto the verie mountaines, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Chriſtians: and ſo about nine a clock in the morning ſet forward. *Huniades* had from the hill where he lay, ſent downe both the wings of his armie, and had afront on both ſides before them, ſtretched out certain long troupes of light horſemen, to begin the skirmiſh: In the middeſt betwixt both he had placed *Zechel*, his ſiſters ſonne, with a ſtrong ſquare battaile of men at armes: and ſuch as he had kept aloft vpon the hill for reſcues, he had compaſſed about with his waggons, as with trenches. The ſignall of the battaile being giuen, the fierce and couragious ſouldiors on both ſides, with cheerefull mindes, began at firſt to skirmiſh a farre off: but afterwards fortune as it were fawning vpon both ſides, and their courage thereupon increaſing, they began with greater force to fight foot to foot, and hand to hand. Which hot fight, continued about three houres: at length the Turkes battaile was put to the worſt, by *Benedict Loſoncius*, who had the leading of the right wing; and ſo likewiſe in the left alſo by *Stephen Bamffi*, who with great ſlaughter had notably foyled the great Baſſa of EVROPE, ſtill preſsing hard & deſperatly vpon him. Which diſcomfiture of his men in both wings *Amurath* beholding, preſently ſent in ſtrong ſupplies, & in both places renewed the battaile: whereby the Hungarian and Valachian light horſemen before wearied, were enforced to retire vnto the men at armes; who ſerred together, and ſtanding as a ſtrong wall, eaſily repulſed the greateſt aſſaults of the Turks: In which manner of fight many were on both ſides ſlain, but farre mote of the Turks, by reaſon they were neither ſo well horſed nor armed as were the Chriſtians. *Huniades* in the meane time with the artillerie from the hill, did the Turks great harme: which *Amurath* perceiuing, drew as cloſe vnto the hill as he could, by that meanes ſauing his people (ſo much as was poſsible) out of the danger of the artillerie, mounted on high aboue them in ſuch ſort, as that it could little or nothing now hurt them. Which *Huniades* from the hill beholding, came downe to the releeſe of his men, ſending new ſupplies to both wings; ſometime encouraging them with cheerefull ſpeech, and ſometime with his owne moſt valiant hand: vnto the wearie he ſent releeſe, the fearefull he encouraged, them that were flying he ſtaied, and where hee ſaw the enemies faſteſt comming on, there was hee himſelfe preſent to meet them;

The great battaile of Coſſoua fought betwixt Amurath and Huniades three daies together.

them, omitting nothing that was of a good Generall or worthie ſouldiour to be done. The valiant he commended, the coward he reproued, and as a carefull Generall, was himſelfe in euery place preſent. Whereby the battaile became ſo fierce and terrible, that in euerie place a man might haue ſeen all fowly foiled with blood, and the quarrey of the dead. *Amurath* in like manet ſtill ſent in new ſupplies, nothing diſcouraged with the great loſſe of his men, preſuming vpon his multitude, as fully reſolued orderly to fight, and to make vſe of all his forces; in hope at length by continuall ſending in of freſh ſupplies, to wearie his enemies, whom he ſaw hee could not by force ouercome. Wherein he was not deceiued, for one battailion of the Hungarians was often times enforced to wearie foure or fiue of the Turks before they could be releeued, they came on ſo faſt. That day they dined and ſupped in the battaile, refreſhing themſelues with ſuch ſhort repaſt as they could eat ſtanding, going, or riding. The Turkes armie was that day in euerie place put to the worſt, & often times with great ſlaughter enforced by the Hungarians to retire almoſt vnto their trenches: yet was the battaile ſtill againe renewed, and ſo fought on both ſides, as well appeared they were reſolued either to ouercome, or there to die. This cruell fight maintained all the day, was by the comming on of the night ended, both the armies retiring into their owne trenches: but with purpoſe the next daie to renew the battaile, and not to giue ouer or turne their backes, vntill the victorie were by dint of ſword determined. So with little reſt, was that night ſpent, both armies keeping moſt diligent watch, all carefully expecting the next day, as by battell therein to trie whether they ſhould liue or die. It was yet ſcarce faire daie, when both the armies in good order readie ranged began againe the battaile: which at the firſt, was not by the Hungarians fought with ſuch force and courage as before, for there was none of them which had not the day before ſpent their whole ſtrength; whereas there was yet almoſt fortie thouſand of the Turks, which either had not fought at all, or but lightly skirmiſhed. Yet *Huniades* exhorted his ſouldiors, not by faint harted cowardiſe to breake off the courſe of the victorie by them the daie before ſo well begun, but courageouſly to proſecute the ſame; beſeeching them not to be now wanting vnto themſelues and their country, but to remember how well they had fought the day before, how many thouſands of their enemies they had ſlaine, and not now at laſt to giue ouer, and ſo ſhamefully to fruſtrate all the paines and dangers by them before endured: for that they (as he ſaid) were to be thought worthie of honour, not which began, but which well ended honourable actions. He wiſhed them to ſet before their eies the calamities like to enſue, if they ſhould as cowards be ouercome: firſt, the diuers kinds of death and torture; then, the ſlauerie of their wiues and children; the rauiſhment of their virgins and matrons; and laſt of all, the vtter deſtruction of their kingdom, with the horrible confuſion of all things, as well ſacred as prophane: all which were by that one daies labour (as he ſaid) to be auoided. And therefore he beſought them for the loue both of God and man, with their wonted valour, that day to ſet at libertie for euer, themſelues, their countrey, their wiues and children, and what ſoeuer elſe they held deere. In like manner alſo did *Amurath* encourage his ſouldiours, with great promiſes, and threats, perſuading them rather to endure any thing, than by that daies ouerthrow to bee driuen out of EVROPE. He carefully viewed his armie, ordered his battailes, and with many graue reaſons perſuaded them to play the men. But after that ſome light skirmiſhes being paſt, both the armies were fully joyned, the battel was fought with no leſſe force and furie than the day before. Of the Chriſtians many then wounded, came now again into the battaile, there either by ſpeedy death or ſpeedie victorie to cure their wounds before receiued; and there did right good ſeruice. Great was the ſlaughter in euerie place, neither could the force of the Hungarians be withſtood; whoſe furious impreſsion, whē the Turks could not by plain force endure, they began with their freſh horſemen, cunningly to delude their deſperat fierceneſſe: at ſuch time as the Hungarians began moſt hardly to charge them, they by & by turned their backs, ſuffering them a while to follow after thē, far ſcattered & diſperſed: who allured as it were with the hope of a preſent victory, eagrely purſued them, & in the purſuit ſlew diuers of them. And they again vpon a ſignall giuē, cloſing together, & turning back vpon the diſpierced troups, well reuenged the death of their fellows: & with their often charges, & retraits, wonderfully wearied the Hungarians; notably deluding their furious attempts with that vncertain kind of fight, all the day long. Many of the Hungarians were there ſlain, and the Turks had that day the better, and ſo both armies being wearied, night and wearines ended the fight: both retiring into their trenches, there keeping moſt carefull watch. The next morning by the dawning of the day, the battaile was again begun. *Huniades* his bro-

The battaile begun againe the ſecond day.

Huniades encouageth his ſouldiors.

brother, Generall of the Valachians, with his light horſemen ſetting firſt forward; after whom in ſeemly order followed the reſt of the nobilitie, with their companies. Where for certaine howers, the battaile was hardly fought with like hope on both ſides, and a great ſlaughter made, but eſpecially of the Hungarians; who wearied with the long fight, & moſt part of them wounded, were now all to endure this third daies labour. *Zechel* (*Huniades* his ſiſters ſonne) valiantly fighting in the front of the battaile, was the firſt of the leaders there ſlaine in the thickeſt of the Turks. *Emericus Marzalus* and *Stephen Bamffi*, both great commaunders, encloſed by the Turks, there died alſo. *Amurath* ſeeing the formoſt enſignes of the Chriſtians which ſtood in *Zechel* his regiment, taken, and his ſoldiors (diſcomfited with the death of their colonell) turning their backs; preſently commaunded all the companies, which were manie (yet left in the trenches, for freſh ſupplies) to iſſue foorth, and at once to ouerwhelme the Chriſtians, being (as hee ſaid) but few and ouerweried with three daies continuall fight. Vpon which the kings commaund, they fiercely breaking out, preſently ouerthrew both the wings of the Chriſtians, before wauering; and in a great battaile (wherein moſt of the chiefe commaunders were ſlaine, and their enſigns taken) diſcomfited the reſt, and with a great ſlaughter put them to flight. *Huniades* ſeeing his brother now ſlaine, the enſignes taken, and the battaile quite loſt; betooke himſelfe to flight alſo, leauing behind him his tents and baggage, all which ſhortly after became a prey vnto the Turkes: who from noone vntill night furiouſly followed the chaſe, with moſt cruell execution; but at length ſtaied by the comming on of the darkeneſſe, they returned againe vnto their trenches. The reſt of the Turkes armie that followed not the chaſe, compaſsing in the Hungarian campe, were there by the wounded ſouldiors, the wagoners, and other drudges of the armie, kept out ſo long as they had any ſhot left; but yet were in the end euerie mothers ſonne ſlaine, though not altogither vnreuenged, two or three of the Turkes in many places lying dead by the bodie of one Hungarian. *Amurath* to couer the greatneſſe of the loſſe he there receiued, commanded the bodies of his captaines there ſlaine, to be forthwith buried; and the bodies of his common ſouldiours, to be for the moſt part caſt into the riuer SCHICHNIZA: For which cauſe the inhabitants of the countrey there by, of long time after abſtained from eating of any fiſh taken in that riuer. The plaine by this great battaile made once againe famous, lay neuertheleſſe many yeares after couered with dead mens bones, as if it had been with ſtones: neither could be ploughed by the countrey people, but that long time after armour and weapons were there ſtill in many places turned vp and found. Thus albeit that this bloudy victorie fell vnto the Turkes, yet was their loſſe farre greater than the Hungarians; hauing loſt (as was reported by them that ſay leaſt) foure and thirtie thouſand of themſelues, for eight thouſand of their enemies. Howbeit they themſelues report the loſſe to haue beene on both ſides far greater; as that of the Chriſtians were ſlaine ſeuenteene thouſand, and of themſelues fortie thouſand: which in ſo long and mortall a fight, is not vnlike to haue been true. In this vnfortunate battaile fell moſt part of the Hungarian nobilitie: all, men worthy eternall fame and memorie, whoſe names we for breuitie wil paſſe ouer. Many in the chaſe taken, and the next day brought to *Amurath*, were by the commandement of the angrie tyrant ſlaine. Such as eſcaped out of the ſlaughter by the way of ILLYRIA, returned in ſafetie: but ſuch as ſought to ſaue themſelues by returning back againe through SERVIA the Deſpots countrey, found the ſame ſo troubleſome as that few of them eſcaped, but that they were by the way either ſlaine, or quite ſtripped of all they had.

The battaile againe begun the third day.

Huniades flieth.

The number of the Turkes and Chriſtians ſlain in the battaile of Coſſoua.

Neither was the fortune of the noble *Huniades* much better than the fortune of the reſt, who hauing on horſebacke all alone by vncouth and vntract waies, trauailed three daies without meat or drinke, and the fourth day tired his horſe and caſt him off; being on foot and diſarmed, fell into the hands of two notable theeues, who in diſpoiling him of his apparell, finding a faire crucifix of gold about his necke, fell at ſtrife betwixt themſelues for the ſame: whereby he tooke occaſion to lay hand vpon one of their ſwords, and with the ſame preſently thruſt him through; and then ſuddenly aſſailing the other, put him to flight alſo. So deliuered of this danger, trauailing on, and almoſt ſpent with thirſt and hunger, the next day he light vpon a ſheepheard, a ſturdie rough knaue, who hearing of the ouerthrow of the Hungarians, was (in hope of prey) roaming abroad in that deſolat countrey: Who at their firſt meeting, ſtrucken with the majeſtie of the man, ſtood at gaze vpon him; as did alſo *Huniades*, fearing in his ſo great weakneſſe to haue to doe with him. Thus a while hauing the one well regarded the other, they began to enter talke, the ſheepheard bluntly asking him of his fortune; and he for Gods ſake craning

uing of him ſome thing to eat. When as the ſheepheard hearing of his hard happe, mooued with his eſtate, and hope of promiſed reward, brought him vnto a poore cottage not farre off, cauſing to be ſet before him bread and water, with a few oynions. Who in the pleaſant remembrance of that paſſed miſerie, would oftentimes after in his greateſt banquets ſay, That he neuer in his life fared better, or more daintily, than when he ſupped with this ſheepheard. So well can hunger ſeaſon homely cates. Thus refreſhed, he was by the ſheepheard conducted to SYNDEROVIA: whereof the Deſpot hauing intelligence (whoſe countrey was all layd for the ſtaying of him) cauſed him by the captaine of the caſtle to be apprehended, and impriſoned. But after certaine daies ſpent in talke about his deliuerance, it was at length agreed, that all ſuch ſtrong townes in RASCIA and SERVIA, as had by the Hungarians been detained from the Deſpot, at ſuch time as his kingdome was by king *Vladiſlaus* reſtored vnto him, ſhould now be againe to him deliuered; and that *Matthias*, *Huniades* his youngeſt ſonne, ſhould for the confirmation of farther friendſhip, marrie the Deſpots daughter: with ſome other ſuch conditions as it pleaſed the vngratefull prince for his owne behoofe to ſet downe. For performance whereof, he required to haue *Ladiſlaus*, *Huniades* his eldeſt ſon, in hoſtage. All which *Huniades* was glad forthwith to yeeld vnto, for feare the falſe Deſpot ſhould haue deliuered him into the hands of *Amurath*, his mortall enemie. So the hoſtage being giuen, *Huniades* was againe ſet at libertie. Who vpon Chriſtmas day comming to SEGEDINVM, was there by all the nobilitie of HVNGARIE, and great concourſe of the people, honorably receiued. This ingratitude of the Deſpots no leſſe greeued this worthie man, than the diſhonour receiued from the Turke. Wherefore vpon the ſuddaine raiſing a great armie, he inuaded the territorie, long before giuen to the Deſpot by the emperor *Sigiſmund* in HVNGARIE, in exchange of the ſtrong town of BELGRADE, deſtroying the countrey before him, and burning the villages, neuer reſting, vntill he had got into his power whatſoeuer the Deſpot had in HVNGARIE: & yet not ſo contented, preſently entred into RASCIA, where the Deſpots embaſſadors met him, bringing with them *Ladiſlaus* the hoſtage, honorably rewarded, & humbly crauing peace at his hands: which he at the requeſt of the nobilitie, eaſily granted, with forgiueneſſe of all former wrongs or injuries. And ſo hauing with him concluded a peace, returned backe again into HVNGARIE. But Fortune neuer ſuffereth long the valiant man to reſt, but ſtill keepeth him buſied, leaſt he ſhould at too much eaſe attaine vnto honours glorie.

Huniades taken priſoner by the Deſpot.

1449

The Deſpot inuaded by Amurath, craueth aid of Huniades.

The yeare following, *Amurath* certainely enformed, That *George* the Deſpot hauing of late *Huniades* in his power, had againe ſet him at libertie: was therwith exceeding wroth, blaming him of great ingratitude, That for a kingdome which he had at his hands receiued, he had not deliuered vnto him his enemie, in full recompence thereof: whom of all others he moſt feared, & therefore likewiſe wiſhed to haue had him periſh. In reuenge of which injurie (as he tooke it) the melancholie tyrant, ſent *Fritze-beg* and *Ioſe-beg*, two of his moſt expert captaines, with a ſtrong power to inuade RASCIA, the Deſpots countrey: who accordingly entring thereinto, ſtrongly fortified CHRYSONICVM, a towne before ruinated, vpon the ſide of the riuer MORAVA, and from thence with fire and ſword deſtroyed the countrey both farre and neere. The Deſpot diſmayed with this ſuddaine and vnexpected inuaſion, wiſt not well which way to turne himſelfe: the angrie Turke, he well knew, was not to bee appeaſed without yeelding vnto ſome great inconuenience; and to pray aid of *Huniades*, without which he was not able to withſtand the Turkes, hee thought but vaine, for the wrong he had before done him. So that what to do he wiſt not: yet had he rather to endure any thing, than againe to ſuffer the heauie bondage of the Turke. In this extremitie he thought beſt to make proofe of *Huniades*, of whom hee humbly and not without great ſhame craued aid. Which the courteous gouernour, according to his honourable nature, forgetting all former injuries, eaſily graunted: and the rather, for that hee deſired nothing more, than to be of the Turks in ſome part reuenged of the ouerthrow from them of late receiued in the plaines of COSSOVA: as alſo for that he wiſely foreſaw, That the Deſpots countrey being loſt, hee ſhould haue the Turkes ſtill brauing him euen as it were in the gates of HVNGARIE. Wherefore hauing with great ſpeed raiſed a conuenient power, he forthwith in perſon himſelfe ſet forward, and at SYNDEROVIA paſsing ouer the riuer DANVBIVS into RASCIA, there ioyned his power with the Deſpots, which hee found there readie. And ſo marching forward with ſuch expedition, that hee preuented the fame of his comming; and the weather alſo at the ſame time as it were fauouring his purpoſe, and couering the countrey with a thicke miſt, hee was the fourth day vpon the Turkes before they were aware of him. Who wonderfully diſmayed with

the

the ſuddaine comming of the Chriſtians, and vpon the breaking vp of the miſt, diſcouering alſo *Huniades* his enſignes (alwaies vnto them dreadfull) thought now no more of reſiſtance, or of the ordering of their battaile, but as men diſcouraged, betooke themſelues to ſpeedie flight. After whom followed the Hungarian and Seruian light horſemen, with moſt bloodie execution hauing them in chace all that day; *Huniades* with his men at armes following ſtill after in good order, for feare the Turkes ſhould againe make head vpon the light horſemen that had them in chace. And had not the comming on of the night ended the ſlaughter, few of the Turkes had there eſcaped: but by the approch thereof many of them got into the woods, and ſo ſaued themſelues. *Fritze-beg* the Generall, with moſt part of the Turkes beſt commaunders, were in that flight taken. *Huniades* after this victorie entering into BVLGARIA, came to BVDINA, the metropoliticall citie of that countrey, which (as the cauſe oftentimes of great wars) he burnt down to the ground. And ſo hauing well reuenged himſelfe, and cleared the countrey of the Turks, he returned backe againe into SERVIA, and there gaue vnto the Deſpot for a preſent all the priſoners he had taken: and contenting himſelfe with the honour of the victorie, returned with triumph to BVDA, there to find no leſſe trouble with the Bohemians, and ſome of the diſcontented nobilitie of HVNGARIE, than hee had with the Turkes, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian commonweale.

All this while that *Amurath* was thus troubled with *Huniades* and the Hungarians, *Muſtapha* lying ſtill vpon the borders of MACEDONIA, as *Amurath* had commaunded; it chaunced that a great quarrell grew betwixt the Venetians and *Scanderbeg*, about the inheritance of *Lech Zacharie* (a noble man of EPIRVS) then ſhamefully murthered by his vnnaturall kinſman *Lech Duchagne*; part of whoſe inheritance lying in the frontiers of EPIRVS, the Venetians claimed, as belonging to their ſeignorie: and hauing got poſſeſsion of the citie of DAYNA, part thereof, by force held the ſame againſt *Scanderbeg*: vpon which quarrell great warres aroſe betwixt the Venetians and him, who had before beene very great friends: inſomuch, that in the end they joined in battaile at the riuer of DRINE, where the Venetians were by him in a great battaile ouerthrowne. Of which troubles *Muſtapha* daily vnderſtood, and how that *Scanderbeg* ſo buſied, had left but a ſmall garriſon vpon the borders of EPIRVS. Wherefore being deſirous to redeeme his former diſgrace with ſome better hap; hee would faine haue taken the oportunitie now preſented, but that his great maſters command lay ſo heauie vpon him, as that he durſt not without his leaue attempt the ſame; knowing that the danger of his euill fortune, if it ſhould ſo fall out, would farre exceed the vncertaine glorie of his better ſucceſſe. Yet ceaſed hee not from time to time to giue *Amurath* intelligence of theſe troubles and warres in EPIRVS, earneſtly requeſting him not to let ſlip ſo faire an oportunitie, but to giue him leaue to enter into the countrey: in manner, aſſuring him beforehand of the victorie. yet the ſuſpitious old king was long in reſoluing what to doe, ſtill fearing the fortune of his enemie. At length diſcharged of the feare of the Hungarians, and commending *Muſtapha* his forwardneſſe, hee ſent vnto him a meſſenger with letters of this purport, anſwerable to his deſire.

Amurath his graue letters of aduertiſement to Muſtapha, concerning his going againe into Epirus.

E *The warres thou ſo greatly deſireſt, behold* Muſtapha *we graunt vnto thee: the glorie thereof (if thoſe things be true which we heare of the Venetian war) thine owne valour, and worthie right hand ſhall giue thee: yet thou muſt warily deale with that enemie, and not raſhly take vp armes, which thou maieſt be enforced ſhamefully to caſt away, when thou thinkeſt leaſt. Peraduenture the counterfeit ſhew of warre, and faigned falling out among the Chriſtians, do too much allure thee; for the common ſaying is, There is no quarrell ſooner ended, than betwixt the father and the ſonne: wee in perſon abſent, can neither aduiſe thee as preſent, nor commend a fooliſh forwardneſſe in armes. Thou muſt before thou put on armes, diſpoſe of all things, and conſider of euery particular, which is to be put in execution when thou art in the field. Thou haſt a great armie of freſh and luſtie ſouldiors, thine enemies are with continuall warres wearied and ſpent: in that remaineth, doe as thou thinkeſt good, for I forbid thee the doing of nothing, which thou thinkeſt may be for the aduancement of our honour.*

Muſtapha hauing thus obtained leaue, and well appointed, with all his forces entered into EPIRVS, hoping in one battaile to end that warre: which he (preſuming vpon the ſtrength of his armie) many times offered in the plaine field. Newes hereof was brought to *Scanderbeg* (then lying at the ſiege of DAYNA againſt the Venetians) from his garriſons lying vpon the frontiers of

of EPIRVS, to whom he addreſſed a ſpeedie meſſenger: commaunding them in no wiſe to encounter with the enemie, but to keepe themſelues within the ſauegard of their ſtrong holds, and to protract the time vntill his coming. Afterwards ſelecting out of his armie fiue hundreth horſemen,& fifteen hundreth choſen footmen,all old beaten ſoldiors, he with that ſmall number marched to the place where he knew lay his garriſons intrenched, in the vpper countrey of DIBRA: leauing *Ameſa* his nephew at the ſiege of DAYNA. *Muſtapha* hauing many times in vaine ſought to draw the garriſon ſouldiours out of their trenches by offering them many faire oportunities of aduantage, and now out of hope that way to circumuent them, began to ſpoile and burne the countrey round about. But when he vnderſtood by his ſcouts of *Scanderbeg* his comming, hee ſpeedily called together his armie, and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbegs* campe, at a place called ORONOCHE, in the vpper countrey of DIBRA. *Scanderbeg* had there in his campe of his garriſon ſouldiours and thoſe he brought with him, foure thouſand horſemen, and two thouſand foot,all old expert ſouldiours: where, after he had made his trenches ſtrong, hee left therein three hundreth of them, and brought the reſt into the field in order of battaile. *Muſtapha* on the other ſide likewiſe brought on in good order his armie alſo. But whileſt both armies thus ſtood ranged one within the view of the other, expecting nothing but the ſignall of battaile, ſuddenly a man at armes,in gallant and rich furniture,iſſued out of the Turks armie into the middeſt of the plaine betwixt both armies, and from thence with a loud voice challenged to fight hand to hand with any one of the Chriſtian armie. This Turke was called *Caraguſa*. At the firſt *Scanderbegs* ſoldiors vpon this challenge ſtood ſtil,one looking vpon another: for as they were all aſhamed to refuſe ſo braue an offer, ſo the danger ſo ſuddainly offered, ſtaied euerie mans forwardneſſe for a while: Vntill that one *Paul Maneſsi*,accounted the beſt man at armes in *Scanderbeg* his armie(vpon whom euerie mans eie was now caſt, as if he had been the man by name called out by the proud challenger)not able longer to endure the Turkes pride, with great courage and cheerefull countenance came to *Scanderbeg*,requeſting him that he might be the man to accept that challenge. Who greatly commended him, and willed him on God his name to ſet forward, firſt to win honour to himſelfe, and then to giue example of his valour for all the reſt of the armie to follow. *Paul* ſtaying a while, vntill he had for that purpoſe moſt brauely armed himſelfe,mounted preſently to horſe, and riding forth into the plaine,called aloud vnto the Turk, that he ſhould make himſelfe readie to fight. Whom *Caraguſa* required to ſtay a while that hee might ſpeake vnto him a few words, indifferently concerning them both.

The ſpeech of Caraguſa the Turke,to Maneſsi.

The victorie (ſaid he) *our force and fortune ſhall determine: but the conditions of the victorie, we are now to appoint our ſelues. If the Deſtinies haue aſsigned vnto thee the honour of this daie, Irefuſe not,but that thou maieſt by law of armes,when I am ouercome,cary away with thee my rich ſpoiles, and at thy pleaſure diſpoſe of my dead bodie. But if thou ſhalt fall vnder my hand, I require that I may haue the ſame right, and power ouer thy captiue bodie: and that the Generals will graunt that no man ſhall mooue out of either armie, to better the fortune of either of vs in the time of the combat, or after.*

Maneſsi his ſtout anſwere to Caraguſa.

Whereunto *Maneſsi* anſwered, *That hee agreed to thoſe conditions of the combat, which hee vpon a needleſſe feare had ſo required to be kept: ſaying, That where the fierce ſoule had yeilded, there of good right all the reſt ought to be the conquerours; and that therefore he ſhould fight without feare of any more enemies than himſelfe: whom ſo ſoone as he had depriued of life, he ſhould haue free power to doe with his dead bodie what he would. Which if thou wouldeſt giue* (ſaid he) *vnto the teares of my fellow ſouldiours, yet would not worthie* Scanderbeg *ſuffer the carkaſſe of a vanquiſhed coward to be brought backe againe into his campe.*

Caraguſa maruailed to heare his ſo braue a reſolution, and as it was thought,repented him of his challenge. But after that both the Generals had vpon their honours confirmed the lawes of the combat before rehearſed, both the Champions were left alone in the middeſt of the plaine betweene both armies, with all mens eies fixed vpon them. Now both the armies betwixt feare and hope,ſtood in great expectation of the euent of the combat, preſaging their own fortunes in the fortune of their Champions. In which time they both hauing withdrawn themſelues one frō the other a conuenient diſtance, for the making of their courſe,and after with great violence running together: *Caraguſa* was by *Maneſsi*, at the firſt encounter ſtroke through the head and ſlaine. *Maneſsi* alighting, diſarmed the dead bodie, and ſtroke off his head: and ſo loaded with the armour and head of the proud challenger, returned with victorie to the armie, where he was joyfully

joyfully receiued and brought to *Scanderbeg*, of whom he was there presently honourably both commended and rewarded. *Scanderbeg* seeing his men by this good fortune of *Manesti* greatly encouraged, and the Turkes as men dismaied with the death of their Champion hanging their heads, like an inuincible captaine himselfe set first forward toward the enemie, as it were in contempt of their multitude: and had charged them as they stood, before they had set one foot forward, had not *Mustapha* to encourage his souldiours, with certaine disordered troupes opposed himselfe against him, which the whole armie seeing, faintly followed: but as they set forward with small courage, so were they at the first encounter easily driuen to retire. Which when *Mustapha* saw, he called earnestly vpon them to follow him, and the more to encourage them by his owne example, put spurres to his horse, and fiercely charged the front of *Scanderbegs* armie, as one resolued either to gaine the victorie, or there to die; after whom followed most of the principall captains of his armie, which would not for shame forsake their generall: thus by his valour the battaile was for a while renued. But *Moses* preuailing with great slaughter, in one part of the armie, the Turks began to flie: in which flight *Mustapha* the Generall, with twelue others of the cheefe men in that armie, were taken prisoners, but of the common souldiours few were saued. There was slaine of the Turkes armie ten thousand, and fifteen ensignes taken, whereas of the Christians were lost but three hundreth. The Turks tents and campe, with all the wealth thereof, became a prey to *Scanderbegs* souldiours. Wherewith although he had satisfied the desires of them all, yet to keepe his old custome, he entred into the confines of MACEDONIA, and there burnt and spoiled all that hee could. And afterwards leauing a garrison of two thousand horsemen, and a thousand foot, for defence of his frontiers, returned againe with the rest of his armie to the siege of DAYNA.

The battaile betwixt Scanderbeg and Mustapha.

Not long after, the Venetians made peace with *Scanderbeg*: and *Amurath* desirous to redeeme his captaines, about the same time sent great presents vnto *Scanderbeg*, with fiue and twentie thousand duckats, for the ransome of *Mustapha*, & the other chieftaines: whom *Scanderbeg* so honourably vsed, as if there had neuer been any hostilitie betwixt him and them: and so with a safe conuoy, sent them out of his countrey. The raunsome of *Mastapha* and the other Turks he deuided amongst his souldiours. When *Scanderbeg* had thus made peace with the Venetians, hee forthwith led his armie againe into MACEDONIA, with the spoile of that countrey to make his souldiours better pay, as his vsuall manner was. And to doe the greater harme, he diuided his armie into three parts, wherewith he ouerrunning the countrey, wasted and destroied all before him, putting to the sword all the Turks that came in his waie. As for the Christians that there liued amongst them, he spared, but left them nothing more than their liues: the buildings of the countrey he vtterly consumed with fire, so that in all that part of MACEDONIA which boardereth vpon EPIRVS, nothing was to be seen more than the bare ground, and the showes of the spoile by him there made. Which vnmercifull hauocke of all things he made, to the end that the Turks should find no releefe in those quarters, whensoeuer they should come either to lie in garrison in that countrey, or to inuade EPIRVS. The spoile hee made was so great, that it was thought hee left not in all that countrey, so much as might releeue the Turkes armie for one daie.

Mustapha ransomed.

Of all these great harmes by *Scanderbeg* done in MACEDONIA, *Amurath* was with all speed aduertised, and therewith exceedingly vexed: howbeit he resolued with his great counsellors, no more to send any of his Bassaes or captaines, but to goe himselfe in person, with such a royall armie, as should be sufficient not to conquer EPIRVS, but if need were, to fill euery corner thereof. Wherefore hee commaunded commissions to bee speedily directed into all parts of his kingdomes and prouinces, for the leuying of a great armie for HADRIANOPLE: yet whither he intended to imploy the same, was not knowne to any in the Turks court, more than to the Bassaes of the counsaile. Which caused all the bordering Christian princes to make the best preparation they could for their owne assurance, euery one fearing least that growing tempest should breake out against himselfe. But *Scanderbeg* of long acquainted with the Turkish policie, easily perceiued all that great preparation to be made against him: which he was the rather induced to thinke, by reason of the vnaccustomed quietnesse of *Amurath*, who all that while had neither sent any armie to reuenge the ouerthrow of *Mustapha*, nor so much as a garrison for defence of the borders of his kingdome, but had let all things negligently passe, as if he had beene in a dead sleepe. Besides that, it was also thought, that he had secret intelligence from some of his old friends and

acquaintance in *Amurath* his court, who probably ſuſpected the matter. Wherefore *Scanderbeg* ſetting all other things apart, gaue himſelfe wholly to the preparing of things neceſſarie for the defence of his ſmall kingdome againſt ſo mightie an enemie. Firſt hee by letters and meſſengers aduertiſed all the Chriſtian princes his neighbours and friends, of the greatneſſe of the danger of that warre; wherein *Amurath* (as he ſaid) ſought not onely his deſtruction, but the vtter ruin of them all: exhorting them therefore to conſider, how farre the danger of ſo great an armie might extend, and therefore to ſtand faſt vpon their guard. Then hee ſent *Moſes* and other his expert captaines into all parts of EPIRVS, to take vp ſouldiors, and all the prouiſion of corne and victuals that was poſsible to be had. Wherein he himſelfe alſo buſily trauailed day and night, not reſting vntill he had left nothing in the countrey whereupon the enemie might ſhew his crueltie. Moſt part of the common people with their ſubſtance, were receiued into the ſtrong cities, the reſt tooke the refuge of the Venetian and other Chriſtian princes townes and countries farther off, vntill this furie was ouerpaſt: all ſuch as were able to beare armes, were commaunded to repaire to CROIA; where when they were all aſſembled, there were ynow to haue made a right puiſſant armie. But out of all this multitude *Scanderbeg* made choice onely of ten thouſand old expert ſouldiors, whom he purpoſed to lead himſelfe to encounter with the Turkes great armie, as he ſhould ſee occaſion: and placed a thouſand three hundred in garriſon in CROIA. The cittizens alſo themſelues were throughly furniſhed with all manner of weapons and other prouiſion meet for the defence of their cittie. Then proclamation was made, That all the aged men vnfit for warres, with the women and children, ſhould depart the citie; and none to bee therein left but the garriſon ſouldiors, and ſuch cittizens as were willing to tarie, and able to beare arms. This cittie of CROIA was the cheefe citie of EPIRVS, and of the fortune thereof ſeemed to depend the ſtate of all the other ſtrong townes and cities, and ſo conſequently of the whole kingdome: for which cauſe, *Scanderbeg* had the greater care for the defence thereof. It was a miſerable ſight to ſee the lamentable departure of this weake companie out of CROIA: all was full of weeping and wailing; no houſe, no ſtreet, no part of the cittie was without mourning: but eſpecially in the churches was to be ſeene the very face of common ſorrow and heauineſſe; where all ſorts of people in great numbers flocking together, poured forth their deuout praiers, with fountaines of teares, wringing their hands; yea, and ſome in the impatiencie of their greefe forgetting themſelues, ſeemed to expoſtulate their greefe with God. But when their ſorrow was with teares aſſuaged, and their hearts ſomewhat eaſed, the aged mothers kiſsing their ſonnes, gaue them many a fearefull commandement: ſometime reherſing how louingly and tenderly they had brought them vp, and otherſome times ſhewing vnto them their feeble limmes and hoary haires, willing them to bee mindfull of them: The wiues preſented their children vnto their husbands, bewayling to leaue them as childleſſe wydowers, and their houſes deſolat: The old men mute with ſorrow, & carefull of their children, durſt neither encourage them, for feare of making them too forward; neither diſſuade them from aduenturing themſelues, leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to loue them more than their natiue countrie. In the middeſt of theſe paſsions commandement came from *Scanderbeg*, that they muſt now depart, that the ſouldiors might take their places & charge. Then began their ſorrowes afreſh, with pittious ſcriching & teares. A man would haue thought the cittie had euen then been preſently taken by the Turks. They could hardly be drawne from the embracing of their friends, all now deſiring to remaine ſtill with them in the citie, partakers of their common dangers. But when they ſaw the officers begin to be earneſt vpon them, and to haſten their departure, then with heauie hearts they tooke as it were their laſt farewell, and departed out of the cittie, ſetting their feet many times they wiſt not where, for deſire they had to looke backe againe vpon the cittie. This great multitude was conueyed alſo into the Venetian cities, and other places free from danger: whither all the countrey people, which were not before receiued into the ſtrong cities, reſorted alſo, with all their ſubſtance and cattell; leauing nothing in all the countrey of EPIRVS, but the bare ground for the Turks to prey vpon. After this multitude was departed, and all well quieted, and none left in the citie but men fit for ſeruice, *Scanderbeg* throughly ſtored it with all things needfull for the defence thereof, and for the enduring of a long ſiege: beſides that, he gaue to euery ſouldior conuenient armour, with ſome ſmall reward. Then he placed *Vranacontes* (a valiant and famous captaine, honourably deſcended) gouernour of the cittie. And ſo hauing ſet all things in order for the ſafegard thereof, after hee had in few words exhorted them courageouſly to endure the ſiege, and not to liſten to *Amurath* his flattering

The lamentable departing of the weake cittizens out of Croia.

ring and deceitfull charmes, he departed out of the cittie vnto his armie, then lying within view, and began preſently to march towards DYERA. But he was not farre gone, before he met with *Moſes* with a gallant troupe of horſemen comming from SFETIGRADE, a ſtrong citie of DYERA, ſituate in the confines of EPIRVS, bordering vpon MACEDONIA: which citie was *Scanderbeg* his ſecond care, for that it was like to be the firſt that ſhould endure the angrie tyrants furie, ſtanding firſt in his way, as it were the fortreſſe of that countrey. *Moſes* had there ſet all things in like order, as had *Scanderbeg* in CROIA; and had there placed one *Peter Perlat* (a graue and polliticke man) Gouernour, with a ſtrong garriſon of ſouldiors choſen out of all the countrey of DYERA, which were alwaies accounted the beſt men of warre in all EPIRVS, and was for ſo doing greatly commended of *Scanderbeg*. Who deliuering vnto him all the forces hee had prepared for the defence of the other caſtles and cities of EPIRVS, ſent him with diuers other of his nobilitie and captaines, to take order for the ſafetie of thoſe places, appointing vnto euery man his charge. As for himſelfe, he with a ſmall troupe of horſemen went to SFETIGRADE, carefull of that citie aboue meaſure, as it were before deuining the enſuing danger. Being come thither, and all the ſouldiors aſſembled by his commaundement into the market place, hee there in open audience ſpake vnto them as followeth:

Scanderbeg commeth to Sfetigrade.

Almightie God could not this day offer vnto you (worthie ſouldiours of SFETIGRADE*) better matter: neither could a fairer occaſion be preſented vnto braue minds and ſouldiors deſirous of honor, than that which now hath cauſed you to take vp moſt juſt armes. Wherein you may for euer by worthie example make knowne your conſtant faith and worthie valour, both towards me in priuat, and the people of* EPIRVS *in generall. Hitherto we haue borne armes for the honour of our kingdome, but now we muſt fight for our liues, our libertie, and the wals of our countrey. You muſt now force your ſelues, that you doe not by reproch and cowardiſe ſtaine the worthie praiſes you haue alreadie deſerued, by the great victories by you obtained vnder my conduct. The greateſt part of the fortune of this war dependeth vpon you: For the firſt paſſage of* Amurath *into* EPIRVS *(that I my ſelfe may be vnto you the firſt meſſenger of that danger) will be this way: the firſt furie of the Turkes will aſſaile you, that hauing here as it were broken downe the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe of* EPIRVS*, hee may afterwards breake through the countrey, more ſubject to danger. The firſt fruits of this war is yours, you (if you beare the hearts of courageous men, mindfull of your libertie) may beat downe the proud ſtrength of the haughtie enemie, and diſcourage his high conceits. The* Othoman *king ſhall haue the beginning both of his hope and feare, of you: if he ſhall find you ſo minded, as I now ſee you gallantly mooued, and with joy heare your violent indignation; he will in euery place feare a great force of danger, and thereby learne to abſtaine from the other cities of* EPIRVS*: neither will he lie here long at a vaine ſiege, except the warward old man, will fooliſhly hereupon gage all his forces: for ſuch is the ſituation and ſtrength of this citie, that it may eaſily ſet at nought an angrie enemie. Wherefore reſolue with your ſelues worthie ſouldiors and cittizens, only by conſtancie and faithfulneſſe, without bloodſhed, to gain vnto your ſelues an honourable victorie. Of your valour (which I willingly ſpeake of) dependeth for the moſt part the faithfulneſſe of all the reſt; they will looke vpon you whom they may praiſe or accuſe, and whoſe example they may follow in the fortune of theſe warres. But to what purpoſe ſhould men of woorth in their actions pretend the neceſſitie of faith, or chaunce of fortune? whereas, by reaſon things are both beſt begun and accompliſhed. It ſeldome chaunceth, that fortune faileth the ſound aduice, or is not obedient vnto vertue: and you haue all things which moſt politicke care could prouide for your ſafetie. You want not armour, you want not plentifull prouiſion of victuals, you want not valiant men: the ſuperfluous multitude of vnneceſſarie people, the pitifull lamentation of women, and troubleſome crying of children ſhall not withdraw you from your publike charge, from your ſeruice and defence of your countrey; I haue left you alone to your ſelues, for defence of your citie, your religion, and dwellings, that you might be encouraged onely with the prouocations of honour and libertie, with the emulation of aduenture and danger, and the very ſight one of another; and I my ſelfe will not be far off with my courageous ſouldiors, a ſilent beholder and encourager of your vertue: where although I may not auert from you all the force of the cruell enemie by raſh aduenture, nor trie the whole fortune of this war in plaine field; yet will I turne a great part of your dangers vpon my ſelfe, and trouble the enemies deſignes, with many a hot ſkirmiſh. For as much as there is no better manner of fight, nor ſafer kind of warre, for vs amongſt ſuch a multitude of men, and ſo many thouſands of ſouldiors, than neuer to offer battaile vnto the enemie in plaine field, neither to aduenture all vpon the fortune of one conflict, although a man did*

The effectuall ſpeech of Scanderbeg vnto the ſouldiors and cizens of Sfetigrade, to encourage the againſt the comming of Amurath.

see apparent signes of victorie. He will of purpose at the first giue vs the oportunitie of good hap: hee will feed our hardinesse with the blood of his base souldiors, the easilier to intrap and oppresse our rashnesse, allured with the sweet bait of good fortune: but the craftie deuises of the Othoman *king, are by great policie and consideration to be frustrated. This mightie enemie is by little and little to bee cut off, as time and place shall giue occasion. For truly that victorie should bee vnto me lamentable, which I should buy with the blood of my souldiors: and beleeue me, it would be vnto me a more sorrowfull than pleasant sight, to see eight or ten thousand of my enemies slaine, with the losse of a few of you. I will praise and honour my subiects of* Epirvs *for valiant conquerours, if they shall not suffer themselues to be conquered of the Turkish king. The rest I had rather you courageous souldiors of* Dibra *should consider with your selues, than that I should seeme to distrust of your assured faith, by giuing you a carefull and tedious admonition.*

When *Scanderbeg* had with cheerefull persuasion thus encouraged the minds of them of Sfetigrade, he departed thence, and visited diuers other cities of Epirvs, where finding all things politickely ordered by *Moses* and the other captaines, whom he had put in trust, he returned to his armie, then lying neere vnto Croia.

Whilest *Scanderbeg* was with great carefulnesse yet thus prouiding for the safegard of his kingdome, in the meane time *Amurath* his armie was assembled at Hadrianopie, to the number of a hundred and fiftie thousand men, whereof many were pioners, and men appointed for other base seruices necessarie at the siege of townes. Of this great armie *Amurath* sent fortie thousand light horsemen before him to Sfetigrade, who according to his commaund came and encamped before the citie: the newes of their comming, with a great deale more than truth, was forthwith brought to *Scanderbeg*, then lying with his small armie neere Croia: whereupon he with foure thousand horsemen, and a thousand foot, took the way toward Sfetigrade, and strongly encamped his armie within seuen miles of the citie. Where hauing set all things in good order, he, accompanied with *Moses* and *Tanusius*, went by certaine blind waies through the mountaines and woods, vntill he came so neere vnto the citie, that from the place where hee stood, vpon the top of a hill, he might easily discouer in what sort the enemie lay encamped: and so returning backe againe to his campe, rise with his armie in the night following, and drawing as neere vnto the Turks armie as he could, vndiscouered, placed all his armie in the couert of the woods and secret valleyes, vnperceiued of his enemies. After that hee sent forth *Moses* and *Musachi* his nephew, with thirtie of his best horsemen, apparrelled as if they had been but common souldiors, but passing well mounted, driuing before them certaine horses laden with corne, by a by-way, as if they had purposed to haue secretly got into the cittie. The day then breaking, they were discouered by the Turks scouts, and set vpon: where at the first *Moses* and the rest began of purpose to flie, but when he saw that they were pursued but with like number to themselues, hee returned backe vpon the Turks, and slew fiue of them, and chased the rest vnto the campe. The Generall seeing what had happened, sent foorth foure thousand horsemen to pursue these supposed victualers: whom they quickly recouered the sight of, for that *Moses* of purpose had made small hast to flie: but when the Turks began to draw nigh, *Moses* left the horses laden with corn, and fled; yet so that he still drew on the Turks with hope to ouertake him, vntill he had brought them where *Scanderbeg* with his armie lay in wait: by whom they were suddainly assailed on euerie side, and with great slaughter put to flight. In this conflict, two thousand of the Turkes were slaine, and a thousand of their horses taken: of the Christians were lost but two and twentie. This was the first welcome of the Turks armie to Sfetigrade.

A notable stratageme of Scanderbeg for the intrapping of his enemies.

1449 *Amurath commeth to Sfetigrade with his armie.*

About eight daies after came *Amurath* with all his armie, in the beginning of May in the yeare of our lord 1449, and hauing made the greatest shew he could with his huge armie to terrifie the defendants: he encamped the baser sort of his footmen at the foot of the hill, whereon the citie stood, and lay himselfe with his Ianizaries, and other his most valiant souldiors, about three quarters of a mile further off: where after he had line still one daie, & well considered the strength of the place, towards euening he sent a messenger to the citie, who requested to speake with the Gouernour *Perlat*. Whereof hee hearing, came to the wall: of whom the messenger requested, That he would commaund the souldiours standing by, to goe further off, for as much as he had some thing in secret to say vnto him from his master. Vnto whom *Perlat* merrily answered: It is like indeed to bee some great secret, that you would haue kept not onely from the hearing

ring of my ſoldiors, but from the verie light of the daie, and therefore haue choſen the night: but I haue not learned of mine elders, to heare any meſſage from mine enemie by night, neither at any time elſe out of the hearing of the gariſon, to whom *Scanderbeg* hath committed the defence of this citie, and I the ſauegard of my perſon: you muſt therefore at this time pardon me, and to morrow if your maiſter ſo pleaſe, I will heare you at large. And therewith commanded him to depart from the wals. So he returned for that time without audience as he came. It grieued *Amurath* not a little to ſee his meſſenger ſo lightly regarded: yet foraſmuch as hee had more hope to gain the citie by large offers, or ſome reaſonable compoſition, than by all his great force, he diſſembled his wrath: and the next daie ſent the ſame meſſenger again, with one of his Baſſaes, a graue and well ſpoken man, himſelfe borne in EPIRVS. This Baſſa with three ſouldiours, and two ſeruitours, was by the gouernours commaundement by one of the ports receiued into the citie, and brought into S. *Maries* church. Where after he had with great eloquence ſought to inſinuate himſelfe into the minds of the Gouernour, and the hearers, and afterwards augmented the terrour of *Amuraths* power beyond all meaſure, laying before them the great victories by him obtained againſt the Hungarians, and the other Chriſtian princes: in fine he exhorted them to yeild the citie vnto him, in whoſe name he promiſed firſt that the citizens ſhould in all reſpects vnder his gouernement liue as they had before done vnder *Sanderbegs*; then, that the Gouernor ſhould receiue at *Amurath* his hands moſt honourable preferments, with many rich and princely gifts; and that it ſhould be lawfull for the garriſon ſouldiours to depart in ſafetie whether they would, and to haue three hundreth thouſand Aſpers diuided amongſt them in reward. But when the Baſſa had ended his ſpeech, the Gouernour in this ſort replied:

If you had not deliuered this ſpeech vnto reſolute men, deuoted vnto the defence of their libertie, it might perhaps haue wrought ſome effect; and we (ſaid he) *might peraduenture liſten vnto your offers, if we were either afraid of the* Othoman *king, and the vaine threats of our enemies, or elſe were wearie of the gouernement of the noble* Scanderbeg. *But foraſmuch as no euill deſert of his, nor good deſert of your maſters, hath yet paſſed, for which we ſhould preferre a ſtranger before our naturall ſoueraigne, an enemie before a friend, a Turke before a Chriſtian; let your maiſter proceed firſt in his action begun, let him prooue his fortune, let him by force terrifie vs, beat downe our wals, make hauocke of our men, and by ſtrong hand driue vs to humble our ſelues at his feet, and to ſue for peace: But it were a great diſhonour, yea a thing almoſt to be laughed at, if we ſhould cowardly accept of theſe conditions by him offered, before any aſſault giuen, before one drop of bloud ſpilt, before any ſouldior did ſo much as once grone for any wound receiued, before one ſtone were ſhaken in the wall, or any ſmall breach made. But your maiſter ſhall doe better to raiſe his ſiege, and get him backe againe to* HADRIANOPLE, *there to ſpend the ſmall remainder of his old yeares in quiet, and not to prouoke vs his fatall enemies, whoſe courage in defence of our liberties, and fidelitie towards our prince, hee hath ſo often times prooued to his great diſhonour, and loſſe of his armies. The faith I haue once giuen to my Soueraigne, for the defence of this citie, I will neuer forget, vntill the effuſion of the laſt drop of my bloud. It ſhall be vnto me reward and honour inough, if I either liuing defend this citie, or with loſſe of my life ſhall leaue my guiltleſſe ſoule at libertie, and my carkaſſe amongſt the dead bodies of worthie ſouldiours, when I ſhall find a way into a farre better place.*

The reſolute anſwere of Perlas the Gouernor, vnto the Baſſa.

The Generall hauing giuen this reſolute anſwere vnto the Baſſa, bountifully feaſted him that day at dinner, and afterwards led him through the middeſt of the citie: where he ſaw great ſtore of victuals, by the Gouernour commaunded of purpoſe to be ſet in ſhew, to put *Amurath* out of hope of winning the citie by long ſiege. And ſo ſent the Baſſa out by the ſame port whereby he came in, much diſcontented with the anſwere he was to returne to his maiſter.

Sfetigrade aſſaulted.

When *Amurath* vnderſtood by the Baſſa, of the Gouernours reſolution, he was therewith exceeding wroth, and thereupon with his great ordinance battered the citie three dayes without intermiſsion. And hauing by the furie of his artillerie made a ſmall breach, he foorthwith gaue thereunto a moſt terrible aſſault, labouring firſt to win the ſame by the force and multitude of his common ſouldiors, which the Turks call Aſapi, whom hee forced by great numbers to that ſeruice. Of theſe ſouldiors, the Turke in his warres maketh no great reckoning, but to blunt the ſwords of his enemies, or to abate their firſt furie, thereby to giue the eaſier victorie to his Ianizaries and other his better ſouldiors: which the *Othoman* kings hold for good policie. Whileſt

theſe forlorne ſouldiors, without reſpect of danger preſsing forward, are ſlaine by heapes at the breach, the Ianizaries at the ſame time in another place attempted to haue ſcaled the wals of the citie: but whileſt they with much labour and difficultie firſt crawle vp the ſteepe rocke whereon the cittie was built, and afterward deſperatly mount vp their ſcaling ladders, they were by the defendants with huge ſtones and weightie peeces of timber caſt vpon them, beaten down, wherwith they were driuen headlong to the bottome of the rocke, and ſo miſerably ſlaine. Many of them together with their skaling ladders, were by the Chriſtians thruſt from the wall, and tumbling downe the rocke, violently carried with them others, comming vp behind them. Some few got to the top of the ladders, and taking hold of the battlements of the wals, loſt ſome their fingers, ſome their hands, but moſt their liues, being beaten downe as the other were. Many of them which ſtood farther off, were then wounded alſo, and with ſhot from the wals ſlaine. With this miſerable ſlaughter, and no hope to preuaile, the Turks diſcouraged, began to withdraw themſelues from the aſſault: but the Baſſaes and captaines ſtanding behind them, forced them againe forward, exhorting ſome, threatening others, and beating the reſt forward with their trunchions. By which meanes the aſſault was againe renewed, but not with ſuch courage as before, though with no leſſe ſlaughter: which the defendants ſeeing, gaue from the wals great tokens of joy and triumph. *Amurath* perceiuing his diſcouraged ſouldiours readie of themſelues to forſake the aſſault, preſently ſent *Feri-Baſſa* (one of his moſt valiant captaines) with a new ſupplie of three thouſand choſen ſouldiours to renew the fight. The Chriſtians well aware of their comming, ceaſed not with continuall ſhot to beat them from the wals: but ſuch was the forwardneſſe of that fierce captaine, that without regard of danger he brought his men to the wals, where the defendants from aboue ouerwhelmed them with ſtones, timber, wild fire, and ſuch other things as are vſually prepared for the defence of townes beſieged. For all that, *Feri-Baſſa* gaue ſo great an aſſault, that he ſlew diuers of the defendants vpon the wals, and had there forcibly entered, had not the Gouernour perceiuing the danger, with a companie of freſh ſouldiors come with ſpeed to the defence of that place; whereby the enemie was preſently repulſed, and driuen againe from the wals. *Amurath* ſeeing the great ſlaughter of his men, and no hope of ſucceſſe, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and ſo leauing the aſſault, retired againe into his campe. The great loſſe and diſhonour at this aſſault receiued, much troubled his wayward mind: who for all that yet ceaſed not to giue the like vaine attempts. At length the captaine of the Ianizaries perceiuing that part of the citie which was fartheſt from the campe, to be commonly but ſlenderly manned, by reaſon that it ſeemed a place impregnable, both for the height and ſteepeneſſe of the rocke; told *Amurath*, That he would aſſay (if it ſo pleaſed him) ſecretly in the night to attempt by that place to enter the cittie: where as they thought nothing was more to bee feared, than the height thereof, which they ſupported with the wings of deſire, doubted not to mount vnto. This his deuice exceedingly pleaſed the king, and was the next night with great ſilence put in execution. But ſuch was the carefulneſſe of the Gouernour ouer euery part of his charge, that nothing could be done againſt the ſame, but that it was by him forthwith diſcouered. The Gouernour aduertiſed by the watch, of the Turks attempt; with great ſilence preſently repaired to the place with a great companie of the garriſon ſouldiors, and ſtanding cloſe, from the top of the wall beheld the Turks, as it had beene a ſwarme of Emmets climing vp the high rockes, and one helping vp another by ſuch deſperate way, as was in reaſon to haue been thought no man would haue attempted. But when they were come to the top of the rocke, & now euen readie to enter, they were from aboue ſuddenly ouerwhelmed, as it had been with a ſhower of ſhot, and ſo violently forced downe that high rocke, that moſt part of them which had got vp to any height, were miſerably cruſhed to death either with the weight of themſelues, or of others falling vpon them, and many of the reſt ſlaine with ſhot from the top of the rocke: whereof *Amurath* preſently vnderſtanding, was therwith exceedingly greeued.

The Turkes repulſed, retire.

The Ianizaries deſperatly attempt to ſurpriſe the citie.

The Ianizaries repulſed.

During the time of this ſiege, *Scanderbeg* neuer lay long ſtill in one place, but remooued continually from place to place, as beſt ſerued his purpoſe, breaking ſometimes into one quarter of the Turks campe, and ſometime into another, and ſtraightway ſo ſuddenly gone againe and as it were vaniſhed out of ſight, that *Amurath* many times wondered what was become of him. At this time, being the latter end of Iune, he was come with his armie within eight miles of *Amuraths* campe: and from thence ſent *Moſes* his greateſt captaine, in the attire of a common ſouldior, with two other, to take view how the enemie lay encamped. By which truſtie eſpials he was en-

enformed, That the Turkes lay in great ſecuritie, as men without feare, keeping but negligent watch. Of which oportunitie, *Scanderbeg* rejoycing, the night following ſuddenly aſſaulted one quarter of the Turks campe. Whoſe comming, although it was a little before by the Turkes ſcouts diſcouered; yet his furious aſſault was ſo ſuddaine and ſo forceable, that he ſlew two thouſand of the Turks, and filled euery corner of that great campe with feare and tumult, before they could well arme themſelues or make reſiſtance. After which ſlaughter he ſafely retired, carrying away with him two hundred and thirtie horſe, with ſeuen of the Turkes enſignes, hauing in this skirmiſh loſt of his men but two and fortie: whoſe dead bodies the Turkes the next morning in reuenge of their ſlaine friends hewed into ſmall peeces.

Vpon theſe great diſgraces one following in the necke of another, *Amurath* hauing no other obiect but the citie to ſhew his furie vpon, gaue three fierce aſſaults vnto the ſame, one after another, and was alwaies with loſſe both of his men and honour repulſed. But the more he loſt, the more he burnt with deſire of reuenge, perſuading his ſouldiors, That as the ſtrongeſt citties and fortreſſes were built by mens hands, ſo were they to bee ouerthrowne and laied euen with the ground by reſolute and valiant men: encouraging them to a freſh aſſault, with greater promiſes of reward than euer hee had done before in all his warres, from the firſt beginning of his raigne. And becauſe he would with more ſafetie giue this his laſt and greateſt aſſault, he appointed *Feri-Baſſa*, with twelue thouſand horſemen and ſix thouſand foot to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, if hee ſhould hap to come (as he thought he would) to trouble the aſſault, by aſſailing of his camp. *Feri-Baſſa* glad of this charge, well hoping now to redeeme his former ouerthrow with ſome great victorie, and leading forth his armie a little from the campe, as he was commaunded, ſo lay; wiſhing for nothing more than the comming of *Scanderbeg*, vainely boaſting, That he would ſeeke him in the field, and there trie his force and fortune with him hand to hand: which he did ſhortly after to his coſt. When *Amurath* had thus ſet in order all things requiſit, as well for the ſiege, as for the ſafegard of his campe: the next morning he compaſſed the citie round about with his armie, and couered the ground with his men of war, purpoſing at that time to gage his whole forces vpon the taking thereof. The wals he had before in ſome places battered, ſo much as was poſſible; and yet but ſo, as that they were not without skaling ladders to be aſſaulted: partly for the naturall ſtrength of the place, and partly for that the defendants had with great diligence continually repaired and filled vp with earth what the furie of the cannon had throwne downe. This aſſault *Amurath* began firſt with his archers and ſmall ſhot, which deliuered their arrowes and bullets vpon the top of the wall, and into the citie, as if it had beene a ſhower of haile, thereby to trouble the ſtationarie ſouldiours. In this heat, ladders were clapped to the wals in euery place where any could be poſsibly reared, and the Turkes began deſperatly to skale the wals: but the Chriſtians nothing diſmaied thereat, with great courage reſiſted them, and with ſhot from their ſafe ſtandings wounded and ſlew many of them: yet others ſtill preſſed vp in the places of them that were ſlaine, ſo that the aſſault became moſt terrible in many places at once, but eſpecially neere vnto the great gate of the citie; where the Turks had vpon the ſuddaine with ladders, timber, and planks clapped together, raiſed cloſe vnto that tower, as it had beene a woodden tower, equall in height to the wall; from whence the Turks greatly diſtreſſed the Chriſtians in that place, fighting with them as if it had been vpon euen ground, ſtill ſending vp freſh ſouldiors in ſtead of them that were ſlaine: and thereby preuailed ſo far, that they had ſet vp certaine of *Amurath* his enſignes vpon the wall, to the great comfort of the Turkes, and aſtoniſhment of the beſieged Chriſtians. The Gouernour ſeeing the imminent danger, haſted to the place with a companie of freſh and valiant ſouldiors, by whoſe force the Turks were quickly repulſed from the wall, their enſignes taken and ſent into the market place: the tower of wood with many ladders and much timber by the Turks brought to that place, was quickly conſumed with wild fire caſt vpon the ſame from the wals. *Perlat* hauing deliuered the citie of this feare, preſently placed freſh ſoldiors in ſtead of them which were ſlaine or hurt, and ſo worthely defended the citie.

Scanderbeg commeth to trouble the aſſault, and is met with by Feri-Baſſa.

Whileſt *Amurath* was giuing this great aſſault to *Sfetigrad*, *Scanderbeg* to withdraw him from the ſame, came with nine thouſand ſouldiours to aſſaile the Turkes campe, as *Amurath* had before ſuſpected, and was now come verie neere the ſame. *Feri-Baſſa* glad of his comming, oppoſed his armie againſt him: which *Scanderbeg* ſeeing, retired a little, of purpoſe to draw the Baſſa farther from the campe, and then forthwith began to joyne battaile with him. The Baſſa conſidering the ſmall number of his enemies, and his own greater power, withdrew foure thouſand

ſand horſemen out of his armie to fetch a compaſſe about, and to ſet vpon the rearward of *Scanderbegs* armie: hoping ſo to incloſe him, that he ſhould neuer eſcape thence, but there either to be ſlaine or taken aliue, and his armie vtterly defeated. But the expert captaine perceiuing his purpoſe, to meet therewith, left *Moſes* to lead the maine battaile, and he himſelfe with two thouſand horſemen, ſo valiantly charged thoſe foure thouſand of his enemies before they were well departed from the reſt of the Baſſaes armie, that they had now more cauſe to looke to their own ſafetie, than how to circumuent others. In this conflict *Feri-Baſſa* hand to hand, as he had oft times before deſired, encountring with *Scanderbeg*, was by him there ſlaine. All this while that *Scanderbeg* was in fight with *Feri-Baſſa* in the right wing of the armie, and *Muſachie* in the left, *Moſes* ſtood faſt, receiuing the aſſault of the enemie without mouing anie thing forward, expecting the ſucceſſe of the wings. But *Scanderbeg* hauing diſcomfited the right wing, and ſlaine the Generall, comming now in, he ſet forward with ſuch force and courage, that the Turkes not able longer to abide his force, turned their backs and fled: of whom manie were ſlaine in this chaſe, though *Scanderbeg* doubting the great power of his enemie ſo nigh at hand, durſt not follow them farre; but ſounding a retrait, put his armie againe in good order, for feare of ſome ſodaine attempt from the campe, and after appointed ſome of the meaneſt of his ſouldiors to take the ſpoile of the ſlaine Turkes. When *Amurath* had vnderſtood what had happened to *Feri-Baſſa*, he was ſo ouercome with anger and melancholy, that for a while he could not ſpeake one word: but after the heat was a little paſt, he commaunded certaine ſmall peeces of ordinance, which he had before vſed againſt the citie, to be remoued into the campe, and there placed vpon that ſide which was moſt in danger to the enemie. He alſo preſently ſent thither foure thouſand ſouldiours to joyne with the remainder of *Feri-Baſſaes* armie, for defence of the campe, with ſtraight charge that they ſhould not iſſue out of the trenches. Neuertheleſſe he himſelfe continued the aſſault of the citie all that day: but when night drew on, and no hope appeared for him to preuaile, he cauſed a retrait to be ſounded, and leauing the aſſault, he returned againe into his campe. At this aſſault *Amurath* loſt ſeuen thouſand men, beſide manie that died afterwards of their wounds; but of the garriſon ſouldiours were ſlaine but ſeuentie, and nintie mo hurt.

The terror of the turkiſh armie, began now to grow into contempt throughout EPIRVS; and *Scanderbeg* was in good hope, that *Amurath* after ſo manie ouerthrowes and ſhamefull repulſes, would at length raiſe his ſiege and be gone: yet he ſent ſpies continually to diſcouer what was done in the Turkes campe, and he himſelfe with two thouſand ſouldiours would oftentimes ſhew himſelfe vpon the ſides of the mountaines neere vnto *Amurath* his campe, of purpoſe to draw the Turkes out, that hee might take them at ſome aduantage. But the old king had giuen commandement vpon paine of death, that no man ſhould go out of the trenches without leaue, or once to ſpeake of giuing battaile or aſſault: ſo that hee lay certaine daies in his campe, not like a king beſieging of a citie, but more like a man beſieged himſelfe: the which his ſtill lying, *Scanderbeg* had the more in diſtruſt, fearing greatly that he was hatching ſome miſchiefe, which ſo ſoone as it was ripe would violently breake out.

Amurath by great promiſes ſeeketh to corrupt the garriſon of Sfetigrade.

Amurath conſidering with what euill ſucceſſe he had manie times aſſaulted the citie, and holding it for a great diſhonour to raiſe his ſiege and depart, hauing done nothing worth the remembrance; thought good once againe to prooue, if it were poſsible to ouercome the minds of the garriſon ſoldiors with gifts, whom he was not able to ſubdue by force. For which purpoſe he ſent an embaſſadour vnto the citie, offering vnto the beſieged and garriſon ſouldiors eaſie conditions of peace, with ſuch large gifts and rewards as had not been heard offered to any garriſon in former time. All which his magnificall promiſes were lightly rejected by the common conſent of all the whole garriſon, preferring their faithfull loyaltie before all his golden mountaines. For all that, *Amurath* was in good hope, that amongſt ſo manie, ſome would be found into whoſe minds his large offers might make ſome impreſsion: wherein he was not deceiued.

A traitor corrupted with Amurath his large promiſes, conſpireth to betray the citie.

For one baſe minded fellow amongſt the reſt, corrupted with the Turkes great promiſes, preferring his owne priuat wealth, before the welfare of his countrey, waiting his time, had ſecret conference with the Turks eſpials, and promiſed vpon aſſurance of ſuch reward as was before by *Amurath* proffered, to find meanes that in few daies the citie ſhould bee yeelded into his power. This corrupted traitour, had laid many miſchieuous plots for the effecting of this horrible treaſon: but the firſt deuice he put in practiſe, which of all others a man would haue thought to haue been of leaſt moment, ſerued his wicked purpoſe in ſtead of all the reſt. All the garriſon ſouldiours

diours of SFETIGRADE were of the vpper countrey of DIBRA, put into that citie, by *Moſes*, for their approoued valour aboue all the other ſouldiours of EPIRVS. But as they were men of great courage, ſo were they exceeding ſuperſtitious both in their religion and manner of liuing, putting nice difference betwixt one kind of lawfull meat and other: accounting ſome cleane, ſome vncleane; abhorring from that, which they fondly deemed vncleane, with more than a Iewiſh ſuperſtition, chuſing rather to die than to eat or drinke thereof: ſuch is the ſtrong deluſion of blind errour, where it hath throughly poſſeſſed the minds of men. The cittie of SFETIGRADE (as is aforeſaid) is ſituat vpon the top of a great high rocke, as moſt of the cities of EPIRVS now be, and was then watered but with one great well in the middeſt of the cittie, which ſunke deepe into the rocke, plentifully ſerued both the publicke and priuat vſe of the inhabitants. Into this common well the malicious traitour in the night time caſt the foule ſtinking carion carkas of a dead dog, knowing, that the conceited garriſon ſouldiors of DYBRA would rather indure the paines of death, and ſtarue, or els yeeld vp the citie vpon any condition, than to drinke of that polluted water. In the morning when the ſtinking carrion was eſpied, and drawne out of the well, the report thereof was quickly bruted in euery corner of the citie, and that the well was poyſoned: ſo that all the people were in manner in an vprore about the finding out of the traitor. The citizens were exceeding ſorrie for that had happened, but the garriſon ſoldiors deteſted that loathſome and vncleane water (as they accounted it) more than the Turkiſh ſeruitude, proteſting, that they would rather periſh with thirſt, than drinke thereof. Whereupon ſome of them deſired to ſet fire vpon the citie, and whileſt they had yet ſtrength, to breake through the enemies campe or there manfully to die. And they which thought beſt of the matter, requeſted, That the cittie might be yeelded vp: for now, they diſcouraged with a ſuperſtitious vanitie, could be content to hearken to the former conditions of peace, yea they were readie ynough of themſelues to ſue vnto *Amurath* for peace, though it had beene vpon harder tearmes. The Gouernour troubled with that had happened, and aſtonied to ſee ſo great an alteration in the minds of his ſouldiours vpon ſo ſmall occaſion, could not tell whether hee might thinke it to proceed of a ſuperſtitious conceit, or of ſome ſecret compact made with *Amurath*. But the better to pacifie the matter, hee came into the market place, and there in the hearing of all the garriſon, with many effectuall reaſons, exhorted them to continue faithfull vnto their prince and countrey in that honourable ſeruice; and in a matter of ſo great conſeqence to make ſmall reckoning to vſe that water, which would eaſily in ſhort time be brought againe to the wonted puritie and cleaneneſſe: And to perſuade them the rather, he went preſently to the well himſelfe, and in the ſight of them all drunke a greater draught of the water, whoſe example the cittizens following, dranke likewiſe. But when it was offered to the captaines and ſouldiors of the garriſon, they all refuſed to taſt thereof, as if it had been a moſt loathſome thing, or rather ſome deadly poyſon, and with great inſtance cried vnto the Gouernour, to giue vp the citie: for which cauſe many thought they were corrupted by *Amurath* his great promiſes. Howbeit none of that garriſon (except that one traitour) did euer afterwards reuolt vnto the Turkiſh king, or yet appeared any thing the richer for any gift receiued, whereby ſuch ſuſpition might be confirmed. When the Gouernour ſaw that the obſtinate minds of the garriſon were not to be mooued with any perſuaſion or reward (whereof hee ſpared not to make large promiſe) nor by any other meanes which he could deuiſe: hee called vnto him his cheefe captaines, with the beſt ſort of the citizens, & reſolued with them full ſore againſt his will, to yeeld vp the citie to *Amurath*, vpon ſuch conditions as they themſelues there agreed vpon: which were, That it ſhould be lawfull for all the captaines and ſouldiors to depart in ſafetie with their armour and all other things; and that ſo many of the citizens as would ſtay, might there ſtill dwell in the citie, in ſuch ſort, as they had done before, vnder the gouernment of *Scanderbeg*; the reſt that liſted not to remaine there ſtill, might at their pleaſure with bag and baggage depart whether they would. Glad was *Amurath* when this offer was made vnto him, and graunted them all that was deſired, ſauing that hee would not conſent that the citizens ſhould continue in the citie, yet was he content that they ſhould liue vnder him as they had before done, quietly enjoying all their poſſeſsions, but to build their houſes without the wals of the citie: which condition ſome accepted, and ſome forſaking all, went to *Scanderbeg*. When all was throughly agreed vpon, the keyes of the gates were deliuered to *Amurath*, and the Gouernor with the captaines and all the garriſon ſouldiors ſuffered quietly to paſſe through the Turkiſh campe, as the king had promiſed. Howbeit, *Mahomet* the ſonne of *Amurath*, a prince of a cruell diſpoſition, earneſtly

The carkas of a dead dog caſt by the traitor into the common well that ſerued the citie.

The Gouernor in vaine ſeeketh to perſuade the garriſon ſouldiors to drinke of the water of the well.

earnestly perſuaded his father, to haue broken his faith, and to haue put them all to the ſword: ſaying, it was one of their prophet *Mahomets* cheefe commaundements, to vſe all crueltie for the deſtruction of the Chriſtians. But the old king would not therein hearken vnto his ſonne, ſaying, That he which was deſirous to be great amongſt men, muſt either be indeed faithfull of his word and promiſe, or at leaſtwiſe ſeeme ſo to be, thereby to gaine the minds of the people, who naturally abhorre the gouernment of a faithleſſe and cruell prince. The traitor which corrupted the water, remained ſtill in the citie, and was by *Amurath* rewarded with three rich ſuites of apparell, and fiftie thouſand Aſpers, and had giuen vnto him beſides a yearely penſion of two thouſand duckats. But ſhort was the joy the traitour had of this euill gotten goods: for after he had a few daies vainely triumphed in the middeſt of *Amurath* his fauours, he was ſuddenly gone, and neuer afterwards ſeene or heard tell of: being ſecretly made away (as was ſuppoſed) by the commandement of *Amurath:* whoſe noble heart could not but deteſt the traitour, although the treaſon ſerued well his purpoſe. *Amurath* entring into SFETIGRADE, cauſed the wals to be foorthwith repaired, and placed one thouſand two hundred Ianizaries in garriſon there. And raiſing his campe the firſt of September, departed out of EPIRVS, hauing loſt thirtie thouſand of his Turks at the ſiege of SFETIGRADE; much greeued in mind for all that, that hee could not vanquiſh the enemie, whom he came of purpoſe to ſubdue. In his returne, the viceroy of ASIA marched before him with the Aſian ſouldiors; in the rereward followed the viceroy of EVROPE with his European ſouldiors; in the middeſt was *Amurath* himſelfe, compaſſed about with his Ianizaries and other ſouldiours of the court. *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding of *Amurath* his departure, followed ſpeedily with eight thouſand horſemen, and three thouſand foot, and taking the aduantage of the thicke woods and mountaine ſtraits (to him well knowne) wherby that great armie was to paſſe, oftentimes skirmiſhed with the Turks, charging thē ſometime in the vaward, & ſometime in the rereward, ſometime on the one ſide, and ſometime on the other, and ſlew many of them: whereby he ſo troubled *Amurath* his paſſage, that he was glad to leaue the viceroy of ROMANIA, with 30000 to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he himſelfe might in the meane time with more ſafetie march away with the reſt of his armie. *Scanderbeg* perceiuing the ſtay of the viceroy, ceaſed to follow *Amurath* further, fearing to bee encloſed betweene thoſe two great armies. The viceroy ſeeing that *Scanderbeg* was retired, after he had ſtaied a few daies, followed his maſter to HADRIANOPLE, and ſo *Scanderbeg* returned to CROIA.

A traitor worthely rewarded according to his treaſon.

Shortly after the departure of *Amurath* out of EPIRVS, *Scanderbeg* left two thouſand ſouldiours vpon the borders for defence of the countrey againſt the Turks. Theſe ſoldiors ſo ſtraightly kept in the Ianizaries left in garriſon at SFETIGRADE, that they could not looke out of the citie, but they were intercepted and ſlaine. And within a few daies after came himſelfe with an armie of eighteene thouſand, and laied ſiege to SFETIGRADE the ſpace of a moneth, which was from the middle of September vntill the middle of October. In which time he gaue two great aſſaults to haue recouered the citie, but was both times repulſed, with the loſſe of fiue hundred men. *Amurath* vnderſtanding that *Scanderbeg* lay at the ſiege of SFETIGRADE, ſent with all ſpeed to recall his armie, but lately before diſperſed. Whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence, conſidering alſo the difficultie of the enterpriſe, with the approch of Winter, raiſed his ſiege, and returned to CROIA: where he ſet all things in the ſame order he had done before the comming of *Amurath* to the ſiege of SFETIGRADE, and put two thouſand of his beſt ſouldiors there in garriſon, vnder the charge of the famous captaine *Vranacontes*, and ſtored the citie with ſufficient victuall for a yeares ſiege, wherein he had great helpe from the Venetians and other Chriſtian princes, for that there was then great ſcarcitie of all things in EPIRVS, by reaſon of the late warres. The like care he had alſo of all the reſt of his cities, being continually aduertiſed from his ſecret friends in the Turks court of the great preparation intended againſt him by the Turkiſh king, againſt the beginning of the next Spring.

1450 *Amurath aſſembleth againe his army at Hadrianople.*

Amurath vnderſtanding that *Scanderbeg* was departed from SFETIGRAD, changed his former determination for the calling backe again of his armie, & appointed it to meet againe at HADRIANOPLE, in the beginning of March following: whether the Baſſaes, and other great commaunders, at the time appointed aſſembled with their companies, according as *Amurath* had before commaunded. So that by the latter end of march, hee had there in readineſſe an armie of an hundreth and threeſcore thouſand men ſtrong. Of which great multitude, he after the manner of the Turkiſh warres, ſent fortie thouſand horſemen, vnder the leading of *Sebalyas* a polliticke cap-

captaine, as his vauntcourriers into EPIRVS, in the beginning of April, in the yeare 1450. The valiant captaine with great ſpeed and no reſiſtance entred into EPIRVS, as was giuen him in charge, and without let came to CROIA: where, after he had aduiſedly conſidered of the ſcituation thereof, and of the places thereabouts, he ſtrongly encamped himſelfe neere thereunto in the pleaſant plaine called TYRANNA: and there within his trenches kept his ſouldiours cloſe, attending nothing more, but that no new ſupplie of men, munition, or victuals, ſhould be conuaied into the citie, more than was therin before his comming. For he was not able with his horſemen to doe any thing againſt the citie: and *Scanderbeg* had left nothing abroad in the countrey ſubject to his furie. Beſides that, he was expreſly by *Amurath* forbidden, to attempt any thing againſt *Scanderbeg* himſelfe.

After *Sebalyas* had twentie daies thus line encamped before CROIA, neither doing nor taking harme; *Amurath* by reaſon of his great age, hauing marched oftentimes but fiue miles a day, came thether alſo with his whole armie, wherewith hee filled all the countrey round about: the very ſight whereof, had been inough to haue diſcouraged the ſmall garriſon in CROIA, had they not been men both of great experience and reſolution. Where after he had ſpent foure daies in ſetling of his campe, he ſent two meſſengers to the Gouernour (as the manner of the Turkes is) offering him if he would yeeld vp the citie, that it ſhould be lawfull for him with all his ſouldiors in ſafetie with bagge and baggage to depart; and the Gouernour himſelfe to receiue in reward two hundreth thouſand aſpers, with an honorable place amongſt the great Baſſaes of his court, if it would pleaſe him to accept thereof: and further, that the citizens ſhould enjoy all their antient liberties as in former time, without any alteration; with promiſe alſo of greater. Theſe meſſengers comming to the gates of the citie, could not bee ſuffered to enter, but ſtanding without, were commaunded there to deliuer their meſſage. Which when the Gouernour had heard, hee ſcornefully rejected their offers, and returned the meſſengers ſhamefully derided by the ſouldiours which ſtood vpon the wall. *Amurath* more offended with this contempt, than the refuſall of his offers; and ſeeing no other meanes to gaine the citie, conuerted all his deuiſes vnto the ſiege thereof. Wherefore he firſt commaunded ten great peeces of artillerie to be forthwith caſt, for he had brought none with him readie made, becauſe of the difficult paſſage ouer the high mountaines into EPIRVS; whereby it ſeemed to bee a matter of infinite trouble to haue brought his great ordinance: and therefore caried with him great ſtore of mettall in maſſe, whereof at his pleaſure to make his great artillerie as he ſaw cauſe. In fifteen daies this worke was brought to perfection, and ten peeces of huge greatneſſe were readie mounted vpon cariages. Six of them he placed againſt the Eaſt ſide of the citie, towards the plain of TYRANNA, and the other foure againſt the gate: in which two places onely, CROIA was ſubject to batterie, being on all other parts naturally defended with impregnable rocks, vpon the tops whereof were built faire battlements more for beautie than needfull defence. Theſe two places *Amurath* battred foure daies continually, and with the furie of his artillerie had in both places beaten downe halfe the wall, and ſore ſhaken the reſt. Wherewith the Turks were exceedingly encouraged, and with great cheerefulneſſe made all thinges readie to aſſault thoſe breaches, whenſoeuer *Amurath* ſhould commaund, ſtriuing among themſelues who ſhould ſhew himſelfe moſt forward in that dangerous enterpriſe. And *Mahomet* the young prince, the more to encourage the ſouldiors, beſides the great rewards by his father propoſed, promiſed of himſelfe to giue an hundreth thouſand aſpers to him that ſhould firſt ſet vp an enſigne vpon the wals of the citie. The garriſon ſouldiours on the other ſide, conſidering that the whole ſtate and welfare of EPIRVS was repoſed in their valour; and that the eies of moſt part of Chriſtendome were as it were fixed vpon them, were nothing diſmaied with the breaches made, but manfully comforted and encouraged one another to endure all manner of perill and danger that might poſsibly chance: but eſpecially the worthy Gouernour *Vranacontes*, who going through the middeſt of his ſouldiours, and ſhaking ſome of them by the hands, withall ſaid:

Croia battred.

The cheereſull ſpeech of Vranacontes the Gouernour to encourage his ſoldiours.

Theſe, theſe are the fortreſſes of our citie, theſe are the inuincible bulwarks, theſe are the irremouable ſtones and ſureſt ſement. What honour? what praiſe? what triumph ſhould we hope for? if theſe wals ſtanding whole and ſtrong, we ſhould lie ſhrouded vnder the defence of them, and not they defended by vs? So can cowards defend cities, and ſheepe feare not the wolues rage, when they are ſafely ſhut vp within the wals of their ſheepcoats: But that is the praiſe of the wals, and not of the men.

Worthie

Worthie Castriot, our prince hath commended this his citie to bee defended by vs, and not vs by it: Honour is attended vpon with danger, and fostred vp amongst perils: euerie base mariner may be a master in faire weather: and firme things stand of themselues and need not our vpholding. Wherefore, men of worth shun such things, which being kept or lost, yeild like praise. Things readie to fall need shoaring, and thether hasteth honour; and there (worthie souldiours) appeareth courage and valour. Wherefore let our valiant right hands defend these broken breaches, and in stead of these dead wals, couragiously oppose our lustie and liuely armed bodies against the force of our enemies. If these wals stood still firme, and vnbattred, you should then fight from the top of them like women; but now that they are something shaken, you shall as men stand vpon somwhat more euen ground, and encounter your enemies hand to hand, the better to satisfie your furious desire. Where I also in the thickest, shall easily view and judge of euerie mans priuat courage, in perticular, and of all your valour in common. And yet if we well consider of the matter, the place it self doth yet notably make for vs; and our former good hopes are little or nothing by these small breaches diminished: For, this rising of the hill (not possible to be taken from vs) although it be not so high as it is in other places, yet doth it not serue vs sufficiently at great aduantage to charge our enemies, and hinder their assault? the steepenesse whereof, as it will be troublesome vnto them, so will it keepe vs most fresh in strength: and make our shot more forcible. Wherfore this had been a thing of vs to haue been wished for, if we desire the slaughter of our enemies at this siege; or if wee wish for perpetuall honour and glorie by this warre. For this breach of the wals wil encourage these barbarians, & allure their armed men to clime vp in greater multitude than if the wals were whole; whereof so many shall on euerie side bee easily slaine, as wee shall but ayme at: except you had rather sit still, holding your handes together in your bosomes as cowards: Their dead bodies shall fill vp the breaches againe, if you be men mindfull of your libertie. What is there (worthy captaines and souldiors) that letteth our victorie? or memorable slaughter of our enemies? by whom onely these two places of the citie can bee assaulted: all the rest is out of daunger, and feares no enemies force. Here onely is the paines to be taken, this onely is left for you to defend, and here shall you all be: the courage, force, and strength of you all shall in this place appeare. How will you so many worthie captaines, and valiant souldiours, in so little roome bestow your selues? we are too many defendants for so small breaches. Yet let vs play the men, and doe our endeauour: let vs in one conflict weaken the tyrants strength, and burst his proud heart; he will forsake this citie, and raise his siege vnfortunatly begun, so soone as he shall see his first assault to cost him the liues of so many thousands of his men.

Croia assaulted.

When *Vranacontes* had with this comfortable speech thus encouraged his souldiours, against the assault which he expected the next day; and had with great care and diligence set all things in order for the same, and repaired the breaches as well as was posible in that case: hee gaue them leaue for that night to take their rest. In the morning *Amurath* commaunded the assault to bee giuen to both the breaches, which was forthwith by the Turkes cheerefully begun, and euerie man busie to performe the seruice hee was appointed vnto. But by that time that the assault was well begun, a suddaine allarum was raised throughout all the Turks campe: for *Scanderbeg* with fiue thousand valiant souldiours, had suddainely broken in vpon one side of the Turkes great campe, and at the first encounter had slaine six hundreth of the Turks, and was now spoiling their tents. The rumour whereof, troubled the whole campe, and made the Turks with lesse courage to assault the breaches, for feare of the danger behind them. *Amurath* although hee had great confidence in them whom he had before left for the sauegard of his tents, yet for more surety sent *Seremet* one of his greatest captaines, with foure thousand souldiours backe into the campe, for more suretie: saying, That nothing could be too sure, against that wild beast: meaning the furie of *Scanderbeg*. *Mahomet* also the yong prince, hasted thether in great choler with his guard, much against his fathers will. But *Moses*, *Scanderbeg* his lieutenant, knowing himselfe too weak to withstand the multitude that was swarming thether (contenting himselfe with that which was alreadie done) had before *Mahomet* his comming, speedily retired with all his armie into the safegard of the mountaines, from whence he came: hauing done great harme in the Turks campe, with the losse but of ten men.

Scanderbeg in danger.

Scanderbeg in the heat of this skirmish, forgetting himselfe, had so farre engaged himselfe among the Turkes, that hee was by them on euerie side encloſed, and in great danger to haue been slaine or taken: yet valiantly breaking through them, hee escaped the danger and recouered the mountaines, and with much adoe came at length to his campe, to the great ioy and comfort of them all, being before in great feare hee had been lost. This was accounted the

the greateſt ouerſight of *Scanderbeg* in all his warres, for ſo much as the office of a good Generall conſiſteth not in aduenturing of his perſon to manifeſt danger, but in the politike gouernment of his charge. During the time that *Scanderbeg* thus aſſailed the Turkes campe, *Amurath* but faintly aſſaulted the breaches, expecting the ſucceſſe in the campe: but when he vnderſtood that *Scanderbeg* was retired and all quieted, he brought all his forces to the wals, and firſt with the multitude of his archers and ſmall ſhot, laboured to driue the defendants from the wals, ouerwhelming them with arrowes falling as thicke as haile. And likewiſe at the ſame time other common ſouldiours of baſer account, brought ſcaling ladders and other things needfull for the ſcaling of the wals. After whom alſo followed the Ianizaries and other choſen ſouldiours, readie to mount the ladders as ſoone as they ſhould be ſet to the wals: But whileſt they climbe vp the high hils in this order, the garriſon ſouldiours made ſuch ſlaughter of them with ſhot from the wals and out of the citie, that they would haue preſently retired, had they not been forced forward by their captaines, who ſpared neither ſtripes nor wounds when words would not ſerue. By this tyrannicall meanes, the ſcaling ladders were with great ſlaughter of the common ſouldiours ſet vp againſt the wals, and the Turkes climing vp, came to handie blowes with the defendants at the breaches: nothing was to be heard, but the crying of people, the clattering of armor, and the inſtruments of warre, which was terribly redoubled with the ecchoes from the mountaines round about. The Turkes doing what they might to winne the breaches, were by the Chriſtians worthily repulſed, & with their ladders tumbled headlong downe the mountaine, with ſuch horrible ſlaughter and diſcomfiture, eſpecially of the common ſouldiours, that none of them would ſet one foot forward againe towards the walles, although they had ſmall hope to ſaue themſelues by retiring backe: for the fierce young prince *Mahomet*, euen then making ſhew of his cruell diſpoſition, cauſed them that returned, to be ſlaine, by the terror thereof to driue others forward. Theſe common ſouldiors whom the Turkes make ſmall reckoning of, are for moſt part miſerable Chriſtians, which liue in ſuch coũtries as had ſomtimes receiued the faith of Chriſt, but are now vnder the Turkiſh ſlauerie; of which ſort of wretched people, the Turkiſh tyrants draw with them great multitudes in their warres, moſt commonly vnarmed, becauſe they dare not well truſt them in warres againſt the Chriſtians: theſe carrie all the baggage of the campe, theſe ſerue to fetch wood and water for other ſouldiours of better account, theſe ſerue in ſteed of pioners to caſt trenches and raiſe bulwarks: and when battaile is to be giuen, if it be in plaine field, theſe haue then weapons put into their hands, and thruſt into the forefront of the battaile to blunt the enemies ſwords: but if a citie be to be beſieged, theſe ſerue as fit matter to fill the ditches with their dead bodies, or to make bridges for other ſouldiours to paſſe ouer vpon: and if they ſhrinke to attempt any thing they are commanded, then are they more cruelly vſed by their commanders than by their enemies. When *Amurath* ſaw his ſouldiours ſo diſcouraged, he ſtood in doubt whether it were better for that time to ſound a retrait, or to ſend a new ſupply: but being inraged with the loſſe of his men, and deſirous to be in ſome part reuenged, he ſent diuers companies of his better ſouldiours for the incouragement of them which were before diſcouraged, and ſo gaue a freſh aſſault. But with as euill, or worſe ſucceſſe than before: for *Vranacontes* had withdrawne from the breaches all thoſe ſouldiours which had indured the former aſſault, and placed other freſh and luſtie men in their ſteed; who incouraged with the former victorie, and loth to be accounted inferior to their fellowes, repulſed the Turks with double ſlaughter: vntill that the aged king, not able longer to behold the endleſſe loſſe of his men, cauſed a retrait to be ſounded; which all his ſouldiours were glad to heare, and ſo returned into his campe, hauing loſt in thoſe two aſſaults eight thouſand men, without any notable harme done vnto the defendants worth the remembrance.

This ſhamefull repulſe much grieued all the captaines and commaunders of *Amuraths* army, but eſpecially *Mahomet* the young prince, whoſe violent nature vnacquainted with miſhap burnt impatiently with reuenge. Wherefore vnderſtanding that *Scanderbeg* lay intrenched vpon the mountaine of TVMENIST not farre from his fathers army, he drew moſt of the beſt and readieſt ſouldiours of all the whole campe, into that quarter which was neareſt vnto *Scanderbeg*: of purpoſe that if he ſhould againe aſſaile the campe in that place (as it was moſt like he would) he ſhould be encountred with ſo many braue and valiant men there in readineſſe, as that it ſhould be hard for him either to doe any great harme, or for himſelfe to eſcape. Of all which, *Scanderbeg* by certaine fugitiues had intelligence, as alſo in what order the campe lay: Wherupon he

Mahomet thinking to deceiue Scanderbeg, is himſelfe by him deceiued.

left *Moſes* with fiue hundreth ſouldiours in the place where he lay, taking order with him before his departure, that he at a certaine appointed houre in the night following, ſhould aſſaile the Turkes campe in the quarter next vnto him where *Mahomet* lay; and hauing there raiſed ſome tumult, ſpeedily to retire againe to his aſſured ſtrength in the mountaine. *Scanderbeg* himſelfe with the whole ſtrength of his army, in number about eight thouſand, in the meane time tooke a compaſſe about, and by certaine ſecret by-waies through the woods and mountaines, came vnto the farther ſide of the Turkes army, to a place called MOVNTECLE. The night following, *Moſes* at the appointed houre with his fiue hundreth ſouldiours aſſailed that part of the Turkes campe next vnto him, with ſuch noiſe & tumult, as if it had been ſome great army. By occaſion whereof, all the Turkes campe was in alarme, and drew in haſte to that place where they heard that great tumult, as was before by *Mahomet* cõmanded. When at the ſame inſtant, *Scanderbeg* with all his army brake into the other ſide of the Turks campe, where he was leaſt feared or looked for, and from whence the beſt ſouldiors were before drawne by *Mahomet*: and there made ſuch ſlaughter and hauocke of the reſt, not knowing which way to turne themſelues, that the loſſe a little before receiued vnder the wals of CROIA was now forgot, as a ſmall thing in compariſon of this. *Moſes* hauing raiſed a great feare, and done little harme, retired in ſafetie to his well known ſtrength: and *Scanderbeg* hauing made great ſpoile in the campe, fearing to be oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies if he ſhould there longer ſtay, returned in good time, hauing ſcarce loſt one man.

Amurath after this great loſſe and trouble of his campe, withdrew moſt of his ſmall ordinance which he had before bent againſt the citie, into his trenches, placing it as commodiouſly as he might for the defence thereof againſt the ſuddaine attempts of *Scanderbeg*. Yet for as much as he could not in that hoat ſeaſon of the yeare ſo cloſely encampe his great army, but that ſome part thereof would ſtill be in like danger as before; he therefore appointed *Sebalias* with ſixteene thouſand ſoldiors to attend vpon *Scanderbeg*, that he ſhould no more trouble the whole campe. After which order taken, he battered the walles of CROIA afreſh, and with his great ordinance ouerthrew whatſoeuer the citizens had repaired, making the breaches greater and more faultable than before, intending once againe by a new aſſault to prooue his fortune, and the force of his ſouldiours: which he appointed to be the next day. But when he perceiued no ſigne of courage or good hope in the heauie countenances of them diſcouraged, and that they yeelded to him their conſents, rather for feare and ſhame, than for hope of victorie; he called them cowards diſcouraged with the leaſt frowne of fortune, and ſaid:

Amurath his eloquent ſpeech vnto his wearied ſouldiors.

Euery weake caſtle is able to hold out one aſſault: but if you will draw theſe wilde beaſts out of their dens, you muſt arme your ſelues like reſolute men of inuincible courage, to indure what thing ſoeuer ſhall happen. Great captaines with their puiſſant armies haue growne old vnder the wals of their enemies, vpon light and ſmall diſpleaſures: and will you hauing receiued ſo many diſgraces of theſe periured Epirots, leaue them all vnreuenged? What great victorie was euer yet by any man gained without bloudſhed? Remember the moſt glorious victorie of VARNA. *It is hard without bloudie hands to put the yoke vpon the fierce enemies necke. All honourable things are brought to paſſe with aduenture and labour: and the end of this warre dependeth of the taking of* CROIA. *If it were once woon, all this warre were at an end: which if* Scanderbeg *loſe (being the ſtrength of his kingdome) he will not tarrie one day longer in* EPIRVS. *Wherefore be of good cheere, and couragiouſly ſet vpon it: there is not more vncertaintie in any thing, than in matters of warre. Fortune is to be prooued, and oftentimes prouoked of him that will wed her. And yet I will not denie, but that we muſt go more warily to worke againſt this enemy, and hazard our ſelues with better aduiſement, and not without reaſon like wild beaſts to runne headlong vpon our owne death. At length we ſhall weare them out, if we kill but ten of them at an aſſault: yet are they daily to be aſſailed, that they may haue no leiſure to refreſh themſelues, or to make vp their breaches. And peraduenture if force may not preuaile, fortune may find ſome meane that we looke not for, as it fell out at the ſiege of* SFETIGRAD, *beyond all your expectation. Treaſon is ingenious, and mens deſires great, where great rewards are propounded.*

With theſe and like ſpeeches old *Amurath* encouraged his captaines and ſouldiours, and the nex day early in the morning began the aſſault, which the Turkes valiantly attempted: and without regard of danger came to the gates of the citie, aſſaying, but with vaine and deſperate labour,

bour to haue broken them open. In this aſſault wild fire was caſt into many places of the citie, and the great artillerie oftentimes diſcharged into the breaches: whereby many of the Turkes themſelues were ſlaine with their owne great ſhot, together with the Chriſtians: for *Amurath* deſperatly ſet, was content to buy the life of one Chriſtian with the loſſe of twentie of his Turks. But the Chriſtians ſtill valiantly repulſed their enemies, ſo that of them that came to the gates, none eſcaped aliue; and of them that aſſaulted the greater breach, they which were moſt forward, were firſt ſlaine, and they which ſtood farther off, were ſore wounded with ſhot. Yet for all that, *Amurath* ſtill maintained the aſſault, by ſending in of new ſupplies, delighting to ſee them goe forward, but greeued at the heart to ſee them ſo ſlaine: vntill at laſt, wearie with beholding the ſlaughter of his men, he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and ſo ended the aſſault; perſuaded by his Baſſaes, not wilfully to caſt away his valiant ſouldiors where there was no hope to preuaile, but to reſerue them for his better ſeruice. *The Turkes retire.*

Amurath now out of hope to win the citie by aſſault, thought good to proue what might be done by vndermining of the ſame: during which worke, he cauſed ſmall alarums daily to be giuen vnto the citie, to the intent that the defendants buſied therewith, ſhould not perceiue the ſecret worke of the mine. About which time his prouiſion of corne began to faile in his campe; for which cauſe hee ſent his purueyors for corne to LISSA, a citie of the Venetians, with whom he was at that time in league, and bought of them great ſtore of corne. But as his officers were conueying it to his campe, *Scanderbeg* hauing intelligence thereof, ſlew the conuoy, and carried away with him all that prouiſion, deuiding it amongſt his owne ſouldiors. Howbeit, not long after *Amurath* receiued great abundance of corne and other prouiſion out of MACEDONIA: beſide that, the Venetian marchants afterward furniſhed him with plentie of corne, oyle, honey, and other neceſſaries; which *Scanderbeg* might well haue hindered, but that he would not in ſo doing offend the Venetians, which were alſo his ſecret friends, conſidering that *Amurath* might haue had all the ſame prouiſion out of the further part of MACEDONIA, THRACIA, MYSIA, and ſuch other places, if he had not otherwiſe had it from the Venetians. *Amurath ſeeketh to vndermine Croia.*

Whileſt *Amurath* thus lay expecting the ſucceſſe of his mine, foure hundred of the garriſon ſouldiors of CROIA ſallying out of the citie, chaſed diuers of the Turks that were come foorth backe againe vnto the campe: whereof *Amurath* was glad, hoping, that they encouraged with that good hap, would to their further loſſe giue the like attempt afterwards. But the ſtaied diſcretion of the Gouernour deceiued that his expectation: who conſidering the danger, would not ſuffer his ſouldiors any more to ſallie out of the citie. *Scanderbeg* alſo at this time hauing encreaſed his armie with a new ſupplie of two thouſand ſoldiors, deuided the ſame into three parts, deliuering one part to *Moſes*, another to *Tanuſie*, and reſeruing the third to himſelfe. With this armie of nine thouſand thus deuided, he determined by night at one inſtant to aſſaile the Turks great campe in three diuers places: appointing in which quarter euery one ſhould charge. But as *Scanderbeg* in the night appointed, was comming towards the Turks campe, hee was diſcouered by their ſcouts: whereupon a ſuddaine alarme was raiſed in the campe, and all mens minds turned that way, and ſouldiours appointed with all diligence to guard that ſide of the campe. But whileſt the Turkes were all at gaze this way for feare of *Scanderbeg*, *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*, in the dead of the night, at one time aſſailed the Turks campe in two diuers quarters, as they were appointed, where they ſlew a number of the Turks, and made great ſpoile. At which time *Scanderbeg* did alſo what he might: but by reaſon he was before diſcouered, did not much harme. Vpon the approch of the day *Scanderbeg* retired againe to the hils, and by that time it was faire daylight, ſate downe vpon the ſide of a great mountain, about twentie furlongs off, in the open ſight of all the Turks campe: which he did of purpoſe, that *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*, which were by night retired into the mountains, might ſee which way to hold, to meet with him again. But the Turks thinking that hee ſtood there to braue their whole campe, and as it were to deface them, to the great encouragement of the defendants: diuers of them earneſtly craued leaue of *Amurath*, That they might goe vp to him, and at leaſtwiſe beat him out of ſight: which hee graunting, twelue thouſand of his beſt ſoldiors, whereof ſeuen thouſand were horſemen, and the reſt foot, preſently ſet forward to encounter him. *Scanderbeg* ſeeing them all the way they came, vpon their approch ſoftly retired a little farther vp into the mountaines, ſtill expecting the comming of *Moſes* and *Tanuſie*. The Turks vnacquainted with ſuch difficult waies, marched vp the ſteepe hils after *Scanderbeg* with much labour and paine, well wearied of themſelues: but when they were come

a great way into the mountaines, they perceiued by the rising of the dust, that some greater force was comming crosse those mountaines: and not long after they might plainely see the formost of their enemies. Wherefore fearing to be enclosed, they began to retire, in which retreat *Scanderbeg* hardly pursued them, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, slew many of them, but especially with his archers. *Moses* also comming in afresh on another side, caused them to flie downe the hill amaine, and beside the slaughter that he made, took diuers prisoners. After which victorie, by *Scanderbeg* obtained in the sight of *Amurath* and his whole armie, he retired againe into the mountaines.

The late spoile of the Turks campe, with this ouerthrow of the soldiors but now sent against *Scanderbeg*, much greeued the old tyrant: but the worke of the mine, wherein he had of long laid vp his greatest hope, sorting now to no good purpose, being deemed as well an endlesse peece of worke for the naturall hardnesse of the rocke, as also of small importance, for that it was by the defendants discouered, draue him to his wits end. His forces hee had to his great losse sufficiently prooued, and still found them too weake: and policie preuailed not. Nothing now remained, but to prooue, if by great gifts and glorious promises hee could first corrupt the faith of the Gouernour, and afterwards the garrison: wherein he determined to spare no cost. Vpon which resolution, he sent one of his Bassaes (a man of great authoritie and dexteritie of wit) vnto *Vranacontes*, with such rich gifts and presents as might haue moued a right constant mind: commaunding the Bassa (if it were possible) first to fasten the same vpon the Gouernour, as presents sent from *Amurath* of meere bountie, in the honour of his valiant mind; and afterwards to deliuer his message, not sparing to promise any thing for the giuing vp of the citie, yea more than should be desired. The Bassa attended on but with two seruants, came with this rich present neere to the gates of the citie, and there staied, vntill the Gouernours pleasure were knowne: by whose commaund he was receiued into the citie, and brought to his presence. Then the Bassa with much reuerence and many magnificall words presented vnto *Vranacontes* the rich gifts sent from *Amurath*, and would forthwith haue deliuered them vnto him, as the rewards of his valour. But *Vranacontes* willed him first to declare his message from *Amurath*; vpon the hearing whereof, he would (as he said) as hee saw cause, either receiue or refuse them: before which time hee would not be beholden to his enemie, by receiuing from him the least courtesie. With which answere the subtile Bassa nothing dismayed, with great constancie thus began to deliuer his message.

The crafty speech of the Bassa sent from Amurath to corrupt the Gouernour, and to perswade the souldiers to yeeld vp the citie.

Howsoeuer we agree (said he) *vpon other matters we come for, we brought not these gifts of purpose to deceiue any: for so men vse to deale with their children and seruants, and not with men of courage and valour. And albeit that enemies gifts are euer to be suspected (as you haue right wisely said, and we our selues well know) yet wee durst not for shame come vnto so worthie a Gouernour (as the common saying is) emptie handed: neither ought you, if you be the man you seeme to be, and whom men report you are, to refuse our courtesie. Take these presents in good part, which shall no way enforce or hinder you to determine or dispose of your affaires otherwise than shall seeme vnto you good: neither shall we once object vnto you these gifts, which wee so franke and freely offer in the great Sultans name, whether you reject or admit our demaunds and message; wherein there is (perhaps) no lesse regard had of your good, than of ours. For there is no greater token of a base mind, than to giue, in hope to receiue againe. We come vnto you frankly (worthie Gouernour) I speake it from my heart: we goe not about with filed speech and rich rewards to circumuent thee, whose inuincible mind wee haue so often in vaine prooued with our forces and power. That is it for which* Amurath *loueth thee. He doth wonderfully admire the vertues of his enemies, and if it were possible, desireth to haue them with himselfe. There verily with so mightie a monarch might thy inuincible mind and pregnant wit find a better way vnto the highest type of fortunes blisse. Not that I condemne* Scanderbeg, *whom we his enemies doe highly commend, for his countrey so well recouered, and so oftentimes worthely defended, yet cheefely by your helpe: but you are worthie another manner of Soueraigne, and of another manner of calling, and not to spend all the daies of your life and such heroicall vertues in obscuritie and (without offence be it said) in contemptible baseneſſe. Besides that,* Scanderbeg *his estate is but momentarie; the destinies haue assigned vnto him too too mightie an enemie; his destruction may well be deferred, but not by any meanes auoided.* Amurath *hath conceiued against him an implacable displeasure, and prepared his forces accordingly: hee hath sworne to spare no cost, no labour, no danger: and that hee*

will

will neuer whileſt he liueth depart out of EPIRVS, *before he haue impoſed a deadly yoke vpon his neck. And behold, the firſt of this miſerie beginneth at this citie, and vpon your ſelues. We daily heare his pauilions ſound with theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches, That hee will neuer depart out of this place before hee haue taken this citie, and ſatisfied his angrie mind with the torture of your bodies, no, not if he ſhould therefore loſe* HADRIANOPLE, *yea, and that more is, his whole kingdome. And verily he will doe it, which I feare to deuine or thinke vpon. For although I with others beare againſt you the mind of an enemie, yet am I a man, and mooued with humane compaſſion: beleeue me (ye men of* GROIA) *beleeue me, my eyes would ſcarcely endure to behold the horrible ſpectacle of your miſerable fortune. I tell you againe he will doe it, except you change your purpoſe, and now receiue health, life, libertie, and peace, whileſt it is ſo freely offered. For albeit, that this notable ſtrong place, theſe impregnable wals, and eſpecially your owne valour, doe yet defend you: how long will it hold out? Verely, no longer than you haue victuall, no longer than you haue meat to ſuſtaine your bodies. Do you thinke that* Amurath *will raiſe his ſiege in the middle of the heat of this war, and be gon? No, no, if force may not preuaile, if all his attempts faile, yet ſhall you ſee and feele theſe enemies continually to your hurt: you ſhall alwaies haue theſe tents in your eyes and at your gates, vntill long famine, which maſtereth all things, tame your courage alſo. I pray you, what hope haue you left? from whence ariſeth in your reſolute minds ſuch deſperate contempt of danger? Can* Scanderbeg *victuall you, being ſo ſtraightly beſieged? which hideth himſelfe (poore man) in the woods all day, and flieth ouer the tops of the mountains, loaden with trauaile and care, ſcarce able to releeue his owne miſerie. Or will the Venetians releeue you? which daily bring vnto vs and ſtore vs with too too great plentie of all things neceſſarie for this war againſt you. Wherefore repent your too much hardineſſe, and gather your wits together. Behold I your enemie aduiſe you. You haue long ynough continued in your obſtinacie. Your countrey and libertie is not ſo far to be defended, as that you ſhould therefore fight againſt God. But wherefore doe I call this libertie? You muſt giue place vnto your fortune, and learne to obey them that be too ſtrong for you. You ſhall find aſſured libertie, rich rewards, perpetuall reſt, with* Amurath. *Prouide for your ſelues, if you be wiſe, whileſt all things are yet whole for you to determine of; whileſt we your enemies exhort and requeſt you, and had rather haue you our voluntarie companions and friends, than our enforced ſeruants and ſlaues.*

This the Baſſa ſpake with great grauitie and no leſſe vehemencie, expecting ſome great motions to haue riſen in the minds of the ſouldiors. But when he perceiued that his ſpeech had rather filled them with indignation, than with feare: and that it was but a vaine thing to goe about to terrifie them with words, whom all the power of *Amurath* could not make afraid with weapons, he requeſted to talke alone with the Gouernour in ſecret: which was alſo graunted. For all men had no leſſe good opinion of the worthie Gouernours fidelitie, than of his great wiſedome and valour. The craftie Baſſa hauing him by himſelfe, began with great cunning to deliuer his mere ſecret meſſage: when *Vranacontes* perceiuing by a little what the whole tale meant, interrupted him in the middle of his ſpeech, and without more adoe commaunded him to depart: ſtraightly charging him, That neither hee nor any other ſhould after that time preſume to come from his maſter to the cittie to ſpeake with him about any ſuch diſhonourable matter; for if hee did, he would in deteſtation thereof cauſe their hands, their noſes, and their eares to be cut off, and ſo returne them diſmembred in ſtead of anſwere. And ſo the Baſſa was with his preſents againe turned out of the citie, and no man ſuffered to receiue any thing of him in reward, although the ſoldiors could haue beene well content to haue eaſed him and his ſeruants of that carriage, if the Gouernour would but haue winked thereat.

Vranacontes reiecteth Amurath his preſents, and threatneth the Baſſa.

Great was the expectation in the Turks campe, of the Baſſaes returne: but when they ſaw the preſents were not receiued, they eaſily gueſſed that all went not as they wiſhed. But when *Amurath* himſelfe vnderſtood the Gouernors reſolute anſwere, he in great rage commanded all things to be made readie for a freſh aſſault: which he did rather to ſatisfie his anger, than vpon any hope he had to preuaile therein. The next day, he cauſed a furious aſſault to be giuen to the citie, but with greater loſſe to himſelfe than before; the Chriſtians ſtill valiantly defending the citie againſt the Turkiſh furie. In this aſſault many of the Turks were ſlaine at the breach, with their owne great ſhot: for whileſt *Amurath* ſought therewith to driue the Chriſtians from the defence of the breach, he ſlew a great number more of the forwardeſt of his owne men than he did of the defendants. But wearied at length to behold the endleſſe ſlaughter of his men, he gaue ouer the aſ-

Croia againe in vaine aſſaulted.

ſault, and returned into his campe, as if he had been a man halfe franticke or diſtract of his wits; and there ſat downe in his tent, all that day full of melancholie paſsions, ſometimes violently pulling his hoarie beard and white locks, complaining of his hard and diſaſter fortune, that hee had liued ſo long to ſee thoſe daies of diſgrace, wherein all his former glorie and triumphant victories were obſcured, by one baſe towne of EPIRVS. His Baſſaes and graue counſellours labouring in the meane time with long diſcourſes to comfort him vp: ſometimes recounting vnto him his many and glorious victories; and other whiles producing antient examples of like euent. But darke and heauie conceits, had ſo ouerwhelmed the melancholy old tirant, that nothing could content his waiward mind, or reuiue his dying ſpirits: ſo that the little remainder of naturall heat which was left in his aged bodie, now oppreſſed and almoſt extinguiſhed with melancholie conceits, and his aged bodie dried vp with ſorrow, hee became ſicke for griefe. Whereupon by the counſaile of ſome of his Baſſaes, he ſent an embaſſadour to *Scanderbeg*, offering him peace, if he would yeild to pay vnto him a yearely tribute of ten thouſand duckats: thinking by that meanes his honour to be well ſaued, if before his departure out of EPIRVS, hee could but make *Scanderbeg* his tributarie. This embaſſadour was by *Scanderbeg* honourably entertained in his campe, but the offered peace at the ſame time vtterly refuſed. The embaſſadour returning to *Amurath*, declared vnto him the euill ſucceſſe of his embaſſage, which greatly encreaſed his melancholie ſickneſſe. And *Scanderbeg* to greeue him the more, vnderſtanding that he was dangerouſly ſicke, and that the great Baſſaes were more carefull of the kings health than of the ſucceſſe of the warres; diuers times aſſailed the Turks campe. Which thing though the Baſſaes kept from his knowledge with all carefulneſſe: yet he often times ſuſpected the matter, by the often allarums and tumults in the campe, and with the greeſe thereof languiſhed. So feeling his ſickneſſe daily to increaſe, and that he could not longer liue, lying vpon a pallet in his pauillion, greeuouſly complained to his Baſſaes, That the deſtinies had ſo blemiſhed all the former courſe of his life, with ſuch an obſcure death, that hee which had ſo often repreſſed the furie of the Hungarians, and almoſt brought to naught the pride of the Grecians, together with their name, ſhould now be enforced to giue vp the ghoſt, vnder the wals of an obſcure caſtle (as hee termed it) and that in the ſight of his contemptible enemie. After that, turning himſelfe to his ſon *Mahomet*, he earneſtly commended him to the faithfulneſſe of his Baſſaes, and gaue him many graue aduertiſements, ſometimes in ſecret betwixt themſelues, and ſometimes in the hearing of others: want of ſtrength, & abundance of teares running down his aged face (vpon the ſight of his ſon) often times interrupting his ſpeech. Yet ſick vnto death as he was, and drawing faſt vnto his end, he forced himſelfe, to warne his ſonne of ſuch things as now at his death greeued him moſt.

The laſt ſpeech and admonition of Amurath vnto his ſonne Mahomet vpon his death bed.

Let mine example (quoth he) *be a warning vnto thee my ſonne, neuer to contemne thine enemie, be he neuer ſo weake: of which one thing aboue all others, I haue repented my ſelfe of long, and ſhall doe after my death, if any feeling of humane thinges remaine in the dead. And that I was ſo fooliſh, and inconſiderat as to foſter vp as it were in my boſome this my domeſticall and neglected enemie: wherby I haue purchaſed vnto my ſelfe this calamitie, and for euer blemiſhed the honor of the* Othoman *kings: whileſt I ſo baſely ending my daies vnder the wals of* CROIA, *ſhall become a by-word vnto the world, and all poſteritie for euer. This traitour ſhould euen then haue been oppreſſed, when hee by great treacherie, firſt recouered his wicked kingdome: in that newneſſe of his eſtate, and before the minds of the people were aſſured vnto him, then it had been an eaſie matter, without bloud ſhed to haue vtterly extinguiſhed the wretch, together with his name.* Ali Baſſa *whoſe euill fortune was the firſt beginning of his good: nor the other Generals, who by him ſlaine or taken priſoners, increaſed his ſtrength and credit with his ſubiects, ſhould not haue been ſent againſt him: a thing which I haue oftentimes thought vpon, but could ſcarce haue beleeued, that euer I ſhould haue thereby receiued ſuch diſgrace, together with the ignominious renting of my kingdome; if I had not been taught the ſame by mine owne experience, to my great loſſe and hearts greefe. We entred into* EPIRVS, *and here encamped an hundred and threeſcore thouſand men ſtrong: now if leiſure ſerue you, take view of them, examine the matter, you ſhall find a great want of that number. The fields could not contain our regiments and the multitude of our men: but now, how many tents ſtand emptie? how many horſes want riders? You ſhall go to* HADRIANOPLE *with our forces much impaired. As for me, the deſtinies haue vowed my ſpirits to this country of* EPIRVS, *as vnto me fatall. But wherfore do I impute vnto my ſelfe theſe impediments and chances of Fortune? for then firſt began this ſeed of miſchiefe in* EPIRVS, *when the Hun-*

Hungarians with other the Chriſtian princes, roſe vp in armes againſt vs: at which time we fought not with them for ſoueraigntie, but for the whole ſtate of our kingdome; as the bloudie battailes of VARNA *and* COSSOVA *ſtill witneſſe vnto the world. So whileſt I had neither leiſure nor ſufficient power to take order for all my important affaires at once; in the meane time this enemy grew as you ſee. But how, or in what order you are hereafter to wage warre againſt him, you may not looke for any direction from me, which haue in all theſe matters ſo euill directed my ſelfe: Fortune neuer deceiued my endeuors more, than in this. But happely thou* Mahomet *my ſonne, maieſt prooue a more fortunat warriour againſt him: and for ſo many honors alreadie giuen vnto me, the deſtinies haue reſerued the triumph of* EPIRVS *for thee. Wherfore my ſonne, thou ſhalt receiue from me this ſcepter, and theſe roial enſigns: but aboue all things, I leaue vnto thee this enemie; charging thee not to leaue my death vnreuenged. It is all I charge thee with, for ſo great and ſtately a patrimonie as thou art to receiue from me: it is the only ſacrifice that my old departing ghoſt deſireth of thee.*

Amurath his death.

Shortly after he became ſpeechleſſe, and ſtriuing with the pangs of death halfe a day, he then breathed out his gaſtly ghoſt, to the great joy and contentment of the poore oppreſſed Chriſtians. He died about the middle of Autumne, in the yeare of our Lord 1450, when he had liued 85 yeares, as moſt write: and thereof raigned 28 (or as ſome others report 30;) about fiue months after the ſiege laid before CROIA.

Amurath an example of the vanitie of worldly honour.

Thus lieth great *Amurath*, erſt not inferiour vnto the greateſt monarchs of that age, dead almoſt in deſpaire: a worthy mirror of honours frailtie; yeelding vnto the worldly man in the end, neither comfort nor reliefe. Who had fought greater battails? who had gained greater victories, or obtained more glorious triumphs than had *Amurath*? Who by the ſpoils of ſo many mightie kings and princes, and by the conqueſt of ſo many prowd and warlike nations, againe reſtored and eſtabliſhed the Turkes kingdome, before by *Tamerlan* and the Tartars in a manner clean defaced. He it was that burſt the hart of the prowd Grecians, eſtabliſhing his empire at HADRIANOPLE, euen in the center of their bowels: from whence haue proceeded ſo many miſeries and calamities into the greateſt part of Chriſtendome, as no tongue is able to expreſſe. He it was that firſt brake downe the Hexamile or wal of ſeparation on the ſtrait of CORINTH, & conquered the greateſt part of PELOPONESVS. He it was that ſubdued vnto the Turks ſo many great countries and prouinces in ASIA; that in plaine field and ſet battaile ouerthrew many puiſſant kings and princes, and brought them vnder his ſubiection: who hauing ſlaine *Vladiſlaus* the king of POLONIA and HVNGARIE, and more than once chaſed out of the field *Huniades* that famous & redoubted warriour; had in his prowd and ambitious heart, promiſed vnto himſelfe the conqueſt of a great part of Chriſtendome. But O how farre was he now changed from the man he then was! how farre did theſe his laſt ſpeeches differ from the courſe of his forepaſſed life! full of ſuch baſe paſsionat complaints and lamentations, as beſeemed not a man of his place and ſpirit; but ſome vile wretch ouertaken with diſpaire, and yet afraid to die. Where were now thoſe haughtie thoughts, thoſe loftie lookes, thoſe thundring and commaunding ſpeeches; whereat ſo many great commaunders, ſo many troups and legions, ſo many thouſands of armed ſouldiours were woont to tremble and quake? Where is that head, before adorned with ſo manie trophies and triumphs? where is that victorious hand that ſwaied ſo many ſcepters? where is the majeſtie of his power and ſtrength, that commanded ouer ſo many nations and kingdoms? O how is the caſe now altred! he lieth now dead, a gaſtly filthy ſtinking carkas, a clod of clay vnregarded, his hands cloſed, his eyes ſhut, and his feet ſtretched out, which erſt prowdly traced the countries by him ſubdued and conquered. And now of ſuch infinit riches, ſuch vnmeaſurable wealth, ſuch hugie treaſures, ſuch ſtately honors and vainglorious praiſes as he in his life time enjoyed; his fraile bodie enjoyeth nothing, but left all behind it. O the weake condition of mans nature! O the vaine glorie of mortall creatures! O the blind and peruerſe thoughts of fooliſh men! Why do we ſo magnifie our ſelues? why are we ſo puffed vp with pride? why do we ſo much ſet our minds vpon riches, authoritie, and other vanities of this life? whereof neuer man had yet one daies aſſurance, and at our moſt need and when we leaſt thinke, quite forſake vs; leauing euen them that moſt ſought after them, and moſt abounded in them, ſhrowded oft times in the ſheet of diſhonor and ſhame.

That his death is otherwiſe by ſome reported, I am not ignorant: the Turkes ſaying, that he died miraculouſly forewarned of his death at HADRIANOPLE: and ſome others, that he died

in

in ASIA, ſtrucken with an Apolexie proceeding of a ſurfet taken of the immoderat drinking of wine. But *Marinus Barleſius*, who liued in his time in SCODRA faſt by EPIRVS, whoſe authoritie, in report of the warres betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* we follow, ſetteth it downe in ſuch maner as is aforeſaid.

Preſently after his death, *Mahomet* his ſonne, for feare of ſome innouation to be made at home, raiſed the ſiege, and returned to HADRIANOPLE: and afterward with great ſolemnitie buried his dead bodie at the Weſt ſide of PRVSA, in the ſuburbs of the citie, where he now lieth in a chappell without any roofe, his graue nothing differing from the manner of the common Turks: which (they ſay) he ſo commaunded to be done in his laſt will; that the mercie and bleſſing of God (as he termed it) might come vnto him by the ſhining of the Sunne and Moone, and falling of the raine and dew of heauen vpon his graue.

Amurath buried at Pruſa.

He whileſt he liued mightily enlarged the Turkiſh kingdome, and with greater wiſedome and pollicie than his predeceſſours, eſtabliſhed the ſame: inſomuch that ſome attribute vnto him the firſt inſtitution of the Ianizaries, and other ſouldiours of the court (the greateſt ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire) before indeed begun in the time of *Amurath* the firſt, his great grandfather, (as is before declared) but by him greatly augmented, and the pollicie of that ſtate, whereby it hath euer ſince in his poſteritie flouriſhed, euen by himſelfe plotted. For the better eſtabliſhing whereof in his owne houſe, and to cut off all occaſions of feare; as alſo to leaue all ſuch as might haue the heart to ariſe againſt him, all naked and bare of forces to reſiſt; but eſpecially the other ancient and noble families of the Turks, ſtill ſecretly repining at the great honour of the *Othoman* kings: he as a man of great wiſedome and judgement, to keepe them vnder, in the beginning of his raigne, by manifold fauours began to bind vnto himſelfe men of ſtrange and forraine countreys, his ſeruants; and by ordering of his moſt waightie affaires by their authoritie, ſo by little and little to caſt off the ſeruice of his naturall Turks: they in the meane time little or nothing at all looking into this his practiſe. And whereas the *Othoman* kings his predeceſſours had for the moſt part, or rather all together raiſed their Ianizaries and other ſouldiors of the court, of ſuch children of the Chriſtians as were taken in the warres; he, ſeeing by experience how ſeruiceable thoſe new kind of ſouldiors were, began forthwith to plot in his head, how to make himſelfe an armie all together of ſuch able perſons, his owne creatures, and ſo to bring in a new kind of warfare, wholly depending of himſelfe. And to that end, by his officers appointed for that purpoſe, tooke from the Chriſtians throughout his dominions, euerie fift child: the faireſt and apteſt of whom, he placed in his owne Seraglio at HADRIANOPLE, and the reſt in other like places by him built for ſuch purpoſe: where they were by ſufficient teachers, firſt inſtructed in the principles of the Mahometan religion, and then in all manner of actiuitie and feats of armes. Of theſe, when they were grown to mans ſtate, he made horſemen, gaue them great penſions, and ſorting them into diuers orders appointed them alſo to guard his perſon; honouring the better ſort of them with the name of *Spahi-Oglani*, that is to ſay, His ſonnes the knights. And of theſe he began to make his Baſſaes, his Generals of his armies, and the Gouernours of his prouinces and cities, with all the great offices of the ſtate. The reſt and farre the greateſt part of theſe tribute children taken from their Chriſtian parents, and not brought vp in theſe Seraglioes, hee cauſed to bee diſpierced into euerie citie and countrey of his dominion in ASIA, there for certaine yeares to be brought vp in all hardneſſe and painfull labour, neuer taſting of eaſe or pleaſure: out of which hard brood ſo enured to paines, he made choiſe of ſo many of the moſt luſtie and able bodies fitteſt for ſeruice, as he thought good; who kept in continuall exerciſe, and by skilfull men taught to handle all maner of weapons, but eſpecially the bow, the peece, and the Scimitar, were by him as occaſion ſerued added to the other Ianizaries, and appointed for the guarding of his perſon: calling them commonly by the names of his ſonnes. The remainder of theſe tribute children, as vnfit for the warres, hee put vnto other baſe occupations and miniſteries. But vnto thoſe martiall men of all ſorts ſo by him ordained, hee appointed a continuall pay, according to their degrees and places: and by great benefits and liberties beſtowed vpon them, bound them ſo faſt vnto him, as that he might now account himſelfe to haue of them ſo many ſonnes, as hee had ſouldiours: For they together with the Chriſtian religion, hauing forgot their parents and countrey, and knowing no other lord and maſter but him, and acknowledging all that they had to come and proceed of his free grace onely, remained euer bound and faithfull vnto him; and ſo kept others alſo, as well the naturall Turks themſelues, as the other oppreſſed Chriſtians within

in the bounds of obedience and loyaltie. A great pollicie proceeding from a deepe judgement, firſt to weaken the Chriſtians by taking from them their beſt children, and of greateſt hope; and then by them depending wholly of himſelfe, to keepe in awe and dutifull obedience his naturall ſubjects alſo: hauing them alwaies as a ſcourge readie to chaſtice the rebellious or diſloyall. *A great pollicie*

Now the other *Othoman* kings and emperours, the ſucceſſors of *Amurath*, keeping this cuſtome, and alſo increaſing it one after another, haue therby not onely kept the empire ſtill in their houſe and familie, where it was firſt gotten: but alſo ſo maintained the majeſtie of their ſtate, as that they are of their ſubjects feared, obeyed, and honoured, not as kings, but as gods. For the naturall Turks their ſubjects looſing courage continually, and daily growing more baſe and daſtardly, by reaſon they are not ſuffered to practiſe the knowledge of armes; and the ſouldiours in whoſe power all things are, knowing nothing of their owne, but holding and acknowledging all that they haue to come of their lord, account them as kings and lords of all: ruling much after the manner of the *Pharaohs* the antient kinges of ÆGYPT; who were abſolute lords and maſters, both of the publick and priuat wealth of their ſubjects, whom they kept vnder as ſlaues and villaines. And hereof cometh it to paſſe, that the better part of them, whom we call Turks (but are indeed the children of Chriſtians, and ſeduced by their falſe inſtructors) deſire to be called Muſulmans (that is to ſay, right beleeuers) hold it a reproachfull and diſhonourble thing to be called Turks, as it were peculiarly and aboue other people: For that they knowing right well, that there is not one naturall Turke among all thoſe that beare authoritie and rule, and are had in greater honour and reputation than the reſt (ſuch as are the men of warre and courtiers) but he is borne a Chriſtian either of father, or at the leaſt of his grandfather: auouch thoſe onely to be Turks which liue in NATOLIA, al of them either marchants, or of baſe and mechanicall crafts, or poore labourers with the ſpade and pickaxe, and ſuch like people vnfit for the warres; the reſt (as I ſay) holding it for a title of honour to be diſcended of Chriſtian parents. Yea the Grand Signior himſelfe, although by the fathers ſide he bee come of progenitors ſuch as were naturall Turks borne, yet many of them had Chriſtian mothers, which they accounted in the greateſt part of their nobilitie and honour. Thus by the wiſedome of *Amurath* was the order of the Ianizaries, and other ſouldiours of the court greatly aduanced, though not by him begun, and the politicke ſtate of the Turks kingdome (to ſay the truth) quite altered; the naturall Turks (more than the Sultan himſelfe) now bearing therein no ſway: but onely theſe new ſouldiours, all of them diſcended from Chriſtian parents, and by adoption as it were become the ſonnes of the Turkiſh Sultans, and vnder them commanding all: by whom they haue euer ſince managed their eſtate, & by their good ſeruice wonderfully, euen to the aſtoniſhment of the world, encreaſed and extended their empire. But of them more ſhall be ſaid hereafter.

This great king was whileſt hee liued, of his ſubjects woonderfully beloued, and no leſſe of them after his death lamented. He was more faithfull of his word than any of the Turkiſh kings either before or after him: by nature melancholie and ſad, and accounted rather politicke than valiant, yet was indeed both: a great diſſembler, and painefull in trauaile, but wayward and teſtie aboue meaſure, which many imputed vnto his great age. He had iſſue ſixe ſonnes, *Achmetes*, *Aladin*, *Mahomet*, *Haſan* (otherwiſe called *Chaſan*) *Vrchan*, and *Achmetes* the younger, of ſome called *Calepinus*: three of whom died before him; but the two youngeſt were by their vnnaturall brother *Mahomet*, who ſucceeded him in the Turkiſh kingdome, euen in their infancie, in the beginning of his raigne moſt cruelly murthered. *Amurath his diſpoſition.* *The ſonnes of Amurath.*

FINIS.

Christian princes of the same time with Amurath the second.

- Emperours
  - Of the East
    - John Paleologus. 1421. 24
    - Constantinus Paleologus. 1444. 8
  - Of the west
    - Sigismund king of Hungarie. 1411. 28
    - Albert the second king of Hungarie and Bohemia. 1438. 2
    - Frederick the third, Arch-duke of Austria. 1440. 54
- Kings
  - Of England
    - Henrie the fift. 1413. 9
    - Henrie the sixt. 1422. 39
  - Of Fraunce
    - Charles the sixt. 1381. 42
    - Charles the seuenth. 1423. 38
  - Of Scotland
    - Iames the first. 1424. 13
    - Iames the second. 1436. 29
- Bishops of Rome
  - Martin the V. 1417. 13
  - Eugenius the IIII. 1431. 16
  - Nicholas the V. 1447. 8

Paulus Iouius Illust. virorum, Elog. lib. 3.

Qui vici innumeros populos, tot regna, tot vrbes:
Solus & immensi qui timor orbis eram:
Me rapuit quæ cunque rapit mors improba, sed sum
Virtute excelsa, ductus ad astra tamen.
Maior Alexander non me fuit, Annniball & non,
Fuderit Ausonios tot licet ille duces.
Vici victores Danaos, domuique feroces
Caoniæ populos, Sauromataſque trnces.
Pannonius ſenſit, quantum ſurgebat in armis
Vis mea: quæ latio cognita nuper erat.
Arſacidæ ſenſere manus has, ſenſit Arabſque:
Et mea ſunt Perſæ cognita tela duci.
Mens fuerat, bellare Rhodum, ſuperare ſuperbam
Italiam, ſed non fata dedere modum.
Hei mihi, nam rapuit mors aſpera, quæque ſub alto
Pectore condideram, vertit & hora breuis.
Sic hominum faſtus pereunt, ſic ſtemata, ſicque
Imperium, atque aurum, quicquid & orbis habet.

In Engliſh thus.

I that ſo many nations, townes,
and kingdomes, haue brought low;
And haue alone diſmaied the world,
and fild the earth with woe:
Am now by death (which all deuoures)
brought downe from hie degree,
Yet doth the glorie of my name,
ſurmount the ſtarrie skie.
The great king *Alexanders* fame,
the world no better fild:
Nor worthy *Hannibal*, whoſe force
ſo many Romans kild.
I vanquiſht the victorious Greeks,
and tam'd with mightie hand,
The warlike people of EPIRE,
and fierce TARTARIA land.
My force in field HVNGARIA felt,
my greatneſſe is there knowne:
Which of late time through ITALY,
to their great ruth is blowne.
Th'Aſſyrians felt my heauie hand,
ſo did th'Arabians wild:
The Perſian king with all his force,
I driue out of the field.
I purpoſed to win the RHODES,
and ITALY t'vndoe:
If that the fatall deſtinies,
had granted leaue thereto.
But wo is me, for griſly death
hath brought all this to nought:
And in the twinckling of an eye,
is periſht all I thought.
So periſheth the pride of man,
his honour, wealth, and power,
His golde, and whatſoeuer elſe,
it fadeth as a flower.

THE LIFE OF MAHOMET, SECOND OF THAT NAME, SEVENTH KING AND FIRST EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKS, FOR HIS MANY VICTORIES SVRNAMED *THE GREAT.*

THe report of the death of old *Amurath* the late king, was in ſhort time blowne through moſt part of Chriſtendome, to the great joy of many: but eſpecially of the Greekes, and other poore Chriſtians which bordered vpon the tyrants kingdome; who were now in hope, together with the change of the Turkiſh king, to make exchange alſo of their bad eſtate and fortune: and the rather, for that it was thought, that his eldeſt ſonne *Mahomet*, after the death of his father, would haue embraced the Chriſtian religion, being in his childhood inſtructed therein (as was ſuppoſed) by his mother, the daughter of the prince of SERVIA, a Chriſtian. But vaine was this hope, and the joy thereof but ſhort, as afterward by proofe appeared. For *Mahomet* being about the age of one and twentie yeares, ſucceeding his father in the kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1450, embraced in ſhew the Mahometane religion, abhorring the Chriſtian, but indeed making no great reckoning either of the one or of the other; but as a meere Atheiſt, deuoid of all religion, and worſhipping no other god but good fortune, derided the ſimplicitie of all ſuch as thought that God had any care or regard of worldly men, or of their actions: which graceleſſe reſolution ſo wrought in him, that he thought all things lawfull that agreed with his luſt, and making conſcience of nothing, kept no league, promiſe, or oath, longer than ſtood with his profit or pleaſure. 1450 *Mahomet of no religion.*

Now in the Court men ſtood diuerſly affected towards the preſent ſtate: the mightie Baſſaes and others of great authoritie, vnto whom the old kings gouernment was neuer greeuous, inwardly lamented his death; doubting leaſt the fierce nature of the yong king ſhould turne to the hurt of ſome of them in particular, and the ſhortening of their authoritie in generall, as indeed it ſhortly after fell out. But the luſtie gallants of the Court wearie of the old king, who in hope of preferment had long wiſhed for the gouernment of the yong prince, were glad to ſee him ſet vpon his fathers ſeat. And the vulgar people (neuer conſtant but in vnconſtancie, and alwaies fawning vpon the preſent) exceedingly rejoyced in their young king. The Ianizaries alſo at the ſame time (according to their accuſtomed manner) tooke the ſpoile of the Chriſtians and Iewes that dwelt amongſt them, and eaſily obtained pardon for the ſame: whereupon he was by the ſame Ianizaries and the other ſouldiors of the Court with great triumph ſaluted king. Which approbation of theſe men of warre, is vnto the Turkiſh kings a greater aſſurance for the poſſeſſion of their kingdome, than to be borne the eldeſt ſonne of the king, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare: ſo great is the power of theſe maſterfull ſlaues, in promoting to the kingdome which ſoeuer of the kings ſonnes they moſt fauour, without much regard whether he be the eldeſt or not.

This young tyrant was no ſooner poſſeſſed of his fathers kingdome, but that hee forgetting the lawes of nature, was preſently in perſon himſelfe about to haue murthered with his owne hands, *Mahomet murdereth his brethren.*

hands his youngeſt brother,then but eighteene moneths old,begotten on the daughter of *Sponderbeius*. Which vnnaturall part,*Moſes* one of his Baſſaes,and a man greatly in his fauour,perceiuing,requeſted him not to imbrue his owne hands in the blood of his brother, but rather to commit the execution thereof to ſome other: which thing *Mahomet* commaunded him the author of that counſell foorthwith to doe. So *Moſes* taking the child from the nurſe,ſtrangled it, with pouring water downe the throat thereof. The young ladie vnderſtanding of the death of her child(as a woman whom furie had made paſt feare) came, and in her rage reuiled the tyrant to his face, ſhamefully vpbraiding him for his inhumane crueltie. When *Mahomet* to appeaſe her furie,requeſted her to be content,for that it ſtood with the policie of his ſtate: and willed her for her better contentment,to aske whatſoeuer ſhe pleaſed,and ſhe ſhould forthwith haue it. But ſhe deſiring nothing more than in ſome ſort to be reuenged,deſired to haue *Moſes*(the executioner of her ſonne)deliuered vnto her, bound: which when ſhe had obtained, ſhe preſently ſtrucke him into the breaſt with a knife (crying in vaine vpon his vnthankfull maſter for helpe:) and proceeding in her cruell execution,cut an hole in his right ſide, and by peecemeale cut out his liuer, and caſt it to the dogs to eat. At the ſame time alſo he cauſed another of his brethren,committed by his father to the keeping of *Caly Baſſa*,and now by him betrayed into his hands,to be likewiſe murthered.

A cruell reuenge of an angrie woman.

Mahomet reformeth the Turkiſh cõmonweale.

Thus beginning his tyrannous raigne with the bloodie execution of them that were in blood neareſt vnto him,and whom of all others he ought to haue defended, he preſently after began to frame a new forme of a commonweale,by abrogating and altering the old lawes and cuſtomes, and publiſhing of new,better fitting his owne humour,and more commodious for himſelfe: impoſing alſo new taxes and ſubſidies vpon his ſubjects, neuer before heard of; thereby to increaſe his treaſures, and ſatisfie his auaritious deſire: which amongſt many other his vices ſo much raigned in him,as that he was thought ouerſparing vnto himſelfe, as well in his apparrell as in his diet. And proceeding farther, hee called vnto ſtraight account all the great officers of his kingdome: of whom ſome he put to death,and confiſcated their goods; others he put to great fines, or quite remooued them from their offices. In like manner hee dealt alſo with his great Baſſaes, admitting many falſe and ſurmiſed accuſations againſt them: whereby to bring them within his danger, where little mercie was to be looked for. By which meanes hee became no leſſe terrible vnto his ſubjects,than he was afterward vnto his enemies;and ſo was of them exceedingly feared, but more hated. Amongſt other things, hee much miſliked in his court the exceſsiue number of faulconers and huntſmen; which was growne ſo great by the immoderat delight which his predeceſſors tooke in the pleaſures of the field,that there were continually maintained of the kings charge,ſeuen thouſand faulconers,and not many fewer huntſmen,ſaying,That he would not be ſo much a foole,as to maintaine ſuch a multitude of men to attend vpon ſo meere a vanitie. And therefore tooke order,that from thenceforth there ſhould bee allowance made for fiue hundred faulconers onely,and one hundred huntſmen: the reſt he appointed to ſerue as ſouldiors in his warres. At the ſame time alſo he entered into league with *Conſtantinus Palæologus*, the emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, and the other princes of GRECIA: as alſo with the Deſpot of SERVIA, his grandfather by the mothers ſide, as ſome will haue it; howbeit, ſome others write,that the Deſpot his daughter,*Amurath* his wife,was but his mother in law, whom hee vnder the colour of friendſhip ſent backe againe vnto her father after the death of *Amurath*, ſtill allowing her a princely dowrie. But if ſhee were not his mother (as like ynough it is that ſhee was not) much more happie was ſhe,that ſhe neuer groned for ſo graceleſſe a ſonne.

1451 *Mahomet goeth againſt the king of Caramania.*

Whileſt *Mahomet* was thus occupied about his ciuile affaires, *Ibrahim* king of CARAMANIA,who long before had married *Amurath* his ſiſter, and yet for all that, had (as his anceſtors had before him)alwaies enuied the proſperous ſucceſſe of the *Othoman* kings,tooke occaſion in the firſt yeare of *Mahomet* his raigne, with fire and ſword to inuade his dominions in ASIA. Which thing when *Mahomet* vnderſtood,he diſplaced *Iſa* his lieutenant in ASIA,as a man not ſufficient to manage ſo great warres,and appointed *Iſaack Baſſa* in his roome,a moſt valiant man of warre,vpon whom not long before he had vpon ſpeciall fauour beſtowed in mariage the faire daughter of *Sponderbeius*,one of his fathers wiues,of whom we haue before ſpoken. This great Baſſa paſsing ouer into ASIA, raiſed a great armie. After whom followed *Mahomet* in perſon himſelfe with a greater, out of EVROPE: and hauing all his forces together, entered with great hoſtilitie into CARAMANIA. But the Caramanian king perceiuing himſelfe vnable to withſtand

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ſo puiſſant an enemie, fled into the ſtrength of the great mountaines, and by his embaſſadours offered vnto *Mahomet* ſuch reaſonable conditions of peace, as that hee was content to accept thereof. Which after they had by ſolemne oath on both parts confirmed, *Mahomet* returned with his armie to PRVSA: but when he was come thither, the Ianizaries preſuming that they might be bold with the young king; putting themſelues in order of battaile, came, & with great inſolencie demaunded of him a donatiue or largious, as a reward of their good ſeruice done. With which ſo great preſumption, *Mahomet* was inwardly chafed: but for ſo much as they were his beſt ſouldiors, and alreadie in armes, he wiſely diſſembled his anger for the preſent, hauing a little before had warning thereof by *Abedin Baſſa*, and *Turechan-beg*, two of his great captaines, who had got ſome ſuſpition of the matter: wherefore to content them, hee cauſed tenne great bags of aſpers to bee ſcattered amongſt them, and ſo pacified the matter. But within few daies after, he cauſed *Doganes* (the Aga or cheefe captaine of the Ianizaries) to be brought before him, and to be ſhamefully whipt: and ſo preſently diſcharging him of his office, placed one *Muſtapha* in the ſame. The like ſeueritie he vſed againſt the reſt of the vndercaptaines, cauſing them to be cruelly ſcourged and beaten like ſlaues: which in that tyrannicall gouernment is an vſuall puniſhment, vpon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the king to be inflicted vpon any man, without reſpect of degree or calling, if he be not a naturall Turke borne. Preſently after he ſent *Iſaack* his lieutenant againſt *Elias* prince of MENTESIA or CARIA, by whom the poore prince was driuen out of his countrey: euer ſince which time it hath remained in ſubjection to the Turkiſh kings, as part of their kingdome and empire.

Mentesia ſubdued by the Turks.

When *Mahomet* had thus ended the Caramanian war, and was determined with his armie to returne to HADRIANOPLE, he was aduertiſed, That the ſtraits of HELLESPONTVS were ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed by the Chriſtian fleet, that he could not poſsibly there paſſe ouer but with moſt manifeſt danger: wherefore hee tooke his way through that part of BYTHINIA which lieth aboue CONSTANTINOPLE, and came to the caſtle which the Turks call *Acce-Chiſar*, and the Grecians ἀσπρόκαστρον, or White caſtle, ſtanding vpon the narrow ſtrait of BOSPHORVS on ASIA ſide, and there paſſed ouer into EVROPE at the ſame place where his father *Amurath* had not many yeares before in like manner found paſſage. Where when he was ſafely got ouer with his armie, he by the aduiſe of his Baſſaes encamped faſt by the ſea ſide, and there preſently began to build a great ſtrong caſtle cloſe vnto the ſtraits of BOSPHORVS, neere vnto PROPONTIS on EVROPE ſide, directly oueragainſt the other caſtle in ASIA. For the ſpeedie accompliſhment of which worke, he aſſembled thither all the workemen he could poſsibly get out of EVROPE and ASIA; apportioning vnto his captaines and ſouldiours of his armie part of the worke alſo: by whoſe induſtrie and labour, that great building was in ſhorter time brought to perfection, than was by any man at the firſt expected. This caſtle which for the greatneſſe thereof is of moſt writers reputed for a citie, was by the Turks named *Genichiſar*, & of the Grecians *Neocaſtron*, or New caſtle, and alſo *Læmocaſtron*, or caſtle vpon the ſtraits; and was there by the Turks built, as well for the ſafetie of their owne paſſage too and fro, as for to hinder the paſſage of the Chriſtians through thoſe narrow ſtraits, they now poſſeſsing the ſtrong forts on both ſides: and thereby alſo to diſtreſſe the cittie of CONSTANTINOPLE, from whence this caſtle was not aboue fiue miles diſtant. When *Mahomet* in the ſecond yeare of his raign had finiſhed this great caſtle, with ſome other ſmall forts about the ſame, and alſo repaired the other caſtle in ASIA oueragainſt it, hee placed therein ſtrong garriſons, and furniſhed the ſame with artillerie; in ſuch ſort, that no ſhip could paſſe through the ſtrait of BOSPHORVS into the great Euxine or blacke ſea, but ſhe was in danger to be ſunke: whereby the rich trade which the marchants of VENICE, GENVA, and CONSTANTINOPLE, had to CAFFA, and other places lying vpon the Euxine, were almoſt quite cut off, to the great hinderance of thoſe eſtates. Now *Mahomet* by nature ambitious, and withall deſirous to doe ſome ſuch thing as the glorie whereof might farre paſſe the fame of his predeceſſors, thought nothing more anſwerable vnto his high conceits, than to attempt the winning of CONSTANTINOPLE, and the vtter ſubuerſion of the Greeke empire: whereupon his father *Amurath*, and his great grandfather *Baiazet*, had before in vaine ſpent their forces. Beſides that, it greeued him to ſee that goodly cittie, the antient ſeat of the Chriſtian empire, to be ſo commodiouſly ſituated, as it were in the middeſt of his kingdome, and not to be at his commaund. Hereunto the ſmall power of the Greeke emperor himſelfe, and the other Chriſtian princes at the ſame time at mortall diſcord amongſt themſelues, miniſtred vnto his greedie

1452

Mahomet maketh preparation for the beſieging of Conſtantinople.

desire no small hope of successe, and serued as spurres to pricke him forward vnto so great an enterprise. Wherefore all the Winter he caused great preparation to be made of shipping & other warlike prouision both for sea and land: and gaue out commissions for the leuying of a mightie armie, to be in readinesse against the next Spring. But whither hee would employ the same, no man could certainely tell: some gessing one thing, and some another, as the manner of men is, when such extraordinarie preparation is at hand. *Constantinus* the eight of that name, then emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, a prince of a mild and soft spirit, fitter for the church than for the field, hearing of the great preparation made by the Turkish king; and fearing least that tempest then growing, should vpon the suddaine breake forth vpon himselfe, first made such preparation, as his owne small abilitie would extend vnto: and then sent his embassadours vnto other Christian princes, earnestly crauing their aid and assistance in that his dangerous estate. But that labour was lost, and all his sute vaine: for they being at variance one with another, and hauing more care of priuat reuenge than how to repulse the common enemie of Christianitie, could not or would not affoord him any helpe at all. *Nicholas* the fift of that name, then bishop of ROME, with *Alphonsus* king of NAPLES, and the state of VENICE, promised to haue sent him thirtie gallies, but none for all that came.

Constantinus the emperor in vaine craueth aid of the Christian princes.

There was by chaunce at CONSTANTINOPLE certaine ships and gallies of VENICE, GENVA, CRETE, and CHIOS, of whom the emperour made stay: at which time also it chaunced, that *Ioannes Iustinianus*, an aduenturer of GENVA, who had beene scouring those seas, came to CONSTANTINOPLE with two tall ships, and foure hundred souldiors: where he was entertained by the emperour. And for as much as he was a man honourably descended, and supposed to be both of great courage and direction, was by the emperor appointed Generall of all his forces next vnto himselfe. He also entertained six thousand Greekes: which, with three thousand Venetians, Genowaies, and others, whom he had made stay of, joined vnto the cittizens, was all the weake strength he had to relie vpon, for the defence of his state and empire.

1453 Against the beginning of the Spring, the Turkish king had in readinesse a great and puissant armie of three hundred thousand men, of whom, the greatest part were taken out of BVLGARIA, SERVIA, RASCIA, THESSALIA, MACEDONIA, and GRECIA, which as yet were called the Christian countries, and were themselues either indeed Christians, or els such renegates as had not long before forsaken the Christian faith: vnto these also were joyned diuers other Christians which came out of GERMANIE, BOHEMIA, and HVNGARIE, to serue the Turke in his warres. This hath been none of the least meanes, whereby the Turkish kings haue growne so great, and their kingdome so mightily enlarged, by enforcing and alluring Christians to fight against Christians, to the vtter confusion of themselues. Amongst the great multitude of the European Christians, were mingled his effeminat soldiors of ASIA, and his naturall Turks and Ianizaries, which were in number fewest, and yet commaunded all the rest.

Vide Leonardi Chiensis Archiepiscopi Mitylen hist. de captiuitate Constantinopolitana.

With this great armie, well appointed with all warlike prouision, came *Mahomet* the Turkish king from HADRIANOPLE: and the ninth day of Aprill, in the yeare 1453, encamped before CONSTANTINOPLE, and with the multitude of his armie filled all the maine land before the citie, from the sea side of BOSPHORVS, vnto the place where the same sea compassing in the citie on two parts, and running farre into the land betwixt CONSTANTINOPLE and PERA, maketh there a goodly hauen betwixt them.

Mahomet encampeth before Constantinople.

This citie of CONSTANTINOPLE (called in ancient time BIZANTIVM) is in fourme of a Triangle, situated in EVROPE in the pleasant countrey of THRACIA, vpon a point of the main land shooting out towards ASIA, called of *Plinie & Solinus*, The promotorie CHRYSOCERAS; where the sea of PROPONTIS joyneth vnto that strait of sea which diuideth ASIA from EVROPE, called in ancient time BOSPHORVS THRACIVS; sometime the strait of PONTVS; and the mouth of PONTVS; and of the moderne writers, the strait of CONSTANTINOPLE; and about 200 yeares past, or more, S. *George* his arme. This point of the maine, whereon the citie standeth, lyeth about two Italian miles more Northward than doth the ancient citie of CALCEDON, on the other side of the strait in ASIA: more than thirtie miles distant from the Euxine or blacke sea, lying from it Northward; and two hundreth miles from the strait of HELLESPONTVS or CALLIPOLIS, from thence South. Which noble citie (of all others most fitly seated for the empire of the world, and with great majestie ouerlooking both EVROPE and ASIA) is by the Cosmographers accounted to stand in the height of 43 degrees, vpon seuen little hils of

The situation of Constantinople.

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no great and easie ascent: and was there first built by *Pausanias* the Lacedemonian king, and called BIZANTIVM, and so many yeares flourished as a populous and rich cittie, vntill the ciuile warres betwixt *Seuerus* the emperour, and *Niger*: what time it endured the siege of the Romanes vnder *Seuerus*, three yeares, with such obstinacie, that it yeelded not vntill it was brought to such extremitie that the citizens did eat one another; and then yeelding, had the wals ouerthrowne by *Seuerus*, and the citie it selfe destroyed, and brought to the low estate of a poore countrie village, and so by him giuen to the Perinthyans. In which base estate it continued vntill the time of *Constantine* the Great, the sonne of *Helena* (whom some will needs haue to haue ben an English woman) by whom it was new built, and beautified with buildings so stately and sumptuous, that vnto the strange beholders it seemed a dwelling place for heauenly wights rather than for earthly men. And to grace it the more, translated his imperiall seat thether, and called it NOVA ROMA, or new ROME; and all that pleasant part of THRACIA alongst the sea coast of HELLESPONTVS, PROPONTIS, and BOSPHORVS, by the name of ROMANIA, of the faire Romane collonies there by him planted, which name it at this day retaineth, and is of the Turks called RVMILIA and RVM-ILI (that is to say) the Romane countrey. But as for the citie it selfe, the glorious name of the founder so preuailed, that the citie was and yet is of him called CONSTANTINOPLE, or *Constantine* his citie: and now of the barbarous Turkes commonly, but corruptly, STAMBOLL. It is (as we said) built in the forme of a Triangle, whereof the longest side which runneth from Northeast to Southwest, is on the South side washed with the PROPONTIS; and towards the ending of the point which is about the seauen towers, is somewhat indented; being commonly reputed to be eight miles long. The other side lyeth East and West fiue miles in length, being washed with the hauen, which is somwhat more thā eight miles long before it meet with the fresh water, and about a quarter of a mile broad: on the farther side whereof standeth the citie of PERA, commonly called GALATA, sometimes a colonie of the Genowaies. This hauen is very deepe, and by that reason as commodious as deepe, bearing ships full fraught close to the shoare, so that they may discharge their burthens with the least trouble that may be, and is of *Strabo* called CORNV BIZANTII, or the horne of *Bizantium*. The third side of this citie towards the Continent, lyeth almost North and South fiue miles also in length: those two sides that lie vpon the sea, and the hauen, are enuironed and guirt in with a single wall, built after the antique maner, with many high towers, which strongly defend & flanke the same. Without which wals (especially towards the hauen) there lyeth a street between them and the shore. But the other side which is the third, and regardeth the main land (beside the ditch, which is also fenced) is defended with three wals: the first wall standing vpon the ditch being but low; and the second not farre distant from the first, raised somewhat higher; but the third ouerlooketh and commaundeth both the other; from whence as from an high fortresse both the other wals and all the ditch without may easily be defended. But the two vtter wals, with the whole space betwixt them, are now by the Turks but slenderly maintained, lying full of earth and other rubbish, euen as they were in the time of the Grecians: some cause why they with lesse heart and courage defended the same against their barbarous enemies. In the East part of the cittie, on that point which in the raigne of the Grecians was called the cape of S. *Demetrio*, distant from ASIA not much more than halfe a mile, standeth the Seraglio or pallace of the great Turke, containing in it selfe a great part of an hill, enclosed round with a wall, as if it were it selfe a citie, in circuit more than two miles: wherein amongst other stately buildings, neere vnto the sea standeth a verie faire and sumptuous gallerie, built for pleasure, with a priuie gate well fortified and planted with great ordinance, and other munition, whereby the great Turke at certaine times passeth, when he is disposed in his gallie to take his pleasure vpon the sea, or to passe ouer the strait vnto his houses or gardens of delight, on the other side in ASIA. In this great citie are also many other most stately and sumptuous buildings, as well of late erected by the Turkish Sultans, since they became lords thereof, as before by the Greeke emperours: amongst all which, the Temple of S. *Sophia* standing in the East side of the citie, not farre from the Seraglio (now reduced vnto the forme of a Mahometan Moschie, and whether the great Turk goeth often times to heare seruice, being indeed but the Sanctuarie or chauncell onely of the great, stately, and wonderfull church built by *Iustinian* the emperor) is most beautifull and admirable. That which standeth of it now, is both round & verie high, built after the fashion of the Pantheon in ROME, but much greater, fairer, and not open in the top as is that: the wals thereof being of the finest

Constantinople built by Pausanias, destroyed by Seuerus, reedified by Constantine the Great, and now taken by Mahomet the Turke.

The magnificent temple of S. Sophia.

marble, and the floare all paued with faire marble alſo. In the middeſt there is a verie great and large circle, compaſſed in with high and huge pillars of moſt excellent marble of diuers ſorts; and theſe ſupport a mightie vault that beareth vp as many moe pillars aboue, ſtanding after the verie ſame order, and in a downe right line, almoſt of the like greatneſſe and goodneſſe of the marble with the other below: vpon which, aboue the ſecond vault in manner of a looüar, reſteth the great round roofe which couereth all that ſpace of the church which is compaſſed with the aforeſaid pillars: being all enameled and fillited, with the pictures of Saints, after the antient manner of ſome great churches in Chriſtendome: but that the Turks, who like not to haue any pictures in their churches, haue put out their eies onely, as loath to ſpoile ſuch a rare peece of worke, and vtterly to deface it. In like manner the wals of the vpper vault, are wrought, painted, or portraied after the ſame order, though in ſome part decayed, by reaſon of their long continuance and ſtanding. About this church are eighteen or twentie dores of braſſe, right faire and coſtly, well declaring the magnificence and greatneſſe thereof in more antient times: when as it had (as is reported) more than two hundred dores of like making and greatneſſe; and beſide the hugeneſſe of the frame and building it ſelfe, had alſo diuers faire monaſteries and houſes of religion joyned vnto it: whereunto belonged ſix thouſand prieſts, whoſe houſes and lodgings extended almoſt all ouer the place where now the Turke his pallace ſtandeth, and the other places adjoyning to this great church, which is now their cheefe Moſchie, and called by them by the proper name of S. *Sophia*, becauſe they hold euen as we do, the wiſdome of God to be incomprehenſible and infinit. The next in magnificence vnto this, is the Moſchie of *Solyman*, wherin he lyeth buried, with his welbeloued wife the faire *Roxolana*: a worke well beſeeming the maieſtie of ſo mightie a monarch. There are beſide theſe alſo many other faire Moſchies, Seraglios for the Turke his wiues and concubines, Bezeſtanes or Burſes for marchants, Obeliskes, Bathes, and other publicke edifices and buildings of great majeſtie and ſtate, all well worth the beholding: wherein conſiſteth all the beautie of this ſo auncient and renowned a citie; farre vnlike to that it was in the time of the firſt Greeke emperours, and before it was ſpoiled by the Latines. For the Turkes priuat houſes in this ſo great and imperiall a citie, ſo much renowned through the world, are for the moſt part low and baſe, after the Turkiſh faſhion, built ſome of wood, ſome of ſtone, and ſome of vnburnt bricke, layd with clay and dyrt, which quickly decaieth againe: they after their homely manner (by long cuſtome receiued) neuer building any thing ſumptuouſly for their owne priuate vſe, but contenting themſelues with their ſimple cottages, how meane ſoeuer, commonly ſaying them to be good inough for the ſhort time of their pilgrimage: and yet not ſparing for any coſt vpon the publicke buildings and ornaments of the commonwealth, which they build with great majeſtie and pompe; but eſpecially their Moſchies, wherein they excell. Neuertheleſſe there yet are in CONSTANTINOPLE ſome other houſes alſo built high and comely inough; but theſe bee few, and verie old, all inhabited by the Chriſtians and Iewes, and not by the Turks. But of this inough, and ſo againe to our purpoſe.

The ſingalitie of the Turkes in their priuat buildings.

Mahomet with his puiſſant armie thus encamped before the citie, placing his Aſian ſouldiors on the right hand, toward the BOSPHORVS; his Europeian ſouldiors on the left hand, toward the hauen; lay himſelfe with 15000 Ianizaries and other ſouldiors of the court, in the middle betwixt both, againſt the heart of the citie. On the farther ſide of the hauen alſo by PERA, hee placed *Zoganus*, one of his cheefe counſellors, with another part of his armie. At which time alſo *Pantologes* his Admirall came to the ſiege, with a fleet of thirtie gallies, and 200 other ſmall ſhips, and a number of other leſſer veſſels, which were rowed with three, or fiue oares a peece, full of Turkiſh archers, fitter for ſhew than ſeruice. But for defence of the hauen, and ſo of the citie on that ſide, the emperour had cauſed the hauen to bee ſtrongly chained ouerthwart from the citie to PERA: and within the chaine had orderly placed his ſmall fleet, the greateſt ſtrength whereof was ſeauen great ſhips of GENVA, with three gallies, and two galliots of VENICE, three of CREET, and a few others of the Iland of CHIOS; all which were there, rather by chance vpon marchants affaires, than that they were prouided for any ſuch ſeruice: yet by this meanes the Turks fleet was ſhut out of the hauen, and ſo the citie put in good ſaftie on that ſide.

The Turks fleet.

When *Mahomet* had thus conueniently encamped his armie, and ſurrounded the citie both by ſea and land: he firſt caſt vp great trenches as neere as hee poſsibly could vnto the wals of the citie, and raiſed mounts in diuers places as high as the wals themſelues, from whence the Turks with their ſhot greatly annoied the defendants. After that, hee placed his batterie againſt one of the

the gates of the citie called CALEGARIA, and terribly battered the ſame, eſpecially with one peece of ordinance of a wonderfull greatneſſe, which with much difficultie was brought from HADRIANOPLE with an hundreth & fiftie yoke of oxen, & caried a bullet of an hundred pound waight, made (as his other ſhot was) of a kind of hard blacke ſtone brought from the Euxine ſea. For as yet (as it ſeemeth) ſo ſoone after the inuention of that fatall engine, the vſe of bullets of mettall was vnknowne. There with continuall batterie, he terribly ſhooke the wals, which although they were verie ſtrong, yet were they not able to withſtand the furie of ſo great a batterie. The Chriſtians alſo out of the citie diſcharged their great artillerie vpon the Turkes, but ſo ſparingly, as if they had beene afraid to ſhake their owne wals; or loath for good husbandrie, to ſpend ſhot & powder, which was vnto the canoniers verie ſparingly allowed: yet that which was ſpent, was ſo well beſtowed, that the Turks were therewith greeuouſly annoyed. The breach alſo which they had made at the aforeſaid gate, was by the defendants with great and dangerous labour againe repaired with faggots and earth, and ſuch like matter beſt ſeruing for that purpoſe, and ſo made ſtronger than before. In which moſt dangerous work, they were altogether directed and greatly encouraged by *Iuſtinianus* the Genoway, the emperours lieutenant generall for defence of the citie.

Conſtantinople vndermined by the Turks.

Yet for all this diligence of the Chriſtians, *Mahomet* continued his batterie with no leſſe furie than before: but repoſing greater hope to find a way into the citie, by the ſpade and mattocke, than by batterie; he employed his pyoners, whereof he had great ſtore, to digge a mine: being altogether directed by Chriſtians skilfull in that kind of worke, whom hee had for that purpoſe entertained. By whoſe cunning direction, with the induſtrious labour of the poore pioners, the mine was brought to ſuch perfection, that part of the wall, with one of the ſtrong towers in the ſame, was quite vndermined, and ſtood ſupported, but with ſuch vntruſtie ſtaies as the pyoners had left for the bearing vp thereof vntill ſuch time as it ſhould by the tirants appointment be blown vp. This dangerous worke was neither perceiued, neither yet feared by the Conſtantinopolitans, as a thing not poſsible to haue beene done: foraſmuch as *Baiazet* and *Amurath* had both with great labour before in vaine attempted the ſame, at ſuch time as they hardly beſieged the citie. But that which thoſe great kings had with much vaine labour by vnskilfull men made proofe of, *Mahomet* had now by men of greater deuiſe, brought to paſſe; although it tooke not ſuch effect as he wiſhed: for one *Io. Grandis*, a Germane captaine, and a man of great experience, ſuſpecting the matter, had cauſed a countermine to be made, whereby the labour of the Turkes was in good time diſcouered, and they with fire and ſword driuen out of the mine, and the ſame ſtrongly filled vp againe, and ſo the citie for that time deliuered of a great feare and danger. *Mahomet* perceiuing that it auailed him not to continue his batterie againſt that place which was againe ſo ſtrongly repaired, remooued the ſame, and planted it againſt a tower called BACTATINA, neere vnto the gate called PORTA-ROMANA, or Romane gate. Which tower ſhaken with continuall batterie, at length fell downe, and filled the ditch before the vtter wall, euen with the ground. But this breach was alſo ſpeedily and with great courage made vp againe by the defendants, although the Turkes did what they could, with continuall ſhot, to haue driuen them from the ſame. At which time they alſo erected certain high towers of timber, couered with raw hides to defend the ſame from fire, out of which they with their ſhot ſlew many of the Chriſtians vpon the wals, and in making good the aforeſaid breach: but *Mahomet* ſeeing this valiantneſſe of the defendants, openly ſaid, That it was neither the Grecians skill, nor courage, but the Frenchmen that defended the citie: For the Turks commonly call all the Chriſtians of the Weſt by the name of Frankes or Frenchmen.

Seuentie of the Turks galliots brought eight miles ouerland (by the deuice of a Chriſtian) into the hauen of Conſtantinople.

The cheerefulneſſe and induſtrie of the Chriſtians in defending and repairing the aforeſaid breach, was ſo great, that the Turkiſh king began almoſt to diſpaire of winning the citie; which hee could no way aſſault but on one ſide. When as a wicked Chriſtian in his campe, put him againe in good hope, by ſhewing vnto him a deuiſe how to bring a great part of his fleet ouer land into the hauen, and thereby to aſſault that part of the citie by water, which the citizens leaſt feared: by which ingenious deuiſe, and by the great ſtrength of men; *Zoganus Baſſa* (to whom that charge was committed) brought ſeuentie of the leſſer ſhips and galliots, with all their ſailes abroad (to the great admiration of all that ſaw them) vp a great hill, and ſo by drie land, out of the Boſphorus behind PERA, the ſpace of eight miles, into the hauen of CONSTANTINOPLE, which running in betweene the citie and PERA, runneth into the maine land (as we ſayd) about eight

eight miles. The Christian that discouered this deuice vnto the king, is supposed to haue learned it of the Venetians, who not long before had done the like at the lake of BENNACVS. Glad was *Mahomet* to see so many of his ships and gallies in the hauen, and the Christians with the sight thereof no lesse discouraged. Neuertheless, they attempted to haue burnt those vessels as they were in launching, but the Turkes had so commodiously placed certaine peeces of great Ordinance for their defence, that the formost of the gallies of the Christians, approching the Turks fleet, was presently sunke; wherewith the rest dismayed, returned backe from whence they came. Certaine of the Christians of the lost gallie, whom the Turkes tooke vp swimming in the hauen, were the next day cruelly slaine in the sight of the Christians: in reuenge whereof, certain Turks before taken prisoners into CONSTANTINOPLE, were foorthwith brought to the top of the wals, and there in the sight of the campe with like crueltie put to death.

A wonderfull bridge made by the Turks ouer the hauen of Constantinople.

Mahomet thus possessed of the hauen, shortly after caused a wonderfull bridge to bee made quite ouer the hauen, from *Zoganus* his campe which lay by PERA, vnto the wals of CONSTANTINOPLE: which bridge was built with timber and plankes, borne vp with small boats & emptie caske, after a most strange manner, and was in length more than halfe a mile: by which bridge his armie came ouer the hauen, to assault the citie on that side also.

A notable fight betweene foure of the Christians ships, and the Turks fleet.

In the meane time, three tall Genoway ships laded with men and munition from the Island of CHIOS, with one of the emperours laded with corne from SICILIA, came with a faire wind for CONSTANTINOPLE. The Turks great fleet then lying not farre off, within the sight of the campe set vpon them, and after a great fight, wherein an exceeding number of the Turkes were slaine with shot, the gallies boorded the ships: but being much lower, were so far from doing any good, as that the Turks could not well looke out, but they were from aboue slaine or wounded. *Mahomet* from the shore beholding the vnequall fight, and slaughter of his men, cried out aloud, swearing and blaspheming God, and in great rage rid into the sea as farre as he durst; and comming backe againe, rent his clothes, faring with himselfe like a mad man. The whole armie of the Turkes beholding the same fight at sea, was filled with like indignation also, but could nothing remedie the matter. The great fleet ashamed in the sight of their king to bee ouercome of so few ships, did what they might desperately to enter: but all in vaine, being continually ouerwhelmed with shot and stones from aboue, and valiantly beaten downe by the Christian souldiours. At length wearie of their losse, they were glad with dishonour to fall off againe, and to get them farther off. The report of the losse the Turkes sustained in this fight, is almost incredible: some of the Turks fugitiues reported, almost ten thousand Turks to haue there perished: but certain it is, that such was the losse, as filled the whole armie with indignation & sorrow, many hauing there lost their kinsmen or friends. Three of these ships that had made this fight, arriued in safetie at CONSTANTINOPLE, the other was lost. *Mahomet* vpon this ouerthrow conceiued such displeasure against *Pantogles* his admirall, who in that fight had lost one of his eyes, that hee neuertheless thrust him out of his office, confiscated his goods, and was hardly by the great Bassaes entreated to spare his life.

Whilest *Mahomet* thus lay at the siege of CONSTANTINOPLE, and had thereunto giuen many great attempts, with more losse vnto himselfe than to the defendants, a rumour was raised in his campe, of great aid that was comming out of Italie by sea, and out of HVNGARIE by land, for the releefe of the besieged. This report (although indeed it was not true) with the due consideration of the danger of the siege, filled the Turks campe with feare: so that the souldiors commonly murmured amongst themselues, saying, That to satisfie the ambitious humour of their young king, they were led to fight against impregnable wals and fortresses, yea against the barres of nature it selfe, without all reason. Whereupon *Mahomet* entered into consultation with the three great Bassaes his counsellors, Whether it were best for him to continue the siege, or not. When *Caly Bassa*, sometime his tutor, a man of greatest authoritie amongst the Turks, both for his long experience and high place, and withall secretly fauouring the distressed emperour, after hee had with long and graue discourse declared the difficultie or rather impossibilitie of the wished successe in the present warre; and confirmed the same, by producing the examples of *Bajazet* his great grandfather, and of *Amurath* his father, who had both in vaine made proofe of their strength against that citie: at length concluded, that in his opinion it were best for him to raise his siege, and to depart before he had sustained any further losse or disgrace. But *Zoganus* the second Bassa, in great fauour also with *Mahomet*, and secretly enuying the greatnesse of *Caly Bassa*, persuaded

ſtuaded the king to proceed in his honouble enterpriſe: aſſuring him of the good ſucceſſe thereof, and with all the reaſons he could deuiſe, impugned that which *Caly-Baſſa* had ſaid. And of the ſame opinion with *Zoganus* was alſo the third Baſſa, rather of purpoſe to croſſe *Caly-Baſſa*, and withall to fit the kings humour, than for any great hope he had in the good ſucceſſe of that hee ſo much deſired. Howbeit the ſpeech he and *Zoganus* deliuered, ſo well agreed with the kings affection, that he reſolued to continue the ſiege: and therevpon gaue full authoritie to *Zoganus* to appoint a day for a great and generall aſſault to be giuen, reſoluing at once to gage all his forces vpon the winning of the city. Which charge *Zoganus* gladly took vpon him, & with his good liking appointed the 29 day of May for that generall aſſault, being then the Tueſday next following. In the meane time he ſent one *Iſmael*, the ſonne of *Alexander* prince of SINOPE, embaſſadour vnto the emperour, to offer him peace: but vpon ſuch hard conditions, as were no leſſe to be refuſed than death it ſelfe. Which thing he did, partly to ſatisfie the mindes of his Turks (who are for moſt part of opinion, that God will not proſper them in their aſſaults except they firſt make vnto their enemies ſome offer of peace, how vnreaſonable ſoeuer it forceth not) and partly to make proofe what confidence the enemie yet had in himſelfe, for the holding out of the ſiege. But that diſhonourable peace ſo offered, together with the intollerable conditions, was by the emperour honourably refuſed: who no leſſe feared the Turkes faith (if he ſhould haue accepted thereof) than he did the hardneſſe of the conditions. Three daies before this fatall aſſault was to be giuen, the Turks (according to their manner) kept their ſolemne faſt, eating nothing all the day vntill night; and then making the greateſt cheare and joy they could deuiſe, and in the winding vp of the ſame, tooke their leaue one of another, with ſuch kiſsing and embracing, as if they ſhould neuer haue met againe. At the ſame time *Mahomet* to encourage his ſouldiors, cauſed proclamation to be made through his campe, That he would freely giue all the ſpoile of the citie for three daies vnto his ſouldiors if they could win it: and for confirmation therof, ſolemnly ſwore the Turkes great oath, By the immortall God, and by the foure hundred prophets, by *Mahomet*, by his fathers ſoule, by his owne children, and by the ſword wherewith hee was girt, faithfully to performe whatſoeuer he had to them in his proclamation promiſed.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Caly-Baſſa* diſdaining that his counſaile was rejected, and the opinion of his aduerſaries followed: by ſecret letters aduertiſed the emperour of the day appointed for the generall aſſault, together with all the preparation made againſt him: perſuading him not to be afraid of them, who were themſelues no leſſe affraid of him; but carefully to prouide to haue all things in readineſſe for the defence of his citie, and valiantly to withſtand the raſh and laſt attempt of his enemies.

The citizens of Conſtantinople without cauſe murmure againſt the emperour.

This wofull emperour had alreadie done what he could to the vttermoſt of his power for defence of the citie, all the time of the ſiege: but ſuch was the diſloyaltie of the citizens his ſubjects, that many times they could hardly be drawne from their priuat trades and occupations vnto the wals to withſtand the enemie, fooliſhly affirming, That it was to no purpoſe for them to fight againſt the Turks at the breaches, and to ſtarue for food at home in their houſes. For which cauſe, the emperour commaunded a view to bee taken of all the corne in the citie (which then began to grow verie ſcarce;) but vpon diligent ſearch made, ſuch ſtore was found in many mens hands, (which was by them either altogether kept in to ſell afterwards at vnreaſonable priſes; or elſe ſo ſpatingly vttered, as if they had none to ſpare) as that it appeared, the dearth and ſcarſitie which then beganne to increaſe, to proceed rather of the couetouſneſſe of men, than of any true want of graine: this ſtore the emperour cauſed to bee proportionably diuided vnto euerie familie at reaſonable prices, according to their ſpending; and ſo eaſed the great murmuring and grudging of the common people for bread. The Grecian mercinarie ſouldiours alſo, regarding more their owne priuate profit than the publique ſeruice, refuſed any longer to goe to the wals than they were ſure of their dayly pay: which the poore emperour otherwiſe vnable to giue them, was glad to conuert the church plate and jewels into money, to content them. For he had many times before with teares, in vaine requeſted to haue borrowed monie of his couetous ſubjects, to haue been emploied in defence of the citie; but they would ſtill ſweare, that they had it not, as men growne poore for want of trade: which in few daies after, their enemies found in ſuch abundance, that they wondred at their wealth, and derided their folly, That poſſeſſing ſo much, they would beſtow ſo little, in defence of themſelues and their countrey. But this had been their vſuall maner of dealing with their emperours, in that declining ſtate of the empire:

A bare ſhift for money.

pire: as well appeared in the time of the emperor *Baldwin*, who for lacke of monie was glad first to sell away many of the goodly ornaments of the citie, and afterwards to pawne his own sonne vnto the Venetian marchants, for monie to maintaine his state, as is in the former part of this Historie declared.

But to returne againe to the course of our Historie. The emperour certainely aduertised of the enemies purpose, for the generall assault shortly to be giuen, first commended the defence of himselfe and the citie vnto the protection of the almightie, by generall fasting and prayer: and afterwards appointed euerie captaine and commaunder, to some certaine place of the wall for defence thereof: which was done by the direction of *Io. Iustinianus* his Generall, in whose valor the Constantinopolitans had reposed their greatest hope.

But the cittie being on euerie side now beset with the Turkes great armie, and the defendants in number but few, for so great a citie, (in compasse eight miles) the wals could not but slenderly in many places be manned, and especially on both sides toward the sea, where indeed least danger was. The greatest strength and best souldiours, were placed for defence of the vtter wall, where the breach was, and the assault expected by land. *Iustinianus* the Generall himselfe, with three hundred Genowayes well armed, and certaine chosen Greekes, vndertooke the defence of that part of the battered wall, neere vnto the Romane gate, where the fall of the tower BACTATINA had filled the ditch, as is aforesaid: against which place *Mahomet* himselfe lay encamped, with his Ianizaries and best men of warre. Neere vnto *Iustinianus* lay the emperor himselfe, for defence of another part of the wall: and so other captaines orderly with their companies, all alongst the vtter wall. And because the defendants should haue no hope to saue their liues, more than their owne valour, the emperour caused all the gates of the inner wall to be fast shut vp. And in this sort they lay all the night, expecting continuallly when the assault should bee giuen: all which time they might heare great hurly burly and noise in the Turks campe, as they were putting things in readinesse for the assault.

Constantinople assaulted by the Turks.

A little before day, the Turks approached the walles, and begun the assault, where shot and stones were deliuered vpon them from the wals as thicke as haile; whereof little fell in vaine, by reason of the multitude of the Turkes, who pressing fast vnto the wals, could not see in the darke how to defend themselues, but were without number wounded or slaine: but these were of the common and worst souldiours, of whom the Turkish king made no more reckoning than to abate the first force of the defendants. Vpon the first appearance of the day, *Mahomet* gaue the signe appointed for the generall assault, wherupon the citie was in a moment and at one instant on euerie side most furiously assaulted by the Turks: for *Mahomet*, the more to distresse the defendants, and the better to see the forwardnesse of the souldiours, had before appointed which part of the cittie euerie colonell with his regiment should assaile. Which they valiantly performed, deliuering their arrowes and shot vpon the defendants, so thicke, that the light of the day was therwith darkened: others in the mean time couragiously mounting the scaling ladders, and comming euen to handie stroakes with the defendants vpon the wall; where the formost were for most part violently borne forward by them which followed after. On the other side, the Christians with no lesse courage withstood the Turkish furie, beating them downe againe with great stones and waightie peeces of timber, and so ouerwhelmed them with shot, darts, and arrowes, and other hurtfull and deadly deuises from aboue; that the Turkes dismaied with the terrour thereof, were readie to retire.

Mahomet renueth the assault.

Mahomet seeing the great slaughter and discomfiture of his men, sent in fresh supplies of his Ianizaries and best men of warre, whom hee had for that purpose reserued as his last hope and refuge: by whose comming on, his fainting souldiours were againe encouraged, and the terrible assault begun afresh. At which time, the barbarous king ceased not to vse all possible meanes to maintain the assault: by name calling vpon this and that captain, promising vnto some whom he saw forward, golden mountaines; and vnto others in whom he saw any signe of cowardise, threatning most terrible death: by which meanes the assault became most dreadfull, death there raging in the middest of many thousands. And albeit that the Turkes lay dead by heapes vpon the ground, yet other fresh men pressed on still in their places, ouer their dead bodies, and with diuers euent either slew, or were slaine by their enemies.

In this so terrible a conflict, it chanced *Iustinianus* the Generall to bee wounded in the arme: who losing much blood, cowardly withdrew himselfe from the place of his charge, not leauing any

any to supplie his roome, and so got into the cittie by the gate called ROMANA, which hee had caused to be opened in the inner wall: pretending the cause of his departure to be for the binding vp of his wound, but being indeed a man now altogether discouraged.

The souldiors there present, dismayed with the departure of their Generall, and sore charged by the Ianizaries, forsooke their stations, and in hast fled to the same gate whereby *Iustinianus* was entered: with the sight whereof, the other souldiors dismayed, ran thither by heapes also. But whilest they violently striue, all together to get in at once, they so wedged one another in the entrance of the gate, that few of so great a multitude, got in: in which so great a presse and confusion of minds, eight hundred persons were there by them that followed, troden vnderfoot or thrust to death. The emperor himselfe, for safegard of his life flying with the rest, in that presse as a man not regarded, miserably ended his dayes, together with the Greeke empire. His dead bodie was shortly after found by the Turkes amongst the slaine, and knowne by his rich apparrell; whose head being cut off, was forthwith presented to the Turkish tyrant: by whose commaundement it was afterward thrust vpon the point of a launce, and in great derision caried about as a trophee of his victorie, first in the campe, and afterwards vp and downe the citie.

The Christians forsake the wals.

The Turkes encouraged with the flight of the Christians, presently aduanced their ensignes vpon the top of the vttermost wall, crying victorie; and by the breach entred as if it had been a great floud, which hauing once found a breach in the banke, ouerfloweth, and beareth downe all before it: so the Turkes when they had woon the vtter wall, entred the citie by the same gate that was opened for *Iustinianus*, & by a breach which they had before made with their great artillerie; and without mercie cutting in pieces all that came in their way, without further resistance became lords of that most famous and imperiall citie. Some few there were of the Christians, who preferring death before the Turkish slauerie, with their swords in their hands, sold their liues deere vnto their enemies: amongst whom, the two brethren *Paulus* and *Troilus Bochiardi* Italians, with *Theophilus Paleologus* a Greeke, and *Ioannus Stianus* a Dalmatian, for their great valour and courage, deserue to be had in eternall remembrance: Who after they had like lyons, made slaughter of their enemies, died in the midst of them, embrued with their bloud, rather oppressed by multitude than by true valour ouercome. In this furie of the Barbarians, perished many thousands of men, women, and children, without respect of age, sex, or condition. Many for safegard of their liues, fled into the Temple of SOPHIA; where they were all without pittie slaine, except some few reserued by the barbarous victors, to purposes more grieuous than death it selfe. The rich and beautifull ornaments and jewels of that most sumptuous and magnificent Church (the stately building of *Iustinianus* the emperour) were in the turning of a hand, pluckt downe and carried away by the Turkes: and the Church it selfe built for God to be honored in, for the present conuerted into a stable for their horses, or a place for the execution of their abhominable and vnspeakable filthinesse: the Image of the crucifix was also by them taken downe, and a Turks cap put vpon the head thereof, and so set vp and shot at with their arrowes; and afterwards in great derision carried about in their campe, as it had been in procession, with drums playing before it, railing, and spitting at it, and calling it the god of the Christians. Which I note not so much done in contempt of the image, as in the despite of Christ and the Christian religion.

Constantinople woon by the Turkes.

But whilest some were thus spoyling of the churches, others were as busie in ransacking of priuat houses, where the miserable Christians were enforced to endure in their persons whatsoeuer pleased the insolent victors: vnto whom all things were now lawfull that stood with their lust, euerie common souldiour hauing power of life and death, at his pleasure to spare or spill. At which time riches were no better than pouertie; and beautie worse than deformitie. What tongue were able to expresse the miserie of that time? or the prowd insolencie of those barbarous conquerors? whereof so many thousands, euerie man with greedinesse fitted his owne vnreasonable desire: all which the poore Christians were enforced to endure. But to speake of the hidden treasure, money, plate, jewels, and other riches there found, passeth credit; the Turkes themselues wondred thereat, and were therewith so enriched, that it is a prouerb amongst them at this day, if any of them grow suddenly rich, to say, *He hath been at the sacking of* CONSTANTINOPLE: whereof if some reasonable part had in time been bestowed vpon defence of the cittie, the Turkish king had not so easily taken both it and the cittie. But euerie man was carefull how to encrease his owne priuat wealth, few or none regarding the publike state; vntill in fine,

euerie

euerie man with his priuat abundance was wrapped vp togither with his needie neighbour in the selfesame common miserie. Yea the securitie of the Constantinopolitans was such, that being alwaies enuironed with their mortall enemies, yet had they no care of fortifying of so much as the inner wall of the citie (which for beautie and strength was comparable with the wals of any citie in the world, if it had been kept well repaired) but suffered the officers which had the charge to see to the fortifying of the citie, to conuert the greatest part of the money into their own purses: as appeared by *Manuel Giagerus*, a little before a verie poore man; and likewise by *Neophitus*, who then hauing that office to see vnto the fortification of the citie, had in short time gathered togither seuentie thousand florens, which became all a worthy prey vnto the greedie Turkes.

After that the barbarous common souldiour had thus by the space of three daies without controlment taken his pleasure in the citie (as *Mahomet* had before promised) and throughly ransackt euerie corner thereof: they then returned into the campe, with their rich spoils, driuing the poore Christian captiues before them as if they had ben droues of cattell, or flocks of sheepe: a spectacle no lesse lamentable, than was the sacking of the citie. It would haue grieued any stonie heart to haue seene the noble gentlewomen and great ladies, with their beautifull children, and many other faire personages, who lately flowed in all worldly wealth and pleasure, to bee now become the poore and miserable bondslaues of most base and contemptible rascals; who were so farre from shewing them any pittie, as that they delighted in nothing more than to heape more and more miserie vpon them, making no more reckoning of them than of dogs. There might the parents see the wofull miserie of their beloued children, and the children of the parents, the husband might see the shamefull abuse of his wife, and the wife of her husband, and generally one friend of another: and yet not able to mourne together (the least part of heauie comfort) being in the thraldome of diuers cruell masters, by whom they were kept in sunder, like in few dayes to be dispersed into diuers farre countries, without hope that they should euer find releasse, or one see another againe.

The souldiors being all retired into the campe, *Mahomet* as a proud conquerour, with great triumph entered into the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, then desolate and void of all Christian inhabitants; and there after the manner of the Turkish kings, made a sumptuous and royall feast vnto his Bassaes and other great captaines: where after he had surcharged himselfe with excesse of meat and drinke, he causèd diuers of the cheefe Christian captiues, both men and women (of whom many were of the late emperours line and race) to bee in his presence put to death, as hee with his Turks sat banquetting: deeming his feast much more stately by such effusion of Christian blood. Which manner of exceeding crueltie he daily vsed, vntill such time as he had destroyed all the Grecian nobilitie that was in his power, with the cheefe of the late Constantinopolitan citizens. At which time also diuers of the Venetian Senatours, with *Baiulus* their Gouernor, and many rich marchants of GENVA and other places of ITALIE were in like manner murthered: so that of seuen and fortie Senatours of VENICE which were there taken (whereof most part came thither by chaunce, bound for other places, but there vnluckily shut vp) some few found the fauour, with exceeding great ransomes to redeeme themselues.

Mahomet solemniseth his feast in Constantinople with the blood of the Grecian nobilitie.

Amongst these noblemen thus lamentably executed, was one *Lucas Leontares*, or *Notaras*, cõmonly called *Kyr-Lucas*, or lord *Lucas*, but of late great chancellor of CONSTANTINOPLE, a man of greatest account next vnto the emperour himselfe: whom the Turkish tyrant seemed greatly to blame, that hee being a man in so great credit with the late emperour, persuaded him not in time to haue sought for peace vpon any condition, or els to haue yeelded vp the citie, rather than to haue run that extreame course of wilfull miserie. Hee to excuse the matter, said, That the late emperor his master was encouraged to hold out the siege, by the Venetians and citizens of PERA, from whom he receiued secret aid: as also by some of the greatest men about his own person: for proofe whereof, hee drew out of his bosome the letters which *Caly-Bassa* had to that purpose written vnto the emperour, and deliuered them to *Mahomet*, hoping thereby to haue found some fauour. But when he had said what he could, the eldest of his sonnes then liuing (for he had lost two elder in the time of the siege) was cruelly executed before his face, and the youngest reserued for the tyrants lust: and after all this miserie had his owne head strucke off with the rest appointed for that daies sacrifice. Out of this generall calamitie escaped *Io. Iustinianus* the Generall, who with all speed fled at first to PERA, and from thence to CHIOS, where in few daies after

after he died, of greefe of mind (as was thought) rather than of his wound, being happie if he had honourably before ended his dayes vpon the wals of CONSTANTINOPLE. *Isodorus* also the Cardinall and Legate from the Pope, disguised in simple apparrell, and being of the Turkes vnknowne, redeemed himselfe for a small ransome, as if he had been a man of no account, and so escaped: whom if *Mahomet* had knowne, he had vndoubtedly beene made shorter by the head.

The glorie of this famous citie of CONSTANTINOPLE continued many hundred yeares, commaunding a great part of the world, vntill that by ciuile discord and priuat gaine, it was by little and little so weakened, that the emperors of later times, for the maintenance of their estate, were glad to relie sometime vpon one, and sometime vpon another, yet still holding the title and state of an empire, by the space of 1121 yeares, when as (God his judgement set apart, wonderfull and shamefull it is to consider, how) it was by this Turkish king *Mahomet* so quickely taken, and the Christian empire of the East there vtterly ouerthrowne: which happened in the nine and twentieth day of May, in the yeare of our Lord 1453. *Constantinus Paleologus*, the sonne of *Helena*, and last Christian emperor, being then slaine, when he had raigned about eight years. Since which time it hath continued the imperiall seat of the Turkish emperours, and so remaineth at this day.

The potestats and cittizens of PERA, otherwise called GALATA, a cittie standing opposit against CONSTANTINOPLE, on the other side of the hauen, and then vnder the gouernment of the Genowayes, doubting to run the same course of miserie with their neighbors, sent their Orators vnto *Mahomet* (the same day that CONSTANTINOPLE was taken) offering to him the keyes of their gates, and so to become his subjects. Of which their offer *Mahomet* accepted, and sent *Zoganus* with his regiment to take possession of the citie. Who comming thither, according to *Mahomet* his commandement, there established the Turkish gouernment, confiscated the goods of all such as were fled, and vsed the rest of the citizens which stayed, with such insolencie and oppression, as that their miserie was not much lesse than theirs of CONSTANTINOPLE. And because it was doubted, that the Genowayes might by sea giue aid vnto the cittizens, if they should at any time seeke to reuolt, he caused all the wals and fortresses of the citie which were toward the land, to bee cast downe and laied euen with the ground. Thus is the fatall period of the Greeke empire run, and *Mahomet* in one day become lord of the two famous citties of CONSTANTINOPLE and PERA: the one taken by force, the other by composition. At which time the miserie of PERA was great, but that of CONSTANTINOPLE justly to bee accounted amongst the greatest calamities that euer happened to any Christian citie in the world.

Pera yeelded to the Turke.

Mahomet had of long time borne a secret grudge against *Caly-Bassa*, sometime his tutor, for that by his meanes *Amurath* his father, in the dangerous time of the Hungarian warres, had againe resumed vnto himselfe the gouernment of the Turkish kingdome, which hee had before resigned vnto him, then but young. But for as much as hee was the cheefe Bassa, and had for many yeares ruled all things at his pleasure, to the generall good liking of the people, during the raigne of old *Amurath*, and was thereby growne to bee of such wealth, credit, and authoritie, as no man had at any time obtained greater vnder any of the *Othoman* kings: *Mahomet* in the beginning of his raigne, before hee was well established in his kingdome, durst not to take reuenge of that injurie (as hee deemed it) but yet still kept it in remembrance, warily dissembling his deepe conceiued hatred, as if he had quite forgot it. Neuertheless sometime (for all his warinesse) words fell from him, whereby the warie courtiers (which as curiously weigh their princes words, as the cunning goldsmith dooth his finest gold) easily perceiued the secret grudge that stucke in his stomacke against the Bassa: and thereby deuined his fall to be at hand. So it happened one day that as *Mahomet* was walking in the court, he saw a fox of the Bassaes tied in a chaine, which after hee had a while earnestly looked vpon, hee suddainely brake into this speech: *Alas poore beast, hast thou no money to giue thy master to set thee at libertie?* out of which words, curious heads gathered much matter concerning the kings disposition towards the Bassa. This ominous surmising of the courtiers (which oftentimes proueth too true) was not vnknown vnto the Bassa himselfe, but troubled him much: wherefore to get himselfe out of the way for a season, more than for any deuotion, he tooke vpon him to goe in pilgrimage to visite the temple of the great prophet (as they tearme him) at MECHA, which amongst the Turkes is holden for a right religious and meritorious worke: hoping, that the young kings displeasure might in time be mittigated, and his mallice assuaged. But *Mahomet* perceiuing the distrust of the Bassa, and

Mahomet notably dissembleth his hatred against Caly Bassa.

whereof it proceeded, ſeemed to take knowledge thereof, and with good words comforted him vp, willing him to be of good cheere, and not to miſdoubt any thing; neither to regard the vaine ſpeech of fooliſh people, aſſuring him of his vndoubted fauour: and the more to put him out of all ſuſpition, continually ſent him rich gifts, and heaped vpon him new honors, as if of all others he had eſteemed him moſt. Vntill that now at the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE, it was diſcouered by *Lucas Leontares*, that he had intelligence with the late emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, and his letters produced. For which cauſe, or as the common report went, for the old grudge that the tyrant bare againſt him, as alſo for his great wealth, he was by *Mahomets* commandement apprehended and carried in bonds to HADRIANOPLE: where after he had with exquiſite torments been enforced to confeſſe where all his treaſures lay, he was moſt cruelly in his extreame old age executed. After whoſe death, his friends and ſeruants (which were many, for he was a man greatly beloued in court) in token of their griefe put on mourning apparell: ſo that in the court appeared a great ſhew of common ſorrow; wherewith *Mahomet* being offended, cauſed proclamation to be made, That all ſuch as did weare ſuch mourning apparell, ſhould the next day appeare before him: at which time there was not one to be ſeene about the court in that heauie attire, for feare of the tyrants diſpleaſure.

Mahomet placeth his imperiall ſeat at Conſtantinople, and is worthely accounted firſt Emperor of the Turks.

After that *Mahomet* was thus become lord of the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, as is aforeſaid; and had fully reſolued there to place his imperiall ſeat: he firſt repaired the wals and other buildings ſpoiled in the late ſiege, and by proclamations ſent forth into all parts of his dominions, gaue great priuiledges and immunities to all ſuch as ſhould come to dwel at CONSTANTINOPLE, with free libertie to exerciſe what religion or trade they pleaſed. Whereby in ſhort time that great and deſolat citie was againe well peopled, with ſuch as out of diuers countries reſorted thither: but eſpecially with the Iewiſh nation, which driuen out of other places, came thither in great numbers, and were of the Turkes gladly receiued. So when he had there eſtabliſhed all things according to his hearts deſire, he tooke vpon him the name and title of an Emperour: and is from that time not vnworthely reputed for the firſt emperour of the Turks.

Now amongſt many fair virgins taken priſoners by the Turks at the winning of CONSTANTINOPLE, was one *Irene* a Greek borne, of ſuch incomparable beautie and rare perfection, both of body & mind, as if nature had in her to the admiration of the world, laboured to haue ſhowne her greateſt skill; ſo prodigally ſhe had beſtowed vpon her, all the graces that might beautifie or commend that hir ſo curious a worke. This paragon was by him that by chance had taken her, preſented vnto the great Sultan *Mahomet* himſelfe, as a jewell ſo fit for no mans wearing as his owne: by the beautie and ſecret vertues whereof, he found himſelfe euen vpon the firſt view not a little moued. Neuertheleſſe, hauing as then his head full of troubles, and aboue all things carefull for the aſſuring of the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, by him but euen then woon; he for the preſent committed her to the charge of his Eunuch, and ſent her away, ſo to be in ſafetie kept vntill his better leiſure. But thoſe his troubles ouerblowne, and his new conqueſts well aſſured, he then began forthwith to thinke of the faire *Irene*: and for his pleaſure ſending for her, tooke in her perfections ſuch delight and contentment, as that in ſhort time he had changed ſtate with her, ſhe being become the miſtreſſe and commander of him ſo great a conqueror; and he in nothing more delighted, than in doing her the greateſt honour and ſeruice he could. All the day he ſpent with her in diſcourſe, and the night in daliance: all time ſpent in her companie, ſeemed vnto him ſhort; and without her nothing pleaſed: his fierce nature was now by her well tamed, and his wonted care of armes quite neglected: *Mars* ſlept in *Venus* lap, and now the ſoldiors might go play. Yea the verie gouernment of his eſtate and empire ſeemed to be of him, in compariſon of her, little or not at all regarded; the care thereof being by him careleſly committed to others, that ſo he might himſelfe wholy attend vpon her, in whom more than in himſelfe, the people ſaid he delighted. Such is the power of diſordered affections, where reaſon ruleth not the reine. But whileſt he thus forgetfull of himſelfe, ſpendeth in pleaſure not ſome few daies or moneths, but euen a whole yeare or two, to the lightning of his credit, and the great diſcontentment of his ſubjects in generall: the Ianizaries and other ſouldiors of the court (men deſirous of imploiment, and grieued to ſee him ſo giuen ouer vnto his affections, & to make no end thereof) began at firſt in ſecret to murmur thereat, and to ſpeake hardly of him; and at length (after their inſolent manner) ſpared not openly to ſay, That it were well done to depriue him of his gouernment and ſtate, as vnworthy thereof, and to ſet vp one of his ſonnes in his ſteed. Which

ſpeeches

ſpeeches were now growne ſo rife, and the diſcontentment of the men of warre ſo great, that it was not without cauſe by ſome of the great Baſſaes feared, whereunto this their ſo great inſolencie would grow. But who ſhould tell the tyrant thereof; whoſe frowne was in it ſelfe death? or who durſt take in hand to cure that his ſicke mind? which diſtraught with the ſweet, but poyſoned potions of loue, was not like to liſten to any good counſell, were it neuer ſo wiſely giuen: but as a man metamorphoſed, to turne his furie vpon him which ſhould preſume ſo wholeſomely (but contrarie to his good liking) to aduiſe him. Vnhappie man, whoſe great eſtate and fierce nature was not without danger to be medled or tempered with, no, not by them who of all others ought in ſo great a perill to haue beene thereof moſt carefull; but were now for feare all become ſilent and dumbe. Now amongſt other great men in the Court, was one *Muſtapha Baſſa*, a man for his good ſeruice (for that he was of a child brought vp with him) of *Mahomet* greatly fauoured, and by him alſo highly promoted; and he againe by him as his Soueraigne no leſſe honored than feared: who no leſſe than the reſt, greeued to ſee ſo great a change in the great Sultan, of whom they had conceiued no ſmall hope of greater matters than were by him as yet performed; and mooued alſo with the danger threatened vnto him by the diſcontented Ianizaries and men of warre: eſpying him at conuenient leiſure to be ſpoken vnto, and preſuming of the former credit he had with him, aduentured thus to breake with him, and to giue him warning thereof.

How dangerous a thing it is for a ſubiect or vaſſale, without leaue, preſumptuouſly to enter into the ſecrets of his dread Lord and Soueraigne, the wofull examples of others (moſt mightie Mahomet) *haue ſo ſufficiently warned me, as that were it not for the dutifull loyaltie I ow vnto your greatneſſe, far dearer vnto me than mine owne life, I would not at this time aduenture my ſelfe vnto the hazard of your doubtfull acceptance of my faithfull ſpeech and meaning; but with others keepe ſilence, and in ſecret mourne together with my heauie thoughts: which if I ſhould in ſo great a danger both of your life and empire now doe, without warning you thereof, I were not to be accounted vnworthie onely thoſe your great fauours and honours, moſt bountifully on me beſtowed; but as a moſt vile traitor both vnto your ſtate and perſon, to be of all men deteſted and abhorred. The life you haue of late led, euer ſince the taking of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *as a man careleſſe of his ſtate, and wholly wedded vnto his owne pleaſure, hath giuen occaſion not vnto the vulgar people onely (alwayes readie to ſay the worſt) and ſoldiors of the Court, the guarders of your perſon, but euen vnto the greateſt commaunders of your armies and empire, to murmure and grudge, I dare not ſay, to conſpire againſt you. Yet pardon me dread Soueraigne, if I ſhould ſo ſay, for that there is no man which with great diſcontentment maruelleth not much to ſee ſo great an alteration in your heroicall diſpoſition and nature: whereby you are become far vnlike that noble* Mahomet, *which hauing ouerthrowne the Greeke empire, and taken the great citie of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *promiſed both vnto himſelfe and others, the conqueſt of* ITALIE, *and the ſacking of* ROME, *the ſtately ſeat of the antient Romane conquerours. You haue giuen your ſelfe ouer (as they ſay) for a ſpoile and prey vnto a poore ſimple woman, your ſlaue and vaſſale, who with her beautie and allurements hath ſo bewitched your vnderſtanding and reaſon, as that you can attend nothing but her ſeruice, and the ſatisfying of your moſt paſſionate and inordinate deſires; which how much the more you cheriſh them, ſo much the more they torment and vexe you. Enter but a little into your ſelfe (I pray you) and compare the life you now lead with the like time heretofore by you ſpent in treading honors ſteps, and you ſhall find a notable difference betwixt the one and the other. Had the noble* Othoman, *the firſt raiſer of your houſe and familie, ſo giuen himſelfe ouer vnto pleaſure, you had not now inherited the countries of* BITHYNIA *and* GALATIA, *with others moe alongſt the Euxine, by him conquered. Neither had his ſonne* Orchanes *(the liuely image of his father, and follower of his vertues) by leading this kind of life, triumphed ouer* LICAONIA, PHRIGIA, *and* CARIA, *or extended the bounds of his empire ſo farre as vnto the ſtraits of* HELLESPONTVS. *What ſhould I ſpeake of* Amurath *his ſonne and ſucceſſour in the empire, who in perſon himſelfe, firſt of the* Othoman *kings, paſſed ouer into* EVROPE, *placed his imperiall ſeat at* HADRIANOPLE, *conquered* THRACIA, BVLGARIA, *and* RASCIA. *Yea* Baiazet *your great grandfather is in his misfortune to bee more than you commended, as vanquiſhed in field by the mightie* Tamerlane *with foure hundred thouſand horſemen and ſix hundred thouſand foot, and not by a ſilie woman: comforting his miſhap with the honour and greatneſſe of him by whom he was ſo ouercome. Neither may I with ſilence paſſe ouer your woorthie grandfather the noble* Mahomet, *who not contented to haue reſtored the ſhaken empire, conquered alſo a great part of* MACEDONIA, *euen to the Ionian ſea, and carying the terror of his armes ouer into*

ASIA *did great matters againſt the Caramanians and others. As for your father* Amurath *(of worthie memorie) I cannot but to my great greefe and ſorrow ſpeake of him, who by the ſpace of thirtie yeares made both the ſea and earth to quake vnder his feet, and with ſtrong hand more than once vanquiſhed the Hungarians, & brought vnder his ſubiection the countries of* PHOCIS, BEOTIA, ÆTOLIA, *with a great part of* MOREA; *and to ſpeake of him truly, brake euen the very heart & ſtrength of the Grecians, and other his fierce enemies. Let all theſe moſt famous conqueſts of your noble progenitors, whoſe worthie praiſes (as eternall trophees of their honour) are diſperſed into euery corner of the world, awake you out of this heauie Lythargie wherein you haue too long ſlept, yea, let the remembrance of the conqueſt of this imperiall citie by you to your immortall glorie woon, ſtir you vp to greater things: and let it neuer bee ſaid of you, That you were able with your ſword to ouercome your greateſt enemies, and not with reaſon to ſubdue your inordinate affections: Thinke that your greateſt conqueſt, and ſuffer not your ſelfe, ſo great a conquerour, to be led in triumph by your ſlaue. What auaileth it you to haue woon* CONSTANTINOPLE, *and to haue loſt your ſelfe? Shake off theſe golden fetters wherein the wilie Greeke hath ſo faſt bound you: which at the firſt though it ſeeme vnto you hard and painefull, yet ſhall time diſgeſt it, and make you to thinke it both good and neceſſarie for your eſtate. Weane your ſelfe from your deſires, and giue reſt vnto your troubled thoughts: which if you cannot doe at once, ſtriue by little and little to doe it: pleaſure groweth greater by the ſeldome vſe thereof, and ſatietie bringeth loathſomeneſſe. Moderat your ſelfe therefore, and againe take vp armes. Your ſoldiors if they be not employed abroad, will to your farther trouble ſet themſelues to worke at home: Idleneſſe maketh them inſolent, and want of martiall diſcipline corrupteth their manners. Hereof proceedeth their intemperat and diſloyall ſpeeches, That if you will not lead them forth for the honour and enlarging of the* Othoman *empire, as did all your moſt noble progenitors, they will ſet vp another that ſhall, euen one of your owne children. And what the common ſouldior fooliſhly ſayth, their great commaunders malitiouſly purpoſe: which what a confuſion it would bring vnto the whole ſtate of your empire, together with the danger of your royall perſon, I abhorre to thinke. Wherefore it is time, it is now high time for you to ſhew your ſelfe, and with the maieſtie of your preſence to repreſſe their tumultuous inſolencie, before it breake farther out. Rebellions are by far, more eaſily preuented, than in their heat appeaſed. The diſcontented multitude is a wild beaſt with many heads; which once enraged, is not a little to be feared, or without danger to be tamed: yet doe you but ſhew your ſelfe maſter of your owne affections, and you ſhall eaſily maſter them alſo. But what is fit for you to doe, beſeemeth me not for to ſay: yes pardon me, I beſeech you, that I haue thus much (contrarie perhaps to your good liking) alreadie ſaid; I prouoked (by what diuine inſpiration I know not) euen halfe againſt my will, to diſcouer vnto you the ſecret of my heart, and to lay open vnto you thoſe things, which others knowing as well as I, doe yet for feare keepe the ſame from you. And if I haue gone too farre, or in any thing that I haue ſaid, forgot my ſelfe, impute the ſame (my dread Soueraigne) vnto the Zeale of my loue and loyaltie towards you, or vnto my fidelitie ſo often by you tried, or to our antient education (the ground of your affection towards me) or to what els ſhall pleaſe you, rather than to my preſumption; from which, how farre I haue alwayes been, I appeale euen to your maieſties owne knowledge.*

Hauing thus ſaid, he fell downe at his feet, as there to receiue the heauie doome of his ſo free ſpeech, if it ſhould bee otherwiſe than well taken of the angrie Sultan: who all this while with great attention and many a ſterne looke had hearkened vnto all that the Baſſa had ſaid: for well he knew it to be all true; and that in ſo ſaying, he had but diſcharged the part of a truſtie & faithfull ſeruant, carefull of his maſters honour. But yet the beautie of the Greeke was ſtill ſo fixed in his heart, and the pleaſure he tooke in her, ſo great, as that to thinke of the leauing of her, bred in him many a troubled thought. Hee was at warre with himſelfe, as in his often changed countenance well appeared: reaſon calling vpon him, for his honour; and his amorous affections, ſtill ſuggeſting vnto him new delights. Thus toſſed too and fro (as a ſhip with contrarie winds) and withall conſidering the danger threatened to his eſtate if he ſhould longer follow thoſe his pleaſures, ſo much diſpleaſing vnto his men of warre, hee reſolued vpon a ſtrange point, whereby at once to cut off all thoſe his troubled paſsions; and withall, to ſtrike a terrour euen into the ſtouteſt of them that had before condemned him, as vnable to gouerne his owne ſo paſsionate affections. Whereupon with countenance well declaring his inward diſcontentment, hee ſaid vnto the Baſſa, yet proſtrate at his feet:

Although thou haſt vnreuerently ſpoken, as a ſlaue preſuming to enter into the greateſt ſecrets of thy

thy ſouereigne (not without offence to be of thee once thought vpon) and therefore deſerueſt well to die; yet for that thou waſt of a child brought vp togither with me, and haſt euer been vnto me faithfull, I for this time pardon thee: and before to morrow the ſunne go downe, will make it knowne both to thee, and others of the ſame opinion with thee, whether I be able to bridle mine affections or not. Take order in the meane time that all the Baſſaes, and the chiefe commanders of my men of warre be aſſembled togither to morrow, there to know my farther pleaſure; whereof faile you not.

So the Baſſa being departed, he after his wonted manner went in vnto the Greeke, and ſolacing himſelfe all that day and the night following with her, made more of her than euer before: and the more to pleaſe her, dined with her; commanding, that after dinner ſhe ſhould be attired with more ſumptuous apparell than euer ſhe had before worne: and for the further gracing of her, to be deckt with many moſt precious jewels of ineſtimable valour. Whereunto the poore ſoule gladly obeyed, little thinking that it was her funerall apparell. Now in the meane while, *Muſtapha* (altogither ignorant of the Sultans mind) had as he was commanded, cauſed all the nobilitie, and commanders of the men of warre, to be aſſembled into the great hall: euerie man much marueiling, what ſhould be the emperors meaning therein, who had not of long ſo publikely ſhewed himſelfe. But being thus togither aſſembled, and euerie man according as their minds gaue them, talking diuerſly of the matter: behold, the Sultan entred into the pallace leading the faire Greeke by the hand; who beſide her incomparable beautie and other the greateſt graces of nature, adorned alſo with all that curioſitie could deuiſe, ſeemed not now to the beholders a mortal wight, but ſome of the ſtately goddeſſes, whom the Poets in their extacies deſcribe. Thus comming togither into the midſt of the hall, and due reuerence vnto them done by al them there preſent; he ſtood ſtill with the faire lady in his left hand, and ſo furiouſly looking round about him, ſaid vnto them: *I vnderſtand of your great diſcontentment, and that you all murmur and grudge, for that I, ouercome with mine affection towards this ſo faire a paragon, cannot withdraw my ſelfe from her preſence: But I would faine know which of you there is ſo temperat, that if he had in his poſſeſſion a thing ſo rare and precious, ſo louely and ſo faire, would not be thrice aduiſed before he would forgo the ſame? Say what you thinke: in the word of a Prince I giue you free libertie ſo to doe.* But they all rapt with an incredible admiration to ſee ſo faire a thing, the like whereof they had neuer before beheld, ſaid all with one conſent, That he had with greater reaſon ſo paſſed the time with her, than any man had to find fault therewith. Whereunto the barbarous prince anſwered: *Well, but now I will make you to vnderſtand how far you haue been deceiued in me, and that there is no earthly thing that can ſo much blind my ſences, or bereaue me of reaſon as not to ſee and vnderſtand what beſeemeth my high place and calling: yea I would you ſhould all know, that the honor and conqueſts of the* Othoman *kings my noble progenitors, is ſo fixed in my breſt, with ſuch a deſire in my ſelfe to exceed the ſame, as that nothing but death is able to put it out of my remembrance.* And hauing ſo ſaid, preſently with one of his hands catching the faire Greeke by the haire of the head, and drawing his falchion with the other, at one blow ſtrucke off her head, to the great terror of them all. And hauing ſo done, ſaid vnto them: *Now by this iudge whether your emperour is able to bridle his affections or not.* And within a while after, meaning to diſcharge the reſt of his choller, cauſed great preparation to be made for the conqueſt of PELOPONESVS, and the beſieging of BELGRADE.

At the ſame time that the barbarous Turkes tooke the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE; *Thomas* and *Demetrius Paleologi*, brethren to the late vnfortunat emperour *Conſtantinus*, gouerned a great part of PELOPONESVS, one of the moſt famous prouinces of GRÆCIA: which in forme of a leafe of a Plane tree, is almoſt in manner of an Iland, enuironed with the ſeas Ionium and Ægeum, which running farre into the land on either ſide thereof, ſeparateth the ſame from the reſt of GRÆCIA, by two great bayes, leauing but a ſtraight necke of land, called of the Greeks ISTMOS, in breadth about fiue miles, which was ſometime by the Græcians, and afterward by the Venetians, fortified by a ſtrong wall, and fiue great caſtles: neare vnto which place ſtood the great and famous citie of CORINTH. This prouince is in length 175 miles, and almoſt as much in breadths; wherin are contained the countries of ACHAIA, MESSENIA, LACEDEMONIA, ARGOLICA, and ARCHADIA; with many famous cities and goodly hauens, wherein it far exceedeth all the other prouinces of GRÆCIA. Theſe two princes *Thomas* and *Demetrius*, diſmaied with their brothers diſaſter fortune, began now ſo farre to diſpaire of their own eſtate, that vpon the firſt brute thereof, they were about preſently to haue fled by ſea into ITALY. And as it commonly falleth out, That one euill happeneth not alone; ſo at the ſame time it fortuned, that

the Albanians rise in armes against the said two princes their soueraigns: and vnder the leading of their rebellious captaine *Emanuel Catecuzenus*, grieuously troubled both the poore princes. These Albanians were a rough and hardie kind of people, which liuing after the manner of the rude Scythian heardsmen, by feeding of cattell, had of long time planted themselues in PELOPONESVS; differing from the naturall Greekes, both in the manner of their liuing and language: which diuersitie was no small cause that they oftentimes spurned, as now, against the gouernment of the Græcian princes. In this extremitie, the two distressed princes (not well knowing which
1454 way to turne themselues) sought for peace at *Mahomets* hands, offering to become his tributaries. Of which their offer he willingly accepted, as an induction to the full conquest of that countrey; and sent *Turachan* gouernour of THESSALIA, one of his greatest men of warre, with an army into PELOPONESVS, to aid those princes against the Albanians: by whose industrie the masterfull rebels were in short time discomfited, and the countrey of PELOPONESVS quieted; yet so, that it was now become tributarie to the Turkish king.

These two princes *Demetrius* and *Thomas*, the last of all the Christian princes that raigned in PELOPONESVS, hauing thus lost their libertie, liued for a few yeares as the Turkes vassales; paying such yearely tribute as they had before promised. During which time, many displeasures arose betwixt the two brothers, being both jealous of their estate, and desirous by all plausible meanes to win the hearts of their subjects one from another: whereby it came so to passe, that whiles they both desired to become popular, they weakned their owne credit, and had not their subjects at such commaund as best stood with the safetie of their estate. Neuertheless as soon as they vnderstood that the Christian princes of the West were making great preparation against the Turke; and that *Calixtus* the third of that name (then the bishop of ROME) had already put a fleet of gallies to sea, which did great spoile vpon the bordets of the Turkes dominions; they vainly persuading themselues that the Turkes would in short time be againe driuen out of GRECIA, refused to pay any more tribute vnto the Turkish king, or to keepe league any longer with him. Vpon which occasion, *Mahomet* with a puissant army came downe and first besieged CORINTH, and afterwards entring into PELOPONESVS tooke diuers strong townes, and destroied the countrey before him: and forced the two princes for safegard of their liues to flie, the one to MANTINIA, and the other into the strong cittie of EPIDAVRVS, now called RAGVSIVM. The poore princes destitute of such aid as they expected, and altogither vnable to withstand the power of the mightie tyrant, began againe to sue for peace: which he, hauing now spoiled their countrey, granted vpon condition, That all such places as he had already taken, should be still his owne; and also that the citie of PATRAS with the countrey adjoyning, should be deliuered vnto him; and that for the rest, the said princes should pay vnto him a yearly tribute: which hard conditions the poore princes, now in danger to loose all, were glad to accept of: whereupon a peace was for that time againe concluded.

Thomas and Demetrius rebell against Mahomet, and are by him spoiled of part of their dominion.

In his returne he tooke the citie of ATHENS in his way, which he not long before had taken from *Francus Acciauoli* by composition (by meanes of *Omares* the sonne of *Turachan*, one of his great captains) promising to giue him the countrey of BEOTIA with the citie of THEBES in lieu thereof. This *Francus* was nephew to *Nerius*, sometime prince of ATHENS, and had of long time been brought vp in the Turks court, as one of *Mahomet* his minions; and was of him (as was supposed) entirely beloued. But when he had receiued the dukedome of THEBES, in exchange for his princely state of ATHENS, he was shortly after, as if it had been in great friendship sent by *Mahomet* to *Zoganus*, his lieutenant in PELOPONESVS: by whom he was at first courteously entertained, but afterwards being about to depart, he was (according as *Mahomet* had before commanded) suddenly staied, and when he least feared, cruelly murdred.

About three yeares after the peace before concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and the two brethren, *Mahomet* vnderstanding that the Christian kings and princes had combined themselues against him, with a purpose to driue him againe out of GRÆCIA: thought it now high time, and much for the assurance of his estate, to roote vp the small reliques of the Grecian empire, which yet remained in PELOPONESVS in the two princes of the imperiall bloud, *Thomas* and *Demetrius*: whereunto he saw a faire occasion presented. For asmuch as those two brethren were at that time at great variance betwixt themselues, neither paied him such tribute as they had before promised: hereupon he with a great and strong army came to CORINTH, where *Arsanes* a noble man of great authoritie and power in that countrey, whose sister *Demetrius* had married, came vnto him from

Mahomet commeth againe into Peloponesus.

from the prince his brother in law, attended vpon with many gallant gentlemen, his followers, of purpose to aid him against the other prince *Thomas*, nothing fearing any harme to haue been by the Turke intended against himselfe or his brother in law *Demetrius*, whom they both reckoned of as of a friend. But when *Mahomet* was entered into PELOPONESVS, and come to TEGEA, he caused the same *Asanes*, with all his cheefe followers, to be laied hold vpon, and cast into bonds: knowing (as it should seeme) no man for friend, which might any way hinder his ambitious designes.

Demetrius hearing what was happened vnto *Asanes*, fled to SPARTA, now called MIZITHRA: whether *Mahomet* in few dayes after came and laied siege to the citie. But the poor prince considering, that he must needs at length fall into his hands, went out of the cittie, and humbly submitted himselfe with all that he had into his power. Which so well pleased the Turkish tyrant, that hee courteously receiued him, comforted him, and promised him in stead of SPARTA to giue him other lands and possessions of like value elsewhere: Neuertheless, hee committed him to safe custodie, and carried him about with him as his prisoner, vntill hee had finished those warres. After he had taken SPARTA, he besieged CASTRIA, where he lost diuers of his Ianizaries: for which cause, when he had taken the citie, he put all the souldiours therein to the sword, and cut the captaines ouerthwart in two peeces. From thence he marched to LEONTARIVM, called in antient time MEGALOPOLIS, which he tooke; with another cittie called CARDICEA, whither they of LEONTARIVM had before conueyed their wiues and children, as to a place of more safetie. There he cruelly put to death all the inhabitants of those cities, men, women, and children, in number about six thousand, of whom he left not one aliue: and yet not so satisfied, commaunded the very beasts and cattell of those places to bee killed. Many cities of PELOPONESVS terrified with the dreadfull example of their neighbours, forthwith yeelded themselues: and amongst others SALVARIVM, a great and strong citie of ARCHADIA; where hee caused all the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to the number of ten thousand, to be cast into bonds, looking for nothing but present death: all which he commaunded afterwards to be sent captiues to CONSTANTINOPLE, and with them peopled the suburbes of that citie. After that, he by the counsell of *Demetrius*, sent one of his captaines called *Iosua*, with certaine companies of Greeke souldiors, vnto the strong citie of EPIDAVRVS, to commaund them in the name of the prince, to deliuer vnto him the citie, with the prince his wife and daughter, which lay there. But the Gouernour trusting vnto the strength of the citie, refused to deliuer the same: yet suffred the princesse with her daughter to depart out of the citie, being willing to goe to her husband; whom the captaine hauing receiued, returned, and presented them to *Mahomet*. By whose commaundement they were presently sent into BEOTIA, there to attend his returne towards CONSTANTINOPLE, and an Eunuch appointed to take charge of the young ladie, who had so warmed *Mahomets* affection, that he tooke her afterwards to his wife. At the same time hee also subdued the most part of ACHAIA and ELIS, by *Zoganus Bassa* his lieutenant: whether hee came not long after himselfe, and laied siege to the citie of SALMENICA, which for lacke of water was at length yeelded vnto him: but the castle was by the space of a whole yeare after valiantly defended against the Turks left to besiege it, by *Thomas* the prince: of whom *Mahomet* afterwards gaue this commendation, That in the great countrey of PELOPONESVS hee had found many slaues, but neuer a man but him. This valiant prince seeing the miserable ruine of his countrey, and the state thereof vtterly forlorne, after he had most notably endured a yeares siege in the castle of SALMENICA, got to sea, and so arriued in ITALIE: where trauelling to ROME, hee was honourably receiued by *Pius Secundus*, then bishop there: who during his life, allowed him a large pension for the maintenance of his state. Thus *Mahomet* hauing thrust both the Grecian princes out of their dominions, and subdued all PELOPONESVS (excepting such strong townes and castles, as bordering vpon the sea coast were yet holden by the Venetians) left *Zoganus Bassa* his lieutenant to gouerne that new conquered prouince, and with great triumph returned himselfe towards CONSTANTINOPLE, carrying away with him *Demetrius* the prince, with his wife and daughter, and many other noble prisoners. But after he was come to HADRIANOPLE, and placed in his royall seat, he remooued the Eunuch from the faire young ladie, and tooke charge of her himselfe. As for *Demetrius* her father, hee gaue to him the cittie ÆNVM, with the custome arising of the salt there made, as a pension for him to liue vpon. Thus this most famous and populous countrey of PELOPONESVS fell into the Turkish thraldome, about the yeare of our Lord 1460, seuen years after

Demetrius submitteth himselfe to Mahomet.

Peloponesus subdued by the Turke.

after the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE. Which I haue here togither set downe, as it is reported by them who liued in that time, and in the same countries: omitting of purpose other great occurrents of the same time (which shall also in conuenient place be hereafter declared) to the intent that the fall of that great Empire, with the common miserie of the delicate Græcians, might appeare vnder one view; which otherwise being deliuered by peecemeale, as it did concurre with other great accidents according to the course of time, would but breed confusion, and require the Readers greater attention.

The Christian princes, especially such as bordered vpon the dominions of the Turkish tyrant, were no lesse terrified than troubled with the subuersion of the Constantinopolitane empire: for they saw by the continuall preparation of the Turk, that his ambitious desires were rather encreased, than in any part satisfied with his so great and late victories. Wherefore they with all carefulnesse fortified their frontier towns, and prouided all things necessarie for defence of themselues, and for the repulsing of so mightie an enemy. Amongst the rest, *George* the old Despot, or prince of SERVIA (whose dominions of all others lay most in danger of that tempest) speedily mustred his men of warre, fortified his strong cities, placed his garrisons, and left nothing vndone, that he thought needfull for the defence of his countrey: for he had many times before to his great losse, endured the furie of the Turkish kings, although he were joyned vnto them in the bonds of neerest allyance. And hauing thus politikely set all things in order at home, in person himselfe tooke his journey into HVNGARIE, from thence to procure aid against such time as he should haue need. But the Hungarians, and especially *Huniades* (who at that time bare greatest sway in that kingdome) hauing before had sufficient triall of the vncertainty and light faith of that aged prince, who had so often fashioned himselfe according to the occurrents of the time, that he was accounted neither right Turke, nor good Christian; refused to promise him any aid, but left him to his owne fortunes: wherewith he returned discontented, and full of indignation. But shortly after he was come home, he died of an hurt receiued in a skirmish with *Michaell Zilugo*, gouernor of BELGRADE: whose brother *Ladislaus* he had but a little before trecherously murdred, as he was trauailing by wagon to BELGRADE with his said brother *Michael*, who at the same time hardly escaped. This was the end of *George* Despot of SERVIA, when he had liued nintie yeares: in which time of his long life, he had plentifully tasted of both fortunes. A man assuredly of great courage, but of a maruellous vnquiet nature: by profession a Christian, yet a great friend vnto the Turkes, whom he many times stood in great steed: a deepe dissembler, and double in all his dealings; whereby he purchased vnto himselfe that credit, that he was not of any his neighbour princes whilest he liued, either beloued or trusted; and after his death, of his subiects so detested, that the people of that countrey euen at this day in their countrey songs, still tearme him, The faithlesse and graceless Despot. *Lazarus* his youngest son, after his death succeeded in his place; hauing depriued both his elder brethren (*Stephen* and *George*) of the gouernment: for *Amurath* the Turkish king had long time before put out their eies, of purpose to make them vnfit for the gouernment of so great a countrey: yet these blind princes found meanes to flie away from him to *Mahomet*, carrying with them a great masse of money; and so incited him against *Lazarus* their younger brother, that to keepe friendship with the tyrant, he was glad to promise vnto him a great yearely tribute, and so to become his tributarie. But within few moneths after, *Lazarus* died, the last Christian prince that raigned in SERVIA: after whose death, great troubles arose in SERVIA for the soueraignte: The blind brethren still crauing aid of *Mahomet*, with whom they then liued; and the desolate widow of *Lazarus*, putting her selfe with her three sons, *Iohn*, *Peter*, and *Martin*, into the protection of the Hungarians: by which means she with much trouble held her state for a season. Vntill such time as that the Seruians, seeing small assurance in that manner of gouernment, and wearie of the harmes they daily receiued of the Turkes; yeelded themselues with their countrey, vnto the obedience of the Turkish emperour *Mahomet*, who for euer vnited the same vnto his empire as a prouince thereof, and so it remaineth at this day.

The death of George, Despot of Servia.

Servia yeelded to the Turke.

Now was *Mahomet* by the continuall course of his victories, growne to that height of mind, that he thought no prince able to abide his forces; neither any enterprise so great, which he was not of power to bring to passe: wherefore he ceased not on euerie side continually to vex and trouble the princes, whose countries bordered vpon his. But aboue others, his heart was greatest against the Hungarians: for that by them the Turkish kings his auncestors, had been more troubled, and their state more endangered, than by any or all other the Christian princes. Wherefore

fore he reſolued now to take them in hand; which thing he had from the beginning of his raign greatly deſired. And becauſe the citie of BELGRADE ſtanding vpon the great riuer of Danubius, was accounted the key of that countrey, he determined there to begin his warres, and by taking thereof to make an entrance into the heart of HVNGARIE. Hereupon he leuied a great armie of an hundred and fiftie thouſand of his beſt ſouldiours; in whom he repoſed ſuch an aſſured truſt and confidence, that he accounted the citie already as good as taken, and a faire way made into HVNGARIE: ſo ready are we to promiſe vnto our ſelues, the things we earneſtly deſire. For the better accompliſhment of theſe his deſigns, he had prouided in readineſſe a fleet of 200 ſhips and gallies, which he ſent vp the riuer of Danubius from VIDINA to BELGRADE, to the intent that no reliefe or aid ſhould be brought vnto the citie out of HVNGARIE, by the great riuers of Danubius and Sauus, whereupon the citie of BELGRADE ſtandeth. With this fleet he kept both thoſe riuers ſo ſtraitly, that nothing could poſsibly be conuaied into the citie by water: and not ſo contented, ſent part of his ſaid fleet farther vp the riuer of Danubius, and ſo landing his ſouldiours in many places, ſpoiled the countrey all alongſt the riuers ſide. Shortly after he came with all his forces by land, and encamped before the citie: whereunto at his firſt comming he gaue a moſt fierce aſſault, thinking to haue taken them vnprouided: but finding greater reſiſtance than he had before imagined, and that the Hungarians were ready to skirmiſh with them without the wals, he begun to proceed more warily, and entrenched his army: and to prouide for the ſafetie therof, by caſting vp of deep trenches & ſtrong rampiers, againſt the ſudden ſallies of his enemies: and after, planting his batterie, began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the wals with his great artillerie. By the furie whereof, he ouerthrew a part thereof, and laid it flat with the ground: which the defendants with great induſtrie and labour ſpeedily repaired, by caſting vp of new fortifications and rampiers, in ſuch ſort, that it was rather ſtronger than before.

Belgrade beſieged.

In the meane time *Huniades* (not to be named without the addition of a moſt worthy captaine) being then Generall for the Hungarians, ſent a fleet of ſhips and gallies, wel appointed with all warlike prouiſion, downe the riuer of Danubius from BVDA: which encountring with the Turkes fleet, tooke twentie ſaile of them, and ſo diſcomfited the reſt, that they were glad to run themſelues on ground neere vnto the kings campe. All which were by *Mahomets* commandement preſently ſet on fire, becauſe they ſhould not come into the power of the Hungarians. By this meanes the Chriſtians became maſters of both the riuers of Danubius and Sauus; and ſo at their pleaſure, by water conuaied into the citie all things needfull for the defence thereof. *Huniades* alſo himſelfe, with fiue thouſand valiant ſouldiours, and *Io. Capiſtranus* a Minorite frier (by whoſe perſuaſion fortie thouſand voluntarie Chriſtians out of GERMANIE, BOHEMIA, and HVNGARIE were come to that warre) entred into the citie that way with their ſouldiours and followers.

The Turks fleet ouerthrown by the Chriſtians.

Mahomet reſolutely ſet down for the winning of the citie, had with continuall batterie made the ſame at length ſaultable; and ſo determined the next day to giue a generall aſſault, appointing which part of the wall euerie Colonell with his regiment ſhould aſſaile. But as they were with great diligence and greater ſtirre, preparing all things needfull for the next daies ſeruice: it fortuned, that *Carazies Baſſa*, *Mahomet* his lieutenant generall in EVROPE, and his beſt man of warre, was by chance ſlaine with a great ſhot out of the towne. With whoſe death, *Mahomet* was exceedingly troubled, as with an ominous token of the euill which afterwards enſued vnto him and his whole army. For all that, proſecuting his former determination, the next day early in the morning he commanded the aſſault to be giuen: and with the dreadful ſound of trumpets, drums, cornets, and other inſtruments of warre, brought on his Ianizaries to the breach; who as couragious ſouldiours fiercely aſſailed the ſame, and without any great reſiſtance, entred both there and in diuers other places of the citie; reckoning the ſame, to be now their owne. For *Huniades* hauing before ſtored euerie corner of the citie with his moſt valiant and expert ſouldiours, had taken order that the defendants, vpon the firſt charge of the Ianizaries, ſhould forſake their ſtations, and as men diſcouraged, retire towards the citie: of purpoſe to draw the fierce enemies faſter on, to their farther deſtruction; and vpon a ſigne giuen to ſet vpon them on freſh, and to repaire vnto their former places of defence. Which was accordingly done: ſo that as ſoone as the Ianizaries, with other of the Turkes moſt forward ſouldiors, were in great numbers entered, vpon the retiring of the defendants, and the ſigne before appointed in the citie giuen, the defendants, as men ſuddenly changed, turning againe, fiercely charged the Turkes which were entred,

Carazies Baſſa ſlaine.

Belgrade aſſaulted by the Turks.

The Turke is notably repulsed.

tred contrarie to their expectation: and the valiant *Huniades*, at the same time issuing out on G
euerie side with his most resolute souldiors, so oppressed the Turkes, that few of them that were entred escaped with life, but were there in the cittie either slaine or taken prisoners; and the rest with exceeding slaughter beaten from the wals. Presently after, *Huniades* in this confusion of the Turks, strengthned with the souldiors which came with *Capistranus* the frier, made a sallie out of the towne, and set vpon the Turks appointed for the defence of the great ordinance; which was with such resolution performed, that the Turks were glad with great slaughter to forsake their charge, and to leaue the ordinance to their enemies.

The Turkish tyrant sore troubled and throughly chafed with the losse of his great ordinance, couragiously charged the Hungarians afresh, to haue recouered the same againe: but was so valiantly repulsed by *Huniades*, and so beaten with the murthering shot out of the citie, that he was H
glad when he had got him out of the danger thereof into his trenches. *Huniades* also retiring, turned the ordinance he had lately woon, vpon the Turks campe, and with the same did them no small harme.

In this hurle, a great part of the Christian army (which then lay on the other side of Danubius) was speedily transported ouer the riuer; and making no stay in the citie, joyned themselues with *Huniades*, then lying without the wals of the citie. Who notably strengthned with this new supply, assailed the Turkes trenches, as if he would euen presently haue entered their campe: at which his presumption, the proud tyrant (neuer before so braued) disdaining, went out of his trenches, and valiantly encountring him, beat him backe againe to the great ordinance; from whence he was againe by the Christians driuen to his trenches. Which manner of doubtfull and dreadfull fight, was on both sides notably maintained, vntill the day was almost spent: victorie with indifferent wings, houering now ouer the one side, now ouer the other. I

Mahomet wounded, and carried away for dead.

In these hote skirmishes and conflicts, *Chasanes* captaine of the Ianizaries, with many other valiant men were slaine. And *Mahomet* himselfe performing the part as well of a couragious souldiour as of a worthy chieftaine, was sore wounded vnder his left pappe; so that he was taken vp for dead and so carried into his pauilion, to the great discomfiture of his whole army. But comming againe vnto himselfe, and considering that he had in that siege lost his whole fleet, his great ordinance, with most part of his best souldiors, and yet in no possibilitie of the towne: secretly in the night arose with his army, and with great silence shamefully departed; still looking K
behind him when the Hungarians should haue pursued him into SERVIA, or haue troubled him vpon his way towards CONSTANTINOPLE. At this siege (beside many of his best captaines and chiefe commanders) were slaine fortie thousand of his best souldiours. The losse that he there sustained was so great, and so stucke in his mind, that euer after during his life, when he had occasion to speake of that siege, he would shake his head and sigh deeply, and many times wish, That he had neuer seene that citie, whereat both he and his father had receiued so great dishonour. Many were of opinion, that if *Huniades* had there had his horsmen on that side of Danubius to haue presently pursued the fearfull enemy, that the whole army of the Turkes might haue there been ouerthrown. This notable victorie was obtained against the Turke the sixt of August in the yeare of our Lord 1456. L

The death of the most famous captaine Huniades.

Shortly after, this most valiant and renowmed captaine *Huniades*, worthy of immortall praise, died of hurt taken in these warres; or as some others write, of the plague, which was then rife in HVNGARIE: who when he felt himselfe in danger of death, desired to receiue the sacrament before his departure, and would in any case (sicke as he was) be carried to the Church to receiue the same; saying, That it was not fit, that the Lord should come to the house of his seruant; but the seruant rather to go to the house of his Lord and master. He was the first Christian captaine that shewed the Turkes were to be ouercome; and obtained more great victories against them than any one of the Christian princes before him. He was vnto that barbarous people a great terror, and with the spoile of them beautified his countrey: and now dying, was by the Hungarians honourably buried at ALBA IVLIA, in S. *Stephens* church: his death being M
greatly lamented of all good men of that age.

Mahomet the Turkish emperour, no lesse desirous to extend his empire with the glorie of his name, by sea than by land; shortly after the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE put a great fleet to sea, wherewith he surprised diuers Ilands in the ÆGEVM, and hardly besieged the cittie of the

RHODES.

RHODES. At which time, *Calixtus* the third, then bishop of ROME, aided by the Genowaies (for the grudge they bare against the Turkes for the taking of PERA) put to sea a fleet of sixteene tall ships and gallies well appointed, vnder the conduct of *Lodouicus*, patriarch of AQVILIA; who with that fleet scoured the seas, and recouered againe from the Turkes the Island of LEMNOS, with diuers other small Islands thereabout: and encountering with the Turkes fleet neere vnto the Island of the RHODES, at a place called the Burrow of S. *Paule*, discomfited them, sinke and tooke diuers of their gallies, and forced them to forsake the RHODES. After which victorie at sea, hee for the space of three yeares, with his gallies, at his pleasure spoiled the frontiers of the Turks dominions all alongst the sea coast of the lesser ASIA, and wonderfully terrified the effeminate people of those countries: and so at length returned home, carrying away with him many prisoners and much rich spoile.

After that *Mahomet* was thus shamefully driuen from the siege of BELGRADE, and his fleet at sea discomfited (as is before declared) hee began with great diligence to make new preparation against the next Spring to subdue the Isles of the ÆGEVM, especially those which lay neare vnto PELOPONESVS. But whilest he was busie in these cogitations, in the meane time embassadours from *Vsun-Cassanes* the great Persian king, arriued at CONSTANTINOPLE, with diuerse rich presents sent to him from the said king. Where among other things, they presented vnto him a paire of playing tables, wherein the men and dice were of great and rich precious stones of inestimable worth, and the workmanship nothing inferiour to the matter: which the embassadours for ostentation said, That *Vsun-Cassanes* found in the treasures of the Persian king, whom he had but a little before slaine and bereft of his kingdome, and had there beene left long before by the mightie conquerour *Tamerlane*. Together with these presents, they deliuered their embassage, the effect whereof was, That those two mightie princes might joyne and liue together in amitie: and that whereas *Dauid* the emperor of TRAPEZONDE, had promised to pay vnto *Mahomet* a yearely tribute, enforced thereunto by *George* his lieutenant in ASIA; he should not now looke for any such thing: for as much as that empire after the death of the emperour then liuing, should of right belong vnto *Vsun-Cassanes*, in right of his wife, who was the daughter of *Calo-Ioannes*, the elder brother of *Dauid* the emperour, then liuing: And further requiring him, from that time not to trouble or molest the said emperour his friend and neere alliance, so should hee find him his faithfull and kind confederat: otherwise it was (as they said) in his choice to draw vpon himselfe the heauie displeasure of a most mightie enemie. *Mahomet* before enuying at the rising of the Persian king, and now disdaining such peremptorie requests, little differing from proud commaunds; in great choller dismissed the embassadours with this short answere: That he would ere long be in ASIA himselfe in person, to teach *Vsan-Cassanes* what to request of a greater than himselfe. This vnkindnesse was the beginning and ground of the mortall wars which afterwards ensued between these two, then the greatest princes of the East, as shall be hereafter more at large declared. The embassadours being departed, and *Mahomets* fleet of an hundred and fiftie saile readie to put to sea, hee altered his former determination for the Islands of the ÆGEVM (which after the losse of CONSTANTINOPLE had for the most part put themselues vnder the protection of the Venetians) and commanded his admirall with that fleet to take his course through the straits of Bosphorus into the great Euxine sea (now called the blacke sea) and so sailing alongst the coast to come to anker before SINOPE, the cheefe citie of PAPHLAGONIA, and there to expect his comming thither with his armie by land. This great citie of SINOPE standeth pleasantly vpon a point of the maine which runneth a great way into the Euxine, sometime the metropoliticall citie of that prouince: but as then, with CASTAMONA and all the countrey thereabout, was vnder the gouernement of *Ismael*, a Mahometane prince: vpon whom *Mahomet* had now bent his forces, for no other cause than that he was in league with *Vsun-Cassan*, the Persian king. Now with great expedition had *Mahomet* leuied a strong armie, and passing therwith ouer into ASIA, was come before he was looked for, to SINOPE. *Ismael* seeing himselfe so suddainely beset both by sea and land in his strongest citie, although he wanted nothing needfull for his defence, hauing in the citie foure hundred peeces of great artillerie, and ten thousand souldiours: yet doubting to be able with that strength to endure the siege, offered to yeeld vp the citie to *Mahomet*, with all the rest of his dominion, vpon condition, That he should freely giue him in lieu thereof the citie of PHILIPPOPOLIS in THRACIA, with the countrey therevnto adjoyning. Of which his offer *Mahomet* accepted: and so taking possession of SINOPE, with the strong citie of CASTA-

MONA,

1461

Vsun Cassanes Persian king sendeth embassadours with presents to Mahomet.

Mahomet inuadeth Ismael, prince of Sinope.

MONA, and all the reſt of the princes territorie, ſent him away with all his things to PHILIPPOPOLIS, as he had promiſed. This *Iſmael* was the laſt of the honourable houſe of the *Iſfendiars*, who had long time raigned at HERACLEA and CASTAMONA in PONTVS. From SINOPE he marched on forward with his armie to TRAPEZOND. This famous citie ſtandeth alſo vpon the ſide of the Euxine or Blacke ſea in the country of PONTVS, where the emperors of CONSTANTINOPLE had alwayes their deputies, whileſt that empire flouriſhed and commaunded the Eaſt part of the world, as farre as PARTHIA: but after it began againe to decline (as all worldly things haue but their time) one *Iſaack* (whoſe father, emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE, the Conſtantinopolitanes had for his euill gouernment ſlaine) flying to TRAPEZOND, tooke vpon him the gouernment of that citie, with the countries of PONTVS and CAPADOCIA, and many other great prouinces, and was at firſt called the king of TRAPEZOND: but after hee was well eſtabliſhed in that gouernment, both he and his ſucceſſours tooke vpon them the name and title of emperours; which they maintained equally, if not better, than the late Conſtantinopolitane emperours, and therefore are of moſt accounted for emperours. Hee that then raigned, was called *Dauid Comnenus:* which moſt honourable familie of the *Comneni* had long time before raigned in CONSTANTINOPLE; and out of the ſame were many other great princes deſcended, which ruled in diuers places of MACEDONIA, EPIRVS, and GRÆCIA. *Mahomet* comming to TRAPEZOND, laied hard ſiege vnto the ſame by the ſpace of thirtie dayes both by ſea and land, & burnt the ſuburbs thereof, as he had before at SINOPE. The fearefull emperour diſmayed with the preſence of ſo mightie an enemie, and the ſight of ſo puiſſant an armie, offered to yeeld vnto him the citie with his whole empire, vpon condition, That hee ſhould take his daughter to wife, and deliuer vnto him ſome other prouince, which might yeeld him ſuch yearely profit as might ſuffice for the honourable maintenance of his ſtate. *Mahomet* perceiuing the weakeneſſe of his enemie by his large offers, refuſed to accept therof, and attempted by force to haue taken the citie: which not ſorting to his deſire, the matter was againe brought to parle: where after long debating too and fro, it was at laſt agreed vpon, That the emperour vpon the faith of the Turkiſh king for his ſafe returne, ſhould in perſon meet him without the cittie, if happily ſo ſome good attonement might be made betwixt them. Whereupon the emperour following the Turkes faith before ſolemnly giuen for his ſafe returne, as was before agreed, went out of the citie to meet him, in hope to haue made ſome good agreement with him: but as ſoone as hee was come out, *Mahomet* according to the damnable & helliſh doctrine of his falſe prophet (That faith is not to be kept with Chriſtians) preſently cauſed the emperour to be caſt into bonds, and ſo to be detained as priſoner. Which when it was bruted in the citie, the citizens vtterly diſcouraged, without farther reſiſtance yeelded themſelues with the citie into his power.

Trapezond beſieged by Mahomet.

Trapezond yeelded vnto the Turke.

Mahomet now lord of TRAPEZOND, entring the citie, tooke priſoners the emperors daughter, with all the reſt of his children and kindred, and all ſuch of the nobilitie as hee found in the citie: whom he cauſed forthwith, together with the emperor, to be ſent by ſea as it were in triumph to CONSTANTINOPLE. Of the reſt of the cittizens he choſe out ſo many as hee pleaſed for his owne ſeruice, and appointed eight hundred of the Chriſtian children, in whom appeared moſt towardlineſſe, to be brought vp for Ianizaries, many alſo of the other citizens were ſent into captiuitie to CONSTANTINOPLE: the beautifull women and virgines hee deuided amongſt his friends and men of warre, certaine choſen paragons of whom, hee ſent as preſents to his ſonnes. After he had thus taken his pleaſure in the citie, and left none there but the baſeſt of the people, he put a ſtrong garriſon of his Ianizaries into the caſtle, and a great garriſon of common ſouldiors into the citie, appointing his admirall to gouerne the ſame. The reſt of the emperours ſtrong townes, diſcouraged with the taking of TRAPEZOND, and the miſeries thereof, in ſhort time ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Turkiſh thraldome, wherein they haue euer ſince moſt miſerably liued. So *Mahomet* in the ſpace of few moneths hauing reduced that empire into the forme of a prouince, returned in great triumph to CONSTANTINOPLE; when hee had in this expedition ſubdued PAPHLAGONIA, PONTVS, and a great part of CAPADOCIA, with ſome other prouinces neere vnto the Euxine ſea. When he was come to CONSTANTINOPLE, he ſent the emperour with his children priſoners to HADRIANOPLE. But afterwards vnderſtanding that the Perſian queene, the wife of *Vſun-Caſſan*, ſought meanes to get ſome one of her vnckles children, whom by the power of her husband ſhe might if it were poſsible aduance vnto her fathers empire, he ſent for *Dauid* the wofull emperour to CONSTANTINOPLE, and there cruelly cauſed him,

him, withall his ſonnes and kinſmen, to be put to death; and to the vttermoſt of his power rooted out all that moſt honourable familie of the *Comneni*, excepting *George* the emperors youngeſt ſonne, who at his firſt comming to HADRIANOPLE turned Turke: whoſe ſiſter (the emperours daughter) *Mahomet* afterwards tooke to be one of his concubines. This Chriſtian empire was by the Turkiſh tyrant *Mahomet* thus miſerably ſubuerted & brought to nought in the yeare of our Lord 1461.

The ruine of the empire of Trepezond.

The yeare following, which was the yeare 1462, *Mahomet* hauing intelligence, that *Wladus Dracula* prince of VALACHIA, his tributarie, was reſolued to caſt from him his obedience, and to joyne himſelfe vnto the Hungarians, his mortall enemies; thought it beſt to proue if he could by policie circumuent him, before he were altogether fallen from him. For which purpoſe hee ſent *Catabolinus* his principall ſecretarie vnto him to bring him to the court, promiſing him greater fauours and promotions from the emperour, than he had as yet at any time enjoyed. And by the ſame truſtie meſſenger, he commaunded *Chamuzes Baſſa*, gouernour of BIDINA and the countrey lying ouer againſt VALACHIA, on the other ſide of Danubius, to doe his vttermoſt deuoire for the entrapping of *Wladus*: promiſing him great rewards if he could bring the matter to effect. Wherupon *Chamuzes* deuiſed with the ſecretarie, that when he had done his meſſage to the prince and with all his cunning perſuaded him to take that journey vpon him, hee ſhould ſecretly beforehand giue notice vnto him of the certaine day of his returne backe againe from the prince: at which time it was like, that *Wladus* would in courteſie of himſelfe bring the ſecretarie well on his way, being a man of ſo great account in the Court, or at leaſtwiſe not refuſe ſo to doe, being thereto requeſted by the ſecretarie: at which time the Baſſa ſecretly paſsing ouer Danubius with certaine troupes of horſemen, and lying cloſe in ambuſh vpon the way, ſhould ſuddenly ſet vpon the prince, and ſo either take him, or els kill him. The plot thus laied, and euerie circumſtance agreed vpon, the ſecretarie held on his way; and comming to the prince, forced his wit to perſuade him to go to the court: ſometime cunningly extolling the great opinion that *Mahomet* had of his fidelitie and valour; and otherwhiles feeding him with the hope of greater honours and princely preferments he was to receiue at the emperours hands. But when hee had ſaid what he could, he obtained no more of the warie prince, but good words againe, and that he would in courteſie conduct him on his way vnto the ſide of Danubius. Wherof the ſecretarie by ſpeedie meſſengers gaue *Chamuzes* intelligence: who ſecretly paſsing ouer Danubius with certaine troupes of horſemen, and riding a good way into the country, lay in ambuſh vpon the way whereby the prince with the ſecretarie muſt needs paſſe. According as was before appointed, the ſecretarie accompanied with the prince, put himſelfe vpon the way, and at the very prefixed time came to the place where *Chamuzes* lay in ambuſh with his horſemen: who ſuddenly ariſing, and on euerie ſide aſſailing the prince, ſlew diuers of his men before they were well aware of his comming. But *Wladus* being a man of great courage, and better appointed than the Baſſa had ſuppoſed (for he went alwaies attended vpon with a ſtrong guard of valiant and ſtout men) ſo receiued *Chamuzes* and his Turkes, that hee ſlew many of them, and at length after a hard conflict tooke him with the reſt priſoners: whoſe hands and feet he cauſed to be cut off, and their bodies afterwards to be thruſt vpon ſharpe ſtakes ſet faſt in the ground, to the terror of all that ſaw them; and did the Baſſa ſo much honour, as to hang him and the ſecretarie vpon a gibbet a great deale higher than the other Turkes. And not ſatisfied with this reuenge, preſently gathered his forces, and paſsing ouer Danubius into the Turks dominions, burnt all the country before him alongſt the riuers ſide, killing man, woman, and child, without mercie: after which great ſpoile & ſlaughter made, he returned againe into VALACHIA. The report of theſe news being brought to *Mahomet*, ſet him in ſuch a choller and rage, that he commaunded the great Baſſa *Mahometes*, which firſt told him thereof, to be cruelly whipt: Which ſeruile puniſhment in that tyrannicall gouernment hath vſually beene inflicted euen vpon the greateſt Baſſaes of the court, vpon the leaſt diſpleaſure of the tyrants, eſpecially if they bee not naturall Turkes borne; accounting the reſt in their anger but as their baſe and contemptible ſlaues, as well appeareth by the wofull end of many, euen of the greateſt of them. But when he vnderſtood by moſt ſure aduertiſements, that all was as the Baſſa had before reported, or rather worſe, it is not to be in words expreſſed into what a rage he fell: the ſpoile of his countrey greeued him much, but the ſhamefull death of the ſecretarie his embaſſadour, and of *Chamuzes* the Baſſa, tormented his heart, and filled him with indignation and deſire of reuenge. Wherefore with all ſpeed poſsible he aſſembled his ſouldiours and

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Mahomet ſeeketh to entrap Wladus prince of Valachia.

Chamuzes Baſſa and the Turkes ſecretarie hãged.

men of warre, out of all parts of his dominions to PHILIPPOPOLIS: and had in short time raiſed ſuch an army, as the like he had not at any time imploied ſince the winning of CONSTANTINOPLE. At the ſame time alſo, he ſent his Admirall with 25 gallies, and 150 ſaile of other ſmall veſſels by the Euxine, to enter the riuer Danubius, and there landing his men, to joyne his forces with the prince of PODOLIA: who for a grudge he bare againſt *Wladus*, had promiſed to aid the Turke againſt him. When all things were now in readineſſe, he marched with his army from PHILIPPOPOLIS, and paſsing ouer Danubius, entered into VALACHIA; before which time, the Admirall had landed his men, and with the helpe of the Podolian, had burnt the citie of PRAILABA, the greateſt towne of trade in all VALACHIA; and was beſieging CEBIVM, called in antient time LYCOSTOMOS: where after they had lien a while and receiued ſome loſſe, they left the ſiege and departed, the Podolian backe againe into his countrey, and the Admirall to his fleet.

Mahomet himſelfe in perſon inuadeth Valachia

Mahomet being got ouer Danubius, burnt the villages, draue away the cattell, and made hauocke of all that came in his way. As for priſoners, he tooke but few; for the Valachies before his comming, had retired their wiues and children, and all that were vnfit for warres, either into their ſtrong citties, or into the refuge of great and thicke woods (whereof there is in that countrey plentie) or elſe into the high and rough mountaines, where they were in more ſafetie than in any their ſtrongeſt holds: and all ſuch as were able to beare armes, followed the prince, who euer kept the woods and mountaines, ſtill following the Turkes army ſo neere as he poſsibly could, with ſafetie; and many times cut off ſuch as ſtragled any thing farre abroad from the armie, into the countrey: yet neuer durſt ſhew himſelfe in plaine field, being indeed but a handfull, in compariſon of the Turkes multitude. *Mahomet*, to ſmall purpoſe roaming vp and down the countrey at his pleaſure, ſtaied neuer long in one place; and making no reckoning of ſuch a weake enemy as durſt neuer ſhew himſelfe, pitched his tents ſtill in the open plaines, and ſo lay with his army in great ſecuritie, not entrenched at all. *Wladus* by his eſpials vnderſtanding of this the manner of *Mahomets* encamping, came in the dead time of the night, and with all his power furiouſly aſſailed that quarter of the Turkes campe where the Aſian ſouldiours lay, and ſlew many of them in their tents; the reſt terrified with the ſuddenneſſe of the alarum, fled out of their tents for refuge vnto the Europeian ſouldiours: the prince following them at the heeles, and entring into that quarter of the campe alſo, did there great harme; and ſtrucke ſuch a generall terrour and feare into all the Turks army, that they were euen vpon the point to haue wholy forſaken their tents and betaken themſelues to flight. Yea *Mahomet* himſelfe, diſmaied with the terrour of the night and tumult of his campe, and fearing leaſt the Hungarians had joyned their forces with the prince; not knowing which way to turne himſelfe, had vndoubtedly fled, had not *Mahomet Baſſa* a man of great experience in martiall affaires, perſuaded him otherwiſe: and by generall proclamation made through the campe, That no man ſhould vpon paine of death, forſake the place wherein he was encamped, ſtaied the flight; and with much adoe enforced them to make head againſt the prince. *Wladus* perceiuing the Turkes now to begin to ſtand vpon their guard, and to make reſiſtance: after great ſlaughter made, returning, tooke the ſpoile of the tents forſaken by the Aſian ſouldiours, and vpon the approach of the day, againe retired with victorie into the woods. As ſoone as it was day, *Mahomet* appointed *Haly-Beg* with certaine companies of ſelect ſouldiours, to purſue the Valachies: who ouertaking part of the princes armie, tooke a thouſand of them priſoners, and put the reſt to flight: all which priſoners were by the tyrants commaund, preſently put to the ſword. From that time *Mahomet* euerie night entrenched his army, and cauſed better watch and warde to bee kept in euerie quarter of his campe, than before.

A moſt horrible ſpectacle.

As he marched along the countrey, he came to the place where the Baſſa and the ſecretarie were hanging vpon two high gibbets, and the diſmembred Turks empailed vpon ſtakes about them: with which ſight he was grieuouſly offended. And paſsing on farther, came to a plaine containing in breadth almoſt a mile, and in length two miles, ſet full of gallowes, gibbets, wheels ſtakes, and other inſtruments of terrour, death, and torture; all hanging full of the dead carkaſes of men, women, and children, thereupon executed, in number (as was deemed) about twentie thouſand. There was to be ſeene the father, with his wife, children and whole family, hanging togither vpon one gallowes; and the bodies of ſucking babes, ſticking vpon ſharpe ſtakes; others with all their limbes broken vpon wheeles, with many other ſtrange and horrible kinds of death.

death: ſo that a man would haue thought, that all the torments the Poets faigne to bee in hell had been there put in execution. All theſe were ſuch as the notable, but cruell prince, jealous of his eſtate, had either for juſt deſert, or ſome probable ſuſpition, put to death; and with their goods rewarded his ſouldiours: whoſe cruell manner was, togither with the offender to execute the whole family, yea ſometimes the whole kindred. *Mahomet*, although he was by nature of a fierce and cruell diſpoſition, wondred to ſee ſo ſtrange a ſpectacle of extreame crueltie: yet ſaid no more but that *Wladus* knew how to haue his ſubjects at commaund. After that, *Mahomet* ſent *Ioſephus*, one of his great captaines, to skirmiſh with the Valachies; who was by them put to the worſe: but by the comming in of *Omares* the ſonne of *Turechan*, they were againe in a great skirmiſh ouerthrowne, and two thouſand of their heads brought by the Turkes vpon their launces into the kings campe: for which good ſeruice *Omares* was by the king preferred to be gouernour of THESSALIA.

Two thouſand of the Valachies ſlaine.

When *Mahomet* had thus traced VALACHIA, and hauing done what harme he could, ſaw it to be to no purpoſe, with ſuch a multitude of men to hunt after his flying enemy, which ſtill kept the thicke woods or rough mountaines: he returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE, leauing behind him *Haly-beg* with part of his army, to proſecute that warre; and with him *Dracula* the younger brother of *Wladus*, who was alſo called *Wladus*, as a ſtale to draw the Valachies into rebellion againſt the prince. This *Dracula* the younger, was of a little youth brought vp in *Mahomets* court, and for his comely feature of him moſt paſsionatly affected: which inordinat perturbation, ſo preuailed in the intemperat nature of the laſciuious prince, that he ſought firſt by faire words and great gifts to corrupt the youth; and not ſo preuailing, attempted at laſt to haue forced him: wherewith the noble youth being enraged, drew his rapier, and ſtriking at him to haue ſlaine him, grieuouſly wounded him in the thigh: and thereupon fled. Neuertheleſſe being drawne backe againe to the court, and pardoned, he was afterwards reconciled to the king, and ſo became his *Ganimede*; and was of him long time wonderfully both beloued and honoured, and now ſet vp for a ſtale (as is before ſaid) for the Valachies his countreymen to gaſe vpon.

It fortuned, that after the departure of the king, diuers Valachies came to *Haly-Beg* the Turkiſh Generall, to raunſome ſuch friends of theirs as had been taken priſoners in thoſe warres, and were yet by him detained: to whom the younger *Dracula* by way of diſcourſe declaring the great power of the Turkiſh emperour, and as it were lamenting the manifold and endleſſe miſeries of his natiue countrey; cunningly imputed the ſame vnto the diſordered gouernment of his cruell brother, as the ground of all their woes: aſſuring them of moſt happy and ſpeedy redreſſe, if the Valachies, forſaking his fierce brother, would cleaue vnto him as their ſoueraigne, in ſpeciall fauour with the great emperour. Which ſpeech, he deliuered vnto them with ſuch liuely reaſons, and in ſuch effectuall tearmes, that they their preſent, perſuaded by him; and others by them; in ſhort time all, as if it had been by a ſecret conſent, forſooke *Wladus* the elder brother, and choſe *Dracula* the younger brother to be their prince and ſoueraigne. Who joyning vnto him the Turkes forces, by the conſent of *Mahomet* tooke vpon him the gouernment of that warlike countrey and people; yet holding the ſame as the Turkiſh tyrants vaſſaile, the readieſt way to infidelitie. *Wladus* ſeeing himſelfe thus forſaken of all his ſubjects, and his younger brother poſſeſſed of his dominion, fled into TRANSYLVANIA, where he was by the appointment of the Hungarian king apprehended and laied faſt in ſtrait priſon at BELGRADE, for that he had without juſt cauſe (as it was laid to his charge) moſt cruelly executed diuers Hungarians in VALACHIA: yet ſuch was his fortune, after ten yeares hard impriſonment, to be againe enlarged, and honourably to die in battaile againſt his auntient enemies the Turks.

The death of Wladus.

Mahomet returning out of VALACHIA to CONSTANTINOPLE, ſent the ſame fleete which hee had vſed in his late warres, into the ÆGEVM, to take in ſuch iſlands as being before vnder the Conſtantinopolitane empire, had vpon the loſſe of the citie put themſelues vnder the protection of the Venetians; but eſpecially the iſle of MITYLENE, called in auntient time LESBOS: pretending that *Nicholaus Cateluſius* prince therof, did harbour the pyrats of ITALY, and other places; and alſo bought of them ſuch priſoners, and other bootie, as they continually tooke from the Turkes at ſea, or alongſt the ſea coaſt, out of many places of his dominions: pretending alſo the chaſtiſing of the ſaid prince, for that he had by treacherie ſlaine his eldeſt brother, and ſo vnjuſtly taken vpon him the gouernment. His fleet thus ſet forward, he himſelfe with a

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ſmall army paſſed ouer into ASIA, and came by land to POSSIDIVM a citie of IONIA ouer against MITYLENE. From whence he embarked himſelfe ouer the narrow ſtraite into the iſland: where after he had once landed his army, he in ſhort time ouerran the whole iſland, and miſerably ſpoiled the ſame, leading away all the inhabitants thereof into captiuitie; who ſhortly after were ſold at CONSTANTINOPLE like flocks of ſheepe, and from thence diſperſed into all parts of his dominions. After he had thus harried the countrey, and left nothing therein vnſpoiled; he beſieged the Prince in the citie of MITYLENE, whereof the iſland now taketh name: and with his great ordinance continually battered the ſame by the ſpace of 27 daies. In which time many ſharpe aſſaults were alſo giuen by the Turkes, whereby the defendants were greatly diminiſhed and waſted. The prince perceiuing himſelfe not able long to hold out, offered to yeeld vp the citie, with all the ſtrong holds in the iſle, vpon condition, that *Mahomet* ſhould therefore giue vnto him ſome other prouince, of like valew to the iſland: which his offer *Mahomet* accepted, and by ſolemne oath bound himſelfe for performance of that he had promiſed. Whereupon the prince came out of the citie, and humbled himſelfe before him, excuſing himſelfe for the receiuing of the men of warre (wherewith he was charged) as done for no other purpoſe, but that they ſhould forbeare to ſpoile his owne countrey, much ſubject to their furie: vtterly denying that he had at any time bought, or ſhared, any part of ſuch prizes as had by thoſe pirats by ſea or land been taken from the Turkes. With which his excuſe, *Mahomet* ſeemed to be reaſonably well contented, and with good words cheered him vp: neuertheleſſe, as ſoone as the citie, with all the other ſtrong holds in the iſle, were by the princes meanes deliuered into his hands, hee no longer made reckoning of his Turkiſh faith, but cruelly cauſed many of the chiefe citizens of MITYLENE to be put to death; and three hundreth pirats, whom he found in the citie, to be cut in two peeces in the middle, ſo to die with more paine. And when he had placed conuenient garriſons in euerie ſtrong hold in the iſle, he returned to CONSTANTINOPLE, carrying away with him the prince, and all the better ſort of the inhabitants of MITYLENE, that were left aliue, togither with all the wealth of that moſt rich and pleaſant iſland; leauing it almoſt deſolat, none remaining therein more than his owne garriſons, with a few of the pooreſt and baſeſt people. *Mahomet* after he was arriued at CONSTANTINOPLE, caſt the prince *Nicholaus*, with *Lucius* his coſin (whoſe helpe he had before vſed in killing of his elder brother) into cloſe priſon: where they ſeeing themſelues euerie houre in danger of their liues, to winne fauour in the tyrants ſight, wickedly offered to renounce the Chriſtian religion, and to turne Turke. Which *Mahomet* vnderſtanding, cauſed them both to be richly apparelled, and with great triumph to be circumciſed, and preſently ſet at libertie: yet ſtill bearing in minde his olde grudge, he ſhortly after, when they leaſt feared any ſuch matter, clapt them both faſt againe in priſon, and there cauſed them to be moſt cruelly put to death. A juſt reward for the bloodie murtherers, and apoſtacie, who to gaine a little longer life, were content to forſake God.

Mitylene beſieged.

Mitylene yeelded to the Turke.

1464 Shortly after it fortuned, that *Stephen* king of BOSNA (in antient time called MÆSIA SVPERIOR) who ſupported by the Turkiſh emperour, had wrongfully obtained that kingdom againſt his owne brethren, refuſed now to pay ſuch yearely tribute as hee had before promiſed: for which cauſe *Mahomet* with a ſtrong armie entered into BOSNA, and laied ſiege vnto the citie of DOROBIZA: which when he had with much adoe taken, he deuided the people therof into three parts; one part whereof he gaue as ſlaues vnto his men of warre; another part he ſent vnto CONSTANTINOPLE; and the third he left to inhabit the citie. From DOROBIZA he marched to IAZIGA, now called IAICA, the cheefe citie of that kingdome, which after four months ſiege was deliuered vnto him by compoſition: In this citie hee tooke the kings brother and ſiſter priſoners, with moſt of the nobilitie of that kingdome, whom he ſent as it were in triumph vnto CONSTANTINOPLE. The other leſſer cities of BOSNA following the example of the greater, yeelded themſelues alſo. But *Mahomet* vnderſtanding that the king of BOSNA had retired himſelfe into the fartheſt part of his kingdome, ſent *Mahometes* his cheefe Baſſa with his Europeian ſouldiors to purſue him: wherein the Baſſa vſed ſuch diligence, that he had on euery ſide ſo incloſed him before he was aware, that hee could by no meanes eſcape, which was before thought a thing impoſsible. So the king for ſafegard of his life was faine to take the citie of CLYSSA for his refuge: where he was ſo hardly laied to by the Baſſa, that ſeeing no other remedie, hee offered to yeeld himſelfe vpon the Baſſaes faithfull promiſe by oath confirmed, that he ſhould be honourably

bly vſed, and not to receiue in his perſon any harme from the Turkiſh emperour. Wherupon the Baſſaes oath to the ſame purpoſe was with great ſolemnitie taken; and for the more aſſurance conceiued in writing, firmed by the Baſſa, and ſo deliuered to the king: which done, the king came out of the citie and yeelded himſelfe. The Baſſa hauing thus taken the king priſoner, carried him about with him from place to place, and from citie to citie, vntill he had taken poſſeſsion of all the kingdome of BOSNA; and ſo returning vnto his maſter, preſented vnto him the captiue king: who was not a little offended with him, for that hee had vnto him ſo farre engaged his Turkiſh faith. But when the poore king thought to haue departed, not greatly fearing further harme, he was ſuddenly ſent for by *Mahomet*: at which time, he doubting the worſt, caried with him in his hand the writing wherein the Baſſaes oath for his ſafetie was compriſed: neuertheleſſe, the faithleſſe tyrant without any regard thereof, or of his faith therein giuen, cauſed him preſently to be moſt cruelly put to death, or as ſome write, to be ſlaine quicke. Thus was the Chriſtian kingdome of BOSNA ſubuerted by *Mahomet* in the yeare 1464: who after he had at his pleaſure diſpoſed thereof, and reduced it into the forme of a prouince to be (as it is at this day) gouerned by one of his Baſſaes; in great triumph returned to CONSTANTINOPLE, carrying away with him many a wofull Chriſtian captiue, and the whole wealth of that kingdome.

The great warres betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg, are at large written by Marinus Barletius, in 13 books, De vita & geſtis Scanderbegi, from whence this Hiſtorie is taken: and were done betwixt the yeares 1450 and 1467.

Mahomet, following the example of his father *Amurath*, had from the beginning of his raigne by one or other of his great Baſſaes or expert captaines ſtill maintained warres againſt *Scanderbeg*, the moſt valiant and fortunat king of EPIRVS: the greateſt part whereof, although it did in the courſe of time concurre with the things before declared, and might by peecemeale haue beene amongſt the ſame in their due time and place inſerted; yet I haue of purpoſe for diuerſe reaſons wholly reſerued them for this place: Firſt, for that I would not interrupt the courſe of the hiſtorie before rehearſed, with the particular accidents of this warre: And then, for that the greateſt heat of this hereditarie warre, deliuered as it were from hand to hand from the father to the ſon, happened not long after this time; when as *Mahomet* hauing conquered the kingdome of BOSNA, had ſurrounded a great part of *Scanderbegs* dominion: Wherein I had reſpect alſo vnto the Readers eaſe, who may with greater pleaſure and content, and leſſe paines alſo, view the ſame together, than if it had beene diſperſedly ſcattered and intermedled with the other greater occurrents of the ſame time. In which diſcourſe I will but breefely touch many things well worthie of a larger treatiſe. And if forgetting my ſelfe, I ſhall in ſome places happen to ſtay ſomthing longer than the Readers haſt would require; yet I hope, that the zeale and loue hee beareth vnto the worthie memorie of moſt famous Chriſtian princes, together with the ſhortneſſe of the hiſtorie, in compariſon of that which is thereof written in juſt volumes by others, ſhall eaſily excuſe a larger diſcourſe than this. But againe to our purpoſe.

Vide Marinum Barletium lib. de vita & geſtis Scanderbegi.

Mahomet in the beginning of his raigne ſent embaſſadours to *Scanderbeg*, offering him peace, ſo that he would graunt to pay vnto him ſuch yearely tribute as his father *Amurath* had in his life time demaunded. Which embaſſage the craftie tyrant ſent rather to proue what confidence *Scanderbeg* had in himſelfe, than for any hope he had to haue his demaund graunted. This diſhonourable offered peace *Scanderbeg* ſcornefully rejected, and ſo returned the embaſſadours as they came: and preſently vpon their departure entered with his horſemen into that part of the Turks dominion which bordereth vpon EPIRVS: & when he had waſted the countrey, returned home laded with the ſpoile thereof. In reuenge of which deſpight, *Mahomet* ſhortly after ſent *Ameſa* one of his beſt men of warre, with twelue thouſand horſemen into EPIRVS, to requite *Scanderbeg* with the like ſpoile of his people and countrey. But *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding by his eſpials of the Turks comming, lay cloſe in ambuſh with ſix thouſand ſouldiours vpon the gteat mountaine MODRISSA, ouer which the Turks muſt of neceſsitie take their way: and as they were about by night to haue paſſed ouer that rough and ſteepe mountaine, and were with much difficultie almoſt got vp to the top thereof, they were ſuddenly charged by *Scanderbeg* his footmen, who hauing the aduantage of the place, made great ſlaughter of the Turks, & draue them downe the mountaine amaine; at which time their horſes ſtood them in no ſtead at all, but were rather vnto them an hinderance in that vneuen and troubleſome ground. Now when the Turks were come to the foot of the mountaine, they were in that great feare and diſorder againe fiercely aſſailed on the one ſide by *Scanderbeg*, and on the other by his nephew, called alſo *Ameſa*; who before the Turkes comming had placed themſelues with their horſemen in places of moſt aduantage: ſo that the Turkes hardly beſet and forced on euery ſide, were in ſhort time ouerthrowne

and put to flight. In this conflict ſeuen thouſand of the Turkes were ſlaine, and *Ameſa* Generall of the Turks armie with diuers other captains taken, whom *Scanderbeg* ſent priſoners to CROIA. For ioy of this victorie at *Scanderbeg* his returne, great triumph & feaſting was made at CROIA: During which time, *Scanderbeg* cauſed *Ameſa* the Turke, with the reſt of the Turkiſh captains, to be enlarged, to be partakers of that ioy, whereof they againſt their wils had giuen the occaſion; and afterwards vſed them with all kind of courteſie during the time of their abode. This *Ameſa* requeſted of *Scanderbeg*, That he might ſend a meſſenger to CONSTANTINOPLE, to certifie *Mahomet* how the caſe ſtood with him and the reſt, whom happily he might thinke to haue beene ſlaine in the battaile; and to procure from him their ranſome. Which his requeſt *Scanderbeg* eaſily graunted, and ſet downe their ranſome at thirteene thouſand duckats. The newes of this ouerthrow ſore greeued the Turkiſh tyrant, but afterwards when he ſaw the remainder of his armie without their generall and leaders, hauing for moſt part loſt their enſignes and armor, and alſo the meſſenger that was ſent from *Ameſa*, he fell into ſuch a rage, that hee denied to giue any thing at all for his ranſome: imputing all that loſſe to his trecherie, follie, or cowardiſe. Howbeit he was afterwards perſuaded by his Baſſaes and other great courtiers, *Ameſa* his friends, to thinke better of the Generall, of whoſe faithfulneſſe and valour he had of long time had great experience, and alſo to ſend his ranſome: by denying whereof, hee ſhould (as they ſaid) diſcourage his other generals and captaines, who by chaunce of warre might hap to fall into the like danger. By whoſe perſuaſion *Mahomet* ſent an embaſſadour to *Scanderbeg*, with the ranſome demaunded, and other great preſents alſo. Vpon receit whereof, *Ameſa* with the other captaines were ſet at libertie, and ſent with ſafe conuoy out of EPIRVS. All the money ſent for the Turkes ranſome, *Scanderbeg* deuided amongſt his captaines and ſouldiors.

This late receiued ouerthrow filled the proud tyrant with deſire of reuenge, ſo that hee determined foorthwith to ſend another armie into EPIRVS: the leading whereof, diuers of his great and moſt expert captains ambitiouſly ſought for. For *Mahomet* had promiſed great rewards and moſt honourable preferments to him whoſe hap it ſhould bee to vanquiſh *Scanderbeg*. Amongſt the reſt, one *Debreas* (a man for his forwardneſſe and courage, in great fauour with his ſoueraign) by great ſute obtained to haue that charge: promiſing with exceeding confidencie vnto *Mahomet*, to make a beginning of better ſucceſſe in his warres of EPIRVS, than others thither by him before ſent: for the accompliſhment whereof hee required to haue no greater power than was ſent the yeare before. But after that *Ameſa* was returned to the court, and had with long diſcourſe ſet forth the vertues and valour of *Scanderbeg*, with the inuincible courage of his ſouldiors, *Debreas* became more temperate in his ſpeech, and was contented to receiue a new ſupplie; ſo that he had vnder his charge foureteene thouſand ſouldiors: with which armie hee marched towards EPIRVS, and was come to a place called POLOGVS, where he lay with his armie encamped in a plaine in great ſecuritie, fearing no danger, for that he was not as yet in the enemies countrey, neither as he ſuppoſed, neere the enemie. Of all this preparation, and of the comming of *Debreas*, *Scanderbeg* had intelligence: and being reſolued not to expect the comming of the Turkes into EPIRVS, made choiſe of ſix thouſand of his beſt horſemen; with whom he marched with as much ſpeed as was poſsible into the enemies countrey, and came by night vnto the plaine where the Turkes lay, hoping to haue been vpon them before they were aware, and ſo to haue ouerthrowne them. Wherin he was much deceiued: for by the light of the moone (which then ſhined all night) he was by the Turkes in time deſcried, yet the ſuddenneſſe of his approach with the ſtrangeneſſe of the attempt, exceedingly diſmaied the whole army of the Turkes. But *Debreas* mindfull of the promiſe he had made vnto his lord and maſter, with cheerfull words encouraged his ſouldiours, and preſently ſent out certaine troups of light horſemen, to receiue the firſt charge of the enemy, vntill he might ſet his whole army in order of battaile. Betwixt theſe troupes, and others ſent out by *Scanderbeg*, began a ſharpe skirmiſh; both the armies ſtanding faſt, as beholders, carefully expecting the euent thereof. But *Scanderbeg* doubting, that if his ſouldiours ſhould in this firſt encounter be put to the worſe, it might tend to the great diſcouraging of the reſt of his army; ſeconded his men with other freſh troups vnder the leading of *Moſes* and *Ameſa*: by whoſe comming in, the Turks were forthwith beaten backe, and chaſed euen to their maine battaile. In the heat of which chaſe, *Moſes* forgetting himſelfe, had with great danger in following on too faſt, been encloſed by the Turkes, had not his furie beene in good time ſtaied by *Ameſa*: for which ouerſight, he was afterward blamed by *Scanderbeg*, that he could not

Debreas ſent with 14000 horſemen to inuade Epirus.

A skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

with

with greater moderation vſe his good fortune; commending ſuch forwardneſſe in a priuat ſouldior, but not in ſo great a commaunder. When *Moſes* and *Ameſa* had thus put the Turkes to flight, *Scanderbeg* brought on his whole armie, and fiercely aſſailed the Turkes, yet troubled with the diſcomfiture of their fellows. *Debreas* on the other ſide, with cheerefull ſpeech, and his owne valour, ſo encouraged his ſouldiors, that *Scanderbeg* was there notably reſiſted, and his fortune as it were at a ſtand: vntill that *Muſachius*, with certaine troupes of reſolute men, drawne out of the left wing of *Scanderbeg* his armie, gaue ſuch a fierce charge vpon the ſide of the Turkes armie, that he brake their rankes, and ſore diſordered that part of the armie. Which when *Debreas* perceiued, he withdrew himſelfe out of the front of the battaile wherein hee had valiantly ſtood againſt *Scanderbeg*, and came to the place where *Muſachius* had diſordered the battaile, and with ſuch courage cheared vp his troubled ſouldiours, that his onely preſence and valour ſeemed to bee the very life and heart of his whole armie. Whileſt *Debreas* was thus buſied againſt *Muſachius*, *Scanderbeg* in the meane time with might and maine ſtill charged the front of the enemies armie: who now in the abſence of the Generall began to looſe their order and to giue ground, making no ſuch reſiſtance as before. At which time, *Moſes* forcibly breaking into the thickeſt of them, tooke one of their enſignes, which hee threw backe amongſt his followers: wherewith they encouraged, ſo preſſed vpon their enemies, without regard of danger, that the Turks being therewith diſcouraged, and their battaile diſordered, were almoſt readie to turne their backs and to flie. *Debreas* ſeeing all in danger to be loſt, haſted with all ſpeed vnto the place where he ſaw moſt perill, and did what was poſsible to haue reſtored the battaile, and encouraged his ſouldiors: where preſsing in amongſt the formoſt, hee was by *Scanderbeg* himſelfe encountered hand to hand, and ſo by him ſlaine: with whoſe fall the whole armie diſcouraged, without further reſiſtance fled. *Moſes* purſuing them on the one ſide, & *Muſachius* on the other, with furious hand ſlew more in that chaſe than were ſlaine in the battaile. Of the Turkes were ſlaine in this battaile 4120, and ſome priſoners taken, but of the Chriſtians few or none: ſo that for the good fortune thereof, *Scanderbeg* accounted it a victorie giuen. All the ſpoile taken from the enemie, together with the priſoners, was by *Scanderbeg* equally deuided amongſt the ſouldiors. Vnto *Moſes* he gaue *Debreas* his horſe and armour: and vnto *Muſachius* a priſoner, which by his port and behauior ſeemed to be a man of ſome good account. This Turke agreed with *Muſachius* vpon a ranſome of two hundred duckats, and preſently vpon agreement made, drew forth the money out of a little bag which he had kept ſecretly about him, and offered it to *Muſachius* for his ranſome: Who receiuing the money, told the Turke, that he muſt prouide another ranſome, for as much as that money was his owne before by law of armes, as taken with his perſon. The Turke on the other ſide alledged for himſelfe, the agreement alreadie made, with the payment of the full ſumme agreed vpon. This controuerſie was brought before *Scanderbeg*: who with great pleaſure heard them both what they could ſay: *Muſachius* laying in hard for another ranſome, and the Turke for his libertie vrging the agreement. Who when they had both ſaid what they could for themſelues, *Scanderbeg* ſmiling, told them, that they both contended for that which was in right his and neither of theirs: for the priſoner with the money were both mine (ſaid he) at the firſt taking of him; ſince which time I haue giuen to you *Muſachius* the priſoner, which I knew, but not the money which I knew not of: neither doth the concealing thereof make it yours (ſaid he to the Turke) who had by law of armes loſt your ſelfe, together with all that you had about you. After he had thus pleaſantly diſcourſed of the matter, and brought them both in doubt, he awarded vnto *Muſachius* the money he agreed for, and to the Turke his deſired libertie: who glad thereof, and hauing alſo receiued his horſe and armour of the gift of *Scanderbeg*, departed, ſpeaking all the honour he could of ſo noble a conquerour. After this victorie *Scanderbeg* with great triumph returned againe to CROIA.

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg & Debreas.

Debreas ſlain by Scanderbeg, and his armie ouerthrowne.

A pleaſant contention betwixt Muſachius and a Turke for his ranſome.

When *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Debreas* was ſlaine, and his armie ouerthrowne, hee became exceeding melancholie: but after he ſaw ſo many of his ſouldiors returned as had ben ſufficient to haue reſtored a loſt battaile, he was ſo highly diſpleaſed with their cowardiſe, as that he could not endure the ſight of them. The death of *Debreas* greeued none more than the king himſelfe: for the captaines generally either enuied at his hardineſſe, or elſe hated his inſolencie. *Ameſa* amongſt the reſt tooke no ſmall pleaſure, that his proud ſucceſſour had taken part of his euill fortune, and ſo in part eaſed his former infamie. The great Baſſaes and men of warre ſeeing their ſoueraigne ſo deſirous of reuenge, offered to ſpend their liues in that ſeruice: whoſe forwardneſſe

wardneſſe he ſeemed not to refuſe: howbeit he had in his mind alreadie plotted another manner of reuenge. He was not ignorant, what great matters his father *Amurath* had brought to paſſe, by ſowing diſcord amongſt the princes of GRÆCIA: which fowle practiſe he purpoſed now to put in practiſe himſelfe. There was at that time many famous chieftains in EPIRVS, of *Scanderbeg* both beloued and truſted; amongſt whom, he was in hope to find ſome one who for deſire of wealth or promotion, might be allured to giue ſome deſperat attempt againſt the life or ſtate of *Scanderbeg*. Of all others, *Moſes Golemus* of DIBRA (a man honourably deſcended) was moſt inward with *Scanderbeg*, and for his proweſſe and experience in martiall affaires, of all men accounted the beſt captaine in all EPIRVS, next vnto *Scanderbeg* himſelfe: him, the craftie tyrant moſt deſired to alienat from *Scanderbeg*, as one fitteſt to ſerue his purpoſe, and eaſieſt without ſuſpition to be delt withall; becauſe he commonly lay with a ſtrong garriſon in DIBRA, vpon the verie frontiers of EPIRVS. Wherfore he directed his letters vnto the gouernor of SFETIGRADE, commanding him by all meanes he could poſsibly deuiſe to withdraw *Moſes* from *Scanderbeg*; and not to ſpare for any gold or golden promiſes whereby to allure him: promiſing alſo vnto the gouernour himſelfe great preferments, if hee could winne him. Vpon receit of which letters, the gouernor began forthwith carefully to deuiſe, how he might beſt attempt the matter he had in charge: where after many deuiſes, he at laſt thought vpon a ſhrewd-headed fellow, one of the Chriſtians which dwelt in SFETIGRADE; whom for that he was a Chriſtian, he might without ſuſpect vſe as an inſtrument in ſo dangerous and important an action. This Chriſtian the gouernour called vnto him, and after he had with great gifts and large promiſes woon him to vndertake the matter; he ſent him away, fully before armed with plenteous inſtructions, full of treaſon and deceit. When this ſubtill meſſenger was come vnto *Moſes*, and vnder pretence of great and ſecret matters of importance, had obtained to ſpeake with him in priuat: he after ſome diſcourſe had of matters well worth the hearing, began at length vnder the couert of faire glozing words, to vtter his poiſon: Shewing vnto him (as a meſſenger from the gouernor) the great and good opinion the Turkiſh emperour had of long time conceiued of his valour and proweſſe: for which cauſe his heroicall nature could not but honour him, although he were his enemy; and therewith alſo maruell, that he being a man of that worth, could be contented to be commaunded by *Scanderbeg*, whoſe ſtate was by him chiefly vpholden: whereas if he would doe wiſely, and changing his affection, follow *Mahomet*, an emperour of greateſt magnificence and power, he ſhould quickly in his court find ſuch honourable entertainment, as were to be preferred before the ſtate of *Scanderbeg*: or if the ſoueraigntie of EPIRVS his natiue countrey did better pleaſe him, he might eaſily be thereunto aduanced, by joyning his owne endeuour vnto *Mahomets* great power. It pleaſed *Moſes* well to heare his owne praiſes (a thing incident vnto hautie minds) and he liked well that he was ſo fauoured of the Turkiſh emperour: but the hope of the kingdome of EPIRVS began to worke in him new conceits, and moued him more than all the reſt. Such is the force of ambitious thoughts, that they make a man forget all things, ſaue themſelues: ſo glorious a thing it is, to ſtand in the higheſt place. For all that, *Moſes* neither in word or countenance made any ſemblant of liking, or diſliking the meſſage. Which the wily meſſenger taking for a ſecret conſent, and hartely glad that he had been ſo well heard: not deſiring as then any further anſwere, craued leaue to depart; promiſing in ſhort time to returne to him againe. After the departure of this meſſenger, many troubled thoughts began to ariſe in the mind of *Moſes*: his mirth was changed into melancholy, and the cheerfulneſſe of his countenance was abated, his hautie thoughts were his ſolitarie companions, and the imagined kingdome the idoll he in ſecret worſhipped; ſo that in ſhort time, he ſeemed vnto the wiſer ſort as a man altogither metamorphoſed. Some were ſo bold, as for to aske the cauſe of the meſſengers comming: vnto whom he anſwered, That he was one, from whom he receiued intelligence of matters concerning the good of the ſtate: which his anſwere was holden for true; for who durſt once miſtruſt *Moſes*? Whileſt he was thus toſſed vp and downe with his owne thoughts, as a ſhippe with the billowes of a wrought ſea, the ſame ſlie meſſenger, according to his promiſe came againe; and for his more credit, in ſecret brought with him ſuch preſents as well might ſeeme to haue beene ſent from the Great Turke; with his meſſage better framed than before. Of all which that was ſent, *Moſes* is reported to haue receiued nothing but the worſt, which was, the verie treaſon it ſelfe. And ſo returned the meſſenger, with anſwere, That he could not but in good part accept of the Turkiſh emperours great fauours; and for the reſt of his requeſts,

The craftie proceeding of the Turkiſh meſſenger

Moſes corrupted.

queſts, whatſoeuer he ſhould chance to doe therin, he ſhould not from thenceforth find him any great enemy: commanding the meſſenger at his departure, no more to repaire vnto him about that matter, for feare of ſuſpition.

After that, it chanced that *Scanderbeg* came into DIBRA, to ſee how all things ſtood there, and to conſult with *Moſes* for the beſieging of SFETIGRADE; which citie it grieued him to ſee in the poſſeſsion of the Turkes. *Moſes* to auert *Scanderbeg* from that enterpriſe, wherein hee muſt of force be driuen to ſhew himſelfe, told him, That he vnderſtood of late by a certaine meſſenger which came to him out of SFETIGRADE, that the citie was ſo well ſtored by the Turks, of all things neceſſarie for the defence thereof, that it were but loſt labour to attempt any thing againſt the ſame: wherefore hee aduiſed him rather to beſiege BELGRADE (not that BELGRADE which is ſituated vpon the riuer of Danubius, but another of the ſame name) in the confines of EPIRVS, then holden by the Turkes, but diſtant from SFETIGRADE about an hundreth and fortie miles; of the taking whereof, there ſeemed to be more hope. By this perſuaſion, *Scanderbeg* reſolued with himſelfe to make prouiſion for the beſieging of BELGRADE. And forasmuch as his ſouldiours of EPIRVS alwaies vſed to the field, were not ſo fit for the beſieging of townes, he thought it good to pray aid out of ITALY, from his old friend *Alphonſus* king of NAPLES, with whom he had been of long time acquainted, and vnto him much beholden. Wherefore he ſent two of his noblemen embaſſadours vnto him, with certaine rich preſents, and familiar letters of this purport.

Scanderbeg craueth aid of Alphonſus king of Naples.

Our ſouldiours of EPIRVS, *know only how to fight with men, and them to vanquiſh: with wals they know not how to deale. You Italians (as I vnderſtand) haue skill in that kind of ſeruice, and take pleaſure therein: wherefore now at this preſent, I haue need of your helpe and cunning. There be certaine townes of our enemies in* EPIRVS, *yea almoſt in the heart of our kingdome; which eye-ſore I haue of long deſired (if it pleaſed God) to take out of my ſight: but being occupied with continuall wars, had no leiſure vntill now, happely to attempt any thing againſt them. This time I haue choſen as moſt fit, to ſatisfie my deſire, both for the ſeaſonableneſſe of the time of the yeare, and for that* Mahomet *ſpareth me leiſure; whoſe furie I haue twiſe calmed: You vnderſtand in few words, what I haue need of: all other things are almoſt in readineſſe, and we only looke for your helpe. Lend me ſuch ſouldiors as know how to fight a farre off, I meane harquebuſiers and canoniers, for of others we haue ſtore plenty. But happy is* APVLIA, *my* Alphonſus, *vnder thy gouernment, from whence men fit for all ſeruices may be drawne as out of a moſt plentifull treaſurie. Whenſoeuer we haue requeſted men fit for ſeruice, either in peace or warre, you haue beautified both our court and campe. By you the kingdome of* EPIRVS *hath been ſupported with ciuile pollicie, and warlike ſtrength: all ſort of people, of what condition ſoeuer: yea euerie corner of* EPIRVS *ſoundeth forth thy praiſe, both at home and abroad. But for mine owne part, I doe ſo louingly embrace your kindneſſe, and ſo firmly retaine the remembrance of your deſerts towards me, that ſometime I wiſh you that fortune (although in ſo doing I may ſeeme vnkinde) which (as the common ſaying is) proueth, but getteth not friends: to the intent, that you might by ſome more certaine proofe know, how much I am to you deuoted.*

When *Scanderbeg* had ſent away his embaſſadours, he with all diligence began to prouide things neceſſarie for the ſiege of BELGRADE: wherein he had purpoſed alſo to haue vſed the ſeruice of *Moſes*. But he now in heart a traitor both to his prince and countrey, and a friend to *Mahomet*, found many excuſes to ſtay at home in DIBRA: alleadging firſt, that it was to be thought, that ſo ſoone as the Turkiſh king ſhould heare of the ſiege of BELGRADE, he would inuade ſome part of EPIRVS, thereby to withdraw his enemies from the ſiege: and then, that no part of all EPIRVS lay neerer vnto the Turkes, or more in danger, than DIBRA; and that therefore he could not doe any better ſeruice, than to ſee vnto the ſafetie of that countrey, long before committed to his charge, and in which alſo moſt part of his liuing lay. Theſe his excuſes, proceeding indeed from deepe treaſon, were yet neuertheleſſe thought reaſonable, and he for his prouident care highly commended; and authoritie giuen him with new ſupplies to augment the garriſon vnder his commaund, as time and occaſion ſhould require.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had fully made his preparation for the entended ſiege, the embaſſadours before ſent to *Alphonſus*, were returned into EPIRVS, and with them ſuch aid as *Scanderbeg* had before requeſted, and a great deale more: For *Alphonſus* fearing the greatneſſe of

Alphonſus ſendeth aid vnto Scanderbeg.

of the Turkish emperour, in what he could furthered *Scanderbeg* his actions, reckoning EPIRVS not aboue 60 miles distant from his dominions, to be the strongest wals of his kingdome in APVLIA (as not many years after, it by proofe appeared, when as the Turks hauing taken OTRANTO put all ITALY in no small feare.) With this aid he also wrote louing letters vnto *Scanderbeg*, thanking him for his presents, and for the good opinion he had of him, willing him to make as bold of all his things, as of his owne. But when he came to make mention of the souldiours he had sent; *Alphonsus*, after the manner of his pleasant nature, merrily wrote vnto *Scanderbeg*, That he had sent him Italian souldiors which could according to his desire, fight well both with men and wals; but better with women: and that therefore the Epirots were best to take heed, that they whose helpe they required for fight a farre off, proued not also good warriours at hand at home in their houses. The great commendation *Scanderbeg* had giuen of the king, was by him referred vnto the excesse of his loue, and by the king requited with like.

Scanderbeg besiegeth and distresseth Belgrad.

Scanderbeg now furnished with all things needfull, set forward, and according to his former determination, came and encamped before BELGRADE, with an army of fourteene thousand good souldiours: and in short time had so distressed the citie, that the Turkes were glad to take truce with him for sixteene daies, which time expired, they promised to deliuer vp the towne, if they were not before relieued. Vpon conclusion of this truce, *Scanderbeg* encamped himselfe vpon an high hill neere vnto the citie, with three thousand horse, and a thousand foot; and appointed *Musachius* and *Tanusius*, with the rest of the army, to remoue farther off into a large plaine, where they might encampe themselues in a more wholsome and fresh ayre, in that hoat season of the yeare, during the time of the truce. At which time he appointed also 25 scouts to keepe continuall watch vpon the top of the highest mountaine, to discouer a farre off the comming of the enemie, and to giue warning therof vnto the campe by making a fire vpon the mountaine: by the negligence of which watch, *Scanderbeg* receiued a great ouerthrow, as hereafter followeth.

The newes of the siege of BELGRADE was brought vnto *Mahomet*, at such time as he was readie to haue passed into ASIA against the emperour of TRAPEZOND: which great enterprise he was loath to giue ouer, for the relefe of BELGRADE; and yet to lose that citie vnto *Scanderbeg*, grieued him much: wherfore he resolued with himselfe so to do the one, as that he would not altogither neglect the other. And so holding on his entended journey into ASIA himselfe, with such fortune as is aforesaid, he sent *Sebalius* one of his great Bassaes, with fortie thousand horsemen to relieue BELGRADE, promising him great rewards if he could bring him *Scanderbeg* either aliue or dead. This Bassa was of the Turks accounted for a warie captaine, but not so coutagious, alwaies more politike than forward: he hauing receiued his charge, set forward with all speed possible, no lesse carefull of that he was commanded, than was *Mahomet* himselfe, and by great journies came on so fast, that he still preuented the fame of his comming; and by his forerunners intercepted, or rather (as some write) corrupted the watch which *Scanderbeg* had before placed vpon the mountaines; so that no signe was giuen vnto the campe of the enemies, as was expected. By meanes whereof, *Sebalius* with all his power were vpon that part of *Scanderbeg* his army, which lay in the plaines, before they were well aware of his comming: so that most part of them had not so much leisure as to bridle their horses, or to put on their armor. In which so sudden a feare, *Musachius* armed himselfe, and put his souldiours in such order as the shortnesse of the time and the enemies approach would permit; doubting much, whether it were better to fight or to flie: but seeing no lesse danger in flight than in fight, he resolutely receiued the enemies charge, as a man desirous before hand to reuenge his owne death. And at length (seeing his men slaine about him by heapes, and that courage must needs giue place vnto fortune) fiercely attempted to haue broken through the middest of his enemies, and so to haue fled vnto the mountaine where *Scanderbeg* lay: but he was so beset, that no way was possible to be made; wherefore resoluing there to die, he desperatly fought, to the great admiration of his enemies, vntill that he, with all there with him, were euery man slaine. *Tanusius* on the other side, after he had giuen diuers braue attempts to haue rescued his cosin *Musachius*, finding by proofe, that he could doe him no more good therein but to become the wofull companion of his death, exhorted all the rest yet left, for safegard of their liues to flie: in which doing, most of them were slaine, for the Bassaes great army so filled all places thereabout, and so eagerly pursued the victorie, that it was almost impossible any way to scape. *Scanderbeg* lying vpon the moun-

Musachius slain and the Epirots put to flight.

mountaine, and ſeeing the ouerthrow of moſt part of his armie, was about many times to haue deſcended from the hill, to haue holpen them in what hee might, or els to haue there died with them: but yet ſtayed, being thereto earneſtly requeſted by his other moſt expert captaines; and perſuaded, not deſperately to thruſt both himſelfe and them all into the manifeſt perill of aſſured death. *Scanderbeg ſeeth his men ſlain, and is not able to releeue them.*

Sebalias hauing ſlain *Muſachius*, and put *Tanuſius* to flight, followed the chaſe with the greateſt part of his armie, ſo that few were left in the great plaine, except ſuch as ſtayed to rifle the dead. *Scanderbeg* taking that oportunitie, came downe from the hill whereon he ſtood, with his foure thouſand ſouldiors, and in a moment ſlew all ſuch Turkes as he found in his way: and after following in the taile of the Turkes armie, cut off a great number of them, and brought a generall feare vpon the whole armie: inſomuch, that *Sebalias* perceiuing that he gained not ſo much in chaſing of *Tanuſius*, but that he loſt more in the rereward of his armie, by the purſuit of *Scanderbeg*, left the chaſe, and turned vpon his fierce enemie: Where after a ſharpe skirmiſh begun, the warie Baſſa fearing in the maintaining of that diſordered fight to haue the victorie wrung out of his hands by *Scanderbeg*, cauſed a retreat to bee ſounded, ſo to call together his diſperſed ſouldiors, and in better order to encounter his dangerous enemie. *Scanderbeg* in the meane time hauing aſſembled the remainder of his armie, valiantly again encountred the Turks, who thought in this battaile to haue made an end of the warres in EPIRVS: and with his owne hand ſlew [illegible]*mat* and *Barach*, two valiant ſouldiours of the Turkes; which like ſtout champions had before ſworne vnto *Mahomet* the death of *Scanderbeg*, if they ſhould chance to meet with him. In this laſt skirmiſh a great number of the Turks were ſlain: but night drawing on, *Sebalias* retired with his armie to a mountaine neere vnto the cittie, and *Scanderbeg* likewiſe to another almoſt two miles off: and in the dead time of the night riſing with his armie, returned in ſafetie into EPIRVS, leauing ſtrong garriſons vpon all the ſtrait paſſages as he went, for feare leaſt the Baſſa proud of this victorie, ſhould forthwith breake into EPIRVS. This was the onely and greateſt ouerthrow that *Scanderbeg* had hetherto receiued of the Turkes: wherein hee loſt two thouſand horſemen and three thouſand foot (moſt part whereof were of the Italians ſent from king *Alphonſius*) together with his tents and great artillerie, and about eightie of his men taken priſoners. And of the Turks were alſo ſlaine three thouſand. *Scanderbeg flieth by night into Epirus.*

The next day *Sebalias* perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was retired, commaunded the bodies of the ſlaine Turks to be ſought out and buried: but of ſuch Chriſtians as they yet found breathing, the Turks cut off their hands and feet, and ſo left them amongſt the dead. The head of *Muſachius* and of many other the ſlaine Chriſtians, which by their armour or apparrell were thought to be of the better ſort, were by the commaundement of *Sebalias* cut off: which becauſe he could not for the diſtance of the place, and heat of the weather, without great annoyance carrie with him to CONSTANTINOPLE, as the barbarous manner of the Turks is; he cauſed them to bee ſlaine, and ſtuffed with chaffe, and ſo to bee carried as the vaine trophees of his victorie. Afterwards, when hee had repaired the battered wals of BELGRADE, and put a new ſupplie of ſeuen hundred freſh ſouldiours into the cittie, beſide the old garriſon therein before, and ſet all things in good order, he returned with great triumph to CONSTANTINOPLE. And the more to ſet out the glorie of his victorie, at ſuch time as he entered the citie, he firſt cauſed the captiue Chriſtians to be led in chaines before him; after whom were borne the enſignes taken from the Chriſtians, with the aforeſaid heads thruſt vpon launces, and after them all the ſpoile: laſt of all came *Sebalias* himſelfe, with his ſouldiors, as great conquerours, and was of the people receiued with ſuch applauſe and joy, as if hee had conquered ſome great kingdome. No man was now ſpoken of but *Sebalias*, his praiſes were in euery mans mouth, hee was the onely man (as they ſaid) that did ſhew that *Scanderbeg* was to be ouercome: no preferment was now thought too great for him, or reward ſufficient to counteruaile his deſert. The poore Chriſtian captiues were afterwards for moſt part ſold: of the reſt, ſome were aliue thruſt vpon ſharpe ſtakes, ſome hanged vpon yron hookes, ſome otherwiſe cruelly at the victors pleaſure tortured to death.

Moſes lately before corrupted by the practiſe of the gouernour of SPETIGRADE, hearing of the great loſſe *Scanderbeg* had receiued at BELGRADE, thought it now a moſt fit time for his reuolt. But for as much as the fact, in the nature of it ſelfe foule, ſeemed euen to himſelfe the doer thereof, a great deale fouler and more diſhonourable, for that he had therein no complices: hee thought it good, if it were poſsible, to allure ſome others into the fellowſhip of his treaſon, ſo to diminiſh

diminish the infamie of himselfe, in communicating the same with many, and to appeare with greater credit before the Turkish tyrant, than if hee should as a contemptible fugitiue come all alone. Wherefore vpon the bad newes from BELGRDE, he seemed at the first very pensiue, and much to lament the misfortune of *Scanderbeg*, and the common miserie of the countrey of EPIRVS, with many words amplifying the same: and then on the contrarie part, setting forth to the vttermost the force and power of the Turkish emperour *Mahomet*, thereby to strike a greater terrour and distrust into the minds of them with whom hee was conuersant: but vnto such as were more secret and inward with him, hee discouered the great affection and fauour the great emperour *Mahomet* had of long borne him, with the large offer of his gifts and preferments, assuring them of the like also, if they would conforme themselues vnto his appetite; seeking hereby so much as he could, to allure them into the participation of his most execrable treason: yet when he had said what he could, he found none but a few of the baser sort of the common souldiours, which were willing to hearken vnto him or to follow him. When *Moses* saw how much he had laboured, and how little preuailed, fearing to be discouered, hee fled by night to SPETIGRADE, accompanied with a few base fellowes, and easily obtained the gouernours passe, with safe conduct to CONSTANTINOPLE: where he arriued a little before the returne of *Sebalias* from BELGRADE, and was of *Mahomet* both joyfully receiued and honourably entertained.

When *Scanderbeg* vnderstood that *Moses* was thus reuolted, at the first report thereof hee was so troubled with the strangenesse of the fact, that he stood speechlesse as a man astonied: but after he had pawsed a while, and vpon further enquirie had found it to be true, he according to his heroicall disposition, said no more, but that he could easily haue *Moses* excused, for that hee was carried away with the violence of such fortune as might haue alienated the mind of a right constant man. And when diuers of his friends (according to the manner of the world) with hard speeches seemed to agrauate his offence: he could not abide to heare the same, but commanded them to hold their peace, and no more to vse such speeches: wishing that all treason and euill fortune were together with *Moses* gone out of EPIRVS. Vpon this newes, *Scanderbeg* accompanied with *Amesa* his nephew and a troupe of horsemen, presently went into the countrey of DIBRA, and there with all care caused most diligent enquirie to be made, if any could be found partakers of the conspiracie with *Moses*. But finding none, he much rejoyced in the fidelitie of his subjects: and hauing set all things in good order in that prouince, returned himselfe to CROIA.

Moses remaining in the Turks court, ceased not to solicite *Mahomet* to proceed in his warres against *Scanderbeg*, promising to doe therein great matters, euen to the spending of his life in that seruice. But the craftie tyrant thinking it not good to trust him too farre before hee had further triall of him, delayed him off vntill the next Spring, pretending that the yeare was too far spent to begin warres. In the meane time he caused all *Moses* talke, his behauior and actions, to be diligently obserued and noted; and oftentimes himselfe discoursed with him concerning the managing of that warre: all which he did especially to sound the depth of *Moses* his thoughts. And finding nothing in him but the most assured and vndoubted signes of a mind deuoted to his seruice, and altogether estranged from *Scanderbeg*: in the beginning of the Spring he committed to his charge the leading of fifteene thousand horsemen for the inuading of EPIRVS, such men as *Moses* himselfe should make choice of: for a greater number he required not for the vanquishing of *Scanderbeg*. These souldiors although they detested (so few in number) to enter that fatall countrey of EPIRVS, as men faire warned by other mens harmes, yet heartened on by the opinion they had conceiued of their new Generall, and the hope they had by his meanes to find friends in that countrey to joyne with them, were the willinger to goe. So *Moses* furnished with a notable armie, and all warlike prouision he could desire for the destruction of his countrey; and blinded with the imagination of a kingdome, set forward, & marching through THRACIA and MACEDONIA, forgetting the loyaltie due vnto his soueraigne, and the loue hee ought to haue borne vnto his natiue countrey, came and entered into DIBRA.

Mahomet sendeth Moses with fifteene thousand select men to inuade Epirus.

Scanderbeg by his espials vnderstanding of the comming of *Moses*, as also what strength hee was of, stood not now vpon any policie against him who had of long been priuie to all his stratagemes, but was readie euen at his first entrance with true valour to encounter him. As both the armies stood raunged in order of battaile, a messenger came from the Turks campe, to know of *Scanderbeg*, if any one of his armie durst to proue his fortune hand to hand against one of the Turks, before the beginning of the generall battell. By which messenger answere was returned,

That

That the challenge ſhould be accepted. The name of the Turk which made this braue challenge was *Ahemaze*, a man for his valour and courage of great name amongſt the Turkes. Vpon this proud challenge, *Zacharias Groppa*, a gentleman of no leſſe reputation amongſt the Chriſtians, haſtely ſtept forth before *Scanderbeg* (as if he had beene afraid to haue beene preuented by ſome other) and requeſted, that he might be the man to abate the Turkes pride. *Scanderbeg* embracing him, commended his noble mind, and wiſhing him good fortune, gaue him leaue to catrie with him into the field the firſt honour of the Chriſtian armie. As he was arming himſelfe, his companions & fellowes in armes ſtanding about him, wiſhed vnto him not more courage or ſtrength than he had, but onely the fortune of *Maneſſi*. Vpon his armour hee put on many rich jewels and ornaments, the allurements or rather the rewards of the enemie, if hee could vanquiſh him. The Turkiſh champion was no ſooner come into the plaine betwixt both armies, & made ſhew of himſelfe in great brauerie as if his match had yet beene ſcarcely found, but he ſaw *Zacharias* come forth brauely mounted, and readie to charge him: to whom *Ahemaze* calling aloud, ſaid there would bee time ynough for him to haſten to his death, and therefore requeſted to talke with him before. So when he had learned of him both his name and place, he propounded ſuch like conditions of the combat, as had beene long before derided by *Maneſſi*: whereof *Zacharias* in no better ſort accepted. In few words it was agreed vpon betwixt them, That each of them ſhould abide his owne fortune, without any helpe or aid of others; and that the victor ſhould haue full power ouer the bodie and ſpoile of the vanquiſhed. Thus agreed, they withdrew themſelues one a good diſtance from another, and with their launces charged, ran together with ſuch force, that with the violence of the encounter they brake their launces one vpon the other, and were both horſe and man ouerthrowne. Both vnhorſed, they nimbly recouered themſelues, and with their ſcimitars fiercely aſſailed the one the other on foot. Fortune it ſhould ſeeme had determined to beautifie that combat with varietie, ſtanding a great while indifferent to both. After many ſturdie ſtrokes giuen, without any hurt done, by reaſon they were ſo ſtrongly armed, it fortuned that both their ſwords were beaten out of their hands: then grapling together with their bare hands, as if they had beene two vnarmed wreſtlers, after long ſtrugling till they were both almoſt out of breath, *Zacharias* ouerthrew the Turke, and lying vpon him, with his dagger, aboue the gorget thruſt him into the throat, and ſlew him: and ſo riſing vp, with the ſword that firſt came to his hands, cut off the Turks head: at the ſight whereof the Chriſtian armie gaue a great ſhout for joy, to the great diſcomfiture of the Turks. To be ſhort, *Zacharias* deſpoyling the Turk of his armour, and what elſe he thought good, returned loded with the ſpoile of his enemie, and preſented vnto *Scanderbeg* the proud Turkes head: for which hee was of him afterwards moſt honourably rewarded.

A combat betwixt a Turke and a Chriſtian.

Into this place yet reeking with the bloud of the late ſlaine Turke, came *Moſes*, and with a loud voice challenged *Scanderbeg* hand to hand; thinking indeed that he would not haue aduentured his perſon: but when he ſaw him readie to come forth, hee ſhamefully forſooke the place, and returned with ſhame ynough into his armie.

Preſently after, both the armies vpon ſignall giuen ſet forward, and ſo began to joine battaile: where at the firſt onſet *Scanderbeg* ſo valiantly charged the vauward of the Turkes armie, that they were glad to giue ground: which *Moſes* perceiuing, releeued them with new ſupplies: and riding now here, now there, with his preſence and courage reſtored the battaile, in many places almoſt loſt. Howbeit, the Epirots encouraged with the beginning of their good fortune, ſtill preuailed vpon their enemies, and after great ſlaughter made, came to the ſtrength of their battaile; where *Moſes* had placed moſt of his beſt ſouldiours, as his moſt aſſured and laſt refuge: In this place the Turks fought with exceeding courage, and *Moſes* warily obſeruing in what part of the battaile *Scanderbeg* himſelfe was, directed his greateſt forces againſt him, of purpoſe, if poſsibly he might, to haue ſlaine him: whereof he miſſed but a little; for a courageous ſouldiour of the Turkes by chance encountering with *Scanderbeg*, with his horſemans ſtaffe bare him quite backward vpon his horſe, in ſuch forcible manner, that the Turks for joy gaue a great ſhout, thinking verely he had beene ſlaine: but *Scanderbeg* recouering himſelfe againe, and chafed with ſuch an vnwonted diſgrace, furiouſly aſſailed the ſame Turke with his ſword, and after a great fight ſlew him. A great part of the Turkes armie being alreadie ouerthrowne by them that had the leading of the wings of *Scanderbeg* his armie, diuers of the common ſouldiours thruſt the heads of the ſlaine Turkes vpon the points of their ſpeares, in token of victorie, to the great aſtoniſhment of

The battell betwixt Scanderbeg and Moſes.

the Turks: and now joyning themselues with *Scanderbeg*, more fiercely charged the maine battaile of the Turkes than before. Neuertheleſſe, *Moſes* encouraging his ſouldiours, did what was poſsible for a man to doe, and euen with his owne valour a great while ſtaied the courſe of the victorie: vntill he ſeeing the ground about him couered with the dead bodies of his beſt ſoldiours, and that there was no remedie but that he muſt either flie, or there die; turned his backe and fled. In which flight, many of the hindermoſt of the Turks were ſlaine: as for *Moſes* himſelfe, he eſcaped by waies to him well knowne, onely with foure thouſand men, the poore remainder of ſo great an armie: the reſt, to the number of about eleuen thouſand, all choiſe men, were ſlaine: whereas of the Chriſtians were not paſt an hundreth loſt, and about eightie wounded. Of all the Turkes that were taken, onely one was ſaued; who being a man of good account, had yeelded himſelfe to *Zacharias*, and was afterward raunſomed: the reſt were all by the common ſouldiours, without pittie, tortured to death, in reuenge of the crueltie by them ſhewed at BELGRADE: *Scanderbeg* himſelfe either not knowing thereof, or winking thereat.

Moſes with the reſt of his diſcomfited armie, lay ſtill a while vpon the borders of EPIRVS, and would faine haue perſuaded them, after the departure of *Scanderbeg*, to haue followed him againe into EPIRVS, to haue ſurpriſed the garriſon left in DIBRA, in number not aboue two thouſand; promiſing to bring them vpon the ſame garriſon, before they ſhould be aware of their comming. But the Turks hauing him now in contempt, were about by generall conſent to forſake him, and to returne home. And ſo *Moſes* ſeeing no remedie, returned with them to CONSTANTINOPLE, with countenance as heauie as if he had beene a condemned man now carried to the place of execution: and the Turkes which had not long before had him in great admiration, expecting that he ſhould haue ended the wars in EPIRVS; began now to diſgrace him as faſt, and to ſpeake all the euill of him they could deuiſe. Yea the prowd tyrant himſelfe (although he could blame nothing in the man, but his fortune) was ſo highly offended with him, for the loſſe of his armie, that he had vndoubtedly put him to moſt cruell death, had not the great Baſſaes, and others neere about him, perſuaded him otherwiſe: ſaying, That in ſo doing, he ſhould alienat the mindes of all others from reuolting vnto him, or attempting any great thing for his ſeruice. So was he by their mediation, pardoned his life; but withall, ſo diſgraced, that he had little or nothing allowed him afterwards for his neceſſarie maintenance: all which deſpiteful contumelies he outwardly ſeemed patiently to beare; but was inwardly ſo tormented with melancholy and griefe, that he could neither eat nor drinke: The remembrance of the foule treaſon committed againſt his prince and countrey, was day and night before his eies; and the diſgraces of the Turkes court inwardly tormented him with intollerable griefe: The ſight of the tyrant (who meaſured all things by the euent) filled his heart with ſecret indignation; and to returne againe vnto his naturall prince, of whom he had ſo euill deſerued, he was aſhamed: Sometime the clemencie and princely nature of *Scanderbeg*, whom he knew of old, ſlow to reuenge, and eaſie to be entreated to forgiue, hartened him on to thinke of returne; and by and by, the conſideration of his fowle treaſon ouerwhelmed him with deſpaire. Thus with contrarie thoughts plunged too and fro, tormented with the inſpeakable griefes of a troubled conſcience, not knowing what to doe, purpoſing now one thing, and by and by another: at laſt he reſolued to forſake the inſolent tyrant, and to ſubmit himſelfe to the mercie of *Scanderbeg*; wiſhing rather to die in his countrey for his due deſert, than to liue with infamie, derided in the Turkes court. Reſting himſelfe vpon this reſolution, one euening hee got ſecretly out of the gates of CONSTANTINOPLE, and trauelling all that night and the day following before he reſted, by long and wearie journies, came at laſt vnto his natiue countrey of DIBRA. The garriſon ſouldiours beholding their old gouernour all alone, full of heauineſſe, as a man eaten vp with cares; mooued with compaſsion, and forgetting the euils hee had beene the occaſion of, receiued him with many teares and friendly embracings, and brought him to *Scanderbeg*, who by chance then lay not farre off. *Moſes* comming vnto him with his girdle about his necke, in token that he had deſerued death (as the manner of that countrey was) found him walking before his tent, and there with heauie cheere falling downe vpon his knees at his feet, ſubmitted himſelfe vnto his mercie, and with great humilitie and ſignes of repentance, craued his moſt gracious pardon. Which his requeſt *Scanderbeg* preſently granted, and taking him vp by the hand embraced and kiſſed him, in token he had from his heart forgiuen him: and within a few daies after, cauſed all ſuch things of his as were before confiſcat, to be againe reſtored vnto him; with all ſuch offices and promo-

Moſes contemned of the Turks.

Moſes flieth from Conſtantinople.

tions

tions as he had before enjoyed: and by open proclamation commanded, That from thenceforth no man should either publikely or priuatly speake of that *Moses* had trespassed. *Mahomet* vnderstanding that *Moses* was returned againe into EPIRVS, and honoured of *Scanderbeg* as in former time, was much grieued thereat, and fumed exceedingly: First, for that he had at all trusted him; and then, that he had so let him slip out of his hands: being verily persuaded, that all that *Moses* had done, was but a fineneſſe of *Scanderbeg* to deceiue him.

Shortly after that *Moses* was returned into EPIRVS, *Mahomet* by like practise alluted vnto him *Amesa*, *Scanderbeg* his nephew; promising to make him king of EPIRVS in his vnckles steed. For by that meanes, the craftie tyrant thought it a more easie way to draw the mindes of the people of EPIRVS from *Scanderbeg* vnto him descended of the princes bloud, than to *Moses*, or to any other stranger he should set vp. *Amesa* vpon this hope of a kingdome, fled to CONSTANTINOPLE: and becauſe he would cleere the mind of the tyrant of all suspition and distrust, he carried with him his wife and children, as the most sure pledges of his fidelitie. This *Amesa* was of stature low, and the feature of his body not so perfect as might sufficiently expresse the hidden vertues of his mind: He was of courage hautie aboue measure, subtill, and of a pregnant wit; wonderfull painfull, and thereto courteous and bountifull (the chiefe meanes whereby aspiring minds steale away the hearts of men) whatsoeuer he got of himselfe, or had by the gift of his vnckle, he deuided it amongst his souldiours or friends: he was verie affable, and could notably both couer and dissemble his affections: for which things, he was aboue all others both beloued and honoured of all the people of EPIRVS, next vnto *Scanderbeg* himselfe. At his first comming to *Mahomet*, he filled not his eares with great promises, and vaine praises of himselfe as had *Moses*; but only excusing his owne reuolt, laboured to perswade him, That he had for just causes left his vnckle, with a desire now faithfully to serue him. And to that purpose spake vnto him as followeth:

Amesa his first speech vnto Mahomet.

If it should please thee (most noble Mahomet*) to call to remembrance the old iniuries, and auntient displeasures by vs committed against thine imperiall Maiestie: we might seeme now rather to haue come hither to receiue the just guerdon of our euill deserts, than vpon any hope of honor or preferment. For what could haue been done more in disgrace of the* Othoman *empire, than that you haue seene long since done by vs, in the most dangerous time of the Hungarian war; rather of a malicious & set purpose, than for that we were just enemies? When as in the same perfidious course, I my selfe being a helper and partaker therein (for now no excuse is to be pretended for our doings, more than repentance) your fathers army was betrayed at* MORAVA, *and the kingdome of* EPIRVS *by great treacherie wrested out of your fathers hands; the only cause of so many calamities, and of so much bloudshed. But vaine is this feare, and our suspition needlesse, with so wise and mercifull a prince; especially for that my yeares then greene, and youth prone vnto the harme of it selfe, and a mind not resting vpon his owne resolations, deceiued me. I beleeued mine vnckle (for the ignorant beleeue many things) and allured with the desire of soueraigntie (the proper disease of that age) and too much credulous, I forsooke you and followed his promises: but discretion growing with yeares, I haue by little and little perceiued both the slie perfidious dealing of mine vnckle, as also that my reuolt from you was more hurtfull vnto my selfe than to any other.* Scanderbeg *recouered, and also enlarged the kingdome of* EPIRVS; *but not without my great labour and helpe. I expected long time, that he should haue giuen me, if not my fathers whole inheritance, yet at least some part thereof, as a small reward of my so great trauell and danger. Not long after he married a wife, and hath begot a young heire, a new successour in his kingdome: vnto me for shame of the world, because I should not altogither lead a priuat life, he hath assigned a base corner of* EPIRVS; *where he enioyning the rest, I might lead a poore and contemptible life. In this case I had much adoe to bridle my affections, and could neuer disgeast that iniurie: yet the iniquitie of the time, with the insolent disposition of the man, compelled me to smother vp my thoughts, and to make faire weather; least finding some suspition, he should craftely haue entrapped me, as he did of late* George Streſie *his sisters sonne; whom wrongfully charged with fained surmises, he hath almost depriued of all his possessions. I would willingly haue fled vnto the feet of your highnesse, I would gladly haue forsaken my ingratefull vnckle with the staines of his infamous kingdome; but that the remembrance of the old rebellion, and many iniuries sithence done, did make me afraid: vntill that now (God I thinke so appointing it) I came most gladly, following your most royall faith and promise. You had scarcely beckned vnto me, you had scarcely inuited me, hauing of long intentiuely waited ene-*

rie occaſion; but ſtraight way I came with ſuch ſpeed, as if I would haue flowne: I lingred not, I expected not either Scanderbeg *or his euill happe, or your more proſperous ſucceſſe, as of late did* Moles; *leaſt I might thereby juſtly ſeeme either for feare or regard of ſome imminent danger, rather to haue prouided for mine owne ſafetie than to haue embraced your magnificence. Neither haue I left any thing for you in me to ſuſpect, nor any cauſe wherefore I ſhould deſire to returne againe into* Epirvs: *here are preſent moſt ſure bonds of my loue, and faithfull pledges of my loyaltie. Behold (worthy Mahomet) you haue whatſoeuer is deere vnto me, yea whatſoeuer nature could giue, pleaſing vnto men in the courſe of mans life. Theſe I haue brought vnto thee, which ſhould with violence haue been taken from an enemy: ſuch pawnes as might aſſure thee of the faith of a moſt doubtfull man. More than this, haue I brought nothing: for in ſo great ſpeed and ſecret departure, I could not haue regard of my ſubſtance. And if I might haue had time to haue truſſed vp my traſh at leyſure; yet I know not how, I ſhould haue thought it a kind of baſeneſſe, to haue brought with me any part of the poore reliques of mine old fortune: eſpecially vnto thee, of all other the richeſt. Onely my fidelitie I lay downe before thee, for any thing greater I haue not: and if thou deſire of me any other bond for more aſſurance, I refuſe not whatſoeuer your highneſſe ſhall appoint: for I came not hither to ſet downe couenants and agreements of my ſelfe, but to receiue them from you. I dare not promiſe to vanquiſh mine vncle, and to ſubdue* Epirvs *with an army of fifteene thouſand men: the miſfortune of* Haly-Baſſa *and other your Generals; yea and the late and rare victorie of* Sebalias, *with great bloodſhed gained, may ſerue for examples. In me you ſhall neither want diligence nor faithfull ſeruice: as for other things concerning the euent of this warre, and for the reuenge of the iniuries by you receiued; you being a prince of power inuincible, and of a moſt deepe iudgement, are not to be aduiſed by me your vnskilfull vaſſaile.*

Ameſa honourably entertained by Mahomet.

This ſpeech of *Ameſa*, ſeemed vnto *Mahomet* free from all diſsimulation, foraſmuch as he knew moſt part thereof to be true; and his wife and children brought vnto his preſence, confirmed the reſt. Wherfore commending his good affection, he appointed him honourable entertainment, referring other matters vnto a farther time.

Vpon the approch of the Spring, *Mahomet* deſiring nothing more than to be reuenged vpon *Scanderbeg*, entred into conſultation with his great Baſſaes, concerning the inuaſion of Epirvs: vnto which counſell *Ameſa* was by *Mahomet* admitted, and his wicked deuiſe for the deſtruction of his countrey, of all others beſt liked. After the matter had been long too and fro debated, it was concluded, that *Iſaack* the great Baſſa of Constantinople, ſhould with an armie of fiftie thouſand be ſent againſt *Scanderbeg*, and *Ameſa* with him, hauing the charge of fiue thouſand horſemen: and the Baſſa to proclaime *Ameſa* king of Epirvs; thereby to perſuade the Epirots, that *Mahomet* inuaded Epirvs rather for the diſpleaſure he bare againſt *Scanderbeg*, and for the aduancement of *Ameſa*, than for any ambitious deſire he had to take vnto himſelfe that kingdome.

Great was the preparation for this warre, and the expectation thereof greater. Flying fame had in ſhort time filled euerie corner of Epirvs with the report of theſe newes; adding thereunto (as the manner is) a great deale more than was true. Whereupon *Scanderbeg* without delay, ſent for his great captains and men of warre into Dibra, where that tempeſt was firſt to be expected: and when they were all aſſembled, he declared vnto them the greatneſſe of the danger, and what he thought thereof himſelfe as followeth.

A notable ſpeech of Scanderbeg vnto his captains, how the Turks were to be withſtood as they comming into Epirus.

Amongſt all other things which God hath left to vex and greeue the minds of men in ſo great varietie of worldly affaires, we ſee (right worthie ſouldiors) theſe two the greateſt, Hope, and Feare. The firſt a more comfortable thing, and proper to courageous minds (I may not ſay) of light beleefe: the other a thing of more diſcretion and ſafetie, which although it vſe to deferre the deſires of men, yet hath it power at length excellently to cure and ſeaſon the ſame. Hereupon is it eaſily to be gathered, that the great cheefetaines of former times haue gained more honour and greater victories, by fearing all that was to be feared, than others in ſhew more hardie, which feared nothing. Hereupon the great Carthaginentian captaine vſed to call Q. Fabius *(whom the Romanes euer thought too ſlow and too fearefull) his great enemie: but* Terentius Varro *he called a greater enemie vnto his owne countrey and the people of* Rome, *than to himſelfe. But wherfore do I wrongfully call that Feare, which might more truly be called Diſcretion, or wholeſome Policie? Call it as you will, it is not much materiall: but this one thing no man can denie, That thereof hath riſen the antient diſcipline of warre, and the old and ſeuere*

gouernment

gouernment of martiall affaires. This aduiſed careſulneſſe cheriſheth and nouriſheth Hope it ſelfe, it doth nothing raſhly, it hath eyes before, behind, and on both ſides, it waigheth in indifferent ballance things paſt, preſent, and to come. You may now perceiue to what end my ſpeech tendeth. I would firſt conferre with you, and know your opinions, before I determine any thing of the order of this warre; that either I might yeeld vnto your opinion, or els you (as you haue alwaies hitherto done) to mine. You heare, you now heare with your eares what preparation, what warlike prouiſion is daily made againſt vs. Lo the great Baſſa of CONSTANTINOPLE, *all the flower of* EVROPE, *and whole ſtrength of the* Otho-man *kingdome knocketh at our gates. I want not courage (neither euer did) to prooue my fortune a-gainſt him, not without your honour: but I thinke it better to vſe police and warie heed againſt ſo great an enemie, than our wonted force and courage. That notable ouerthrow of* Hali Baſſa, *ſo many great victories by vs atchieued, our minds by ſo many good haps confirmed, perſuade me to thinke that wee haue both courage and ſtrength to encounter him in plaine battaile: but the vncertaine euents of war, and fortune neuer ſufficiently knowne, maketh wiſe men to forget what is paſt, and to feare that is to come. It was neuer proper to any man, it was neuer giuen by inheritance, alwaies to ouercome; new occurrents require new correſpondents: neither may you, for that you conquered yeſterday, preſume to aſſure your ſelfe to deuide the ſpoile of your enemies to day. Victorie is like a trauellour, and goeth hi-ther and thither, not reſting long in a place: and although it be for moſt part both gotten and kept by courage and diſcretion; yet oftentimes, when you haue moſt carefully and politiquely diſpoſed of all things, the fortune and chance of warre haue therein a great ſway. I was wont to require (I remember it well) onely valour and courage in my ſoldiors, contemning all externall accidents and fortunes haps; if you did promiſe vnto me courageous minds, I aſſured you of all good hap and proſperous ſucceſſe: but that loſſe we receiued at* BELGRADE (*the remembrance whereof my mind feareth, and alwayes ab-horreth to thinke vpon*) *hath much changed my former cogitations, and made me to deeme farre other-wiſe of worldly matters, and the vncertainetie of fortune. What if that day had been longer? or* Scbalias *of more courage? might not the ſtate of* EPIRVS *haue that day been vtterly ouerthrowne? We were then rather by God preſerued, than by any thing that was in our ſelues: what remained more, but that we ſhould like cowards haue yeeld our ſelues to haue been bound of the conquerours? The night defended vs, yea euen God himſelfe defended vs; who tooke from them both policie and force, and gaue vs time to breath and eſcape away. We were then but as a prey, expecting but the comming of the vi-ctor: Howbeit, he tooke nothing from vs, he carried little or nothing away with him, being too much carefull to keepe the honour he had alreadie gained, and peraduenture in feare of them of whom he was not without cauſe moſt feared. I ſpeake not this of purpoſe to terrifie any of you, but rather to admoniſh you, and to conſult with you, how ſuch great preparations may be fruſtrated and ouerthrowne, and ſome notable victorie by vs atchieued, without the price of our blood, or the loſſe of ſuch things as we haue. The number of our enemies is great, and ſo great, as vntill this day we neuer ſaw in* EPIRVS *greater, except at ſuch times as they came to beſiege our cities, and to deuour vs all. Now if we ſhall meet them in the plaine fields in a ſet battaile, the euent thereof will be doubtfull, many of vs muſt needs fall, ma-ny of vs muſt die (I would I might be a falſe prophet) before ſo great an armie will either flie or be ouercome, your victorie ſhall be mingled with teares, and the heauineſſe of the conquerour not much vnlike the ſorrow of the conquered. Was it but a few that we loſt at* BELGRADE? *Is that loſſe ſo to be recouered? What flower of Chiualrie, hardly to be in many yeares reſtored? How many worthie men were there ſlaine?* EPIRVS *muſt needs in ſhort time be vnpeopled, if we ſhall ſo deſperatly only ſeeke for ſuch glorious victories. Wherefore if we will doe well, we muſt ſo fight to day, as that we may fight to morrow alſo. Neither are our enemies and we in like caſe: The loſſe of fortie or fiftie thouſand is leſſe vnto the Turkiſh tyrant, than the loſſe of an hundred of you is to me. We are in all but a few, and therefore carefully to be kept: which if we regard not for our owne ſakes, yet let vs doe it for our wiues and childrens, whoſe welfare and libertie dependeth of our liues: I know the number of you, I know your faces and countenances, and almoſt euery one of your names, which maketh me alſo more careſull of your health. And yet I would not refuſe to trie the whole fortune of this battaile in plaine field, if we might thereby end all the wars againſt the Turks for euer; if I were in hope ſo to find an end of our labours and trauels hereafter, I would gladly aduenture my life with yours, for the perpetuall quiet and peace of our poſteritie: but a new enemie alwayes ariſeth, and we muſt ſtill looke for new wars. When this* Iſaack *is gone, another* Iſaack *will ere long come in his place: we ſhall be alwaies exerciſed with new wars, and encloſed with new dangers: It is the deſtinie of* EPIRVS (*as far as I can ſee*) *and wee our ſelues are borne thereto. Wherefore we muſt gather our wits together, we muſt well husband our forces,*

and ſo diuide our patrimonie, as that we may alwayes haue ſomthing to content our creditors, when they ſhall chance to come vpon vs. Yet ſhall God (no doubt) giue an end alſo vnto theſe troubles: for extremities cannot be of long continuance, and you your ſelues ſhall at length take reſt: yea, the ſtrong and puiſſant enemie, wearied with ſo many vaine attempts, will at laſt haue ynough thereof, and leaue off his perpetuall hatred againſt vs: then ſhall it be to you no ſmall pleaſure to remember ſo many labours and dangers paſt. Thus haue I declared vnto you the commodities and incommodities enſuing the victorie in plaine battell. But what if we be vanquiſhed? Where haue we any hope of reliefe left? from whence may we expect helpe? Will the bloodie enemie, inflate with victorie, expect whileſt we again recouer our ſtrength and encounter him againe with new forces? No, he will purſue vs and chaſe vs, ſo long as any of vs are left: and hauing ouercome vs, will poure out the reſt of his furie vpon our townes and country, then ſubiect to his iniurie. But ſome of you peraduenture will ſay, that they are by policie to be ouertaken, and not to be met in open field: of which opinion I alſo am my ſelfe, yet happily differ from you in the time of doing the ſame. Then I thinke it beſt to deceiue them, when they thinke they cannot be deceiued: when as they being as it were in poſſeſſion of a ſuppoſed victorie, like men ouerioyed, ſhall caſt no perill. Now they come euen from the gates of CONSTANTINOPLE, *full of diſtruſt, prying into euery corner, as men before warned by others harmes, and ſo many dreadfull examples of their fellows: Beſides that, they haue with them my graceleſſe nephew and domeſticall foe* Ameſa, *who will teach them to foreſee and ſhun ſuch ſnares as in times paſt he with vs was wont to lay for them. Wherfore we muſt now tower vp vnto the height of ſome notable and ſtrange policie, whereby both our country may be from danger preſerued, and alſo ſome great victorie, without our owne bloodſhed (which ſeldome chanceth) obtained: which to the maintenance of our antient glorie and renowne, we haue to this day by many moſt notable victories gained: But time and ſpace, and the ſight of the enemie, ſhall furniſh vs with this deuiſe. Now (that my diſcourſe may come to the purpoſed end) firſt of all, all things ſubiect either to the furie or victorie of the enemie, are to be remoued out of the way; all people, of what age, ſex, or condition ſoeuer, are to be brought out of the countrey into places of ſafetie; and then, our townes are to be furniſhed with ſtrong garriſons and all other neceſſarie prouiſion, againſt all the chaunces of fortune. Beſides, who knoweth the ſecret deſignes of the tyrant? or whether he himſelfe (of long time deſirous of reuenge, and thirſting after our blood) will follow the Baſſa at the heeles, or no? Perhaps I may beleeue and feare more than is needfull: but it is good to feare all that may be feared, that we may indeed feare nothing. If all things ſhall thus be ſet in order, if there ſhall be nothing left in the fields or in the villages, that may enrich, feed, or feare our enemies, and which may withdraw our care and thoughts from our enemies, vndoubtedly we ſhall be victors. And if you will be ruled by me, and follow my direction in theſe wars, I will aſſuredly deliuer your enemies into your hands to be ſlain at your pleaſure; and (by the leaue of God) will make the name and valour of the Epirots more terrible vnto the Turke, than euer it hath been in the time of our anceſtors. I flatter not my ſelfe, I deceiue you not: if any thing may be promiſed in worldly actions, this I aſſure you of, and this will I take vpon mee. But theſe things are better done than ſaid. In the meane while, to ſpend no more time in longer talke and diſcourſe (than which, no greater loſſe can be to ſoldiors) let euery one of vs take a part in this charge, for the good diſpoſing of all things, and how to withſtand the enemie. I will not commaund any thing to others, which I will not my ſelfe doe: I will refuſe nothing, or reckon any thing baſe, which may tend to the common honour or profit of vs all.*

This ſpeech of *Scanderbeg* was well liked and joyfully receiued of all the hearers, ſo that many beſought him to manifeſt vnto them how he purpoſed to proceed in thoſe wars: whereunto hee with cheerefull countenance anſwered, That it was ynough for him, if they did but beleeue him, promiſing himſelfe in perſon to bee in the moſt dangerous actions as farre as any of them, wherwith they reſted contented. And preſently diſpatching his lieutenants into diuers parts of his kingdome, as he thought moſt conuenient, prouided, That all things were in ſhort time conueyed out of the countrey into the ſtrong townes and other places of refuge. No corne, no cattell, or other things of any worth was left in the countrey; but all left deſolate, in like manner as was before at the comming of the great king *Amurath* to the ſiege of CROIA.

The Epirots remoue all their things out of the country into the ſtrong townes, before the coming of the Turke.

By this time *Iſaack* the great Baſſa was come into EPIRVS, accompanied with *Ameſa*: and as hee marched, ſtill ſent before him his ſcouts and eſpials, carefully to view euery corner of the countrey, for feare to bee entrapped as others before him had beene; directed in his journey for moſt part by *Ameſa*. *Scanderbeg* had in readineſſe ſuch an armie as he had purpoſed to vſe againſt his

his mightie enemie, but lay with ſix thouſand horſemen onely in ſhew, as if hee had determined with them to haue giuen them battaile, but meaning indeed nothing leſſe. For as ſoone as the Baſſa was come in ſight, he with thoſe horſemen, according as hee had before appointed, as if hee had beene diſcouraged with the very ſight of the Turkes, turned his backe and fled. And becauſe he would not giue them any occaſion to ſuſpect it to be done for ſome policie or fineneſſe, and ſo to make them more carefull, he fled not into the mountaines or woods, as his wonted manner was, but directly toward LYSSA, a towne of the Venetians ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt, as if hee had quite deſpaired of the keeping of EPIRVS, and fled thither for refuge. The Baſſa ſeeing him flie, was glad thereof, and ſent certaine troupes of horſemen to purſue him, & diligently to marke which way he tooke: but encamped himſelfe with his armie in the plaines of DIBRA, neer vnto ORONYCHIVM, where *Scanderbeg* lay before: & there reſted his armie, wearie of long trauell, expecting the returne of his horſemen, ſent after *Scanderbeg*. But vpon their returne, when it was for a certaintie reported by them, That *Scanderbeg* with an handfull of men was fled out of EPIRVS, and not an enemie to be ſeene, the Turkes began to rejoyce, and proudly to triumph, that they had without any loſſe driuen the enemie out of the countrey; yet much greeued, that they could no where find any thing to ſatisfie their greedie deſires: for why, all things were ſo cleane gone, as if the countrey had beene ſwept againſt their comming, which might haue beene a ſufficient cauſe for them to haue diſtruſted ſome great matter; but they flattering themſelues, ſuppoſed all this to be done for feare of them, vpon extreame deſperation: ſuch is the fraile condition of men, to looſe ſtrength of bodie, common ſence, yea, their reaſon and vnderſtanding, when ſome great miſcheefe is appointed for their ouerthrow or deſtruction. The Baſſa ſeeing the enemie fled, and now no cauſe of feare, conſulted with his cheefe captaines, what were now beſt to bee done? *Ameſa* ſtill perſuading him not to remoue, but there to ſtay a time, and to expect the farther euent of matters. But the greater number, whoſe opinion preuailed, ſaid it was better to goe farther into the countrey, and to take the ſpoile thereof, before the countrey people ſhould conuay away all their ſubſtance into places of ſafetie, as they had done there in DIBRA, and leaue them nothing but the bare ground and emptie cottages. By this perſuaſion, the Baſſa earely next morning in good order ſet forward: commaunding by generall proclamation, That no man vpon paine of death ſhould breake his array or ſtraggle from the armie. Yet before he ſet forward, he called *Ameſa* vnto him; whom after he had highly commended, and with great vehemencie inuayed againſt *Scanderbeg*, he with the great applauſe of the whole armie in the name of *Mahomet* created him king of EPIRVS. That day he marched not farre, by reaſon of the great heat: for it was then about the middeſt of Iuly. Yet when he had well wearied himſelfe with that daies trauell, finding neither enemie nor any things els worthie to be accounted in any part of a victorie; he encamped at night, keeping diligent watch, and ſending forth his ſcouts euery way, but eſpecially towards LYSSA. The next day, which was the third day after the Baſſaes comming into EPIRVS, hee ſet forward againe, and came at length into ÆMATHIA, and there encamped that night.

Ameſa is by the Baſſa created king of Epirus.

When *Scanderbeg* (flying for feare, as the Turks ſuppoſed) was gone a great way out of their ſight towards LYSSA, and come euen to the borders of his kingdome, he there ſtaied all the reſt of that day. And a little before the going downe of the ſunne, he with a few ſelect horſemen departed from the army, and with painfull trauell got vp to the top of the high mountaines, from whence a man might by day well diſcouer all the plaines of ÆMATHIA. There he appointed one *Peleus Emanuel*, a politicke and valiant gentleman, with certaine horſemen to marke diligently which way the enemy held, and by certaine ſecret and appointed waſtings and ſignes, to giue knowledge thereof to the army. After ſuch order taken, he returned himſelfe, and came againe to the campe after midnight. And preſently riſing with his army, and fetching a compaſſe about, came vndiſcouered, and ſecretly encamped himſelfe as neere as he could vnto the mountaines where his ſcouts lay, with eagles eies waiting for the leaſt mouing of the enemy. The Baſſa deſirous to get as farre as hee could into the countrey, before the heat of the day, began early in the morning to ſet forward, and came to the plaines of PHARSALIA, through the world ſpoken of for the great battell in them long time before fought, between the two moſt famous chieftaines *Cæſar* and *Pompeius*: and now once more to bee made famous, by the ſlaughter of the Turks. Here the enemie finding ſome ſtragling cattell, and other ſmall things which the country people had in their haſtie flight left behind them, fell to ſeeking after bootie, and as men without

feare

feare, spent that day in roaming vp and downe the countrey, in hope to find something: and at night encamped without any great watch, but towards LYSSVM, from whence they (in great securitie) looked for the comming of *Scanderbeg*; and as it were in disgrace of him, carried *Amesa* in triumph vp and downe the campe, as if he had been alreadie possessed of the kingdome of EPIRVS. *Scanderbeg* lying on the other side of the mountaines, perceiued by his espials which way the enemy lay: and with great silence vnder the couert of the mountaines and woods, secretly bent his course the same way, vntill hee came to a mountaine called TVMENIST, at the foot whereof he encamped that night. The next morning the Bassa holding on his way, came and encamped not farre from the same mountaine, and there staied himselfe with halfe his army, and sent *Amesa* with the other halfe to burne and spoyle the countrey: who about noone returned to the campe with such prey as he had got, with his souldiours well wearied with trauell and the heat of the day. *Scanderbeg* like a carefull housholder, who being about to entertaine and feast some honourable personages, trusteth not to his wife and seruants, but looketh vnto the bestowing of his prouision himselfe, carefully ordering and disposing and setting foorth all things, especially if his prouision (for want of abilitie) be short, to welcome so great guests; and setting all things foorth to the greatest shew, seeketh at least to fill the eies of his guests, although he doubt to satisfie their appetites: so he carefully viewing all the mountaines and thick woods therabouts without resting, set *Moses* in one place, *Tanusius* in another, and all the rest in places most conuenient. He appointeth euerie man what to doe, and instructeth them, and considereth of euerie particuler circumstance himselfe: and so diuideth his forces, as might best serue his purpose, and make the most terrible shew vnto the enemy: for which purpose he in euerie companie placed mo trumpets, drums, and other instruments of war, than he had before at any time vsed. When he had so to his most aduantage bestowed so many of his captaines and souldiours as he thought good, and as the nature of the places would giue leaue, he with foure thousand horsemen and the like number of foot, speedily marching vp the rough mountaine of TVMENIST, from thence plainly beheld in what order the Turkes campe lay in the plaines below. The Turks, especially they which were lately returned with *Amesa* from the spoile of the countrey, lay scattered abroad in the fields, with their horses vnbridled and vnsadled, resting their wearie bodies: some got vnder the shadows of trees were victualing themselues; some hauing filled their bellies, lay fast on sleep vpon the greene grasse; the rest were passing the time, some with one kind of sport, some with an other, as souldiours doe in field when they haue little or nothing to doe: for it was then the hotest time both of the yeare and of the day, being about the midst of Iuly, and the noontime of the day. The like negligence was also in that part of the campe where the Bassa himselfe lay: euerie man taking his ease and pleasure, with small regard of horse or armour; for being out of feare of *Scanderbeg*, whom they thought to haue been a great way off at LYSSVM, they lay as men without care wrapped vp in securitie, the common destruction of great armies and common wealths. *Amesa* with the great captaines, were at the same time altogither in the Bassaes pauilion, consulting what course they were best to take, to doe something to the contentment of *Mahomet*, and their owne commendation: Some said it were best, with fire and sword to destroy all they could in EPIRVS; and so hauing laied the countrey wast, to returne: Others thought it better to march directly to CROIA, to proue if the citizens could be perswaded to yeeld themselues, and receiue *Amesa* for their king; otherwise to threaten them with a continuall siege, and vtter destruction of the countrey, if vpon the vaine expectation of helpe from *Scanderbeg* they should refuse to submit themselues. As for *Scanderbeg* himselfe, who then lay houering ouer their heads, he was in all that consultation least feared: who from the top of the mountaine, beholding the securitie and disorder of the Turks camp, and delighted with the sight thereof; encouraged his souldiors, and martialed them in such order as they were to follow him, for the charging and terrifying of the enemy. But first of all he determined to oppresse the Turkes scouts, which lay at the foot of the mountaine: for which purpose he himselfe with a few horsmen first secretly discended the mountain, the rest of his army following shortly after, and so suddenly came vpon the scouts that he slew them all, excepting one, who escaping by the swiftnesse of his horse, came running into the campe as one halfe feared out of his wit, crying out that *Scanderbeg* was comming. The Turks suspecting nothing lesse than the comming of him that way, at the present instant hardly beleeued that he was so nie: whē as he following him at the heels as fast as he could, with his horsmen and his footmen after them, was in a moment as if it had been a sudden tempest, broken in amongst

The Turks campe brauely surprised.

amongst the vnarmed Turkes, and there making great slaughter of them, filled all the campe with sudden tumult and feare. *Ameſa* who at the first noise had speedily got him to his charge, with his souldiours some halfe armed, some on foot, hauing no leisure to bridle their horses, was the first that made head against *Scanderbeg*. The Bassa also did what he might in that sudden feare and shortnesse of time, to arme his men, and to put them in order: but whilest these things were in doing, the souldiours which lay in ambush in the woods, came downe the mountaine with such horrible shouts and noise of instruments of warre, as if heauen and earth should haue presently gone togither; the hils and vallies with their hollow ecchoes, encreasing the terror of the alarum. Insomuch, that the Turkes dismaied, and fearing that all the force of EPIRVS with the countries adjoyning had come vpon them, began to flie on euerie side, before that *Moses* and the rest that lay in ambush were come into the plaines. *Ameſa* acquainted with his vnckles stratagems, as much as he could encouraged the Turkes; crying alowd and telling them, That such vaine tumults and terrours were not to be feared, being but the bare shifts and deuises of their enemies to couer their owne weaknesse: and by his owne valour staied many which before were about to haue fled. In this while, the Bassa hauing put his men in best order he could, was comming to the aid of *Ameſa*, hardly charged by *Scanderbeg*: but in his setting forward, he was so valiantly encountred on the one side by *Moſes* with his horsemen, and on the other by *Tanuſius* and *Emauuel* with their footmen, that he was enforced, not without great losse, againe to retire vnto his trenches.

Scanderbeg sadly assaileth the Turkes.

All the hope of the battell depended vpon *Ameſa*, who still with great courage withstood his vnckle; exhorting his souldiours valiantly as men to endure that first assault, which should afterwards bring them most assured victorie: hartening them on with hope of speedie help from their fellowes, if they would but a while endure the furie of their enemies, whose hearts (as hee said) would presently be discouraged, if they preuailed not in that their first and desperat attempt, hauing nothing else to trust vnto. By which persuasion the Turkes were againe encouraged, accounting it a great dishonour to flie, and leaue their chiefetaine in the field. But when they saw *Scanderbeg* still to preuaile vpon them, and that no helpe came as they hoped (for many were by *Scanderbeg* his horsemen slaine as they were arming themselues; many were by the way cut off as they were comming, and the rest put to flight) they which before fought valiantly with *Ameſa*, turned their backs and fled also. *Scanderbeg* his horsemen pursuing the chase, made great slaughter of the Turkes, and in the same chase tooke *Ameſa* prisoner. *Scanderbeg*, hauing ouerthrown that part of the Turkes battell, was comming with a thousand footmen and some horsemen, to haue ayded *Moſes* against the Bassa: but before his comming, *Moſes* to blot out his former infamie, had with inuincible courage put the great Bassa with all his army to flight: and *Scanderbeg* following the chase, gaue him not leaue to looke behind him, vntill he was got out of EPIRVS. Many were in this chase taken prisoners, and amongst the rest one *Meſites* a Sanzacke, a man of great account amongst the Turkes. In this battell beside the prisoners, were taken twentie of the Turkes faireſt ensignes. As for horses, armour, and other spoiles taken in the field, and in the campe, all which fell vnto the souldiors share, it is almost incredible to be told. The number of the slaine Turkes is of diuers diuersly reported, they which write of the most, reckon vp thirtie thousand; and they which speake of the least, account twentie-thousand. Of the Christians were lost but sixtie. Now if any account it strange, that so great a victorie should be gained with so little losse; not to speake of that is written in holy writ, let him but read the auncient histories of the Romans, or the chronicles of our owne country, and he shall in them find victories no lesse strange. There was to be seene the sudden and strange alteration of these worldly things, no more indeed (whatsoeuer we account of them) to be reckoned of, than of things we haue not. *Scanderbeg* possesseth the rich pauilion, erst belonging to the great Bassa; and other of his captaines enioy tents, with much other rich furniture neuer prepared for their vse. *Ameſa* which the same day as a victorious conquerour ouerran a great part of ÆMATHIA with his horsemen, and was in triumph carried vp with the generall acclamation of many thousands of valiant souldiors, and honoured as a king, and of them so called; is now led through the Christian army to his vnkle, with his hands bound behind him as a slaue, speechlesse and confounded, vnable to hold vp his head for shame: whose miserie moued most of the beholders to compassion, and forced teares out of the eies of many.

A notable victorie of the Christians.

The next day after this great victorie, *Scanderbeg* caused the bodies of the slaine Turkes to be

be buried, togither with their horſes; which he did not for any regard of them, but that their loathſome carkaſes ſhould not infect the countrey: and after that, returned in great triumph to CROIA. By the way as he went, the countrey people, which were before for feare of the Turks fled into the woods and mountaines in great multitudes, met him; as did others alſo out of the cities, whoſe mouthes were all full of his worthy praiſes. Before him went the captiue Turkes with their hands bound behind them, excepting ſuch as were enforced to carrie the Turkes enſignes: Next vnto them followed the great Baſſaes rich pauilion, in ſuch manner ſupported by the ſouldiours, as if it had been in the field: Then came *Scanderbeg* himſelfe with the Turkiſh Sanzacke, and *Ameſa* following him; for *Ameſa* had with great and humble ſute obtained of his vncle, that he might not as he well deſerued, be carried bound amongſt the other captiues: Laſt of all came *Scanderbeg* his victorious ſouldiours in goodly order, euerie man leading a ſpare horſe taken from the enemy, and loaded with ſpoyle. So when he was come to CROIA, and there of his ſubjects joyfully receiued, he brake vp his army, and gaue euerie man leaue at his pleaſure to depart. The Sanzacke, and *Ameſa*, were committed to ſafe keeping, vntill farther order was taken for them. *Ameſa* afterwards was for his treaſon worthely condemned to perpetuall priſon, and by an embaſſador from *Scanderbeg* ſent vnto king *Alphonſus* to NAPLES, there to be kept in durance; and with him was alſo ſent an honourable preſent of part of the ſpoile taken from the Turkes, in token of the victorie. What became afterward of this *Ameſa*, concerneth not much the courſe of our hiſtorie; yet to ſatisfie the deſirous, I think it not amiſſe with him to ſtray a little out of the way.

When *Ameſa* had remained a yeare in priſon at NAPLES, *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding of the death of *Alphonſus*, by his embaſſadour requeſted of *Ferdinand* his ſonne, to haue *Ameſa* reſtored to him againe. By which meanes he was brought backe againe into EPIRVS, and caſt in priſon at CROIA; but not in ſuch ſtraight manner as before: for *Scanderbeg* according to his accuſtomed clemencie, began now to forget the injurie to him before done; and at laſt ouercome with the continuall ſupplication and teares of his nephew, pardoned him his life; and reſtoring him to his former libertie, receiued him alſo into his former fauor. But *Ameſa* remembring what pledges of his loyaltie hee had left with *Mahomet* at CONSTANTINOPLE, and fearing what would become of his wife and children, if he ſhould haſtely vſe that his libertie, giuing his vncle moſt humble thankes, brake vnto him his mind concerning that matter, as followeth:

The ſpeech of Ameſa to Scanderbeg.

Whereas you of your owne gracious goodneſſe onely, without any deſert of mine, haue regarded my life and welfare, it behoueth me alſo to be carefull for the life of others: leaſt whileſt I receiue your exceeding bountie with too much deſire of mine owne health and honour, I doe at this preſent, by this ſame benefit of yours, caſt away them, whom I haue long ſithence by mine owne trecherie vndone. Mine vnfortunate and guiltleſſe wife is with Mahomet, *my little and innocent children are with him alſo: theſe yet liue, and ſhall liue, ſo long as the tyrant ſhall thinke, that I liue in heart his; but when he ſhall once perceiue by this your gracious dealing that I am fallen from him, the cruell creditor will foorthwith cut and rend in peeces the pledges of my faith, and their innocent blood ſhall pay the guilt of their fathers offence. Wherefore the* Othoman *tyrant is of me by ſome deuice to be deceiued, that I may in the meane time preſerue thoſe pledges, vntill I may by ſome fit occaſion afterwards redeeme the ſame. I will by your leaue this night take my flight out of* CROIA, *as if I had broken priſon, and eſcaped againſt your will, and ſo flie vnto* Mahomet, *making the greateſt ſhew I can of my wonted loue and loyaltie towards him: not omitting to heare, or ſpeake vnto that credulous king ſuch things concerning your eſtate, as I was wont in my better fortune: that hauing ſo cleared my ſelfe of all ſuſpition, which he perhaps hath conceiued by reaſon of my captiuitie and long ſtay with you, I may at length, with my wife and children, ſo eſcape from him: Wherein you may helpe me much, if you ſhall openly make ſhew as if you were greeued with my eſcape, and ſeeme to be highly offended with the keepers of the priſon for the ſame. In the meane time, whileſt I ſhall ſtay in the tyrants court expecting ſome fit time for my eſcape, I will ſtand you in ſtead of an intelligencer, ſo that your enemie ſhall not to my knowledge either attempt or goe about any thing againſt you, which ſhall be kept from your hearing or knowledge.*

Scanderbeg refuſed not to graunt whatſoeuer he had requeſted, but ſaid vnto him:

Ameſa

Ameſa, ſithence we haue graunted you life, with all the good things thereunto belonging, we will not prohibit you to vſe that our gift to your moſt good, and to the preſeruation of them who for euer may moſt juſtly call vpon you, as debtor vnto them, for their welfare and libertie. Go thy waies, proceed, take thy time and occaſion as ſeemeth vnto thee beſt; and at length reforme thy ſelfe, whileſt thou yet haſt ſufficient time and ſpace. We now beleeue you in all things, and well like of this your deuiſe: Ameſa *you ſhall herein deceiue no man but your ſelfe, if you ſhall longer follow the faith & court of the barbarous king, whereas like danger is both of bodie and ſoule both to thee and thine. Whenſoeuer thou ſhalt returne vnto vs, thou canſt not doe vs a greater pleaſure: and in what regard thou haſt heretofore been with vs, in the ſame thou ſhalt be with vs againe.*

The anſwere of Scanderbeg to Ameſa.

The ſame night *Ameſa* by ſecret order from *Scanderbeg*, eſcaped both out of priſon and out of CROIA: and in the morning it was all ouer the citie, that he was gone, and the keepers ſharply rebuked for their negligence. He comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, eaſily perſuaded *Mahomet*, that he was by chance eſcaped, with all things els that he told him: yet was he not for all that, ſo well graced of him as before; not for any diſtruſt he had in the man, but for the euill ſucceſſe hee had in the former warres. Now whether *Ameſa* neglected his promiſed returne, or could find no oportunitie to performe the ſame, is vncertaine: but certaine it is, that ſhortly after he died at CONSTANTINOPLE, poyſoned as was thought by the commaundement of *Mahomet*, who could no longer endure the ſight of him, whom he reckoned the author of the notable ouerthrow receiued in ÆMATHIA. This was the wofull end of this noble and valiant man, well worthie of remembrance, had not his haughtie thoughts ſoared too high with the deſire of ſoueraignetie.

The death of Ameſa.

When *Mahomet* vnderſtood in what manner *Iſaack Baſſa* was ouerthrowne, and his armie diſcomfited, hee was therewith much greeued, and juſtly blamed the Baſſaes ſecuritie: yet ſuch was his credit with his ſoueraigne, that the matter was in better ſort paſſed ouer than was ſuppoſed it would haue beene. Neuertheleſſe, *Mahomet* in reuenge thereof would willingly haue imployed all his forces vpon *Scanderbeg*, if his more vrgent affaires would haue ſo permitted. For at the ſame time, beſides that great warres began to ariſe betwixt him and the Venetians (which continued for many yeares after) hee was certainely enformed, That the Chriſtian princes were making a ſtrong confederation againſt him. At which time *Mahomet* diſdaining openly to ſue for peace at *Scanderbegs* hands, cunningly practiſed by ſuch as were ſent to redeeme the priſoners, and alſo by the Sanzacke himſelfe, to perſuade *Scanderbeg* to require peace of him; aſſuring him, that if he did but aske it, it would for a long time bee eaſily obtained. Which thing *Scanderbeg* well acquainted with the Turkiſh policie, vtterly refuſed to do. Wherefore *Mahomet* for defence of his countries bordering vpon EPIRVS, ſent two of his moſt expert captaines, *Sinam*, and *Hamur*, with each of them foureteene thouſand ſouldiors into MACEDONIA, expreſſely charging them not to enter at any time or vpon any occaſion, into EPIRVS, or by any meanes to prouoke *Scanderbeg*: which his commaundement they ſo well obſerued, that the Epirots by the ſpace of almoſt two yeares enjoyed the fruits of peace, although there was no peace at all concluded. So that the remembrance of old injuries wearing out with time, at length by the mediation of the ſame captaines, a peace for a yeare was agreed vpon betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*. In which time he paſſed ouer into APVLIA, and there notably aided king *Ferdinand* againſt the French, the proceeding wherein, as not pertinent to our hiſtorie, I of purpoſe paſſe ouer.

A peace for a yeare concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg.

After that the time of the peace before concluded was expired, all things now going well with *Mahomet*, as he deſired, he determined according to his wonted maner to trouble the quiet eſtate of *Scanderbeg*: and ſo ſending a new ſupplie of ſouldiors vnto *Synam-beg*, who then lay with a ſtrong garriſon vpon the frontiers of EPIRVS, commaunded him with all his power to make warres vpon *Scanderbeg*. *Synam* accordingly, with an armie of twentie thouſand men entred into EPIRVS, where he was forthwith encountered by *Scanderbeg*, and his armie vtterly ouerthrown, ſo that but few eſcaped by flight with *Synam* himſelfe. Preſently after he ſent *Aſam-beg*, another of his captaines, into the ſame ſeruice, with an armie of thirtie thouſand, whom *Scanderbeg* alſo in plaine battaile vanquiſhed at OCRIDA: in which battaile *Aſam* himſelfe was ſore wounded, and finding no way to eſcape, was glad to yeeld himſelfe priſoner to *Scanderbeg*, by whom hee was courteouſly vſed, and afterwards ſet at libertie. *Iuſſum-beg* following *Aſam* with eighteene thouſand into EPIRVS, was ſet vpon by *Scanderbeg* alſo, and hauing loſt part of his armie, was glad

glad by ſpeedie flight to ſaue himſelfe with the reſt. After all this, *Caraza-beg*, an old captain and a man of great experience (who had beene a great commaunder, and a companion with *Scanderbeg* in the time of old *Amurath*) requeſted of *Mahomet*, That he might proue his fortune againſt his old acquaintance *Scanderbeg*, aſſuring him of better ſucceſſe than before. The long and approued experience of this old leader put *Mahomet* in ſuch hope of good ſpeed, that he gaue preſent order for the leuying of ſuch an armie as *Caraza* had requeſted, and for ten thouſand mo than he had at the firſt required. With this ſtrong armie, in number almoſt fortie thouſand, *Caraza* ſet forward, hauing before filled the minds of men with the expectation of ſome great matter to haue beene by him done. *Scanderbeg* vnderſtanding certainely, that *Caraza* was comming, ſtood more in doubt of the man than of his power: and therefore aſſembled greater forces than hee had vſually done before: and to welcome him, ſent two thouſand of his beſt and moſt expert ſouldiors ſecretly into the enemies country; who lying in ambuſh amongſt the woods & mountaines, whereby *Caraza* muſt needs paſſe, ſuddenly ſet vpon foure thouſand horſemen, the forerunners of *Caraza* his armie; who marching diſorderedly, and fearing no ſuch matter, were in a trice ouerthrowne, and moſt part of them ſlaine: thoſe few that eſcaped, fled backe againe to the armie, as if they had come in poaſt to bring tidings of ſome haſtie newes to the Generall. With which ſo vnfortunat a beginning, *Caraza* was ſo diſcomfited, that if he might for ſhame, he could haue beene content to haue returned againe and gone no farther: yet for his honours ſake holding on his way, he came into EPIRVS; where whileſt hee was (after the manner of old men) long in reſoluing what courſe to take, he was vpon the ſudden aſſailed by *Scanderbeg*, before hee could well put his men in order of battaile. At which time there fell ſuch a vehement ſhower of raine, that both the armies were glad to retire before any great hurt was done. Three dayes together it rained continually (for it was about the later end of Autumne) all which time *Scanderbeg* ceaſed not in one place or other to trouble the Turks campe: ſo that the old Generall, partly diſtempered with the extremitie of the weather, which for the violence therof he tooke to be ominous; and more diſcouraged with the reſtleſſe attempts of *Scanderbeg*, riſe with his armie, and retiring back, by the ſame way he came returned to CONSTANTINOPLE. Where he was well derided of *Mahomet*, that hauing promiſed ſo much, had performed ſo little: yet afterwards was again by him in ſome ſort commended, for that he had with leſſe loſſe looked vpon *Scanderbeg*, than other his Generals before ſent againſt him.

Mahomet perceiuing that *Scanderbeg* was not to be ſubdued but with ſuch forces as hee was not then at leiſure to imploy vpon him, thought it not amiſſe to proue if hee could by faire ſpeeches and glorious ſhewes of fained friendſhip get within him, and ſo bring him to confuſion. For which purpoſe he ſent vnto him an embaſſadour, with rich preſents, and letters of this purport.

Sultan *Mahomet*, Lord and Emperour of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, and of all parts of the World, vnto *Scanderbeg*, prince of ALBANIA and EPIRVS, ſendeth greeting.

The letters of Scanderbeg to Mahomet.

I thinke friend Scanderbeg, *that no acquaintance can be greater, or friendſhip more firm, than that which hath growne of long and mutuall conuerſing and liuing together: and eſpecially if the ſame haue taken beginning from childhood and tender yeares, as you know it hath done betwixt vs two; who haue of long time, euen from our childhood, liued together in great loue and friendſhip, when as you firſt lay as hoſtage in my fathers court. Wherfore beloued* Scanderbeg, *when as I call to remembrance all thoſe things, with others, wherewith our youthfull yeares were then delighted; and being mindfull alſo of all thoſe things which you haue oftentimes done for the aduancement of our empire and kingdome, and for the glorie of the* Othoman *familie; I cannot chuſe but imbrace thee with a ſingular Zeale and affection. For I take God to witnes, that nothing could chance more welcome or pleaſing vnto me in my life, than to haue thee with me, and for a while to enioy thy companie. Neither needeſt thou to fear any thing to come vnto me, for that my ſouldiors without my knowledge or commaundement haue of late broken in and ſpoiled thy kingdom: which thing as reaſon required, was vnto me exceedingly diſpleaſing: neither did it any whit offend me, that they were by thy forces vanquiſhed and ouercome, and ſo receiued the iuſt reward of their euill deſerts, and that all things fell out with thee according to the equitie of thy cauſe, and as thy heart could haue deſired. But to let theſe things paſſe, the remembrance of our old loue and friendſhip perſuadeth me to come to agreement, & to joine together with thee in a perpetuall league*

of

of amitie: to the intent that our auntient acquaintance and familiaritie, which by reaſon of long abſence is almoſt worne out, may againe take life, encreaſe, and be confirmed. Of which peace, let theſe bee the capitulations, if they ſhall ſeeme vnto you reaſonable: for I know it belongeth vnto him that requireth not the peace, to appoint the conditions of the ſame. Firſt, we require of you freely and peaceably to ſuffer our armies to paſſe through your kingdome, for the beſieging of the cities and inuading of the countries ſubiect to the Venetians our enemies: Then, to deliuer vnto vs your ſonne Iohn *in hoſtage, whom we will always vſe as one of our own naturall children: And afterwards, that our marchants and men of trade may peaceably come and trauell into all parts of your kingdome with their marchandize, and there freely and ſafely vſe their negotiation: Laſt of all, that your ſelfe in perſon may at your pleaſure ſafely and without all feare repaire vnto vs, and in like manner returne againe. In which things if you will yeeld vnto vs, I promiſe in the faith of a king, to graunt vnto you and your kingdome ſincere peace, with perpetuall tranquilitie; and that there ſhall not be any more deerer vnto me than your ſelfe; and will neuer to the vttermoſt of our power permit your kingdome to be infeſted or moleſted by any of our ſubiects, or others. Whatſoeuer you ſhall farther receiue from vs by the mouth of our embaſſadour* Muſtapha, *you may thereto giue full credence. Fare you well from our imperiall pallace at* CONSTANTINOPLE *the* 10 *of May* 1561.

Scanderbeg hauing receiued theſe letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, returned him anſwere by the ſame meſſenger as followeth:

The ſouldiour of Chriſt Ieſus, *George Caſtriot*, otherwiſe called *Scanderbeg*, prince of the Albaneſes and Epirots, vnto *Mahomet* prince of the Turkes, greeting.

The anſwere of Scanderbeg to the former letters of Mahomet.

Your letters (moſt magnificent) are deliuered vnto vs: wherein you write of your exceeding loue and ſingular affection towards vs, confirmed as you ſay by old acquaintance: which being growne vp betwixt vs, and by tract of time firmely rooted and as it were into nature conuerted, ſhall alwaies retaine his force and ſtrength. But for as much as it ſeemeth vnto you good to awake the ſame, hauing of long time and many yeares lien as it were aſleepe; and to make a motion that we ſhould enter into a certaine new league and confederation, whereof amongſt other conditions of the league by you propounded, this is one, That your forces may freely paſſe through my kingdome, to inuade the Venetians: Vnto this your requeſt, worthie Mahomet, *it ſtandeth neither with equitie nor with mine honour to conſent, for ſo much as the Venetians are my eſpeciall good friends and confederats. As for that you deſire to haue my ſonne* Iohn *with you in hoſtage for the better aſſurance of the peace betwixt vs, I ſhould peraduenture doe it (moſt noble* Mahomet) *if fatherly affection would giue me leaue: but ſithence I haue no moe but him, and he as yet a tender child, it is not for the good either of him or vs, to haue him now taken from vs, when as he ought of vs to be moſt tenderly cheriſhed, and carefully inſtructed. As for that you requeſted concerning your marchants, that they may freely and ſafely trafficke into my kingdome at their pleaſure, I can be content to yeeld thereunto, and wiſh heartily, that there might be a free entercourſe for our marchants indifferently with their commodities into both our kingdomes. Farther, whereas you earneſtly perſuade me boldly and without feare to come vnto you, that by ſuch enterview and perſonall preſence, our great deſire, growne of long abſence, might be the better ſatisfied: in this thing moſt excellent prince, I cannot but praiſe your moſt honourable diſpoſition, and commend your good nature; and would therefore boldly follow your perſuaſion, if my other vrgent affaires, with the gouernment of my kingdome, would ſo permit. But what ſhould I doe? my ſonne* Iohn *is (as I ſaid before) but little, and as yet vnfit to gouerne: and my people (as you know) loue alwayes to haue ſomething to doe; being by nature a fierce and reſtleſſe nation, whom I my ſelfe haue much adoe to rule and gouerne: For all that, I will come vnto you according to your deſire, expecting onely a more commodious time. So fare you well, and loue me ſtill. From our campe the* 30 *of May*, 1461.

When *Mahomet* had receiued theſe letters, and well peruſed the ſame, he writ to him againe in manner following:

Sultan *Mahomet*, Emperour of all the parts of the World, vnto *Scanderbeg*, prince of the Albanenſes and Epirots, greeting.

The letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg for the concluding of a perpetuall peace betwixt them.

Your letters we haue receiued by our embaſſador Muſtapha, *wherin you giue vs to vnderſtand, that you*

you like of none of the conditions of peace by vs propounded, but onely that concerning our marchants G
and men of trade, that they might freely and at their pleasure vse their traffique and trades with their
marchandise too and fro: and vpon this condition onely you graunt vs peace. Thus your offer we ac-
cept of, and all the rest of your excuses we willingly admit: wherefore I promise vnto thee (my louing
Scanderbeg) *and will performe all that thou doest require, and vpon that resolution rest: and will so*
long as I liue obserue and keepe a sincere and inuiolable peace with thee for euer, except thou first giue
cause of violating the same. And for that purpose haue we with our vsuall and imperiall seale signed
these our letters, which we by our embassadour Mustapha *haue sent vnto thee, as thereby confirming*
vnto thee this perpetuall peace. Wherefore you also (if you be so content) may subscribe, and with your
seale confirme this of ours, that I in like manner may also haue your like consent and agreement. And
would farther, that you would commaund knowledge thereof to be made by open proclamation through H
all your kingdome, as I will in like manner cause to be done through mine. And for the more manife-
station of this my loue towards you, I would also that you should vnderstand, That of mine owne meere
motion and bountie, I doe freely giue vnto you all those things, which you by force of armes haue taken
from my father in Albania *and* Epirvs, *so that you may possesse and enioy the same, as if they*
had alwaies been yours and your ancestors: Wherefore I giue, graunt, and confirme vnto thee and thy
heires, all the right, title, or interest, which I heretofore had therein: and from henceforth will alwayes
account and repute thee as prince of Albania *and* Epirvs, *and so call thee. And as I haue pro-*
mised thee in the faith of a king, will neuer hereafter with warres molest thee or thine, except thou thy
selfe giue cause thereof. Wherefore after you haue with your seale confirmed these things, you may
commend them to our faithfull embassadour Mustapha, *to bee by him brought vnto vs: vnto whom I* I
would you should in all things giue full credit. So fare you well, and render vs loue for loue. From our
imperiall palace at Constantinople, *the 22 of Iune, 1461.*

A peace cōclu-ded betwixt Ma-homet and Scan-derbeg.

Vpon receit of these letters a peace was concluded betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, and the same by publicke proclamations solemnely published through both their kingdomes, to the great rejoycing of many. Which peace was for a season faithfully kept on both sides, vntill that the Turkes lying in garrison vpon the frontiers of Epirvs, began after their woonted manner againe to fetch preyes and booties out of the countrey. Of which injuries *Scanderbeg* by letters complained to *Mahomet*: who answered that he was altogether ignorant thereof, and seemed in shew to be much offended with the insolencie of the doers thereof: and foorthwith caused many things to be againe restored. By which meanes the peace before concluded, was still as before continued.

A little before the conclusion of the aforesaid peace, great warres began to arise betwixt the Turks and the Venetians: who all this while being in league with the Turk, peaceably followed their traffique and trades of marchandise, little or nothing at all regarding their neighbours harmes and miseries, vntill that now the flame and fire began to take hold vpon their owne houses, and as it were to awaken them out of a dead sleepe. For *Mahomet* after he had subuerted the empire of Constantinople, and driuen *Thomas* and *Demetrius* the emperours brethren out of Peloponesvs (now called Morea) rested not so contented, but by his lieutenants and other great captaines began to disturbe the quiet of the Venetians, who then held in their possession Methone, Corone, Neapolis, Argos, with diuers other strong townes in Peloponesvs, standing vpon the sea coast. And now it chanced, that about this time, *Iosue*, *Mahomets* lieutenant in Peloponesvs, had by the treason of a Greeke priest, vpon the suddaine surprised the citie of Argos: And *Omares* another of his great captaines, hauing first spoyled the countrey about Navpactvm (now Lepanto) entered farther into the territorie of the Venetians about Methone and Corone, making hauocke of whatsoeuer came in his way. With which injuries, plainely tending to open warre, the Venetian Senatours being much troubled, sat oftentimes in counsell, deliberating with much care what course to take in a matter of so great importance. Some being of opinion, that it were best to send embassadours to *Mahomet*, so to make proofe if the matter might by faire means be redressed: others on the contrarie part deeming it to be to no purpose so to doe; for as much as such great and manifest outrages, nothing differing from plaine hostilitie, could not possibly be done without the tyrants knowledge and expresse commaund. After the Senatours had oftentimes met together, and with many great reasons debated the matter too and fro, and yet for all that concluded nothing

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(as in consultations of great matters with a multitude, it most commonly falleth out to be a harder matter, and to require longer time, to bring the multitude to some certaine resolution, than it is afterwards to performe the same in action.) In this so great a diuersitie of opinions concerning so weightie a cause, at length one *Victor Capella*, a noble gentleman and graue Senator stept vp in the middest of the Senate, and there franckely deliuered this notable speech vnto the rest concerning the matter propounded, as followeth:

The notable speech of Victor Capella, to perswade the Venetians to take vp armes against Mahomet.

I haue before this at other times by long experience often noted (most noble Senatours) that in all our greatest consultations of matters most concerning our common state, some are alwayes so addicted or rather wedded vnto their owne conceits, that they can hardly with patience endure to heare the reasonable opinion of others contrarie to their owne; the cheefe cause of our slow resolutions. Wherefore I haue thought it good, breefely at this time to call vpon you for resolution: for as much as I see we must of necessitie take vp armes, be we neuer so loth or vnwilling: For to my vnderstanding, you doe but betray the state, in delaying the time to make present warre vpon the barbarous enemie. Yet many principall men amongst vs, aduise vs to beware, that wee doe not rashly or vnaduisedly determine of matters of so great consequence; and thinke it requisit, that we should send embassadours vnto the tyrant, to expostulate with him his vniust dealing in breaking his faith and league; and withall to request him to obserue the conditions of the peace before agreed vpon, if happily he may rather by persuasion than by armes be mooued to change his purpose: and if by this meanes nothing may be obtained, then at length they thinke it necessarie to resolue to make warre vpon him. They alledge further, That if we shall attempt warre, our citties in the continent bordering vpon the Ionian, in PELOPONESVS, *with diuers others of ours in the firme land, will not bee able to hold out very long, but for want of necessaries must needs perish with the first of the trouble; besides that, if those places shall be wasted and spoiled, great losse (as they say) shall ensue thereby vnto most of vs in priuat: the greatest motiue (perhaps) wherefore they thinke it most conuenient to deferre the warres, and for that purpose to send our embassadours vnto him, Of which embassage, first by your leaue a few words. At such time as these our embassadours, men of great wisedome and reach, not long since came vnto him, he had them in no regard; but dalying off the time with fraudulent, deceitfull, and glosing speeches, did indeed such things to the contrarie as we least hoped: wherefore I cannot well deuise (if we should send them, or such others againe) what especiall thing of all that we then gaue them in charge, they should now propound vnto him, hauing alreadie said what is to be said; except they should say, That whereas we are not of sufficient strength and power to wage warre against him, we would be glad to decide the matter by talke, and by that simple meanes to redresse our iniuries; and vpon the matter, to shew our selues prest and readie to fall to agreement with him, according as shall stand with his good pleasure and liking. Truly this were good plaine dealing, but it will not serue our turne:* ARGOS *is alreadie taken from vs, and he maketh open war vpon vs: wherein he doth but prooue our courage; and trie how long we will put vp these iniuries. If we will quietly digest these, he will then confidently and without feare proceed further: but if we shall as best beseemeth vs, valiantly resist him, he shall be glad of such rest as wee shall giue him; and when hee knoweth not well which way to turne himselfe, shall be as glad as we to lay downe armes and to seeke for peace: whereas if we shall doe otherwise, I feare we shall repent our selues when it will be too late. It is reported, that as soone as he was come into* PELOPONESVS, *he went himselfe in person vnto* EVBŒA, *to view the cittie of* CALCIS: *and going a second time out of* PELOPONESVS, *sounded the depth of the passage, and came within the sight of the cittie, of purpose to haue assaulted it, if he had found oportunitie: at which time he himselfe rid ouer that strait of the sea betwixt* BŒOTIA *and* EVBŒA *with his horse, and curiously viewed in what place he might most conueniently passe ouer with his armie to besiege the cittie. Verely these are the most manifest signes of war, whereby any man may sufficiently prooue, that he hath long since resolued (so soone as he is readie) to make warre vpon vs, whilest we are yet dreaming in the middest of our long consultations. Hee will proceed in the warres he hath begun: and cutting vs short, augment his owne dominions. Then will hee blame his lieutenants and captaines, as authors thereof: but yet still be doing that best serueth his purpose. And whilest no man opposeth himselfe against him, his power dayly encreasing, he will doe the best he can suddainely to swallow vs vp, being vnprouided. For he may easily raise great forces, that by sufferance of others, maketh himselfe of great strength there where hee had before no footing. Shall we then say that we haue no warres with this encroching tyrant? Some I know feed themselues*

and others also, with vaine hopes, saying, That he will neuer turne his forces vpon vs, nor ruinate our estate, although he might at ease doe it: wherefore (say they) let vs refraine from warres, and vse our peace and quietnesse, yet omitting nothing in the meane time that shall bee needfull for our safetie. But for as much as it plainely appeareth vnto all men by that which is before said, That he hath alreadie indeed proclaimed warre against vs, inuading our countries, surprising our citties, and killing our people: Whether thinke you it more expedient or profitable for vs, to sit still and suffer our dominions to bee taken from vs, or rather by open warre to make the barbarous king know the greatnesse of our power and strength? For if we shall enter into open warrre, wee being in armes sufficiently prouided for all euents, and with carefull eye attending all his attempts, shall easily auoid both himselfe and all his deuises: who if hee bee suffered to run still on forward with his prosperous successe, people will dayly more and more fall vnto him, in hope to liue the better, as his friends. For which cause, I thinke it better to preferre an honourable warre before a doubtfull peace. As for delay, it hath hurt may great States, and our selues most of all: whereby wee haue in sort betrayed the empire of GRECIA, *with the wofull emperour himselfe, when as this tyrant battered the wals of* CONSTANTINOPLE: *for our traffique was much holpen by the Grecians, whom we then left to themselues. After that, we despised and reiected the pittifull complaints of the princes of* PELOPONESVS, *who with teares craued our aid: and now wee see that famous countrey lost, and fallen into his hands, through our sloth and negligence. Of late, when as the king of* BOSNA *humbly requested our aid, and promised fully to requite our courtesie, and whatsoeuer els we should doe in his behalfe; we suffered his kingdome to be lost, and himselfe to be cruelly murdered of the Turkes. For all these things by vs thus neglected, we cannot escape the infamous report of all the rest of the nations in* EVROPE, *but that they will say, That we for the greedie desire of trade and filthie gaine, haue forsaken, and for our parts betrayed whole kingdomes and nations, agreeing with vs both in manner and religion; and to haue stood still, looking on, vntill they were subdued and brought in thraldome by the Turkes. Wherefore in few words to shut vp the matter, if we shall joyne in league with the Hungarians, and enter into armes, we shall so be able to keepe our owne: whereas if we shall vse delayes, and hunt after peace, we shall in short time see, that he will suddainely deuour vs, being vnprouided, and wrest from vs all our prouinces and territories which border vpon him. And therefore it is (in my opinion) best to send our embassadours into* HVNGARIE *with a great masse of money to stir vp that warlike nation into the fellowship of this warre. And beside the nauie we now haue in readinesse, to put to sea as many moe ships and gallies as we are able. The great Bishop also is not to be forgotten, but by all meanes to be drawne as a cheefe man into this warre. Besides all this, we must doe what wee can to raise vp rebellion against the Turke in* PELOPONESVS: *which will be no hard matter to bring to passe. For if the Peloponesians rise in armes with one of their poore princes which reuolted from the Turkish king, and forsaking all that they had, aduentured themselues into all manner of perill and danger: what thinke you they will doe, if they shall see so great forces comming both by sea and land against the Turkish king? It were good also, that we should send two thousand Italian horsemen into* PELOPONESVS, *to animate the people: who when they shall see vs thus to proceed, will vndoubtedly presently reuolt from the Turks, and yeeld themselues with their countrey vnto vs, from whence we may most commodiously vex and molest this tyrant: For there is no where better entrance into his kingdome, than by the way of* PELOPONESVS. *So that joyning in league with the Hungarians, we shall beset him on euery side: they all along the riuer of* DANVBIVS, *and we out of* PELOPONESVS. *Let vs not therfore sit still with our hands in our bosomes, suffring our countries to be taken from vs, & our subiects made bondslaues to the Turks: but encouraging them by our example, animate them to take vp armes, and valiantly to resist the cruell and barbarous tyrant.*

The Venetians take vp armes against the Turke.

The greater part of the Senat mooued with this graue Senatours speech, decreed without delay to make warres, and to send their embassadours to the Pope, the king of HVNGARIE, and other the Christian princes their neighbours, to pray aid of them in these warres against the Turkes. According to this decree, the Venetians for defence of their territorie sent one *Bertholdus Este*, a valiant captaine, with an armie into PELOPONESVS: where at his first comming, he in short time recouered the cittie of ARGOS before lost. And departing thence, marched through the country with his armie of fifteene thousand men vnto the strait of CORINTH, called ISTHMVS. At which place *Alouisius Lauretanus*, Admirall for the Venetians (by appointment before made) met him: and there joyning their forces togēther, with great labour in

in the ſpace of fifteene dayes fortified all that ſtrait from the Ionian vnto the ſea Ægeum, with a continuall rampier and double ditch, in length about fiue miles. In which worke they vſed the helpe of thirtie thouſand men: and in doing thereof, were much furthered by the ruines of the old wall before deſtroyed by *Amurath*. The Venetian commaunders hauing fortified this ſtrait, encamped before CORINTH, and laied ſtrait ſiege vnto it: where, at the ſecond aſſault, *Bertholdus* the Generall deſirous by his owne forwardneſſe to encourage his ſouldiours, was in that aſſault greeuouſly wounded with a ſtone, caſt downe vpon him from the wall, of which hurt he ſhortly after died. Neuertheleſſe, the ſiege was ſtill contiued by *Betinus Calcinatius*, who ſucceeded in *Bertholdus* his place. But whileſt the Venetians lay thus at the ſiege of CORINTH, ſuddainely newes was brought vnto the campe, that *Mahomet* was comming with a great armie himſelfe in perſon to raiſe the ſiege, and to deſtroy the new fortifications at ISTHMVS. Whereupon the Venetians left the ſiege, with purpoſe to haue defended the late fortified ſtrait. But after that it was certainely knowne, that *Mahomet* was euen now at hand with an armie of foureſcore thouſand Turks, *Betinus* diſtruſting with his ſmall number to be able to defend the ſtrait againſt ſo puiſſant an armie, left the place ſo lately before fortified, and with all his armie retired to NEAPOLIS to keepe the ſea coaſt.

Shortly after, *Mahomet* without any reſiſtance at all entered with a world of men by the ſtrait into PELOPONESVS: and when he had with the great ſlaughter of the countrey people roamed vp and downe about ARGOS, he came to NEAPOLIS, and in moſt terrible manner aſſaulted the cittie twice: both which times hee was notably repulſed by the Venetians, and many of his men ſlaine. Departing thence, he deſtroyed and waſted the countrey about METHONE (now MODON) and CORONE; and aſſaulted the cittie of IVNCVM, but with no better ſucceſſe than he had before NEAPOLIS. Wherefore Winter now drawing on, hee returned with his armie to CONSTANTINOPLE.

After his departure, the Venetians ſpoiled all that part of ARCHADIA which was ſubject to the Turkes, requiting him with like injuries as he had done them before. Not long after, *Lauretanus* the Venetian Admirall had the Iſland of LEMNOS deliuered vnto him by one *Cominius*, a famous pyrat, who had ſurpriſed the ſame, and taken it from the Turkes: but diſtruſting how he ſhould be able to keepe the ſame, deliuered it ouer vnto the Venetians. Shortly after, *Vrſatus Iuſtinianus*, a great magnifico amongſt the Venetians, was ſent to ſucceed *Lauretanus* their Admirall: But whileſt he was ſcouring the Ægeum with a fleet of two and thirtie great gallies, *Andreas Dandulus*, Generall of their forces at land, inconſiderately encountering with the Turkes horſemen betweene MANTINEA and PITHEME, was by them ouerthrowne and ſlain, and with him diuerſe other gentlemen of great account. In which skirmiſh fifteene hundred of the Venetians were ſlaine alſo with their Generall. And as fortune is neuer more conſtant than in miſcheefe, ſo at the ſame time *Vrſatus*, Generall at ſea, landing his men in the Iſland of LESBOS, beſieged the citie of MITYLENE, and gaue thereunto two great aſſaults, wherein he loſt fiue thouſand men. And vnderſtanding that the Turkes fleet was comming to releeue the cittie, raiſed his ſiege, and ſailed into EVBŒA, and from thence paſſed ouer into PELOPONESVS: where hee ſhortly after died for ſorrow and greefe of mind. In whoſe place the Venetians ſent another famous captaine called *Iacobus Lauretanus*.

The Venetians enter into confederation with other Chriſtian princes againſt the Turke.

The Venetians well conſidering the great power of the Turkiſh emperour, laboured by their embaſſadours, to draw as many of the Chriſtian princes as they could into the fellowſhip of this warre; but eſpecially the great Biſhop, by whoſe meanes they were in good hope to bee greatly ſtrengthened. *Pius* the ſecond of that name was then the great Biſhop, who at firſt anſwered the Venetian embaſſadours, That he muſt take away the little Turke, before hee had any thing to doe with the great: meaning thereby, *Sigiſmundus Maleteſta*, prince of ARIMINVM; whom he deadly hated, for that he tooke part with the French againſt the Aragonians. Howbeit (the warres in ITALIE being well appeaſed) *Pius* ſtill ſollicited by the Venetians, made great preparation againſt the Turkes, giuing it out, That hee would in perſon himſelfe goe vnto thoſe warres: and by his authoritie, then much regarded, procured great aid out of GERMANIE, FRAVNCE, SPAINE, and other countries alſo farther off: at which time alſo voluntarie men in great numbers reſorted out of all parts of Chriſtendome into ITALIE, readie to aduenture their liues in thoſe religious warres. At the ſame time alſo the Venetians had with much adoe by the working of *Paulus Angelus*, Archbiſhop of DIRRACHIVM, perſuaded *Scanderbeg*

derbeg to renounce the league which he had before made with the Turke, and to enter into arms againe: which he presently did, and vpon the sudden spoyled the borders of the Turks dominions next vnto him. Wherwith *Mahomet* was no lesse troubled, than with all the rest of the great preparation of the Christians against him: fearing that (as it was then reported) he should be made generall of the Christian armie, which *Mahomet* feared might tend to the vtter ruine of his kingdome: so dreadfull was the name of *Scanderbeg* amongst the Turkes. Wherefore thinking it most expedient for his affaires, to reconcile him if it were possible, by his embassadour sent for that purpose, writ vnto him as followeth:

Sultan *Mahomet*, Emperour of the East and of the West, vnto *Scanderbeg*, prince of the Albanenses and of the Epirots, greeting.

The letters of Mahomet to Scanderbeg.

I haue alwayes had thy fidelitie and vpright dealing in great admiration, most noble prince Scanderbeg: *for which cause, I thought it a thing incredible, that thou being a prince of such an heroicall and princely perfection, should so inconsideratly and without any occasion breake the faith and league which thou not long since solemnely contracted with me. For as I am aduertised, thou hast entred into the confines of our dominions with a great armie, and with fire and sword destroying all that thou couldest, hast caried away with thee a great bootie. Of which thing I know right well, that the Venetians are the onely cause, by whose counsell and persuasion thou hast been set on to doe this deed; and seduced by their allurements and subtill persuasions, hast made war vpon me, and art become the faithlesse breaker of thine owne league, and of the sacred law of nations. Yet doe I little or nothing blame thee therefore, regarding more the cause of the ignominie, than the despight it selfe, and lay the blame vpon them who haue alwayes been my foes and capitall enemies, rather than vpon thee. But alas, what is this vnto me* (Scanderbeg) *that thou hast done, which possesse so many and so large dominions? Diddest thou thinke to doe so great hurt vnto our kingdome, by spoiling a little peece of our countrey, and by stealing our cattell, more like a theefe and robber than an open enemie? Which thing I yet account not woorth the name of an iniurie. But if thou thinke it so good, proceed in these thy doings: for I make more account of thy friendship and loue, than of whatsoeuer is to me deerest: because as thou knowest I haue alwaies borne vnto thee an especiall fauour, and loued thee most entirely. And therefore as oft as I call to remembrance our tender yeares and old familiaritie whilest we liued together in my fathers court at* HADRIANOPLE, *I cannot but thinke my selfe bound vnto thee in all courtesie. And therfore my good* Scanderbeg, *I most heartily request and entreat thee, That we renuing the former conclusions of peace, may of new confirme the same by solemne oath: wherewith if the former peace had beene established, thou wouldest not haue suffered thy selfe to haue been now of the Venetians so circumuented or seduced. It is therefore needfull, that we now againe for euer confirme a league and peace betwixt vs by solemne and sacred oath on both sides: which if thou shalt doe (as I hope thou wilt) and in this be aduised by me, thou with thy posteritie shall vndoubtedly alwayes raigne in peace, and in safetie possesse whatsoeuer is yours. Whereas if thou shalt do otherwise (beleue me) it will repent thee, and that right quickly. Thou knowest alreadie my force, which whether thou be able to withstand or not, thou were best to bee well aduised. The poore princes thy neighbors, the Venetians thy seducers, cannot deliuer thee from my forces and power. Doest thou not see the Grecians almost all rooted out before thy face? the emperours of* CONSTANTINOPLE *and* TRAPEZOND *by vs depriued of their empires? the princes of* SERVIA *and* RASCIA *destroyed? the king of* BOSNA *put to death? and all the kingdomes of* ASIA, *with many other kings and princes moe vanquished and ouerthrowne, and made subiect vnto mee? Wherefore* Scanderbeg, *I aduise thee in this to follow my counsell, keepe thy promise, and so beleeue me thou shalt not be deceiued. Concerning these matters, we haue giuen further commaundement to our embassador and seruant* Mustapha, *which commeth vnto thee: vnto whom doubt thou not to giue credence in any thing. Farewell from our imperiall citie of* CONSTANTINOPLE *the 7 of May* 1463.

Scanderbeg hauing by the afore said messenger receiued these letters, and well considered of the same, returned answere as followeth:

The champion of Christ Iesus, *George Castriot*, otherwise called *Scanderbeg*, prince of the Albaneses and Epirots, to the most excellent *Mahomet* king of the Turks, greeting.

Scanderbeg his answere to the letters of Mahomet.

You maruell (most noble Mahomet) *that my souldiors (as you say) contrarie to our league and the conditions*

conditions of our peace, haue entered into your confines, and from thence caried a great bootie. Of which thing (you say) the Venetians are the authors, whom you call your mortall enemies: inferring afterward, that you are little therewith offended, for that you are a most mightie prince, and can easily digest such vnkindnesse, for the great loue you beare vnto me: and the rather, for that I did it deceiued (as it pleaseth you to say) by others. All these things you can easily forgiue and forget: so that I will by solemne oath confirme the same conditions of peace that were in our former league betwixt vs agreed vpon. And thereunto you do greatly vrge me, you admonish and counsell me to follow your aduise, as tending to the great profit and securitie of me and my posteritie, least happily whilest I seeke to please the Venetians, I incur your heauie displeasure. Besides this, the more to terrifie me, you reckon vp as it were in a catalogue, the people, nations, kings, and princes, by you ouercome and subdued. But what is that which is so strange (I pray you) and which you so much maruell at (most noble Mahomet?) Is it not for that my souldiors did that in the confines of your dominions, whereof they were (of right) sorrie; and had therof to me complained, that your souldiors had before done the like in their goods and possessions. Wherefore if they also vpon a militarie brauerie (as is your manner of phrase) haue made themselues whole, and done one shrewd turne for another, reuenging iniurie receiued, and not inferring any of new: there is no cause that you should either thinke it strange or blame me. I would my selfe haue restrained my souldiors, although they were greeuously iniuried (I will plainely confesse vnto you a troth) I would haue appeased their angrie minds, enflamed with desire of reuenge; if you (a prince of all others most rich and bountifull) would either haue taken order, that full restitution might haue beene made vnto them of all such things as they had lost, or els would with condigne punishment haue chastised the insolencie of your souldiors: which you would seeme to couer with the tearme of militarie wantonnesse or brauerie; an excuse scarce currant amongst children. For although offences are in all places greeuous, yet ought they most of all so to be deemed in martiall affairs. What I pray you, would you haue me to take it for a lasciuiousnes in your men of war? especially when I had receiued so great losse, when as you might with a word first haue restrained them from doing of it, and at your pleasure corrected them after the deed was done. Wherfore (most excellent Mahomet) take you also in good part these our tearms, which you haue accustomed hitherto most gloriously to giue and sell vnto vs, whilest you alwaies couer your reach with some excuse or shew of right. As for that in excusing me vnder colour of old acquaintance and friendship you inuey against the Venetians, verely you do them wrong: for why those good, iust, and vertuous princes are not to be slandered by you, as seducers of me or others. Beside, what need that inuincible state to enter into counsell with me, or (as it pleaseth you to say) to allure me to fall at ods with you, or to prosecute you as their enemie? Who of themselues, yea (I say) of themselues alone, when occasion shall require, are able to dare you in plaine battell, and to abate your pride. Further, whereas you aduise me to reiect their friendship, your labour is therein but lost: for what man is so desperat, or hated of his subiects, that would not chuse rather to erre with that most honorable Senat, than to be in the right with you? especially I, who haue of long time been confederat with them, and am of all others vnto them most deere: which you for all that had no regard of, but (according to your vntrustie dealing) breaking in sunder the bonds of peace, spoiled and wasted their territorie in PELOPONESVS. Neither can your great threats terrifie me, which you after the Turkish manner thunder & poure out against me, except I will be ouerruled by you: for it is the part of an Albanese both to endure when need shall require, and also to do such things as beseeme a man of courage. You cannot make me afraid, being but a small prince, with my honorable friends the Venetians. And what are you? so great an emperor of the East and of the West, and of all parts of the World, as you vainely tearme your selfe? Truly you make me smile, and other Christian princes laugh you to scorne, in vsurping falsely to your selfe the stately stile of the emperor of the World. What possesse you in ASIA the greater? verely nothing. Is all yours in ASIA the lesser? not so. What haue you in EVROPE? except THRACIA, MYSIA, part of GRECIA, and PELOPONESVS, with the Isle of MYTILENE. As for AFRICKE, you neuer set your foot therein. Is this to be emperour of all the world? But suppose, suppose (I say) woorthie Mahomet, that all from the farthest part of the Ocean were yours, you ought not therefore so to swell, as to contemne all others. Cease to boast, and learn now (if you can) the speciall but true examples of humane fragilitie. Where are now the Assyrians, which sometime swayed the world? Where be the Medes? where the Persians? and to be short, where are the Romanes, the great commaunders of all? Verely, Tamerlane the Scythian king (called the terror of the world) was far greater than you: who in triumph drew before his chariot thy great grandfather Baiazet in chains: who had before gained so many victories, whom neuerthelesse he ouerthrew in the plains of ARMENIA, with three hundred thousand Turks, hauing in his armie (as is reported) twelue hundred thou-

thousand men, greater than Xerxes or Darius, whose armies couered the seas, and dried vp the riuers before them as they went, yet for all this (noble Mahomet) they are all cast out by him that casteth out all nations, the finger of the highest hath brought them all to nought. Wherfore learn to know your selfe to be a man also. Trust not too much to the multitude of your souldiors, and strength of your armies: for oftentimes great and puissant armies haue been ouerthrowne with far lesse, as all histories beare witnesse: whereof it is commonly said, Thou shalt not praise the valor of the Generall, before he be brought to the triumph. And do you not thinke Mahomet, that God will fauour the better cause? you know, you well know, that all your kingdome is violently gotten, that it is wrongfully and vniustly possessed: for which cause I am not afraid not only to withstand you when you shall come, being so great a prince; but also valiantly and courageously to dare you into the field, and by the power of God both to hope for & haue a notable victorie ouer you. We haue souldiors also, which know how to vse their weapons, to march before their enemies, and how to beare themselues in the heat of the battell. Wherefore, to that you say vnto me for the new confirming of the former league, you labour now but in vaine to circumuent me with such faire gloses, I haue your faith in such distrust, and your friendship in detestation: for as much as you cunningly and subtilly, after the manner of your ancestors, whatsoeuer you do, or whatsoeuer you promise vnto me, it tendeth all to no other end than to thrust me out of my kingdome. Yet thus long I haue by Gods helpe well escaped all your policies, all your crafts and deceits. But I hope there will in short time be an end of all these matters, when all your sleights and deuises shal not ease you, neither your working head or Turkish pride any thing profit you. It is not I alone that so much stomacke you, there commeth after me a great number of Christian princes: Behold, the whole chiualrie and glorie of the Christian commonweale is in armes, and comming against thee with all their force: all the kings and princes of Christendome haue combined themselues together, with the great Bishop, against thy state, and will in short time be present to destroy thee & thy kingdome. Wherfore (worthie Mahomet) I haue thought it good in regard of our old friendship (although the same hath by you been greatly empaired and violated) to forewarne you of all these things, that you might gather your wits together, and in time prouide for the safetie of your selfe and of your kingdome. You see the force and power of so many great princes, from which whether you can escape or no, I know not: yet you may, if you will follow my aduise, you may I say make both your name and empire of great, greater, of famous most renouned, of fortunate most happie and blessed; if casting off from you the grosse errours of the Mahometane superstition, you will embrace the faith and truth of Christ Iesus, and at length haue regard of your soules health. And you which excell all your predecessours in highnesse of spirit and pregnancie of wit, suffer not your selfe and your subiects as it were by inheritance to be longer blinded in your wilfull errours: but doe that (as a wise prince) of your owne accord, which otherwise you will shortly of necessitie be constrained to doe. To say, Had I wist, hath euer been accounted a great disgrace from the mouth of an emperor. At length amend and measure your selfe. Behold, Almightie God doth offer you means, whereby you may quiet the whole state of your kingdome, and all our kings and princes loue, honour, and reuerence you. Neither let the ambitious desire of soueraignetie or immoderate care of those things you possesse, trouble you from so doing: For whatsoeuer you haue vniustly and vnlawfully vsurped, the Christian princes will grant, confirme, and establish vnto thee, as if they had been your owne by antient inheritance. So shall you be a true monarch indeed, and rule and raigne lawfully, if you shall embrace this faith, and worship God aright: which so soone as you shall feele the sweetnesse of, you will be sorrie that you knew it no sooner, you will grieue at the time you haue lost, and vtterly detest and abhorre all that filthie superstition which the most filthie false Prophet Mahomet hath left amongst you. From our campe the 26 of May 1463.

With these letters *Scanderbeg* dismissed the Turks embassadour. About which time he receiued letters from the great bishop, That he accompanied with the Christian princes, would without delay come ouer into EPIRVS with a strong army of valiant Christians, to joine their forces with his against the common enemie of the Christian religion: exhorting him in all their names to denounce war against the Turkish king. Which thing *Scanderbeg* most joyfully vndertooke: and without delay with all his power brake into the Turkes dominion, burning and destroying the country before him as he went: from whence he returned laded with the spoile there gotten.

When *Mahomet* had perused *Scanderbeg* his letters, and certainely vnderstood of the great preparation made against him in ITALIE, as also of the great spoile of late made by *Scanderbeg*, hee became exceeding melancholie, as a man much troubled in mind, which dayly more and

more

more encreaſed: for that hee ſaw not the wonted cheerefulneſſe in his men of war, but all full of heauineſſe and diſpaire, as if they had beene men alreadie vanquiſhed. Neuertheleſſe, he ſpeedily took order for the leuying of a great armie; fortifying his cities and ſtrong holds, leauing nothing vndone that was poſsible, for the aſſurance of his ſtate. And to repreſſe the furie of *Scanderbeg*, ſent *Seremet Baſſa* with fourteene thouſand ſouldiours to lie vpon the borders of EPIRVS, with charge onely to attend vpon him. Who mindfull of his charge came into MACEDONIA, vnto the citie OCRIDA, now called ALCVRIA, in the verie confines of MACEDONIA towards EPIRVS, and there lay with his armie; ſome part thereof lodged in the citie, and the reſt in places more conuenient neere about the ſame.

The comming of the Baſſa, as alſo the manner of his lying, was not vnknowne to *Scanderbeg*, who deſired nothing more than to bee doing with him. Wherfore he ſecretly in the night marched towards OCRIDA with twelue thouſand ſouldiours, and being come within three miles of the towne, lay cloſe in ambuſh, and vpon the breaking of the day ſent out 500 horſemen towards the enemie, vnder the conduct of *Peicus Emanuel*, and *Petrus Angelus*, two valiant and expert captaines, to draw him if they could into the field. But *Scanderbeg* had before commanded them, that if the enemie did come foorth to fight, they ſhould make but ſmall reſiſtance, but retire backe as if they had fled, and ſo to traine him on to the place where the armie lay. Which was ſo well performed by the two skilfull captaines, that the Baſſa with all his power was according as they could haue wiſhed, drawne into the field, and brought to the verie place where *Scanderbeg* lay: Who ſuddenly riſing vp with all his armie, aſſailed the Turkes on euerie ſide, and ſlew them as deere encloſed in a toile. In this battell ten thouſand of the Turkes were ſlaine, the treaſurer of the armie with twelue other of great marke were taken priſoners, and brought bound to *Scanderbeg*, who were preſently ranſomed for 40 thouſand duckats. *Ten thouſand Turkes ſlaine.*

Scanderbeg hauing obtained the victorie, returned with triumph into EPIRVS, daily expecting the comming of the great armie out of ITALY: *but fatall deſtinie, the mightie controuler of mens higheſt deſignes, had not ſo appointed.* For when *Pius* the great biſhop had out of all parts of Chriſtendome aſſembled a great armie (wherof the greateſt part were voluntarie ſoldiors) and all things were now in ſuch readineſſe, that he had put himſelfe vpon the way, and was come to ANCONA, a citie vpon the ſea ſide (where *Chriſtophorus Maurus* duke of VENICE came vnto him, with ten gallies well appointed, to haue accompanied him in thoſe warres: and all men were now in expectation of ſome great matter to haue beene done) ſuddenly he fell ſick of a feuer, and died in the yeare 1464. Whereupon the armie was forthwith diſperſed, and all that great preparation fruſtrated, to the exceeding griefe of many Chriſtian princes; and no leſſe joy of the Turks, who now rejoiced to ſee themſelues deliuered of ſo great a feare.

About this ſame time, *Victor Capella* chiefe perſuader of this warre betwixt the Venetians and the Turkes, was by the Senat ſent Generall of their forces at ſea, in ſtead of *Lauretanus*, whoſe yeare was then expired. He hauing receiued the charge from *Lauretanus*, and ſayling out of EVBŒA, in ſhort time tooke from the enemie the citie of AVLIS in PELOPONESVS ouer againſt CHALCIS, and alſo the cittie of LARSVM in the gulfe of THESSALONICA, with the iſle of HIMBER. Afterwards landing his men by night at PYRÆVS, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed the cittie of ATHENS (now called SETHINÆ) ſometime the mother of learning, and moſt noble cittie of GRÆCIA; and from thence caried away with him into EVBŒA all the people he there found, as his priſoners, togither with the rich ſpoile of that citie. Whileſt he lay in EVBŒA, he was perſuaded that the citie of PATRAS in PELOPONESVS would be deliuered vnto him by the Chriſtians that dwelt therein, if hee did but ſhew himſelfe before it. Whereupon he departed from EVBŒA, and comming into the gulfe of PATRAS, landed 4000 footmen vnder the leading of *Barbaricus*, and 200 horſemen, of whom one *Nicholaus Ragius* was captaine. *Barbaricus* marching toward PATRAS, was come within a mile of the cittie; when manie of the horſemen, and of the vnruly mariners, diſorderly ſcattering abroad, neglected the intended ſeruice, and ſought after pillage all about the countrey. The Turkes garriſons taking this opportunitie, ſet vpon them with their horſemen, and ſo eaſily ouerthrew them, being ſcattered and out of order. At the firſt encounter, *Barbaricus* himſelfe was ſlaine: *Ragius* captaine of the horſemen was taken, & aliue empailed vpon a ſharpe ſtake. Of all them that were landed, ſcarce a thouſand were left, who ſaued their liues by flying vnto the gallies. With this ouerthrow *Victor* the Venetian Admirall was greatly diſcomfited; yet hauing conceiued ſome hope of better ſucceſſe, in few *The Venetians attempting to win Patras, receiue great loſſe.*

daies

daies after attempted againe to haue taken PATRAS, but with like hap as before. For hauing loſt a thouſand of his men about the citie, and the reſt glad to take their refuge to the fleet, he was conſtrained with great diſhonour to depart thence. And ſo full of ſorrow and heauineſſe returning into EVBŒA oppreſſed with melancholy, there ſuddenly died.

The Venetians deceiued of the great hope they had conceiued of the generall preparation made againſt the Turkes, and much troubled with the hard proceeding of their warres againſt ſo mightie an enemie: by their embaſſadours ſolicited *Mathias*, not long before choſen king of HVNGARIE, to ioyne in league with them, and to take vp armes againſt the common enemie: offering preſently to furniſh him with a great ſumme of money, beſide a large yearely pention for the maintenance of thoſe warres: for which he ſhould to his power by land defend all their territorie betwixt the Rhetian Alpes, and the Adriatique, againſt the inuaſion of the Turke.

This *Mathias* ſurnamed *Coruinus*, was the yonger ſonne of the moſt famous captaine *Io. Huniades*, whoſe elder brother *Vladiſlaus*, a gentleman of ſuch courage as might well ſhew whoſe ſonne he was, being not able to diſgeſt the injuries and diſgraces done vnto him and his brother, by *Vlricus* countie of CILIA, and vnckle vnto *Ladiſlaus* the yong king of BOHEMIA and HVNGARIE; for the deſpite he alwaies bare vnto their father *Huniades*, ſlew the ſame *Vlricus* at ALBA REGALIS, euen in the kings court. Which outrage the yong king was glad for the preſent to winke at, and alſo to grant him pardon; as hauing taken away the man, whoſe immoderat power well ſtood not with the kings ſafetie: but in deed fearing the citizens of ALBA & the men of war, who exceedingly fauoured the ſonnes of *Huniades* for their fathers ſake. For all that, *Ladiſlaus* returning into BOHEMA, cauſed both the ſons of *Huniades* vpon the ſudden to be apprehended; and moſt cruelly executed *Vladiſlaus*, being then about ſix and twentie yeares old. *Mathias* the yonger brother was kept in priſon, expecting nothing elſe but to be partaker of his brothers hard fortune: as vndoubtedly he had, had not *Ladiſlaus* the yong king vpon the ſudden, as hee was vpon the top of his marriage with *Magdalaine* the French kings daughter, by vntimely death beene taken away. After whoſe death, the Hungarians for the loue they bare vnto the remembrance of *Huniades*, by a militarie election, choſe this *Mathias* his youngeſt ſonne, then in priſon at PRAGE, to be their king. Wherof *Pogebrache* (who after the death of *Ladiſlaus*, of an old gouernour had made himſelfe the young king of BOHEMIA) hauing ſpeedie intelligence as he was ſitting at ſupper, ſent for *Mathias* his priſoner, and when he was come, commaunded him to ſit downe at the vpper end of the table: whereat the young gentleman being then but about eighteene yeares of age, and ſore abaſhed, began to craue pardon. But when the king would needs haue it ſo, and that he was ſet; the king to quiet his troubled thoughts, willed him to be of good cheere, for that he had good newes to tell him. Good newes, ſaid he, if it would pleaſe your majeſtie to grant me libertie. Yea that, ſaid the king, and more to: and then ſaluting him by the name of the king of HVNGARIE, brake vnto him the whole matter, how that he was by the generall conſent of the Hungarians, choſen their king. And ſo in few daies after, married vnto him his daughter: which done, he furniſhed him with all things fit for his eſtate, and royally accompanied him into HVNGARIE, where he was with great joy and triumph receiued of the Hungarians: ouer whom he afterwards glorioufly raigned for the ſpace of eight and thirtie yeares. In which time, he notably enlarged the kingdome of HVNGARIE, and became a farre greater terrour vnto the Turkes, than euer was his father *Huniades*. And therewithall (which is not to be accounted in the leaſt part of his praiſes) was alwaies a great fauourer and furtherer of good letters, and ingenious deuiſes.

Mathias ſore priſoner, choſen king of Hungarie.

But to returne againe to our purpoſe, *Mathias* hauing well conſidered of that the Venetians had requeſted: anſwered them, that they had many times before in like caſe refuſed to giue aid vnto the Hungarian kings his predeceſſours: yea and that more was, thought it a thing not reaſonable, that anie ſuch thing ſhould be requeſted at their hands; foraſmuch as they then receiued no harme from the Turke, but were in league and amitie with him: ſo that the Hungarian kings wanting their helpe, had manie times receiued greater loſſe from the Turke, than otherwiſe they ſhould haue done, if they had beene by them aided. Yet for all that, he was content to forget all ſuch vnkindneſſe, and to grant them what they had requeſted: promiſing the next Spring to inuade the Turkes dominion, and according to their requeſt, to take into his protection all their territorie betwixt the Rhetian Alpes, and the Adriatique: which thing hee

moſt

most honourably performed. For with the first of the Spring he passed ouer Danubius at BELGRADE with a puissant armie, and rased the forts which the Turkes had built thereabouts; and so entring into SERVIA, laid all the countrey waste before him: and afterwards laden with spoile, returned home, carrying away with him twentie thousand captiues. Neither so rested, but with great good fortune maintained great warres against *Mahomet* during all the time of his raigne: and afterwards against *Baiazet* his sonne also, wherein he most commonly returned with victorie: so that it is of him as truely as briefly written, That no Christian king or chieftaine, did more often or with greater fortune fight against the Turkish nation, or had of them greater victories.

Mahomet deliuered of the great feare he had before conceiued of the generall preparation of the Christian princes against him; determined now to worke his will vpon such as were neerest vnto him, and afterward not to forget them that were farther off. The proceeding of *Scanderbeg*, with the late ouerthrow of SEREMET with his armie in EPIRVS, stucke in his stomacke: in reuenge whereof, he now sent one *Balabanus Badera*, a most valiant captaine, with fifteene thousand horsemen, and three thousand foot, to inuade EPIRVS. This *Balabanus* was an Epirot borne, a chorles sonne of that countrey: and being of a boy taken captiue of the Turkes, as hee was keeping of his fathers cattell, and of long time brought vp in seruitude amongst them, framing himselfe both to their religion and manners; after long seruice, got the credit of a good common souldiour. But when as at the taking of CONSTANTINOPLE, it was his fortune to bee the first man of the Turkes armie that gained the top of the wals, and entered the cittie; hee was for that peece of seruice, euer afterwards of *Mahomet* greatly esteemed: and beside his other great preferments, now sent Generall of his armie into EPIRVS. Who as soone as hee was come to ALCHRIA (a citie vpon the frontiers of that countrey) sent manie rich presents to *Scanderbeg*, making shew as if hee had beene desirous peaceably to lie vpon the borders committed to his charge, without farther purpose to trouble his countrey: yet in deed waiting nothing more than some notable opportunitie, suddenly to doe him the greatest mischiefe he could. But *Scanderbeg* well seeing into the malice of the man, rejected his faigned friendship and gifts, and in derision sent him a spade, a mattocke, a flaile, with other such instruments belonging vnto husbandrie: willing him to take in hand those tooles, and to follow his fathers trade of life, and to leaue the conducting of armies vnto men of greater skill and better place. Which disgrace *Balabanus* tooke in exceeding euill part; purposing in himselfe, if euer it lay in his power, to be thereof reuenged. Wherefore knowing that *Scanderbeg* with a small power lay not farre off vpon the frontiers of his kingdome, he determined suddenly in the night to set vpon him before he were aware of his comming, and so if it were possible to ouerthrow him: but *Scanderbeg* hauing knowledge thereof by his scouts, set forward in good order to haue met him. When *Balabanus* perceiuing that hee was discouered, staied vpon the way, and encamped within two miles of *Scanderbeg*: who had then in his armie but foure thousand horsemen, and one thousand and fiue hundred foote, but all choise men and most expert souldiours: and then lay in a large pleasant valley called VALCHAL. At the farther end whereof *Balabanus* lay also encamped, neere vnto a rough and wooddie hill which enclosed that part of the valley. Whilest both armies thus lay within view one of another, *Scanderbeg* well considering the ground the enemie had taken, and that it was like he would offer him battell, with cheerefull speeches encouraged his souldiours: straitly charging them vpon paine of his displeasure, that if the enemie vpon the fortune of the battell, should chance to flie or to retire, they should not in anie case pursue them farther than the straits of the hill whereby the enemie lay: ghessing too truly, that hee would in so conuenient a place leaue part of his armie in ambush, as a sure refuge to trust vnto whatsoeuer should befall. When he had thus encouraged and instructed his souldiours, he rise with his armie, and in good order retired vnto the rising of an hill, which was a good way behind the place where he before lay; of purpose to haue the aduantage of the ground, if the enemie should follow to giue him battell. *Balabanus* seeing him retire, and the small number of his armie, thought verily that he had fled for feare: and therefore to stay him who ment nothing lesse than to flie, set forward in great hast. The Turkes thinking vpon so great aduantage to haue found no great resistance, followed after *Scanderbeg* as if they had had him in chase: and by that time they were come to the place where hee staied, were by their hast greatly disordered and out of aray. *Scanderbeg* his old trustie souldiours

Mahomet sendeth Balabanus to inuade Epirus

Balabanus goeth against Scanderbeg.

The battell betwixt Balabanus and Scanderbeg.

ours nothing dismaied with the hastie comming & hideous clamour of the Turks, receiued them with great courage: so that there began a fierce battell, with much slaughter on both sides, which for a great while stood doubtfull. Yet such was the inuincible courage of *Scanderbeg* his resolute souldiours, that the Turkes (who as then fought in great disorder) were at last put to flight: and with much slaughter chased vnto the straits of the mountaine, where *Scanderbeg* had before commaunded his men to stay. But certaine of his best and principall captaines forgetting what he had said vnto them; and led on (whether with the heat and furie of the battell, or rather with ineuitable destinie is hard to say) vnaduisedly pursued the enemie into those straits, whereof they were by *Scanderbeg* before warned, and charged that they should not enter: where they were on euerie side beset with their enemies, arising out of ambush: and after they had a long time desperatly fought as wild beasts enclosed with hunters, at last oppressed with multitude, were there togither taken and brought to *Balabanus*; by whom they were forthwith sent to *Mahomet* to CONSTANTINOPLE. Who as soone as hee heard of their taking, is reported with great rejoycing to haue said: Now am I sure that the strength of *Scanderbeg* is broken. The names of the principall men which were there taken, was *Moses Golemus* of DIERA, the greatest captaine of EPIRVS next vnto *Scanderbeg* himselfe; *Giuriza Vladerius*, *Scanderbeg* his kinsman; *Musachius*, *Scanderbeg* his nephew by his sister *Angelina*; *Ginius Musachius*; *Ioannes Perlatus*, who valiantly defended SFETIGRADE against *Amurath*; *Nicholaus Berisius*; *Georgius Chucca*; and *Ginius Manessius:* whereof euerie one of them was able to haue conducted a great armie, and might worthely haue beene accounted amongst the greatest captaines of that age. The taking of these worthie men brought such a generall sorrow and heauinesse vpon EPIRVS, that the victorie was nothing accounted of, euerie man lamenting the losse of such notable leaders. *Scanderbeg* carefull of their deliuerance, presently sent an embassadour to *Mahomet*, requesting that hee might redeeme his prisoners; either by exchanging of others for them, or else for such raunsome as it should please him to set downe. But hee knowing them to be *Scanderbeg* his best captaines, would neither exchange them for others, nor grant that they should be raunsomed for anie gold: but after hee had vsed them with all the dispight he could deuise, caused them all by little and little, to be slaine quicke: in which miserable torment they liued fifteene daies, and so died. *Scanderbeg* hearing thereof, was therewith rather encouraged than discouraged: and in reuenge thereof, with fire and sword entered into the Turkes dominion, sparing nothing that hee could either burne, or possibly by anie other meanes destroie.

Moses and other noble captaines cruelly executed by Mahomet.

Mahomet glad of the taking of these notable men (although they were bought with the liues of manie of his people) commended *Balabanus* highly, as the onely man that knew how to fight against *Scanderbeg*: and in reward of his good seruice, sent him diuers rich giftes, with commaundement to repaire againe his armie, and to proceed in his warres so happely begun. Which thing *Balabanus* with all diligence performed. Yet trusting more vnto his pollicie, than his strength; lying at ALCHRIA, sent againe diuers rich presents to *Scanderbeg*, as desirous to liue in peace by him: but seeking indeed to bring him into securitie, and so suddenly (if it were possible) to entrap him. Which thing *Scanderbeg* well perceiuing, rejected his faigned friendship togither with his presents, as sent from a base peisant. Whereupon *Balabanus* entered into a new deuise, and by secret meanes, with great rewards corrupted *Scanderbeg* his scouts, whereof some were *Balabanus* his kinsmen, though it were to *Scanderbeg* vnknowne. By which practise, he had vpon the sudden in the night oppressed *Scanderbeg*, lying encamped in ORONYCHEVM, if *Scanderbeg* himselfe (who commonly spent most part of the night in carefull watch) going about the campe, had not in the silence of the night a farre off perceiued the comming of the enemie by the noise of his horses: and thereupon with wonderfull celeritie putting his armie in such order as he best could, was readie to receiue him; and at last after a great fight, put him to flight: and hauing him in chase, slew most part of his armie, *Balabanus* himselfe with a small remnant hardly escaping.

Now when *Mahomet* vnderstood that *Balabanus* was ouerthrowne, and his armie lost, hee was in doubt, whether to send another Generall, or else againe to proue the fortune of the old. But after hee had well considered, that *Balabanus* was a right valiant captaine, and one that well knew the countrey of EPIRVS, and withall a mortall enemie to *Scanderbeg*: he resolued to staie vpon him, and not to send anie other. So committing to his charge fourteene thousand

thouſand horſemen and three thouſand foot,ſent him againe to inuade EPIRVS: and the more to encourage him, promiſed to make him king of that countrey,if he could ſubdue *Scanderbeg*. *Balabanus* with this armie comming to ALCHRIA,and ſtill in vaine plotting how hee might circumuent his warie enemie,after his wonted manner ſent diuers preſents to *Scanderbeg*; which he ſtill ſcornefully refuſed.Three moneths he lay ſtill at ALCHRIA, with nothing more troubled than with his owne thoughts: but finding nothing that pleaſed himſelfe, hee determined to aduenture by plaine force to ſubdue him. And vpon that reſolution marched with all his armie into the great plaines neere vnto SFETIGRADE, whither *Scanderbeg* came with his armie alſo; which then conſiſted of eight thouſand horſemen and fifteene hundred foot : with which ſmall power hee refuſed not to joyne battaile with *Balabanus*, being in number two to one. But after they were come to handie blowes, to haue ſeene *Scanderbeg* his men fight; a man would haue ſaid them to haue beene rather raging lyons than men, they ſo furiouſly aſſailed their enemies, without regard of perill or danger,as men nothing afraid to die. *Scanderbeg* with great skill gouerned that battaile,carefully prouiding for euery danger: himſelfe valiantly fighting in the head of his battaile,but not without care of the reſt,ſtill ſending ſpeedie releeſe where moſt need was; and bringing in freſh ſupplies in ſtead of them that were wounded or ſlaine, performed all the parts of a moſt worthie cheefetaine and valiant ſouldior: where moſt perill was, there was hee ſtraight,and at his preſence danger fled,as if victorie had attended vpon him. But whileſt he thus fought in the middeſt of his enemies,his horſe fortuned to be ſlaine vnder him, and falling down with him,ſore bruſed one of his armes,whereof he complained long time after.The Turkes ſeeing him downe,preſſed on fiercely to haue ſlaine him: but hee was quickly reſcued by his owne ſouldiors,and remounted. And forthwith encountering with one *Suliman*,a great commaunder in the Turkes armie, ſlew him in fight hand to hand: whereupon ſuch a terrour fell vpon the Turkes,that they began to retire,and after a while to betake themſelues to plaine flight;*Scanderbeg* purſuing them with ſuch execution, that of that great armie few eſcaped with *Balabanus* to carrie newes home.

The battell of Sfetigrade betwixt Balabanus and Scanderbeg.

Balabanus now thrice vanquiſhed by *Scanderbeg*, and in the laſt battaile hauing loſt what hee could looſe,except he ſhould haue loſt himſelfe,returned to *Mahomet* at CONSTANTINOPLE, of whom he was ſharpely rebuked for the great ouerthrowes he had ſo often receiued.At which time *Balabanus* at firſt gaue place to the kings furie: but afterwards when the heat was ouer, hee with a large diſcourſe cunningly excuſed himſelfe, imputing all thoſe his miſhaps vnto the appointment of God,and the fortune of warre: and in the end told *Mahomet* plainely, That it was but in vaine to ſend ſuch ſmall armies into EPIRVS. But if it would pleaſe him at once to ſend two valiant captains with a puiſſant and ſtrong armie,who deuiding the ſame betwixt them,and entering at one time into diuers parts of EPIRVS,might ſpoile the countrey before them,and encloſe *Scanderbeg* betwixt them, if he ſhould aduenture to giue either of them battaile, being before reſolued neither of them to offer him battaile,or yet to accept of the ſame being by him offered,except the other were alſo at hand: and ſo by mutuall conſent to vndertake him, but neuer ſingle. By which courſe hee promiſed vnto him an eaſie and aſſured victorie: for as much as it were impoſsible for any man ſo beſet, and as it were on euery ſide coupt vp with his enemies, either to eſcape or yet to make any great reſiſtance. This perſuaſion of *Balabanus* ſo well fitted the tyrants humor, that he appointed *Balabanus* himſelfe to be the man to put his own deuiſe in execution: giuing him commiſsion to leuie ſuch an armie as he ſhould thinke ſufficient for the performance of that ſeruice: and withall to aſſociate vnto himſelfe for his companion which ſoeuer of his captaines as he pleaſed. *Balabanus* according to his commiſsion,tooke muſters of the men of warre, and made choice of fortie thouſand good ſouldiours, and choſe one *Iacup Arnauth*, (otherwiſe called *Iames* the Epirot,becauſe he was alſo borne in EPIRVS,a valiant captain)to be his companion: whom he ſent with ſixteene thouſand ſoldiors by the way of THESSALIA and GRECIA into EPIRVS,commaunding him in no caſe to joyne battaile with *Scanderbeg*, vntill he himſelfe were alſo come into the countrey with the other part of the armie. And ſo ſetting both forward, *Balabanus* taking the neereſt way through THRACIA and MACEDONIA, came firſt into EPIRVS with twentie thouſand horſemen and foure thouſand foot, and encamped in the valey of VALCHALL. *Scanderbeg* both by his eſpials and letters from his ſecret friends in the Turkes court, hauing certaine intelligence of all *Balabanus* his intent and purpoſe, had in readineſſe againſt his comming a ſtrong armie of eight thouſand horſemen and foure thouſand foot,

all choise souldiours. And now hearing that he was come into EPIRVS, and encamped in VALCAAL, sent out three espials to discouer in what order he lay: one of which spies was *Balabanus* his kinsman (but not so knowne to *Scanderbeg*) by whose persuasion the other two when they had taken full view of *Balabanus* his army, and should haue returned to *Scanderbeg* to haue giuen intelligence of that they had seene, like false traitors went ouer to *Balabanus*, and discouered vnto him all that they knew concerning *Scanderbeg*: hoping therefore to receiue some great reward, as their fellow had before borne them in hand. *Scanderbeg* maruelling that his espials returned not againe as they were appointed, and doubting that they had been by the enemie intercepted, and vsing many times in matters of such importance to trust himselfe best, presently went out with fiue lustie souldiours, and rid foorth to discouer the manner of the enemies lying. *Balabanus* like a craftie fox, mistrusting that *Scanderbeg* deceiued of his first espials would for like purpose send forth others, laied certaine horsemen in secret ambush in diuers places, to intercept them if it were possible. These horsemen lay not so couert, but that they were in good time descried by *Scanderbeg* and his followers (who with *Argus* eies, pried into euerie bush and thicket as they went) before he was altogether fallen within their danger: and yet but so that he came to handie strokes, where *Scanderbeg* and his followers oppressed with multitude, were glad to flie as fast as they could into the next wood, the Turkes horsemen following them at the heeles. It fortuned that as they were flying, a great old tree was fallen crosse the way, which *Scanderbeg* putting spurs to his horse, leapt ouer, with one of his men after him; the other foure not able to get ouer, turned backe vpon the Turkes, and there fighting were slaine. One of the Turkes which so hardly pursued *Scanderbeg* being well mounted, forced his horse to leape the tree, and still followed after *Scanderbeg*: who looking backe and seeing but one, turned vpon him and slew him: the other Turkes hauing slaine foure of *Scanderbeg* his men which could not get ouer the tree, returned. And *Scanderbeg* accompanied but with one of his followers, came backe againe to his campe; and there with all speed put his army in readinesse to go against *Balabanus* before the comming of his companion, with the other part of his army. Vpon which resolution, after he had with cheerfull persuasions encouraged his souldiours, and filled their minds with hope of victorie, he set forward, and came with great speed into the valley of VALCHAL where *Balabanus* lay. *Scanderbeg* had deuided his army into foure squadrons, whereof *Tanusius* had the leading of one, *Zacharias Groppa* of another, the third was committed to *Peicus Emanuel*, and *Scanderbeg* himselfe conducted the fourth. So setting forward, he sent before certaine companies of harquebusiers, and archers, to prouoke the enemie and to draw him foorth vnto battell. *Balabanus* also shewed himselfe with his army in seemly order before his tents, but there stood fast and would not stirre, expecting continually the comming of his fellow. Which *Scanderbeg* perceiuing, and that he sought but to dallie out the time, and as one vnwilling to fight had againe retired his army into the safetie of his trenches; drew neerer and neerer vnto him, continually skirmishing with such as he sent out, daring him into the field, and brauing him vnto his trenches, in such sort as if hee would haue forced the same, and by strong hand haue fet him out thence. Whereat the Turkes fretted and chafed exceedingly: insomuch, that they were readie to rise against their Generall, because he would not lead them forth to battell, but suffer them to be so disgraced. *Balabanus* mindfull of that he had promised vnto *Mahomet* his great lord and maister, did what he might to haue deferred time: but when he saw that his fellow came not, and that he could no longer delay the matter; being so continually assailed and braued by *Scanderbeg* his souldiours, that his Turkes therewith prouoked, were readie oftentimes to haue issued out without his direction, and now no remedie but that he must needs fight; placed his men in good order, and so went out of his trenches to giue battell, himselfe leading the left wing thereof: where betwixt him and *Scanderbeg* was made a fierce fight, many falling on both sides. But *Scanderbeg* strengthned with the old garrison of CROIA, and the most expert souldiors of DIBRA, preuailed vpon the Turkes and forced them to giue ground, yet still keeping their order. The fight was so great in this part of the battell, that in other places they stood almost still as lookers on, expecting the doubtfull fortune of their Generals: Which thing *Scanderbeg* perceiuing, drew certain troups out of the right wing, where as he saw was least danger, which speedily fetching a compasse about, charged the side of the enemies army; and againe withdrawing themselues, and with wonderfull celeritie wheeling about, set vpon the backe of them that fought in the left wing: so that the Turkes there fiercely charged both before and behind, by the most valiant souldiours of

Scanderbeg his scouts traitorously flie to Balabanus.

of *Scanderbeg* his army, fell in other places with a great slaughter. *Balabanus* with exceeding courage gainstood his enemies, so long as there was any hope left: but when he saw the fortune of *Scanderbeg* to preuaile, and all about him to become desperat, he made shift for himselfe, and fled out of the battell as fast as he could. The rest of the army, being in other places before troubled and disordered, fled also, some one way, some another, euerie man as his fortune led him. Some few that followed *Balabanus* escaped: the rest were for most part either slaine or taken prisoners.

Scanderbeg had scarcely well breathed himselfe after this victorie, and deuided the spoile amongst his souldiours; but that newes was brought to him in post from the lady *Mamiza* his sister, then lying at PETRELLA, that *Iacuppe Arnauth* was by the way of BELGRADE come into EPIRVS with an army of sixteene thousand horsemen, burning and destroying the countrey before him, and then lay encamped in the plaines of TIRANNA the lesse. When *Scanderbeg* to proue the minds of his soldiors, had cheerfully imparted vnto them such newes, as was like to be the beginning of new labour and perill; they were therewith nothing dismaied, but readie to follow him with such cheerfulnesse of countenance & mind, as if they should haue gone to some great feast or banquet: reckoning of them, but as of the remnant of a discomfited army. This cheerfulnesse of his souldiours, *Scanderbeg* tooke as an assured token of his good successe; and hauing all things in readinesse, presently set forward, and in short time came to the place where the enemie lay. *Iacuppe* hearing of his comming, remoued his campe into a corner of the plaine of TIRANNA, neere vnto a little hill, as a place of more safetie for his armie to lie in. *Scanderbeg* taking the plaine, encamped his armie in the same place from whence *Iacuppe* was but a little before departed, where he rested one whole day. The next morning to terrifie his enemies (who as yet had not heard of the ouerthrow of *Balabanus*) he caused diuers of the Turkes heads which were slaine in the late battell (which he had brought for that purpose) to be cast before the trenches of the enemie, and withall, diuers of them which were taken prisoners to be showne: Which *Iacuppe* beholding, in great dispaire said, *I see the euill hap of Mahomet*. Immediatly after, *Scanderbeg* sent forth 500 horsemen to skirmish with the Turkes, commaunding them so soone as they were charged by the enemie to retire, if happily they might so be drawne into battell: which fell out accordingly. For *Iacuppe* now seeing his fellow was not to be looked for, and willing also without farther delay to trie his fortune, came readily into the field, and began a fierce battell: which endured not long, for *Scanderbeg* perceiuing in what part of the armie *Iacuppe* was, bent his greatest force that way, and singling him out, with his owne hand slew him. Wherewith the Turkes being discouraged, forthwith betooke themselues to flight, and in flying, were for most part slaine or taken. Those which escaped the present furie of the sword, straggling through the countrey by thicke woods and blind waies, were by the countrey people either slaine or taken prisoners. In these two battels were slaine of the Turkes foure and twentie thousand, and six thousand taken. And of *Scanderbeg* his men, were lost about a thousand. *Scanderbeg* and his souldiours were so wearie of the slaughter of the Turkes, that when it was told him the next day, that *Balabanus* was fled but with one cornet of horsemen, and might easily be surprised, if he were well pursued: he said, *O let some of our enemies liue to report their owne slaughter and our victorie*. After that *Scanderbeg* had in this sort vanquished these great captaines, he presently entered into the frontiers of the Turkes dominions, and roaming vp and downe at his pleasure without resistance, made hauocke of all that came in his way. And after returning to CROIA with victorie, brake vp his armie, and gaue his souldiours leaue to depart, euerie man to his owne dwelling.

Iacup slaine by Scanderbeg, and his armie discomfited.

1469 Whilest these things were in doing, *Mahomet* had with great rewards procured two Turks to vndertake to kill *Scanderbeg*. These traitors came vnto *Scanderbeg* as fugitiues, making such shew of the detestation both of *Mahomet* his tyrannicall gouernment, and vaine superstition, that they were both of *Scanderbeg* and others reputed to be in deed the men they desired to be accounted: and so after they had learned the principles of the Christian religion, were by their owne desire baptised. But treason against princes whom God hath in his most mightie protection, cannot be long couered; much lesse without his great sufferance performed. So fortuned it, that these two false dissembling traitors, expecting nothing but opportunitie to performe their diuelish deuise, vpon some occasion fell at variance betwixt themselues, and in their heat, let some such words fall, as being taken vp by some there present, drew them both into suspition: and

therupon being ſtraitly examined, it was at laſt by them confeſſed, that they were ſent by *Mahomet* of purpoſe to haue ſlaine *Scanderbeg*: for which their treaſon they were both preſently executed, as they had right well deſerued. When *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Balabanus* was ouercome, *Iacup* ſlaine, and both their armies almoſt quite deſtroied, he after his impatient manner fell into a great rage, and became as a man almoſt franticke: and afterwards calling togither his great Baſſaes, reſolued by their aduiſe, not to ſend any mo generals againſt *Scanderbeg*, but to go himſelfe in perſon with ſuch an armie as ſhould at once make an end of his warres in EPIRVS for euer. Hereupon commiſsions were directed through all his kingdome, and an armie raiſed of two hundred thouſand men: whereof *Scanderbeg* hauing certaine aduertiſement, fortifyed all his cities and ſtrong holds, eſpecially the citie of CROIA, vpon the fortune whereof, depended the whole ſtate of his kingdome. Into this cittie he put a ſtrong garriſon of his moſt valiant and faithfull ſouldiours; and throughly furniſhed the ſame with all things neceſſarie for the enduring of a long ſiege: and left one *Balthaſar Perduci* (a graue and worthy captaine) gouernour thereof. With like care he prouided for the ſafetie of his other cities, and tooke order that the countrey people were either receiued into the ſtrong townes, or elſe conuayed into other places of refuge: and left nothing abroad in the countrey for the Turkes to prey vpon, as he had in like caſe done long before, at the comming of old *Amurath* to the ſiege of CROIA, as is before in his life declared.

By that time that *Scanderbeg* had ſet all things in order, his old friend *Balabanus* with eighte thouſand horſemen (the foretunners of *Mahomet* his armie) was entred into EPIRVS, and ranging ouer the countrey two daies, came and ſat downe before CROIA: Vpon whom the gouernour at his firſt comming, made many braue ſallies. In few daies after came *Mahomet* with his huge armie, and there encamped alſo. Who at his firſt comming ſummoned the citie, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him, vpon ſuch vnreaſonable conditions as it pleaſed himſelfe (as the manner of the Turke is:) whereunto the worthy gouernour returned him no other anſwere, than by continuall thundring ſhot into his campe. Whereupon *Mahomet* cauſed ſuch ordinance as he had, to be planted for batterie; and commanded other new to be caſt, of ſuch mettall as he had for that purpoſe brought in maſſe: all which he did rather to ſtrike a terror into the minds of the defendants, than for any great hope he had of taking the cittie by force; knowing by his owne experience, that it was a place almoſt impregnable. Whileſt *Mahomet* was thus buſied and little or nothing preuailed, *Scanderbeg* lying abroad in the woods and mountaines with a ſmall army of moſt valiant and couragious ſouldiours, continually cut off the forragers of *Mahomets* armie, and ſuch as brought in victuall or neceſſaries for his campe: and manie times in the night, ſuddenly brake into one quarter or other of the Turks great camp with great ſlaughter, and with continuall alarums neuer ſuffered them to reſt in quiet. *Mahomet* ſeeing his army to decreaſe daily, and no hope of winning the citie but by famine, which would require a long ſiege: and fearing alſo to make that ſame place again famous by ſome notable miſchance, which might happen vnto himſelfe vnder the wals of CROIA, as had before vnto his father *Amurath*; determined to returne himſelfe to CONSTANTINOPLE, and to leaue *Balabanus* with a great part of his armie to continue the ſiege. Vpon which determination he committed the charge and ordering of the whole matter for the continuing of the ſiege to *Balabanus*, joyning vnto him eight of his moſt expert captaines; yet ſo, as that they ſhould be all at *Balabanus* his commaund. And ſo leauing with him three and twentie thouſand of his beſt ſouldiors, and with euery one of the other eight captaines ſeuen thouſand moe, departed himſelfe with the reſt of his armie from CROIA towards CONSTANTINOPLE. But by the way as he went he tooke from *Scanderbeg* certaine ſmall forts, and with faire promiſes corrupting the Gouernour of a place called CHIDNA, wherein eight thouſand of *Scanderbeg* his ſouldiours lay, had the ſame deliuered into his power, vpon his faith before giuen, That all the ſouldiours with the reſt of the people ſhould in ſafetie depart thence. But after the tyrant had them in his power, without regard of faith or promiſe, hee cauſed them all moſt cruelly to bee cut in peeces, ſparing neither man, woman, nor child, to the great greefe and weakening of *Scanderbeg*, who had not at any time before receiued ſo great a loſſe. And after hee had ſo raged, hee in great melancholie returned vnto CONSTANTINOPLE.

Mahomet commeth to the ſiege of Croia.

Scanderbeg diſdaining to haue his cheefe cittie beſieged by *Balabanus*, ſometime one of the baſeſt of his fathers ſubjects: and yet finding himſelfe vnable to releeue the ſame, for as much

as

as his ſouldiors were with continuall warres ſore waſted, and his warie enemies lay ſo encamped, as that they were not but by a ſtrong armie to bee remoued, ſent vnto the Venetians and other the confederat princes of ALBANIA, ILLYRIA, and DALMATIA, praying of them aid now at his need againſt that enemie, which preuailing againſt him, would forthwith ſet vpon them. All which princes promiſed forthwith to ſend their ſuccours. At the ſame time alſo hee paſſed ouer into ITALIE ſecretly, and diſguiſed in ſimple attire, came to ROME, to craue aid of *Paulus* the ſecond of that name, then great Biſhop: by whom he was honourably entertained, but obtained nothing of that he came for; ſo cold was his holy deuotion: onely at his departure hee gaue vnto *Iunetrio*, *Scanderbeg* his treaſurer, a poore almes of three thouſand duckats.

Scanderbeg returning into EPIRVS, found all ſuch aid readie as was promiſed from the confederat princes, but eſpecially from the Venetians, which was for moſt part drawne out of their garriſons of SCVTARI, DRIVASTO, ALYSSA, and DIRRHACHIVM: ſo that hee had in few daies in his armie thirteene thouſand foure hundred choice ſoldiors. With this ſtrength he marched towards CROIA: but vnderſtanding by the way, that *Ionima* was within a daies journey comming with a new ſupplie to his brother *Balabanus*, hee drew out certaine troupes of his beſt horſemen: and coaſting ouer the countrey in the night, ſuddainly came vpon the Turks, and put them to flight; where amongſt others, *Ionima* himſelfe, with his ſonne *Hedar*, were taken priſoners, whom he ſhewed the next day in bonds to *Balabanus*. This exploit ſo happily performed, he with all ſpeed returned to his armie: and ſo marching to CROIA, by plaine force driue the Turks from the mountain CRVINA, their greateſt ſtrength, and neareſt to the citie of CROIA. Which thing when *Balabanus* ſaw, he with certaine troupes of horſemen rid euen to the gates of the cittie, perſuading the defendants to yeeld the citie, making them in the name of his maſter ſuch offers and promiſes as he thought might moſt moue them. But they nothing regarding his words, but rather incenſed with his preſumption, ſallied out vpon him, and enforced him to retire: but he therewith enraged, and halfe mad for anger, came vpon them with a freſh charge, thinking by plaine force to haue driuen them backe into the citie. In which skirmiſh he was by one *Georgius Alexius* with a bullet ſhot quite through the throat; and feeling himſelfe mortally wounded, ſetting ſpurres to his horſe, ran as faſt as he could to his campe, where he preſently fell down from his horſe and died. The Turkes diſcouraged with the death of their Generall, and the comming of *Scanderbeg*, riſe the ſame night, and with great ſilence retired themſelues vnto the plain of TIRANA, about eight miles from CROIA. *Scanderbeg* the next morning entring the forſaken tents of the Turks, found therein great ſtore of corne and other victuals, which he cauſed to be forthwith conueyed into the citie, and in great triumph followed after himſelfe, to the great joy and comfort of his late beſieged ſubjects: whom he highly commended for their fidelitie, and bountifully rewarded according to their deſerts. The ſame day he ſent certaine companies of ſouldiors to take the ſtrait paſſages whereby the Turkes muſt needs paſſe in their returne out of EPIRVS; which when the Turkes vnderſtood, they ſent two meſſengers vnto *Scanderbeg* (who ſeemed to be men of good account in the armie) offering in the name of the reſt of the captaines and commaunders, to deliuer vnto him their horſes and armes, ſo that they might in ſafetie depart with their liues. Which their requeſt *Scanderbeg* propounding vnto his counſellors & captaines, was by them diuerſly diſgeſted. In concluſion, they receiued this anſwere from *Scanderbeg* himſelfe, That as they came into his country without his commandement, ſo ſhould they not by his leaue depart thence. The Turkes receiuing this ſhort anſwere by their meſſengers, and conſidering that they muſt needs in that bare countrey in ſhort time periſh, either with famine or with the ſword; the very ſame night departed from TIRANNA, and in the dead time of the night entering the aforeſaid ſtraits, by plaine force deſperatly brake through and eſcaped, but not without their great loſſe: for whoſe eſcape the common ſouldiors murmured greeuouſly againſt *Scanderbeg*, and were not without much ado appeaſed. In ſhort time after, *Scanderbeg* recouered all ſuch places as *Mahomet* had before taken from him, and put to ſword the ſoldiors he had left for the keeping of the ſame: which done, he brake vp his armie, retaining only two thouſand horſemen and a thouſand foot for the defence of his frontiers.

Scanderbeg ſurpriſeth Ionima the brother of Balabanus, and Hedar his ſonne.

The Turkiſh tyrant hearing of the euill ſucceſſe of his affaires in EPIRVS, as that his Generall was ſlaine, CROIA releeued, his armie diſcomfited, and all that he had done, brought to nought; fretted thereat exceedingly, and was therewith ſo much greeued, that hee could not for a ſeaſon eat or drinke or take reſt, his diſcontented thoughts ſo much troubled him. In the end, to reme- 1466

die the matter, he resolued the next Spring to goe againe in person himselfe with a most puissant armie into EPIRVS, and so if it were possible, to make a full conquest thereof: of which his purpose *Scanderbeg* vnderstanding, prouided for his comming, as he had in former time. The Spring being come, *Mahomet* according to his former resolution, with a mightie armie entred into EPIRVS, and there with exceeding labour and charge first repaired or rather reedified the old ruines of the citie of VALMES, wherein he left a strong garrison, of purpose to trouble that part of the countrey. From thence he marched to DIRRACHIVM (now called DVRAZZO, but of old time EPIDAMNVM) a citie vpon the sea coast, then in the possession of the Venetians, famous for many things in the time of the Romane empire, but especially for the flight of the Romane Senate thither, and their entertainement there in the time of the ciuile wars betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompeius*. This citie *Mahomet* thought to haue taken vnprouided, and so vpon the suddaine to haue carried it; but was therein much deceiued, finding it strongly fortified and manned both by the Venetians and *Scanderbeg*. Where when he had there spent some time, and to his great losse in vaine attempted the cittie, hee rise vpon the suddaine: and retiring into EPIRVS, came and sat downe againe before CROIA, of purpose by his suddaine comming to haue terrified the cittizens: and vainely persuaded, that he had left *Scanderbeg* in DIRRACHIVM, for that in the assailing thereof he had discouered many of *Scanderbeg* his men, and thereby supposed him to haue beene there also; the greatest cause why he so suddenly rise and came to CROIA. At his first comming he offered great rewards and large priuiledges vnto the cittizens, if they would forthwith yeeld vp their citie; otherwise he threatened vnto them all the calamities of warre, vowing neuer to depart thence before he had it: whereunto he receiued no other answere out of the cittie than was sent him by the mouth of the Cannon, or brought him by many most braue sallies. *Scanderbeg* in the meane while continually molesting his campe, and euery night falling into one quarter or another thereof. *Mahomet* taught by experience, to what small purpose it would bee for him to lie there long, rise with his armie, & marched againe to the sea side to a place now called the head of REDON vpon the gulfe of VENICE, not farre from DIRRACHIVM, where *Scanderbeg* had begun to build a new cittie called CHIVRILL, not yet finished: which *Mahomet* in despight of the man, rased downe to the ground. After that, hearing that many of the Epirots were retired into the mountaines, hee went to seeke them out, and was with great losse by those mountaine people repulsed: *Scanderbeg* still following him at the heeles, and awaiting all oportunities, daily cut off part of his armie. So that at last the tyrant despairing of any good to bee done in that expedition, was glad to depart out of EPIRVS, hauing atcheeued nothing worth his comming, and so full of discontentment and melancholie returned to CONSTANTINOPLE.

Scanderbeg falleth sicke.

After all these great troubles, *Scanderbeg* rid ouer most part of EPIRVS, to view the state of his kingdome, and so at last came to LYSSA (a citie of the Venetians, which he had alwaies specially liked) there to conferre with the Venetian legate and other the confederate princes, of matters concerning their state in generall, as his manner was: but more particularly how they might take the citie of VALMES, which *Mahomet* had the last yeare built in the siegnorie of *Aryannites Comynat*, and much troubled that part of EPIRVS. But whilest he lay there, he fell sicke of a feauer, which daily so encreased vpon him, that he became sicke euen vnto death: and now perceiuing his end to draw nigh, sent for his wife and sonne, with the princes and lords his confederates, and the embassadours of the Venetians, into his bed chamber. Where after he had at large with greater paine notably discoursed of his troublesome life led amongst them, than he had before passed the same, and carefully forewarned them of the dangers like to ensue; he earnestly exhorted them to continue in vnitie and concord, and valiantly to stand in defence of their religion, countrey, and libertie. And afterwards turning his speech to his wife and his sonne, commended them both with his kingdome to the tuition of the Venetians: who by the articles of the confederation betwixt him and them, were in honour bound to protect his sonne and kingdome, during the time of his minoritie, and afterwards peaceably to place him in the same. In fine, he willed his wife after his death to passe ouer with her sonne into APVLIA, where they might in safetie and quiet liue vpon such possessions as he there held by the gift of king *Ferdinand*. And so after he had with most feruent prayer commended his soule into the hands of Almightie God, departed in peace the seuenteenth day of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1466, when hee had liued about 63 yeares, and thereof raigned about 24. His death was worthely lamented of all Christian princes, but especially of the Venetians and princes of ALBANIA, who had now lost

The death of Scanderbeg.

their

their moſt carefull watchman and inuincible champion: the ſorrow of his ſubjects is not to bee expreſſed, euery man bewayling him, as the onely ſtay of the commonweale, and as if with him they had loſt all their hope. His dead bodie was with the generall lamentation of all men royally buried in the cathedrall church of S. *Nicholas* at LYSSA: where it reſted in peace, vntill that about nine yeares after, the Turkes comming to the ſiege of SCODRA, by the way tooke the citie of LYSSA, and there with great deuotion digged vp his bones, reckoning it in ſome part of their happineſſe, if they might but ſee or touch the ſame: and ſuch as could get any part thereof, were it neuer ſo little, cauſed the ſame to be ſet, ſome in ſiluer, ſome in gold, to hang about their neckes, or weare vpon their bodies; perſuading themſelues by the wearing thereof to be partakers of ſuch good fortune and hap as had *Scanderbeg* himſelfe whileſt he liued: which is not vnaptly by *Gabriell Fairnus* of CREMONA, thus in verſe expreſſed.

Scanderbeg buried at Lyſſa.

The bodie of Scanderbeg digged vp by the Turkes, and of them greatly honoured.

SCANDERBEG.

Paulus Iouius Illuſt. virorum, Elog. lib. 3.

Turcarum clades, Othomanni nominis horror,
Epiri tutela, illo iacuere ſepulchro:
Quo quondam inuicti cubuerunt oſſa Georgi.
Nunc & membra viri, & diſſectum in fruſta ſepulchrum
Interijt, ſparſi manes, conſciſa vagantur
Oſſa, nec in gelida nunc ſaltem morte quieſcunt.
Namq; vt is aſſertum toties cum laude paternum
Imperium, exacta moriens ætate reliquit.

Illicet

Illicet immanes tenuerunt omnia Turcæ.
Tum clari Herois venerati nobile buſtum,
Oſſaque, marmoraque, inuictum condentia corpus
Abſtulerant, ſibi quiſque in partes ſecta minutas,
Tanquam ijs bellica vis, & Martius ardor ineſſet:
Et genium præſtare bonum, ſortemque valerent.
Sic quæ alijs tumulum virtus parat abſtulit illi:
Atque eadem diro venerandum præbuit hoſti.

In Engliſh thus.

The bloudie bane of faithleſſe Turkes, and terrour of their name,
EPIRVS ſtrong defence and guard, lay buried there with fame:
Within that tombe wherein long ſince, Great *Caſtriotus* lay,
But now thoſe limbs and tombe defac'd, are carried quite away;
The remnants of that worthy wight out of his graue were torne:
And being dead could find no reſt, but were for jewels worne.
For after he farre ſpent with age, gaue place to fatall doome,
And left his fathers kingdome got, and kept with great renowme:
Forthwith the cruell Turkes preuaild, and all things there poſſeſt.
Who worſhipping his ſtately tombe, and place of quiet reſt,
Dig'd vp his bones, and brake the tombe wherein he did remaine:
And glad was he that could thereof, ſome little part obtaine.
As if in them ſome martiall force, or vertue great had beene:
Or fortune rare, ſuch as before in him was liuing ſeene.
So vertue which to others giues, a ſepulture and graue,
Bereft it him, yet forſt his foe in honour it to haue.

Mathias King of Hungarie, taketh the kingdome of Bosna from the Turke

Moſt part of the time of theſe warres betwixt *Mahomet* and *Scanderbeg*, the Venetians by ſea and the Hungarians by land, kept the Turkes throughly buſied. *Mathias Coruinus* king of HVNGARIE (according to his promiſe made vnto the Venetians) entred into the kingdome of BOSNA, where by force he ouerthrew the ſtrong forts which the Turks had built for the defence of their frontiers, and manfully draue them out before him vntill he came to IAZIGA (of ſome called IAITZE) the chiefe citie of BOSNA, which he at length tooke: and following the courſe of his victorie, ſcarcely ſuffered the Turkes to breath, vntill he had by force wreſted all that kingdome out of their hands. Wherewith *Mahomet* being exceedingly grieued, in great furie came with a ſtrong armie into BOSNA, and laid hard ſiege to IAZIGA, which was by the Chriſtians right valiantly defended: vntill *Mathias* with a puiſſant armie came to the reliefe thereof, who ſo troubled the Turkes campe with continuall skirmiſhes on the one ſide, and they of the towne with deſperat ſallies on the other; that at length the prowd Turke was driuen to ſuch extremitie, that he was glad ſecretly to ſteale away by night with all his army into SERVIA; and for haſt to leaue behind him both his tents and great ordinance, which (the Turks hiſtories report) he cauſed to be caſt into the riuer, becauſe it ſhould not come into the hands of the Chriſtians. *Mathias* after he had thus valiantly put to flight his enemies and relieued his citie, followed the Turkes into SERVIA, and tooke part of that countrey alſo, which togither with BOSNA he vnited to the kingdome of HVNGARIE. In theſe warres, *Mahomet* had ſuch proofe of the force and power of *Mathias* and the Hungarians, that for a good while after he had no great ſtomacke to prouoke them farther: for why, the name of *Mathias* was now become vnto the Turkes no leſſe dreadfull, than was ſometime the name of his father the valiant *Huniades*.

The Venetians at the ſame time alſo with their gallies ſcoured the ſeas, and landing their men ſometime in one place, ſometime in another, did great harme in manie places of the Turkes dominion neere vnto the ſea coaſt. Amongſt other their generals at diuers times ſent from that ſtate, one *Nicholas Canalis* ſucceeding *Lauretanus* (whom we haue before ſpoken of) as ſoone as he had receiued his charge, came with his fleet into the bay of SALONICHI, and landing his men, burnt diuers townes and villages alongſt the ſea ſide. Afterwards returning into PELO-

PONESVS,

PONESVS, he fortified the towne of LEGOSTICIVM in the gulfe of PATRAS, which worke the Turkes with their often skirmiſhes laboured to haue hindred, but in deſpite of all they could doe it was brought to perfection, and a ſtrong garriſon therein left for the defence thereof, which done, he returned againe to EVBŒA. Shortly after, he with the ſame fleet put to ſea againe; and ſayling alongſt the coaſt of MACEDONIA and THRACIA, ſurpriſed the citie of ÆNVS which ſtandeth vpon the mouth of the riuer Meritza, called in auntient time Hebrus, vpon which riuer the famous cities ANDRINOPLE and PHILIPPOPOLIS are alſo ſituate. *Canalis* after he had taken the ſpoyle of the citie returned to his gallies, carrying away with him two thouſand captiues into EVBŒA. At the ſame time alſo, the Venetians giuing aid vnto *Nicholaus Duchaine* againſt his brother *Alexius*, then at variance for the principalitie of ZADRIMA, neere vnto the riuer of DRINO in EPIRVS, gaue a great ouerthrow to the Turkes which came in the quarrell of *Alexius*.

Mahomet not a little offended with the harmes done vnto him by the Venetians, and perceiuing that the iſland of EVBŒA (now called NIGROPONTE) was for the commodious ſituation and ſtrength thereof, the chiefe place from whence they wrought him all theſe wrongs, and whither they afterwards retired againe, as vnto a moſt ſure place of refuge; determined with himſelfe at once to be euen with them for all, and to imploy his whole forces both by ſea and land, for the gaining of that place. This iſland of EVBŒA is about an hundred miles in length, and lieth ouer againſt that part of GRECIA which was of old called BÆOTIA, from whence it is ſeparated with a narrow ſtrait of the ſea: it aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, fruit, and wood fit for ſhipping. The chiefe citie thereof, was in auntient time called CHALCIDE, and of later time NIGROPHONTE, by which name alſo the whole iſland was knowne: albeit the Turkes now call it EGRIBOS: a populous, rich, and ſtrong cittie; ſo fortified with wals and bulwarks, that (in moſt mens iudgement) it ſeemed a place impregnable. Vnto this ſtrong citie *Mahomet* reſolued to lay ſiege, knowing well that vpon the fortune thereof depended the ſtate of the whole iſland. Wherefore he aſſembled a mightie army, and made great preparation both by ſea and land: and when all things were in readineſſe, ſent *Mahomet* (the great Baſſa of the court) with a fleet of three hundred gallies, and certaine other ſmall veſſels well furniſhed with ſouldiours, mariners, and all things neceſſarie, by ſea into EVBŒA: and with a great armie marched himſelfe by land through ACHAIA, vntill he came ouer againſt the citie of CHALCIS. The Venetian Admirall hearing of the comming of the Turkes fleet, ſet forward to haue met them neere vnto the ſtraits of HELLESPONTVS: but after he had by his eſpials deſcried the great number of the enemies fleet, finding himſelfe too weake, ſhaped his courſe to the iſland of SCIROS. The Baſſa comming out of the ſtraits of HELLESPONTVS, couered the ſea with his fleet, and holding on his entended courſe, without let came to EVBŒA: where at his firſt landing, he tooke STORA and BASILICON, two ſmall townes, which he raſed to the ground, and from thence went directly to CHALCIS. As ſoone as this great fleet was there arriued, *Mahomet* cauſed a bridge to be made of his ſmaller veſſels ouer the ſtrait betwixt ACHAIA and EVBŒA, whereby he paſſed all his armie, and ſo belaid the citie round both by ſea and land. And after he had planted his batterie, began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the wals: wherein he had in ſhort time made faire breaches, and the ſooner for that one *Thomas* of LIBVRNIA (chiefe canonier of the citie) before corrupted by the Turkes, by ſignes agreed vpon, gaue them certaine knowledge in what places the wals were weakeſt: whereby they ſo aptly planted their batterie, as if they had taken view on the inſide of the wals. Which foule treaſon was at length perceiued, and the traitor therefore worthely executed. Yet little preuailed the tyrant thereby, for ſuch was the induſtrie of the defendants, that whatſoeuer he had by the furie of his great ordinance beaten downe by day, that they with reſtleſſe labour repaired againe by night. Thus was the ſiege continued thirtie daies, in which ſpace many a ſharpe aſſault was giuen by the Turkes, to their great loſſe; and the citie ſtill valiantly defended by the Chriſtians. At length the Venetian Admirall (to the great comfort of the beſieged) came with his fleet within view of the cittie, making ſemblant as if he would haue giuen the Turkes battell. Whereupon it is reported, that *Mahomet* was about to haue raiſed his ſiege, and haue got himſelfe ouer into the maine, for feare the Venetians ſhould with their gallies haue broken the bridge, and ſo haue ſhut him vp into that iſland: Which thing it was thought the admirall might haue done to his great praiſe, if he would as a couragious chieftaine haue aduentured the matter, as he was earneſtly requeſted by the captaines of euerie priuat gally; who

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Chalcis the chiefe citie of Eubœa beſieged by the Turke.

Treaſon in the citie.

who generally grieued to see him so great a commaunder, to let slip so faire an opportunitie. But he fearing to come any neerer, came to an anchor and moued not, neither gaue any signe of comfort or reliefe to the besieged. Which thing the Turkish king quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged: hauing now in diuers places beaten downe the wals, and made them saultable; brought on his men to the breaches, promising them the spoile of the citie, with many other great rewards and hie preferments according to their particuler deserts, whereof he said, he would himselfe be an eye-witnesse. Hereupon the Turkes gaue a most fierce and furious assault, which the defendants with inuincible courage receiued, and made such slaughter of them, that the ditches were filled, and the breaches made vp with the bodies of the dead Turkes. But such was the number of that populous armie (the greatest strength of the Turkes) that the liuing little felt the losse of the dead: *Mahomet* continually sending in new supplies of fresh men, in steed of them that were slaine or wounded: So that one could no sooner fall, but two or three stept vp in his roome, and so successiuely, as if new men had sprong out of the bodies of the dead. Twise they had euen woon the breaches, and were both times with wonderfull slaughter beaten out againe. This deadly and dreadfull assault, was maintained a whole day and a night without intermission. At length the defendants being for the most part slaine or wounded, and the rest wearied with long fight, and vnable to defend the towne now assaulted almost round, retired from the breaches into the market place, and there like resolute men, sold their liues at a deere price vnto the Turkes. Amongst the slaine Christians, were found the dead bodies of manie notable women, who seeing the ruine of the citie, chose rather to die with their friends in defence thereof, than aliue to fall into the hands of their barbarous enemies.

Chalcis taken by the Turkes.

Mahomet being now become lord of the citie, and hauing lost fortie thousand of his Turks in that siege, in reuenge thereof caused all the men that were found in the citie aliue, to be put to most cruell death, especially the Italians, vpon whom he shewed his tyrannie with most exquisit and horrible torments. *Paulus Ericus* gouernour of the citie, with a few others, who with him were fled into the castle, without resistance deliuered the same vnto him, vpon his faithfull promise, that they might in safetie depart: but after that he had got them into his power, the perfidious tyrant without regard, commaunded them all to bee cruelly murthered. The gouernours daughter a maiden of incomparable beautie, was amongst the rest taken prisoner, and for her rare perfection, by them that tooke her presented to *Mahomet*, as the mirrour of beautie: The barbarous tyrant greedie of so faire a prey, sought first by flattering words and faire perswasion, to induce her to consent to his desire: but when hee could not so preuaile, he fell into another vaine, and began to shew himselfe in his owne nature, threatning her with death, torture, and force, worse than death it selfe; if shee would not otherwise yeeld vnto his appetite. Whereunto the constant virgin (worthie eternall fame) answered so resolutely, and so contrarie to the tyrants expectation, that hee being therewith enraged, commaunded her to bee presently slaine. The horrible and monstrous crueltie, with the filthie outrages by that beastly and barbarous people committed, at the taking of that cittie, passeth all credit. CHALCIS thus woon, the rest of that fruitfull island without farther resistance yeelded vnto the Turkish slauerie, vnder which it yet groaneth. This calamitie happened to the Venetian state, or rather (to say truely) to the generall hurt of the Christian common-weale, in the yeare of our redemption 1470.

The fruitfull island of Eubœa taken by the Turkes.

Canalis the Venetian Admirall, who all the time of the siege, had in the sight of the citie lien at anchor as a looker on; fearing now that the cittie was lost, to bee set vpon by the Turkes fleet, hoised saile, and laded with dishonour returned in hast vnto VENICE, where hee was by the commaundement of the Senat committed to prison, and afterward with all his family exiled to VTINVM.

Shortly after, when *Mahomet* was departed with his armie out of EVBŒA, and his fleet returned to CONSTANTINOPLE: the Venetians with their gallies, attempted to haue vpon the sudden surprised the cittie, a little before lost. But *Mahomet* had therein left so strong a garison, that when the Venetians had landed their men, they were againe enforced to retire to their gallies, and to forsake their island.

1471

CHALCIS thus lost with all the island of EVBŒA, the Venetians chose *Petrus Mocenicus*, a valiant and discreet gentleman, Admirall of their fleet, in stead of *Canalis*: and by their embassadours sollicited *Sixtus* the fourth of that name, then bishop of ROME, and *Ferdinand* king of

of NAPLES, with *Lewis* king of CYPRVS, and the grand maſter of the RHODES, to ioyne their forces together with theirs againſt the great and common enemie: which thing all the aforeſaid Chriſtian princes promiſed them to doe. And the more to entangle the Turke, they at the ſame time ſent *Caterinus Zenus* their embaſſadour with rich preſents vnto *Alymbeius Vſun-Caſſanes*, the great king of PERSIA, to incite him on that ſide againſt the Turke: in which negotiation *Zenus* ſo well behaued himſelfe, that the next yeare following that great king tooke vp armes againſt *Mahomet*, and had with him mortall warres, as ſhall be in conuenient place hereafter declared. *Mahomet* not ignorant of theſe proceedings of the Venetians, and that they did what they might to ſtirre vp as many enemies as they could, and to bring him (if it were poſsible) into hatred with the whole world: and well knowing how much he had offended the minds of the Chriſtian princes with the crueltie he had of late vſed againſt them of CHALCIS, thought it not beſt as then further to prouoke them, and ſo happily to bring all at once about his eares, but for a ſeaſon to lie ſtill at CONSTANTINOPLE, as if he had beene deſirous now to liue in peace, not meaning further harme: hoping therby, that although he concluded no peace with any of them (which indeed he was not deſirous of) yet that tract of time might mitigate the hainouſneſſe of the fact, and coole the heat of their diſpleaſure: whereby it came to paſſe as hee wiſhed, that nothing worth the ſpeaking of was that yeare attempted againſt him. And becauſe the Perſian king was the man of whom he ſtood moſt in doubt, hee ſought by his embaſſadours to pacifie him, and to withdraw him from the league of the Chriſtians: requeſting him, if it were for nothing els but for the communitie of the Mahometane religion, wherein they well agreed, and were thereby the profeſſed enemies of the Chriſtians, to withdraw his hand, and in their cauſe to ceaſe to take vp armes: vrging now (for that it ſo ſtood with his purpoſe) the zeale of religion, whereas otherwiſe he regarded (as was thought) no religion at all. But *Zenus* the Venetian embaſſadour lying continually in the Perſian court, ſo wrought the matter with *Vſun-Caſſanes*, that hee told the Turkes embaſſadours plainely, That he could not nor would not longer endure the manifeſt injurie and wrong done vnto him by the Turkiſh king: and farther, that hee had made a faithfull league with the Chriſtian princes, and therefore would to the vttermoſt of his power make it knowne vnto the world, that he would effectually performe what thing ſoeuer he had promiſed: and ſo diſmiſſed them, now no leſſe diſcontented than were before the Perſian embaſſadours at ſuch time as they returned from the Turkes court, hauing obtained nothing they then requeſted concerning the emperour of TRAPEZOND.

The yeare following, *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall with his fleet arriued in the Iſle of LESBOS, where he did great harme. From thence hee paſſed the bay of ADRAMITTIVM into the leſſer ASIA, and ſore ſpoiled the countrey about PERGAMVS. After that hee landed againe at CNIDVS vpon the coaſt of CARIA, where he tooke a great bootie: and ſo hauing done the Turkes exceeding much harme in ASIA all alongſt the ſea coaſt oppoſit to GRÆCIA, he returned laden with ſpoile towards PELOPONESVS. In his returne, about the promontorie of MALEA, vpon the coaſt of PELOPONESVS, he met with *Richaienſis* comming vnto him with ſeuenteene gallies from king *Ferdinand*: by whom hee was certified, that the great Biſhops fleet was readie to come forth alſo. After mutuall gratulation, as the manner at ſea is, the Admirals ioining their fleets in one, landed at METHONE, now called MODON, then a citie of the Venetians in PELOPONESVS: where after they had well refreſhed their ſouldiours, and taken in freſh victuals, they put to ſea againe; and ſailing through the Iſlands, landed in ASIA, where they were at their firſt landing encountered by the countrey Turkes, whom at laſt they put to flight, and by the ſpace of foure daies tooke what pillage they could in the countrey: where the ſouldiours found great ſtore of rich bootie, eſpecially of Turkie carpets, which are there made in great abundance. From thence they ſayled to HALICARNASVS, which is a part of CARIA (where ſometime ſtood the ſtately tombe which queene *Artemeſia* built for her husband *Mauſolus*, accounted amongſt the wonders of the world) where they tooke a wonderfull ſpoile. There came vnto them *Nicholas* Biſhop of MODRVSSA, with twentie gallies ſent from the great Biſhop: whom the other two Generals welcommed with great joy. At the ſame time alſo came thither two gallies from the great maſter of the RHODES. With this fleet of 85 gallies, they ſailed to the Iſle of SAMOS ouer againſt EPHESVS (ſometime a place of great fame, but then altogether deſolate and vnpeopled) there to conſult for their further proceeding in thoſe warres. Looſing from SAMOS, they tooke their courſe alongſt the coaſt of ASIA, and landed at ATTALIA, the cheefe citie of

1472

The Venetians aided by king Ferdinand, the biſhop of Rome, and the great maſter of the Rhodes, doe the Turks great harme all alongſt the coaſt of the leſſer Aſia.

of PAMPHILIA, a place of great trafficke: where they found in the ſuburbes of the cittie great ſtore of many rich commodities, brought thither out of ÆGIPT and SYRIA; whereof they tooke what pleaſed them, and burnt the reſt, together with the ſuburbes. Vnto the cittie it ſelfe they began to lay ſiege, but perceiuing that it was not without great loſſe of their men to be taken, they departed thence: and running all alongſt the coaſt of PAMPHILIA, burnt and deſtroied what came in their way, and ſo returned backe againe to the RHODES: where they met an embaſſadour from *Vſun-Caſſanes* the Perſian king, to the biſhop and the Venetians, for great ordinance; whereof that ſo mightie a prince was altogether vnfurniſhed. Of this embaſſador they vnderſtood, that *Vſun-Caſſanes* was entered into league with the Chriſtian princes, and now buſie in making preparation againſt the Turke. At which time *Mahomet* requited the Venetians with no leſſe harme in EPIRVS and DALMATIA, than they had done to him in ASIA: for now that *Scanderbeg* was dead, the Turkes mightely preuailed vpon the weake princes of EPIRVS and ALBANIA, with the countries adjoyning. The Chriſtian fleet departing from the RHODES, landed in the countrey of the Myndians, a part of CARIA, and with great ſpoile returned to the Iſland of NAXOS, one of the CYCLADES: from whence king *Ferdinand* his gallies returned home, laded with much rich ſpoile; for now the yeare was farre ſpent. Yet after the departure of the kings gallies, *Mocenicus* with the Legate returned backe againe into ASIA, and there landing their men, tooke the famous citie of SMYRNA in IONIA, and when they had taken the ſpoile thereof, ſet it on fire. At which time alſo they did great harme about CLAZOMENE, not far from SMYRNA. So Winter drawing now faſt on, they returned laded with the rich ſpoiles of ASIA, the Legate into ITALIE, and *Mocenicus* to METHONE.

1473

Mahomet no leſſe troubleſome vnto the Mahometane princes than to the Chriſtians.

The inſatiable deſire of ſoueraignetie, whereunto the Turkiſh king was naturally enclined, had continually armed him, not onely againſt the Chriſtian princes, but againſt others alſo euen of his owne ſuperſtition: making no great difference betwixt the one & the other, if ſo he might extend his dominion. He had long before vnder the pretence of a friendly parley craftely circumuented the king of MYSIA, a countrey in ASIA, and hauing got him within his danger, cruelly put him to death, and by force ſubduing his kingdome, left not one of the kings blood aliue. After that he inuaded CILICIA, which the Turkes call CARAMANIA, where the two young brethren, *Pyramet* and *Caſſambet* raigned, and draue them both out of CILICIA: of whom *Pyramet* the elder, fled for refuge to *Vſun-Caſſanes*; *Caſſambet* the yonger, aſſiſted by his old friends, ſought by force of armes to recouer againe his inheritance wrongfully by the Turkes poſſeſſed, and was beſieging certaine townes vpon the ſea coaſt, which being taken from the Turkes would eaſily draw all the reſt of the kingdome after them. *Mocenicus* the Venetian Admirall being now with the firſt of the Spring come vpon the coaſt of CILICIA, at the requeſt of *Caſſambet* landed certaine companies of his men vnder the leading of *Victor Superantius*, and certaine peeces of great artillerie, wherewith he ſo battered the wals of SICHINVM, that hee enforced the Turkes therein to yeeld vp the citie: which he deliuered to *Caſſambet*. In like manner he tooke the citie of CORYCVS, which he alſo reſtored to *Caſſambet*. At laſt hee laid ſiege to SELEVCIA, which ſtandeth vpon the riuer ORONTES, and was built by king *Seleucus*, one of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* the Great, diſtant from the ſea about fiue miles: the Gouernour of this citie diſcouraged with the ſight of the great artillerie, deliuered the citie to the Venetian captain, who by the appointment of the Admirall reſtored the ſame to *Caſſambet*. Who by this meanes brought againe into his kingdome, gaue great thankes vnto the Admirall, promiſing both for himſelfe and for his brother to be alwayes friends vnto the Venetians. *Mocenicus* departing from CILICIA, landed his men in LYCIA, and harried that countrey all alongſt the ſea coaſt. After this *Mocenicus* ſailed into CYPRVS, to appeaſe a great inſurrection there raiſed againſt the queene, who was by her husband at his death left to the protection of the Venetians: which rebellion when he had well quieted, hearing that *Triadanus Grittus*, was by the decree of the Senat appointed Admirall, and alreadie come into PELOPONESVS, he with as much ſpeed as he could haſted thither, to giue vp his charge, and ſo to returne home againe to VENICE.

About this time the great Perſian king *Vſun-Caſſanes* began to make warre vpon the Turkiſh emperor *Mahomet*, for the better vnderſtanding whereof, it ſhall not be from our purpoſe briefly to ſhew by what meanes this *Vſun-Caſſanes*, of a ſmall prince aſpired to the kingdome of PERSIA, and ſo in ſhort time grew to that greatneſſe, that he was juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt monarchs of the world then liuing; as appeareth by theſe warres betwixt him and the great Turkiſh

Turkiſh emperour *Mahomet*. This *Vſun-Caſſanes* of whom we now ſpeake, was the ſonne of that *Tachretin*, who with other poor princes was driuen into exile by the violence of *Baiazet* the firſt, great grandfather to this *Mahomet* the great emperour of the Turks, and was againe reſtored by the great *Tamerlane*, as is before declared in the life of *Baiazet*. By the death of *Tachretin*, his ſonne *Vſun-Caſſanes* (of ſome called alſo *Aſymbeius*) obtained that ſmall territorie which his father had in ARMENIA: nothing anſwering vnto the greatneſſe of his conceits. Wherefore not contented with ſuch poſſeſsions as was from his father diſcended vnto him, he began to ſhoulder for more roome, with ſuch weake princes his neighbours as he thought he might beſt deale withall; wringing one prouince from this prince, another from that, and thruſting ſome others quite out of all that they had: And in ſhort time ſo enlarged his dominion, that he had got into his hands a great part of ARMENIA, and was reputed both for a mightie and fortunat prince. Inſomuch, that *Calo Ioannes* then emperour of TRAPEZONDE (whoſe power altogither anſwered not to the greatneſſe of his ſtile, being for moſt part ſhut vp within the bounds of PONTVS; and fearing the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh emperour *Mahomet*, whoſe name began then to grow dreadfull vnto his neighbour princes) gaue to him his onely daughter *Deſpina* in marriage: by ſuch aliance to ſtrengthen himſelfe againſt the Turkiſh tyrant, if need ſhould require. At which marriage it was agreed, that *Vſun-Caſſanes* ſhould in the right of his wife enjoy all the kingdome of PONTVS, after the death of *Calo Ioannes* her father, and of *Dauid* his brother: and that *Deſpina* ſhould ſo long as ſhe liued haue the free exerciſe of her Chriſtian religion. By this woman, *Vſun-Caſſanes* had a daughter called *Martha*, whom I willingly remember, for that ſhe was the mother of *Hyſmael*, afterwarwards the great king of PERSIA, commonly called *Hyſmael the Sophi*: of whom more ſhall be ſaid hereafter in the life of *Selymus*. *Vſun-Caſſanes* honoured with this great marriage, and ſtrengthened with this new alliance, ceaſed not after his wonted manner daily to encroch vpon his neighbour princes: and proceeded ſo farre, that at length he began to lay hand vpon a part of ARMENIA, which was then part of the dominion of the Perſian king. *Zenza* (whom ſome call *Tzokies*, which was indeed the name of his father) raigning then in PERSIA, by his embaſſadours admoniſhed and in ſort commaunded *Vſun-Caſſanes* to hold himſelfe content with his owne, or at leaſt with that he had alreadie wrongfully taken from others, and not to preſume to come within the bounds of his dominion, threatning otherwiſe to take him as an enemie to his ſtate, and to turne his forces vpon him. With which embaſſage *Vſun-Caſſanes* being much offended, gaue the embaſſadors no entertainment, but commanded them with ſpeed to get them out of his kingdome, and to tell their maſter, That he would ſhortly himſelfe in perſon come and debate the matter with him face to face. With which proud anſwere from ſo meane a prince, the Perſian king moued, leuied ſuch an armie for the inuading of him, as was thought to haue beene ſufficient to haue ſubdued a farre greater prince: and ſo appointed, ſet forward toward ARMENIA. *Vſun-Caſſanes* much inferiour to this great king in wealth and number of men, but not in hautineſſe of mind and valiantneſſe of courage, ſtaied not to expect the comming of ſo puiſſant an enemie, but full of hope ſet forward to meet him, & by great journies ſought to come vpon him before he could haue any knowledge of his comming: yet had he then in his armie ſcarcely one man to ten, but all armed with couragious hearts, and conducted by a moſt fortunat chieftaine which feared nothing. So holding on his way, at length he met with the great armie of the Perſians, with whom he preſently joyned battell; and after a long and cruell fight, ouerthrew them in the plaine field, with ſuch a ſlaughter, as might well haue weakned the forces of a right great kingdome. The great king more enraged than diſcouraged with this ouerthrow, raiſed a farre greater armie than before, the verie ſtrength of his kingdome: reſoluing now not to ſend anie more his lieutenants, but to goe in perſon himſelfe againſt ſo deſperat an enemie. All things being in readineſſe, hee ſet forward, and at length met with the Armenian prince, whom he found as readie to giue battell as he was at the firſt. So being both deſirous to trie their fortune, they joyned battell; wherein the Perſians were againe diſcomfited and put to flight, and mo of them ſlaine in that battell, than were brought into the field in the firſt armie. *Zenza* the Perſian king was there ſlaine with *Vſun-Caſſanes* his owne hand, and *Cariaſuphus* his ſonne taken priſoner: whom the Armenian prince vſed with the greateſt honour could be deuiſed, giuing vnto him the honour and title due vnto the Perſian king, taking vnto himſelfe the bare name of the protectour of the Perſian ſtate. Which he did onely to pleaſe the Perſians, and to keepe them quiet vntill he had got ſome more aſſured poſ-

Vſun-Caſſanes in a great battell ouerthroweth the Perſian king.

seſsion of that kingdome. But after hee had in the two former battels broken their greateſt ſtrength, and then vnder the colour of a peaceable gouernour got into his power the regall citie of TAVRIS, with the reſt of the cities and ſtrong places of that great kingdome, and that all men had him now in great reuerence and admiration for his great vertues: hee ſecretly diſpatched out of the way the poore titular king his priſoner (the laſt of the poſteritie of the mightie *Tamerlane*) and tooke vpon himſelfe the higheſt place, which admitteth no partner. Whileſt this reſtleſſe prince was thus tumbling in the world, and not yet well ſetled in his new gotten kingdome, *Mahomet* the Turkiſh emperour no leſſe ambitious than himſelfe, had ſcornfully reiected the embaſſadours and preſents which *Vſun-Caſſanes* had ſent: and hauing ſhamefully put to death *Dauid* the emperour of TRAPEZONDE his aliance, had conuerted all the kingdome of PONTVS (which *Vſun-Caſſanes* of right claimed, as his wiues dowrie) into the forme of a prouince, and ſo vnited it vnto the Turkiſh empire. Which ſo manifeſt a wrong, *Vſun-Caſſanes* in the newneſſe of his ſo late atchieued greatneſſe, durſt not aduenture to redreſſe: but after that he was ſurely ſeated, and had with the courſe of time ouercome all dangers at home, being daily prickt forward with the remembrance of the former injuries (ſtill ſuggeſted by the importunitie of his wife *Deſpina*) and the ſolicitation of the Venetians, to whom he had by ſolemne promiſe bound himſelfe; he determined now to take the matter in hand, and to trie his forces vpon his proud enemie the Turkiſh emperour. Hereupon he raiſed a great armie, and being well appointed of all things neceſſarie, paſsing through ARMENIA toward PONTVS, neere vnto the riuer EVPHRATES, was encountred by *Muſtapha* (*Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, a young prince of great hope) and *Amurath* the great Baſſa of ROMANIA, whom *Mahomet* (fearing ſuch a matter) had ſent before with a ſtrong armie out of EVROPE to joyne with ſuch forces as *Muſtapha* had alreadie raiſed in ASIA, ſo to withſtand the inuaſion of the Perſian. Theſe two great commaunders *Muſtapha* and *Amurath* joyning battell with *Vſun-Caſſanes*, were by him in the plaine field ouerthrowne; where *Amurath* the great Baſſa himſelfe with thirtie thouſand Turkes were ſlaine: *Muſtapha* with the reſt of the armie, by ſhamefull flight ſauing themſelues.

1474 *Two huge armies of the Turks and Perſians in field together.*

Now when *Mahomet* vnderſtood that *Amurath* was ſlaine and his armie diſcomfited, he was therewith exceedingly troubled. But purpoſing to be thereof reuenged, gaue order into all parts of his dominions for the leuying of new forces: ſo that at the time by him appointed, was aſſembled a great and mightie armie of three hundred and twentie thouſand men. *Vſun-Caſſanes* in like manner was in the field with an armie, nothing in number inferiour vnto his enemie. Theſe two *Mahometane* kings, drawing after them their hugie armies, met togither neere the mountaines of ARMENIA: where, at the firſt encounter, one of the Turks greateſt Baſſaes was ſlaine with fortie thouſand Turkes. With which hard beginning the prowd tyrant was ſo daunted, that he could hardly be perſuaded to proue his fortune anie farther, but contenting himſelfe with that loſſe, was about to haue retired: and had vndoubtedly ſo done, if ſome of his moſt expert and valiant captaines which might be bold with him, had not ſharpely reproued him, that hauing ſo populous an armie as ſcarcely felt that ſmall loſſe, he ſhould once thinke of returning without victorie. With which their comfortable perſuaſions, he was againe encouraged to giue battell. Yet for his more ſafetie, he withdrew his armie into a ſtrait betwixt two mountaines, and with his cariages fortified the front thereof, as with a trench: behind which cariages, he placed his great ordinance, and on either ſide his archers. The Perſians, as men of great valour, and thereto encouraged with their former victories, came on as men fearing no perill, to haue charged the Turkes euen in their ſtrength; preſenting their whole armie before they were aware, into the mouth of the Turkes artillerie: which ſuddenly diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of them, brake their rankes, and tooke away a number of them. Beſides that, the Perſian horſes terrified with the vnacquainted and thundring report of the great ordinance, were not to be ruled by their riders, but ſtarting backe, ran ſome one way, ſome another, as if they had felt neither bit nor rider. Which their confuſion *Mahomet* perceiuing, preſently tooke hold of the occaſion offered, and with his horſemen fiercely charged them, being now by themſelues entangled and out of order. Neuertheleſſe the Perſians made great reſiſtance, and ſlew manie of the Turkes: but ſtill fighting confuſedly and out of order, they were at the laſt enforced to flie. In which fight a great number of them were ſlaine, and their tents alſo taken. *Zeinal*, *Vſun-Caſſanes* his eldeſt ſonne, labouring to ſtay the flight of the Perſians, was ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot. So the honour of the day remained with the Turkes: yet had they no great cauſe to brag of their winnings, hauing

loſt

loſt in that battaile fortie thouſand ſouldiours: whereas of the Perſians fell not aboue ten thouſand. *Mahomet* contenting himſelfe with this deere bought victorie, returned homewards. And *Vſun-Caſſanes* leauing another of his ſonnes with his armie for the defence of ARMENIA, returned likewiſe to TAVRIS. But whileſt the Chriſtian princes were in their greateſt expectation what might bee the euent of theſe warres betwixt theſe two mightie Mahometane kings; they vpon the ſuddaine concluded a peace, and confirmed the ſame with new affinitie, excluding the Chriſtians quite out of the ſame. This laſt battell betwixt *Mahomet* & *Vſun-Caſſanes*, was fought in the yeare of our Lord 1474, about foure yeares before the death of *Vſun-Caſſanes*, who died the fifth of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1478.

In the time of theſe warres died the noble *Muſtapha*, *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, at ICONIVM, hauing ſpent himſelfe with reuelling amongſt his paragons: or as ſome write, commanded to die by his father vpon this occaſion. This youthfull prince vpon a time comming to the court to ſee his father (or as they tearme it, to kiſſe his hand) became amorous of the wife of *Achmetes Baſſa* (a ladie of incomparable beautie) and daughter to *Iſaack Baſſa*, the cheefe men in the Turkiſh empire, next vnto *Mahomet* himſelfe: but finding no meanes how to compaſſe her in whom his ſoule liued, he awaited a time, when as ſhee (after the manner of the Turkes) went to bathe her ſelfe: and there as he found her all diſroabed, ſhamefully forced her, without regard either of his owne honour or of hers. Of this ſo foule an outrage, *Achmetes* her husband, with his clothes and hat all rent for madneſſe, came and greeuouſly complained to *Mahomet*, crauing vengeance for the ſame: vnto whom *Mahomet* againe replied: Art not thou thy ſelfe my ſlaue? and if my ſonne *Muſtapha* haue knowne thy wife, is ſhee not my bondſlaue hee hath had to doe withall? ceaſe therefore thus to complaine, and hold thy ſelfe therewith content. Neuertheleſſe, hee in ſecret ſharpely reproued his ſonne for ſo hainous and diſhonourable a fact by him committed, and commaunded him out of his ſight: and as hee was of a ſeuere nature, cauſed him within a few dayes after to be ſecretly ſtrangled. Neuertheleſſe, the wrong done vnto the Baſſa, ſunke ſo deep into his haughtie mind, as that he would neuer admit excuſe therefore, but put away his wife, the ground of the implacable hatred betwixt him and the great Baſſa *Iſaack*, his father in law: and in fine, the very cauſe of his vtter deſtruction, as is afterward declared in the life of *Baiazet*.

The death of the noble Muſtapha, Mahomet his eldeſt ſonne.

Mahomet deliuered of his greateſt feare, by the peace he had lately concluded with *Vſun-Caſſanes* the Perſian king, was now at good leiſure to employ all his forces againſt the Chriſtians. And bearing a deadly hatred againſt the princes of EPIRVS and ALBANIA, with a wonderfull deſire to extend his empire vnto the Ionian and Adriaticke, that he might from thence but looke toward ITALIE, which he began now to long after: he determined with himſelfe firſt to ſubdue thoſe countries, as ſtanding in his way, both for the inuaſion of ITALIE, and of the territories of the Venetians. And for as much as the ſtrong cittie of SCODRA (otherwiſe called SCVTARIE) then in the poſſeſsion of the Venetians, for the commodious ſituation thereof ſeemed to giue him the beſt entrance into the countries of ALBANIA, EPIRVS, DALMATIA, and to ſuch cities as the Venetians held alongſt the ſea coaſt, he reſolued there to begin his wars. 1475

This citie was of great ſtrength, as well for the naturall ſituation thereof, as for the ſtrong fortifications therein made by the hand of man, which thing *Mahomet* was not ignorant of: but preſuming of his owne ſtrength and power, vainely perſuaded himſelfe, that no place was now able long to hold out gainſt him. Wherefore hauing prepared all things fit for the beſieging thereof, he ſent *Solyman Baſſa*, an Eunuch (whom hee had made his lieutenant Generall in EVROPE, in the place of *Amurath Baſſa*, before ſlaine by *Vſun-Caſſanes*) with eightie thouſand ſouldiours to beſiege SCODRA. This great Baſſa according to his charge came, and with great pompe encamped round about the citie, the fiue and twentieth of May. Shortly after hauing planted his batterie, hee began moſt furiouſly to ſhake the wals, and ceaſed not by all meanes hee could deuiſe to trouble the defendants: and when he had by force of the cannon done what hee could, gaue diuers ſharpe aſſaults vnto the cittie, but was ſtill with great loſſe valiantly repulſed by them of the citie. Long it were to declare, how often and in what terrible manner that warlike Baſſa, *Mahomet* his cheefe captaine, attempted to haue woon the citie: as alſo to ſhew how they of SCODRA directed by their worthie Gouernour *Antonius Lauretanus*, valiantly defended themſelues and their cittie: nothing was omitted, that the enemie could doe or deuiſe for the gaining thereof; but all his deuiſes and attempts were ſo met withall by the defendants, that they ſerued him to no other purpoſe but to the deſtruction of his people. Whilſt the Baſſa thus lay at the ſiege of SCO-

Soliman Baſſa beſiegeth Scodra with an armie of eightie thouſand men.

DRA, *Mocenicus* hauing receiued ſuch commaundement from the Senate, came and joyned himſelfe to *Grittus* the new Admirall, who then lay with his fleet in the mouth of BOLIANA, a great riuer running out of the lake whereupon the cittie of SCODRA ſtandeth. Theſe two great commaunders being met together, were both as one man, and with a wonderfull conſent did what they might for the furtherance of the common good, a thing not common: firſt they put ſtrong garriſons, with all things neceſſarie, into CHOLCHINVM, LYSSA, DIRRHACHIVM, and other cities of their ſignorie vpon the ſea coaſt. After that they went vp the riuer BOLIANA with certaine gallies, and came within ſight of SCODRA, and there by fires in the night, and other tokens of comfort, encouraged the defendants as with an aſſured promiſe of releeſe: which thing it greeued the Turkes to behold, who therefore went about to haue ſhut in thoſe ſame gallies with a great chaine drawne croſſe the riuer, where it was narroweſt betwixt them and the ſea: but in doing thereof, the Venetians out of their gallies ſlew fiue hundred of the Turkes, and wounded diuers others, and ſo returned againe to ſea. It was afterward attempted by the aforeſaid Admirals, if a new ſupplie might haue beene put into the cittie: but the enemie had ſo beſet the ſame, that it was not poſsible to be done. In the meane time, *Mathias* king of HVNGARIE (receiuing a great yearely portion of the Venetians for the defence of their countries againſt the Turke) hearing that SCODRA was beſieged, began to make ſuch ſpoile in the Turkes dominions bordering vpon him, that *Mahomet* was glad to call home the great Baſſa from the ſiege of SCODRA, to defend his owne frontiers. So the Baſſa after he had lien three months with his great armie at the ſiege, and loſt foureteene thouſand of his men, whereof the greateſt part died of ſickeneſſe taken by long lying in the rotten mooriſh ground neere vnto the riuer, by commaundement from his maſter riſe with his armie and departed. The Venetians alſo, which lay all that while thereabout in their gallies, were toucht with the ſame contagion: *Triadanus Grittus* died thereof, and *Mocenicus* the other Admirall fell thereof dangerouſly ſicke; but being ſomewhat recouered, returned home, and was ſhortly after for his good ſeruice choſen duke of VENICE, *Marcellus* the old duke being then dead. With this diſhonour taken at SCODRA, *Mahomet* was ſo diſcontented, that he appointed a yearely fee vnto one, to put him in mind dayly of the ſiege of SCODRA.

Mathias king of Hungarie enforceth the Turke to forſake the ſiege of Scodra.

The ſame yeare that this great Baſſa *Solyman* had in vaine beſieged SCODRA, hee was afterward ſent with a great armie into VALACHIA, where he was ſo entangled in the woods and fens by *Stephanus* the Vayuod, that hee loſt all his armie, and with much adoe eſcaped himſelfe by the wonderfull ſwiftneſſe of a mare whereon he rid.

1476 The yeare following, which was the yeare 1476, *Mahomet* ſent out a great fleet to ſea, vnder the conduct of *Geduces Achmetes*, his cheefe counſellour and man of warre, (whoſe very name was dreadfull in all places where hee came) in hope to haue by treaſon ſurpriſed the Iſland of CRETE: But that plot was in good time by the Venetians perceiued, the traitors executed, and he of his purpoſe diſappointed. Whereupon he changed his former purpoſe for CRETE, & ſent the ſame *Achmetes* with his fleet into the Euxine (or as the Turkes call it, the Blacke ſea) to beſiege the rich citie of CAFFA. This citie was in antient time called THEODOSIA, ſituate in the countrey of TAVRICA CHERSONESVS, faſt by the ſea ſide, and had of long time beene in poſſeſsion of the Genowaies, and was a place of exceeding great trade, vntill that this great emperor *Mahomet* hauing taken CONSTANTINOPLE, and falling out with the Venetians, had by his ſtrong caſtles built vpon the ſtraits of HELLESPONTVS and BOSPHORVS, taken away both the trafficke of marchants into thoſe ſeas, and all poſsible meanes for the Genowayes to ſend ſuccour to that citie: yet it is credibly reported, that one valiant captaine vndertooke to carrie his companie (in number not aboue an hundred and fiftie men) by land from GENVA to CAFFA, not much leſſe than two thouſand miles, and worthely performed what hee had vndertaken. *Achmetes* comming thither with his fleet, encloſed the citie both by ſea and land: which deuided in it ſelfe by reaſon of the diuers diſpoſition of the inhabitants, being of diuers nations, ſome Genowayes, ſome Greekes, ſome Armenians, but moſt Tartars, could not long hold out, but was in ſhort time giuen vp to the Baſſa, vpon condition, That the Genoway marchants, who were there both in number many and exceeding rich, might in ſafetie depart thence with their wealth. Which promiſe the Baſſa performed not: but when he was poſſeſſed of the citie, ſent ſuch as he thought good to CONSTANTINOPLE, and commaunded the reſt vpon paine of death not to depart thence, or to conuay away from thence any part of their ſubſtance. In ſhort time after, the whole countrey of TAVRICA CHERSONESVS yeelded vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance. At which

time

time alſo the Tartar princes, namely the Precopenſes and Deſtenſes, terrified with the greatneſſe of the Turke, cowardly yeelded themſelues as tributaries vnto him; euer ſince which time they haue liued a moſt ſeruile and troubleſome life, ſubject to euerie commaund of the *Othoman* emperours: for whom they haue done great ſeruice manie times in their warres, againſt the Perſians, the Polonians, the Hungarians, Tranſyluanians, and Germains, as in the proceſſe of this hiſtorie well appeareth; and as the aforeſaid nations their neighbours, with others alſo farther off, haue euen of late to their great loſſe felt.

Although the Venetians had in theſe late warres loſt the great and fertile iſland of EVBŒA, with the ſtrong citie of CHALCIS, the ſureſt harbour for their gallies: yet held they ſtill diuers ſtrong townes and commodious hauens by the ſea coaſt, both within PELOPONESVS and without, as METHONE, CORONE, TENARVS, NAVPACTVM and others: which ſtanding as it were in the boſome of his empire, *Mahomet* ſore longed after. And therfore to ſatisfie his ambitious deſire, ſent *Solyman* (the great Baſſa of EVROPE) with a ſtrong fleet into PELOPONESVS: who entring the gulfe of CORINTH, at his firſt comming laied ſiege to NAVPACTVM, now called LEPANTO, a citie ſtanding in the gulfe of CORINTH, in the countrey of OZOLÆ neere vnto LOCRIS, ouer-againſt PELOPONESVS. *Antonius Laurettanus* (for his late good ſeruice done in defending of SCODRA) made Admirall for the Venetians, came with ſpeed to NAVPACTVM, and in deſpight of the enemie, ſo furniſhed the citie, both with men and whatſoeuer elſe was needfull, that the Baſſa now out of hope to win the citie, riſe vpon the ſudden with his armie, and in a great furie departed, after he had lien there foure moneths. In this fret returning towards CONSTANTINOPLE, he put certaine companies of his men to ſhoare in the iſland of LEMNOS, in hope to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed the citie COCCINVM: but as they were about to haue entred, they were contrarie to their expectation manfully reſiſted, by ſuch Chriſtians as by chance were next the gate. Where the notable courage of *Marulla* (a maiden of that citie) was much commended: who ſeeing her father ſlaine in the gate, tooke vp the weapons that lay by him, and like a fierce Amazon notably reuenged his death, deſperatly fighting in defence of her countrey with thoſe few which were there at the firſt; and ſo kept the Turkes out vntill the reſt of the citizens (mooued with the alarum) came to the gate, and forced them (not without ſome loſſe) to retire againe to their gallies. Not long after, *Laurettanus* came thither with his fleet: but before his comming, the Baſſa was departed thence for CONSTANTINOPLE, hauing in this expedition done nothing that was expected at his hands. 1477

Mahomet after the death of *Scanderbeg*, ceaſed not from time to time by one of his great captaines or other to inuade EPIRVS, and the other parts of ALBANIA; and ſo gaining ſometime one part, and ſometime another, had ſubdued moſt part thereof. And about this time, his armie lay at the ſiege of CROIA: for reliefe whereof, the Venetians (in whoſe protection it was) ſent *Franciſcus Contarenus* a noble gentleman their lieutenant, with ſuch forces as were ſufficient for the raiſing of the ſiege. He finding the Turkes in the plaine of TIRANNA, gaue them battell; which for a great while ſtood doubtfull, at length victorie enclining to the Venetians, the Turks began to flie: after whom, the Venetians made no great purſuit, but contented to haue put them to flight, tooke their tents, with ſuch forts as they had raiſed againſt the citie. Thus whileſt the Venetians thinke themſelues in ſure poſſeſsion of the victorie, and out of feare of their enemies, they were through their owne too much ſecuritie, by and by themſelues ouerthrowne: For whileſt the common ſouldiours hauing their minds more ſet vpon the ſpoile than vpon the purſuit of the enemie (the battell as yet ſcarce ended) ſcatter themſelues; and the captaines were conſulting whither they ſhould lodge that night (which began then to approach) in the enemies tents or not: in the middeſt of their conſultation, the Turkes hauing perceiued their diſorder, ſuddenly returned againe vpon them, and without great reſiſtance ouerthrew them, and put them to flight. In which flight, a thouſand of them fell; amongſt whom *Contarenus* the Generall, and diuers others of good place and calling were ſlaine alſo. This ouerthrow, the Venetians tooke a great deale better than that which ſhortly after followed, in the confines of ITALY at the riuer of Sontium.

Croia beſieged by the Turke.

Contarenus the Venetian Generall ſlaine.

Mahomet hauing conquered a great part of ALBANIA, and daily encroching vpon the Chriſtians, made diuers incurſions into the countries of DALMATIA, HISTRIA, and CARNIOLA, yea and ſometime went ſo farre, that he with his Turkes entred into the prouince of FRIVLI, called in auntient time FORVM IVLII, a part of the Venetian ſeigniorie; and ſo carried away

with them manie prisoners with much spoile. For remedie whereof, the Venetians with exceeding charge and wonderfull labour fortified alongst the riuer of Sontium from GORITIA to the fens of AQVILEA, the space of twelue miles, and there built two forts, wherein they continually kept strong garrisons for the defence of the countrey. Whereby the countrey people thinking themselues now in safetie, began to fall into securitie (the daungerous sickneſſe of all common weales) neglecting by their carefull watch, to foresee a farre off the enemies comming, as they had before vsed. It fortuned at this time, that *Asa-beg* (whom some call *Marbecke*) one of the Turkes great captaines, vpon the sudden when no such things was feared, came and shewed himselfe in an euening vpon the farther side of the riuer of Sontium, with a thousand horsemen: vpon the sight of whom, an alarum was raised in both forts, and euerie man put himselfe in readinesse, as if they should euen presently haue joyned battell. But it was so nie night, as that nothing could as then be done: yet the Venetian garrisons joyning themselues togither, watcht all that night in armes. There was at that time in both these forts, three thousand horsemen and some few companies of footmen, all vnder the commaund of *Hieronimus Nowell* Countie of VERONA, a famous captaine of that time: who with the rest of the captaines resolued if hee could, to keepe the Turkes from passing the riuer; if not, then to giue them battell. *Marbecke* Generall of the Turkes armie, taking good view of the place, in the night time secretly conuaied a thousand of his best souldiors ouer the riuer, foure miles off, in such a place as the Venetians feared least, deeming it impossible for anie man there to haue passed ouer. These men he appointed to lie close in ambush behind a great hill in sight, not farre from the other side of the riuer, and vpon a signe giuen, presently to discouer themselues and charge the enemie. The next morning verie early he sent certaine troups of his readiest horsemen ouer the riuer, which by offering to skirmish with the Venetians, might so draw them into the field; and then as men in doubt whether to fight or to flie, to tole them on vnto the place where the ambush lay. The Venetians had diuided themselues into three battalions; wherof the Generall himselfe had the leading of the first, who seeing these disordered troups comming to skirmish with him, encountred them fiercely, and easily put them to flight, being so determined before, and in that flight earnestly pursued them: especially the Counties sonne, a valiant young gentleman, who with others like himselfe, thought by that daies good seruice to gaine vnto themselues great honour. When the Turkes Generall saw that the Venetians following the chase, were gone a great way from the riuer, he forthwith passed ouer with the rest of his armie, and followed the Venetians at the heeles: which the Turks which before fled now beholding, turned againe vpon their fierce enemies, and valiantly withstood them. At which verie instant, the other Turkes vpon signe giuen arising out of ambush, came downe from the hill LICINIS, with such violence & clamor, that the Venetians therwith discouraged, would haue fled if they could haue told which way: but they were on euerie side so beset, that there was no way left for them to escape: but were there all slaine, except some few which yeelded themselues and so were saued. The other two battalions of the Venetians, discouraged with the slaughter of the first, fled incontinently; and in flying, were manie of them slaine. In this battell the Countie himselfe with his sonne, and manie other notable gentlemen; and halfe the horsemen, were lost. The Turks encouraged with this victorie, the next day spoiled all the countrey of FRIVLI, betwixt the riuers of Sontium (otherwise called Lisonzo) and Tiliauentum, and cruelly burnt all the countrey before them: so that at once an hundred countrey villages were to be seene on a light fire togither; which stood so thicke, that it seemed as if one continuall fire had wholy couered all the face of the countrey. The barbarous Turkes laden with the spoile of that rich countrey, and driuing before them great numbers of miserable captiues as if they had beene flocks of sheepe, returned to Sontium. But when they had passed the riuer, and had trauelled homeward one daies journey, and all men thought they had now beene quite gone; they suddenly returned backe againe, and posting through the countrie they had before spoiled, came to the riuer of Tiliauentum, which they desperatly passed, and did no lesse harme on that side the riuer, than they had before on the other: and so carrying away with thē what they pleased, returned by the same way they came, hauing filled all that part of ITALY with terror and feare. This ouerthrow at Sontium, the Venetians account amongst the greatest losses which they receiued from the Turkes in all these their long warres.

The Turkes shew themselues at the riuer of Sontium

The countrey of Friuli spoiled by the Turkes.

1478 The next yeare about Haruest, the Turkes came againe with a farre greater power; and passing the riuer of Sontium, came before the forts at GRADISCA, where *Carolus Fortebrachius* lay

lay with a ſtrong garriſon of the Venetians, offering him skirmiſh, ſo to haue drawne him into the field. But the warie captaine conſidering the great ſtrength of the enemie, and the loſſe receiued the yeare before, would not be drawne out of his ſtrength, but ſtood vpon his guard, expecting to take the enemie at ſome more aduantage: which thing the Turkes feating, durſt not diſperſe themſelues abroad for the ſpoile of the countrie, leauing ſo ſtrong a garriſon of the enemies behind them. And therfore when they had gone about foure miles into the countrey, they turned their courſe vp into the mountaines (which are part of the Alpes) towards GERMANIE, and there grieuouſly ſpoiled the mountaine people: ſtrangely paſsing through thoſe abrupt and hie mountaines with their horſes, where men could hardly either go or ſtand on foot without ſomthing to ſtay vpon. And ſo when they had done what harme they could, taking a great compaſſe about, returned home another way.

Mahomet remembring the ſhamefull repulſe hee had about foure yeares before receiued at SCODRA, and hauing the name of that citie daily ſounding in his eares; determined now once againe to gage his whole forces vpon the winning thereof, and ſo to giue peace to his ambitious deſires. And becauſe he would not againe be diſhonored with that he purpoſed to take in hand, he gaue out order into all parts of his dominions, both in EVROPE and ASIA, for the aſſembling of his beſt ſouldiours and men of warre. Now when all things were in readineſſe, and ſuch an armie aſſembled as he ſeldome or neuer had a ſtronger; firſt he ſent forth *Aly-Beg* (warden of the frontiers of his kingdome alongſt the riuer Danubius) with eightie thouſand of the ſouldiours called Achanzij, towards SCODRA. Theſe Achanzij are horſemen, which for their good ſeruice according to their deſerts, haue certaine lands giuen them by the king to liue vpon during their liues; for which they are of duetie bound to ſerue vpon their owne charge as the forerunners of the Turke his armie, whenſoeuer he goeth to beſiege anie place: Theſe be they which firſt enter into the enemies countrey, burning and ſpoiling what they can, vntill they come vnto the place appointed: and haue this priuiledge, That ſo ſoone as all the armie is come to the place to be beſieged, they may then at their pleaſure either depart or ſtay. 1479

Vide Marinum Barletium de expug Scodrenſi.

The gouernour of SCODRA vnderſtanding both by common fame and certaine intelligence, of the Turks deſigns, with all care and diligence fortified the towne, labouring continually both night and day at the rampiers, as if the enemie had been alreadie preſent, and plentifully prouided all things neceſſarie for the enduring of a long ſiege. The aged and vnneceſſarie people, he ſent out of the citie into other places of more ſafetie farther off: in whoſe ſtead hee tooke in great numbers of ſtrong and able men which dwelt in the countrey round about; among whom were manie mariners taken out of the gallies, and other men of like qualitie, which got their liuing vpon the riuer and lake of SCODRA, luſtie bodies enured to hardneſſe, who in the long ſiege following did great ſeruice.

The poore countrey people flie for feare of the Turks.

Whileſt this preparation was making in SCODRA, behold the mountains a farre off Northward from the citie, began to ſhine with manie great fiers, and all the country was couered with thicke ſmoake, which euerie houre ſeemed to draw neerer and neerer: when within ſhort time after, the poore countrey people (which as yet were not all fled) with ſuch traſh as they could well carrie, came running for life all ouer the countrey to the ſtrong cities vpon the ſea ſide, crying out that the Turks were come.

The next day which was the fourteenth of May, *Aly-Beg* with his eightie thouſand Achanzij, came into the ſuburbs of the citie, and there encamped; ſo that none could go in or out of the gates: which was not the leaſt part of his charge. To him by the commandement of *Mahomet*, had *Scander-Beg* gouernour of BOSNA, and *Malcotius* with ſeauen thouſand horſemen, joyned themſelues vpon the way. Of this *Malcotius* it is reported (as was of *Auguſtus*) that the majeſtie of his countenance, with the reſplendent beames iſſuing out of his eies (as if it had been the raies of the Sunne) were of ſuch piercing brightneſſe, that no man was able with immoued and fixed eye long to behold the ſame. Theſe horſemen (the forerunners, as I ſaid, of *Mahomets* great armie) the Chriſtians much troubled with often ſallies and ſhot, out of the town, and ſlew manie of them with little or no loſſe vnto themſelues.

When *Aly-Beg* had thus lien before the citie ten daies, came *Taut Gaiola* the great Baſſa of CONSTANTINOPLE with fiue and twentie thouſand ſouldiours, and about twelue thouſand camels, for moſt part laden with mettall in maſſ, for to make great ordinance of, and other neceſſaries for the campe. The Baſſaes great and ſtately tent of purple colour, was pitched vpon the

the top of an high hill called the Baſſaes hill, becauſe in that place *Solyman Baſſa* had lien in the former ſiege about foure yeares before: The Baſſaes armie lay encamped betwixt the ſame hill and the towne. This *Taut Gaiola* was borne in EPIRVS of baſe parentage, and was from thence by the Turkes carried away young to CONSTANTINOPLE; where for his ſharpeneſſe of wit and rare actiuitie, he grew into ſuch fauour, firſt with *Mahomet*, and afterward with *Baiazet* his ſonne, that he was by them promoted to the greateſt places of honour, next vnto themſelues: wherein he became ſo popular, and had ſo poſſeſſed the hearts of the people, that it was ſuſpected of ſome, he would haue aſpired to the Turkiſh empire himſelfe. Preſently after the comming of this great Baſſa, workmen were ſet a worke about the caſting of the great ordinance, and making readie of other things for the ſiege. The Chriſtians alſo were no leſſe buſie about their fortifications, the gouernour appointing vnto euerie man his charge, and which part of the wall to defend: yet keeping continually in the market place certaine companies (with the enſignes of S. *Marke* and S. *Stephen*) to ſerue as freſh ſupplies, as need or occaſion ſhould require. Whileſt the great ordinance was in caſting, the Baſſa cauſed a great bridge of timber to be made ouer the riuer, that ſo he might at his pleaſure paſſe ouer his men, and commaund both ſides of the riuer. The Chriſtians in the meane time with vigilant eye ſo attending the Turkes, that none of them could ſtir within ſhot, but he was forthwith ſet off and ſlaine.

The thirteenth of Iune, *Muſtapha* the Beglerbeg or Viceroy of ASIA (commonly called the great Baſſa of NATOLIA) came alſo in great pompe to the ſiege with thirtie thouſand ſouldiours brought out of ASIA; perſonable men, but not accounted ſo good ſouldiours as they of EVROPE: for it is a common ſaying among the Turkes, That the men of EVROPE, and the horſes of ASIA doe beſt ſeruice. This great Baſſa was honourably met and welcomed by the other great Baſſa of CONSTANTINOPLE, and was quartered vpon an other ſide of the citie, where his rich pauilion (all of Greene) was pitcht in a vineyard about a mile from the towne. *Muſtapha* to proue the courage of his ſouldiours, propounded a reward to which ſoeuer of them, as durſt aduenture but to go and touch the wals of the citie: vpon which occaſion, two of his ſouldiours paſsing well mounted, attempted to haue performed that enterpriſe. But making what haſt they could poſsibly, they were both ſlaine from the wall, and one of their bodies recouered by certain valiant ſouldiours which ſallied out of the towne, and his head being cut off, was vpon a launce ſet vpon the wals for the Turkes to behold.

Two of the Turkes attempting to touch the wals of Scodra, are both ſlaine, and one of their heads ſet vp vpon the wal.

The fifteenth of Iune 5600 Ianizaries came into the campe, with foure white enſignes: at whoſe comming all the ſouldiors of both the Baſſaes camps gaue a wonderfull ſhout, and welcomed them with great joy. Theſe are the great Turkes guard and beſt ſouldiours, in whom the greateſt ſtrength of his kingdome conſiſteth, and are called the ſons of the great Sultan: after whoſe comming, *Mahomet* himſelfe was daily expected. Three daies after came two other great men, attended vpon with a number of followers, who by their countenance, and the great reuerence done vnto them by the reſt of the Turkes, ſeemed to be men of great place and authoritie: theſe men deſired that they might with ſafetie ſpeake with the gouernour of the citie and the reſt of the captaines, to deliuer vnto them ſuch a meſſage, as they had for their good (as they ſaid) brought vnto them from *Mahomet*. Which their requeſt being granted, the elder of them, after he had with manie glorious words ſet forth the power of his maſter, and what he had done to other great cities, with their princes; and farther ſhewed into what danger they were like to fall, if they ſhould long ſtand vpon their defence: he began to perſuade them to yeeld vp the citie, aſſuring them of all kind vſage, with manie rich rewards from the great emperour; whereas otherwiſe, they were to expect nothing but extreame miſerie and moſt ſhamefull death. Whereunto anſwere was in the name of them all giuen by the mouth of *Petrus Pagnanus*, a graue and worthy citizen, That they were not afraid of the greatneſſe of *Mahomet*, or of anie thing he had done or could doe: and that he ſhould find it hard to enforce them, but impoſsible to perſuade them to deliuer their citie: and therefore that he might at his pleaſure vſe his forces againſt men fully reſolued rather to yeeld vnto nature her laſt due, than to hearken to anie compoſition: and in concluſion told them, that if they ſhould at anie time after make any ſuch motion, they ſhould not expect any other anſwere than from the mouth of the Canon. With which ſhort anſwere theſe great men departed, not a little diſcontented.

At this ſame time the ſtrong citie of CROIA (which the worthy *Scanderbeg* had liuing ſo honourably defended, and dying had left it with his kingdome, in the protection and poſſeſſion of the

the Venetians) hauing holden out a yeats ſiege, after that all the kingdome of EPIRVS and moſt part of ALBANIA was loſt, for lacke of victuals was yeelded vp vnto the Turke, vpon condition, That the hungerſtarued defendants (who then ſeemed rather ghoſts than men) might at their pleaſure in ſafetie depart: which agreement the faithleſſe Turke brake, and without mercie put them all to the ſword. This heauie newes was deliuered to them of SCODRA by certaine Chriſtians in the Turkes campe: wherewith they were much greeued, but nothing at all diſcouraged.

Whileſt the Turkes thus lay at the ſiege, the watermen, of whom a great number liued vpon the great lake of SCODRA (being in circuit about an hundred mile) came many times down the riuer by night, and did much harme in the Turks campe: for remedie whereof, they were enforced to build certaine ſmall gallies to keepe them in, who for all that many times ſtole ſecretly vpon them, and much troubled them.

The two and twentieth of Iune the Turkes mounted two great peeces of Ordinance vpon the top of the hill whereon the Baſſa lay: whereof the one carried a bullet, made of an hard kind of round ſtone, of three hundred pound weight, and the other a bullet of foure hundred, wherewith they began to batter the towne foure daies: after that, they placed a third peece of artillerie at the foot of the ſame hill, which deliuered a bullet of foure hundred pound weight: and the next day they planted a fourth peece, greater than the reſt, about the middle of the ſame hill, which carried a ſhot of ſix hundred and fiftie pound weight. In this while, eight thouſand of the Turkes ſouldiours, called Aſapi (which are knowne from the Ianizaries by their red caps, whereas the Ianizaries weare white) came into the campe. And ſhortly after came *Mahomet* himſelfe with all his armie to the riuer of Drimon, whether the two great Baſſaes of ASIA and CONSTANTINOPLE went with great pompe and triumph to meet him.

Mahomet in perſon himſelfe commeth vnto the ſiege of Scodra.

The ſecond of Iuly *Mahomet* with all his armie before the riſing of the Sunne came to the campe before SCODRA: where after he had well viewed the ſituation thereof, he is reported to haue ſaid: *O what a faire and ſtately place hath the Eagle choſen out for her ſelfe to build her neaſt, and to hatch her young ones in.* Diuers rich pauilions were ſet vp for *Mahomet* himſelfe, but one farre greater than the reſt, diſtant from them about a flight ſhoot, which was the place wherein he held his counſell: the other were for his owne priuat vſe. Round about theſe his tents lay the Ianizaries encamped, a good diſtance off; yet ſo cloſe one to another, as if it had been a perpetuall rampire or ſtrong trench, whereinto was but one entrance, continually guarded with a moſt ſtrong guard. Round about the Ianizaries lay all the reſt of the armie encamped: ſo that all the countrey, as farre as a man could ſee, was couered and white with tents, much like as when the ground in Winter is couered ouer with a deepe ſnow: and ſtill moe people reſorted to the campe dayly, ſo that it was deemed by men of great experience, that *Mahomet* had then in his armie of all ſort of people about three hundred and fiftie thouſand men, all gaping to deuour that poore citie: a ſight of it ſelfe ſufficient to haue daunted the courage of right valiant men: But what can be terrible vnto them that feare not to die? Againſt this terrour of the enemie, the defendants were notably encouraged by the comfortable perſuaſions and exhortations of one *Bartholomæus*, a preacher (ſometimes one of the worthie *Scanderbeg* his ſoldiors) who afterwards giuing himſelfe to the ſtudie of diuinitie, became a zealous preacher, and in this ſiege did notably comfort the Chriſtian defendants againſt the terrour of ſo great an armie of miſcreants. All this while the batterie was ſtill maintained: and the fifth of Iuly the Turks mounted two other great peeces, whereof the one was like vnto the former before mounted, but the other placed vpon the middle of the Baſſaes mount, was of an incredible greatneſſe, diſcharging a ſhot of twelue hundred pound weight, and was called the Princes peece, in whoſe name it was with much cunning and induſtrie made: with which huge peece, the Turkes euen from the beginning of the ſiege had threatened the beſieged, willing them to expect the comming of the Princes Peece. The next day they planted vpon the ſame mount a ſeuenth peece, which caried a ſhot of fiue hundred and fiftie pound weight: from which time they battered the citie with the aforeſaid ſeuen great peeces; and ceaſed not oftentimes by night out of their great mortar peeces, to caſt great bals of wild fire into the citie, ſo to haue ſet it on fire: whereby diuers of the citizens were enforced to vncouer their houſes couered with ſhingle, and by men appointed for that purpoſe, to watch the fall of ſuch fireworkes, and ſo to quench the ſame: which they ſo carefully looked vnto, as that the deuiſe of the enemie tooke none effect at all. At the ſame time alſo the Turkes out of their ſhort mortar peeces caſt huge great ſtones of incredible weight, which falling from high, did moſt

The order of Mahomets campe.

moſt terribly cruſh in peeces whatſoeuer thing they light vpon, wherewith the defendants were wonderfully troubled. In few daies after, the enemie mounted three other great peeces, whereof one was greater than that was called the Princes, and caried a bullet of thirteene hundred weight: from which time they daily battered the citie with ten ſuch peeces, as the like hath ſeldome times been heard of: and arrowes fell ſo thicke into the citie, as if it had beene continuall ſhowers of haile, ſo that no man could goe or well ſtirre in the ſtreets without hurt. Yet in the middeſt of all theſe dangers the Chriſtians valiantly defended the citie, and with their deadly ſhot from the walls and mounts exceedingly annoied the enemie. The eleuenth of Iuly the Turks mounted another great peece like vnto the former, vpon the Baſſaes mount, and the ſame day battered the walls with 178 ſhot of this hugie artillerie.

Mahomet hauing by the furie of his great ordinance beaten downe a great part of the wall, and that now nothing ſtood in his way but ſuch ſimple repaires as the defendants had made of timber and plankes, with earth caſt in betwixt, was in good hope in ſhort time to become maſter of the towne: and therefore ſent certaine companies of his Ianizaries and other ſoldiors (which he with continuall ſupplies of freſh men ſtill releeued) to aſſault the breaches, ſo if it were poſſible to enter the towne, or at leaſtwiſe to burne ſuch fortifications of timber as the defendants had made. But that which ſeemed vnto him at firſt ſo eaſie, hee found in execution full of difficultie and danger: for the Turkes approching the breach, found there reſolute men, a ſurer defence than any wall: whoſe valiant courage ſerued in ſtead of a ſtrong bulwarke. So whileſt the Turks deſperatly ſtriue in the face of the breach either to enter or to ſet fire vpon the new fortifications made for moſt part of timber, and the defendants with no leſſe reſolution doe what they may to the vttermoſt to repulſe them, many were on both ſides ſlaine, but eſpecially of the aſſailants. Which *Mahomet* well perceiuing, and that by that manner of aſſault he gained nothing but notable loſſe and ſpoile of his beſt men, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and his batterie to be againe forthwith renewed: euery day ſhaking the wall with 160 or 180 moſt terrible great ſhot, and one day with 194, which was the greateſt batterie he made in one day during that ſiege.

After this great batterie, the tyrant cauſed a freſh aſſault to be giuen, but with little or rather worſe ſucceſſe than before: for though diuers of the defendants, & amongſt them ſome of good place, as *Franciſcus Patauinus*, *Franciſcus Scorbaro*, two Italian captaines, and ſome other of the better ſort of the citizens were there ſlaine with the great ſhot, whereof the enemie that day diſcharged into the breaches 193: yet were they with greater loſſe enforced againe to retire, and with ſhame to giue ouer the aſſault.

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, *Mahomet* continuing his batterie with no leſſe furie than before, ſtill ſought by force of his artillerie to open a way into the citie: and the third day after the former aſſault gaue a more furious and deſperate attempt vnto the citie than before, inſomuch that the Turkes were in the breaches come to handie ſtrokes with the Chriſtians, and there made a moſt cruell and deadly fight; wherein many fell on both ſides, but of the Turkes moſt, yet were there many of the Chriſtians alſo ſlaine, eſpecially with the Turkes great ordinance. It was a right ruthfull ſight to haue ſeene the rampiers at the great gate of the citie beaten downe flat to the ground, and to lie full of the rent bodies of the Chriſtians: at which place the enemie ſo preuailed, that he was euen now readie to haue entered; for the Turkes ſo furiouſly aſſailed the defendants, and the murthering ſhot from the Baſſaes mount fell ſo thicke and ſo terribly into the breach, beſide the infinit number of arrowes, that there was ſcarce any of the Chriſtians which defended that place but they were either ſlaine or greeuouſly wounded. But when all ſeemed now almoſt deſperat and forlorne, and the greedie enemie euen ready to deuour his prey, a new ſupplie of luſtie ſouldiors well armed, came courageouſly to the breach, and as lyons encountering the enemie, draue him downe againe, and ſo enforced him with great loſſe to retire. *Mahomet* greeued with this repulſe, in his furie cauſed 173 great ſhot to be diſcharged into the citie, and afterwards ſending for his great Baſſaes and other his principall men of war, declared vnto them his mind as followeth:

Mahomet purpoſing to giue a generall aſſault, encourageth his captaines and ſoldiors thereunto.

I thinke none of you are ignorant (right worthie ſouldiours) that now it is the third moneth ſince this citie hath by vs beene moſt ſtraitly beſieged, and with all manner of artillerie and engines of warre impugned, aſſaulted, and on euery ſide aſſailed, the wals thereof vtterly ſubuerted, and the bulwarks laied flat with the ground, and (as you ſee) as good as raſed: Beſides that, ſo oft as wee haue ſet fire vpon

vpon their fortreſſes, ſo oft we haue prouoked them of SCODRA *to fight, and haue alſo much vexed them with aſſaults. Laſt of all, as you know, we haue left nothing vnproued, nothing vnattempted which could be deuiſed, the eaſilier to ouercome them, being wearied, worne out, & their ſtrength ſpent. Wherfore (in mine opinion) the matter is not longer to be put off or delayed, but euen to morrow before the enemie can recouer his ſtrength or repaire his breaches, let vs encloſe the citie round, and giue them a generall and terrible aſſault: and therefore euery one of you make your ſelues readie, and exhort your ſouldiors in the campe, that they euery one of them to morrow with the dawning of the day come forth armed and well appointed for the winning of the citie. Now will I proue and know them that are worthie of my pay. Thou the Baſſa of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *with thy ſquadrons and certaine companies of the Ianizaries our faithfull guard, giue charge vnto the breach: in the meane time, let the Baſſa of* ASIA *with his power aſſault the other parts of the cittie: let euery man make readie and bring with him what ſo is needfull for this generall aſſault; my mind giueth me, that to morrow before this time we ſhall win the citie: for who is there can reſiſt vs? The towne (as you ſee) is bared both of wall and of all other defence: the bulwarkes and ditches are laied euen, and an eaſie way for vs to come vnto it: the citti͂zens themſelues wearie with ſo many fights and aſſaults faint and want ſtrength; whereas we are ſtill freſh and luſtie: they in number few; we almoſt innumerable: beſides that, we farre paſſe them in the force of our artillerie, wherewith many of them ſhall periſh in the defending of the breaches. Who then can gainesay, but that they of* SCODRA *are alreadie our priſoners? Where, vpon ſuch as remain aliue, I will at my pleaſure vſe the law of armes and captiuitie. Ontherfore courageous hearts without further delay. Is not the very name of* SCODRA *hatefull vnto vs? for which of you dooth not with great diſdaine call to remembrance the death of your parents, or brethren, or friends, or companions, cruelly ſlaine vnder theſe wals? Can you diſgeſt your hatred againſt them of* SCODRA? *and ſo many ſlaughters of your friends, by them made? But to forget elder times, and the harmes receiued from them long ſince, let vs but looke vpon our late ſlaughters and wounds as it were yet bleeding: it is not yet full foure yeares ſince that we made warre with theſe men of* SCODRA, *wherein ſo many thouſands of our people fell, that their ſlaughter is yet almoſt obiect to our eyes, and their blood crauing reuenge. This very hill whereon we ſtand, and the ſtones yet ſeeme beſprinckled and polluted with their blood. Wherefore haſt you as men of courage, take vp armes, valiantly mount the hill, aſſault the town, and reuenge your old iniuries. Glut your ſelues to the full in the effuſion of the Chriſtian blood, whereunto our lawes doe ſo much exhort vs, and do what you may with force and ſword, that not one of them of* SCODRA *may be left aliue: which you may eaſily bring to paſſe, hauing all things thereunto needfull: for there is nothing to withſtand you, nothing wanting for the gaining of the victorie. All things are prepared, all things are readie: an eaſie matter it is for a ſtrong man to ouercome the weake and feeble, that wanteth ſtrength as doe they.*

This ſpeech of the barbarous tyrant, was receiued with great applauſe and good liking of the hearers: and now was SCODRA to be with all might and maine aſſaulted, and not a man there left aliue. Hereupon proclamation was made throughout the campe, That euerie man vpon paine of death ſhould be readie againſt the appointed time. And the great captains and commanders of the armie departing from *Mahomet*, went vp to the top of the hill whereon the Baſſa lay, and from thence taking view of the citie, and laying their heads togither, conſulted how they might beſt giue the aſſault. The defendants on the other ſide alwaies expecting their enemies houering ouer their heads, left nothing vndone that they could poſsibly deuiſe, for the defence of themſelues and the citie. Now vpon the top of the Baſſaes mount was a royall pauilion erected, richly couered with purple, from whence the prowd tyrant might plainly behold all the aſſault: who with the dawning of the day (being the two and twentith of Iuly) entring the ſame, the Turkes who in the couert of the night had conuaied themſelues as neere vnto the walles as they could, (vpon the ſignall of battell, giuen by a tire of ordinance diſcharged from the Baſſaes mount) ſuddenly ran to the breaches as thicke as bees, in hope by their ſudden approach to haue taken the Chriſtians at ſome aduantage: wherein they were much deceiued. For they alwaies doubting ſuch a matter, and carefully obſeruing the leaſt motion of the enemie, were alwaies in readineſſe to meet with their attempts: ſo that the Turkes deſperatly ſtriuing to gaine the breaches, and the Chriſtians valiantly defending the ſame, there was in diuers places begun a moſt cruell and mortall fight; but eſpecially neere vnto the great gate, where the furie of the Canon had made the wals moſt faultable. There the enemie was come to fight hand to hand, and preuailing

The cittie of Scodra aſſaulted by the Turks the fourth time.

uailing vpon the defendants, had ſet vp one of the Turkes enſignes vpon the top of the rampiers: which *Mahomet* beholding, rejoyced exceedingly, thinking the citie now as good as taken. But the Chriſtians ſeeing the danger, ſpeedily repaired thither with new ſupplies, and by plaine force draue the enemie out againe, and beat him from the rampiers. Vpon them alſo that were comming vp, they caſt downe peeces of timber, great ſtones, wildfire, pots of lime, and ſuch other things as might moſt annoy them: as for ſhot, none fell in vaine by reaſon of the wonderfull multitude of the Turkes, who ſtood ſo thicke, that a man could hardly haue caſt downe a graine of muſtardſeed from the wall but it muſt needs haue light vpon ſome of them: by which meanes the Turkes were notably repulſed, their enſigne pluckt downe, and they enforced to retire from the wals. Which ſudden alteration *Mahomet* perceiuing, fell into a great rage, and forthwith commaunded his great ordinance, with greater furie than euer, to be diſcharged into the breach: And with great words commaunded the two chiefe Baſſaes which ſtood by him vpon the mount, to go preſently downe and enforce the ſouldiours which were alreadie retired, to returne againe vnto the aſſault. Theſe great commanders ſeeing the tyrant in ſuch a fret, forthwith deſcended from the hill, and where perſuaſion would not ſerue, with their drawne ſwords enforced the ſouldiours to returne backe againe to the aſſault. The Turkes knowing that they were now in the eye of their king, and in the preſence of their greateſt commanders, ſtriue with might and maine to win the rampiers: for in that place, the wals of the citie were beaten downe to the ground, ſhaken before this aſſault with 2539 ſhot of the cannon or other peeces of no leſſe force. The Chriſtians likewiſe in defence of themſelues and their citie, with inuincible courage oppoſed themſelues againſt the Turks: ſo that a more deſperat fight than there, was hardly euer to be ſeene; deſperat men with deſperat hand aſſailing one another: And the more to encreaſe the terrour of the day, the thundring ſhot, with the clamour of men and noiſe of the inſtruments of warre, was ſo great, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue preſently fallen togither; and arrowes falling into the citie as if it had beene ſhowers of raine, oftentimes darkened the light of the day. In this dreadfull fight, manie of the defendants were ſlaine; but of the Turkes, twentie to one. Neere vnto that gate where this terrible aſſault was giuen, were certaine loupes hewen out of the maine rocke, which flanked the ditch all alongſt that ſide of the citie, out of which the Chriſtians with their murthering ſhot made lanes amongſt their enemies, and ſlew them without number. For all that, the mightie Baſſaes and great captaines, one while by perſuaſion, another while by threatning, forced them ſtill forward; and if anie turned backe, preſently ſlew him: ſo that the Turkes ſeeing no leſſe danger in retiring, than in fighting againſt the enemie, like deſperat men thruſt forward by heapes, and were ſlaine without number. Yet ſtill preſsing on ſo long as life laſted, and others ſtepping forward in ſtead of them that were ſlaine; they began againe to preuaile vpon the defendants (who in that place were for moſt part either ſlaine or hurt) and againe recouered the top of the rampiers, and there aduanced the Turkes enſignes. Then began the tyrant to lift vp his head, making ſure account that the citie was now his owne. But as the common ſaying is, He that reckoneth without his hoaſt, muſt reckon twiſe: ſo chanced it to *Mahomet*. For the companies, from the beginning of the ſiege left in the market place readie for all euents, and oftentimes wiſhing for ſome occaſion wherein to ſhew themſelues; being now in good time aduertiſed of the imminent danger, came with ſpeed to the place of the aſſault before the Turkes had taken good footing; and there valiantly encountring them, ſlew a great number of them, and forced the reſt from the rampiers; and plucking downe their enſignes before ſet vp, in ſtead of them placed their owne. With which repulſe the Turkes were ſo diſmaied, that they quite forſooke the aſſault, and in deſpight of their imperious commaunders, not expecting anie ſigne of retrait, in haſt retired to their campe. *Mahomet* fallen from ſo great an hope, and grieued aboue meaſure with this ſhamefull repulſe, returned into his pauilion fretting and fuming as a man halfe mad, where two daies he tormented himſelfe with his owne paſsions, not admitting any man to his preſence. The Chriſtians afterwards tooke the ſpoile of the dead Turkes, and cutting off diuers of their heads, ſet them vp vpon poles round about the citie, to the terrour of their fellowes. In this aſſault were twelue thouſand of the Turks ſlaine, and many more wounded. Of the Chriſtians were loſt 400: and of them that came to the breach eſcaped none, but he was wounded more or leſſe.

A moſt terrible aſſault.

Twelue thouſand Turkes ſlaine in the laſt aſſault.

After that *Mahomet* had two daies diſgeſted the laſt repulſe, the ſhame whereof grieued him more than the loſſe it ſelfe: he ſent for both the great Baſſaes of CONSTANTINOPLE & ASIA, and

and other two of his chiefe councellors, with whom hee reſolued to giue another aſſault, and thereon to gage his whole forces: for they were all of opinion with him, that the defendants were ſo weakned and waſted with the former aſſault, that they could not poſſibly hold out another. Whereupon ſtraight commandement was giuen through the campe, that euerie man without exception, ſhould be readie to go to the aſſault whenſoeuer they were called vpon: and the more to encourage the ſouldiours, great rewards and preferments were promiſed to them which in time of the aſſault ſhould performe any eſpeciall piece of ſeruice. The firſt appearance of the new Moone (which the Turks worſhip with great deuotion) was the time that *Mahomet* had appointed for this generall aſſault: in the meane ſpace he ſpared not to poure out his furie againſt the wals and rampiers of the towne, by the mouth of the cannon. The Chriſtian defendants on the other ſide, firſt by heartie prayer commended themſelues and their citie to the protection of the moſt mightie, and afterwards with reſtleſſe labour and no ſmall perill, ſpeedily repaired and new fortified whatſoeuer the furie of the artillerie had ouerthrowne or ſhaken; omitting nothing that could be done or deuiſed for the defence of themſelues and the citie. Now as ſoone as the new Moone began to ſhew her ſelfe, the Mahometane prieſts going about the armie, gaue the ſouldiours knowledge thereof (as their manner is) by ſinging of a ſong, in manner of a proceſsion; whereunto the whole armie anſwered with a ſhort reſponde, but with ſuch a terrible noiſe as was wonderfull to heare: and at the ſame time bowing themſelues to the ground, ſaluted the Moone with great ſuperſtition. All their fond ceremonies performed, they began to draw nie the citie ſo thicke, and in number ſo manie, that all the ground for the ſpace of a mile round about SCODRA was thicke couered with men. The Chriſtians expecting euerie houre to be aſſailed, were readie vpon the wals and rampiers of the citie to repulſe the enemie: but eſpecially at the great gate where moſt danger was feared, for that the Turks with their great ordinance had made that place of all others moſt faultable. Here *Iacobus Monta* a noble captaine, with his brother *Moncinus* a valiant gentleman, tooke vpon thē to receiue the firſt aſſault which is commonly of all others moſt terrible; for the Turks vſe in their aſſaults to giue three attempts, whereof the firſt is moſt furious and dangerous, as performed by their beſt ſouldiours; the other two are of leſſe force: but if they faile in all three, they forſake the enterpriſe as men diſcouraged. Whileſt both the aſſailants and the defendants ſtood thus in readineſſe, the one as it were facing the other a great part of the night, *Mahomet* before day went vp to the top of the Baſſaes mount, from whence he had before beholden the former aſſault: at whoſe comming, there were preſently eleuen cannons diſcharged, and twelue ſmaller pieces (the ſignal appointed for the aſſault.) The Turkes vpon this ſigne giuen, with exceeding tumult and moſt hideous outcrie (as their manner is) began to aſſaile the citie round, and with ſuch wonderfull agilitie of bodie and courage mounted the rampiers at the great gate, that they had there as it were in a trice ſet vp one of their enſignes, which was foorthwith pluckt vp by *Moneta*, and the Turkes with great ſlaughter driuen downe, where many of them were ſlaine with ſtones, timber, fire, and ſuch other things caſt downe vpon them; beſide a great number ſlaine or wounded with ſhot, arrowes, and darts, whereof none fell to the ground in vaine, by reaſon that the Turkes ſtood ſo thicke, that they violently preſſed one another forward, in ſuch ſort, that the formoſt could by no meanes ſhun any danger, were it neuer ſo great or terrible. In this ſort the aſſault was with great ſlaughter of the Turkes continued vntill it was day; they ſtriuing to win the breach, and the Chriſtians moſt valiantly defending the ſame: *Moneta* himſelfe in this fight receiued diuerſe wounds, and was twice beaten downe to the ground; yet ſtill recouering himſelfe, encouraged his ſouldiors, and woorthily repulſed the enemie. *Mahomet* ſeeing his ſouldiors beaten from the breach, cauſed a tyre of his great Ordinance to be diſcharged vpon the Chriſtians which ſtood therein thicke for the defence thereof, by force whereof many of them were rent in peeces, and the reſt ſore diſmayed: which the Turkes quickly perceiuing, and therewith encouraged, came on againe with a freſh charge, forcing themſelues to the vttermoſt to haue entred. But the valiant captaine nothing diſcouraged either with the loſſe of them that were ſlaine, or with the danger of himſelfe, couragiouſly withſtood the furious enemie, and maintained the place vntill new ſupplies came to relieue him, and neuer departed thence, either ſuffered any man to depart, vntill the aſſault was ended. Many were ſlaine on both ſides, yet nothing troubled the defendants ſo much as the great ordinance; which being diſcharged from the Baſſaes mount into the breach, at ſuch times as the Turkes were driuen backe, ſlew many of the Chriſtians, leauing the breach almoſt cleare: ſo giuing

The Turks ſuperſtitiouſly reuerence the new Moone.

Scodra againe moſt furiouſly aſſaulted by the Turkes.

uing occaſion for the Turkes to haue entred, had not other couragious ſouldiours ſtept vp in ſtead of them that were ſlaine, who manfully repulſed the enemie. The tyrant from the mount ſeeing the inuincible courage of the defendants, was therewith exceedingly troubled: but fully reſolued now or neuer to haue it, commaunded all his forces to be drawne from all other parts of the citie vnto the great gate, there to renew the aſſault; ſtraightly charging his captaines, neuer to returne thence vntill they had taken the citie. Hereupon the greateſt part of that huge armie was forthwith in the ſight of himſelfe brought vnto the appointed place, and there gaue a ſharpe and cruell aſſault at the breach, with ſuch deſperat furie, that in ſhort time they had ſlaine moſt of the defendants there preſent, and aduanced diuers of their enſignes vpon the top of the rampiers. Which *Mahomet* beholding from the mount, rejoyced exceedingly, making ſure account that the citie was now his owne: but by that time he had well conceiued this hope, new ſupplies of freſh and couragious men (of purpoſe reſerued for all euents) came to the place of danger, and with great reſolution encountring the wearied Turkes, draue them backe, cleared the breach, and ouerthrew their enſignes. Which ſo ſudden an alteration in the breach, wrought no leſſe alteration in the prowd tyrants mind, his hope was turned into deſpaire, and his rejoycing into choller: inſomuch that in his furie, he commaunded all his great artillerie to be at once diſcharged into the breach; whereby manie of his forward and couragious ſouldiours were ſlaine togither with the defendants. At the ſame time, the great commaunders and captaines knowing themſelues to bee in the eye of their imperious lord and maiſter, with their drawne ſwords forced the poore ſouldiours againe forward to the breach; and the more to encourage them, aduentured themſelues alſo amongſt them: whereby the fight became more fierce and terrible than before. Manie of the Turkes were there ſlaine; yet ſuch was the force and multitude of them which ſtill ſtept vp in their place, and bullets and arrowes flew ſo thicke, that the defendants oppreſſed with multitude, and ouerwhelmed with ſhot, were hardly able longer to maintaine the place, being for moſt part either ſlaine or wounded. Whereupon a great cry ran vpon the ſudden through the citie, that euerie man without exception, ſhould forthwith repaire to the breach. Which was with ſuch cheerfulneſſe done, that in leſſe time than was to haue been thought, a wonderfull multitude of all ſort of people was there met togither, encouraging one another againſt the preſent danger; who all as men reſolued to lay downe their liues in defence of their countrey, valiantly encountred the Turkes vpon the top of the rampiers, and ſo hardly laid vnto them, that notwithſtanding their great number, they began now againe to wauer and ſhrinke backe. Which thing the tyrant perceiuing from the mount, in great rage commanded his canoniers, as faſt as they could to diſcharge the great ordinance into the breach, without anie regard of his owne men, ſo that togither with them, he might alſo kill ſome of the Chriſtians: and withall imperiouſly commanded his captaines, with all their force and power to maintaine the aſſault, threatning them with moſt horrible death, if they returned without victorie. Hereupon the aſſault was againe renewed, euery man (in ſhew at leaſt) ſet downe there to doe his laſt deuoire. But the great ordinance ſtill playing vpon the breach, ſlew manie of the Turkes as well as of the Chriſtians. Thriſe the great ſhot fell amongſt the Turkes themſelues, and rent in ſunder a great number of them which were formoſt, to the great diſcouragement of the reſt: whereof the tyrant had ſmall regard, ſo that togither with them he might alſo diminiſh the number of the defendants. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch was the deſperat furie of the enemie, that the citie was in no ſmall danger to haue been euen preſently taken, had not freſh ſupplies come from other places of the citie which they were appointed vnto; who with great courage reſiſted the enemie. Yet the Turkes farre exceeding in number (and freſh men continually ſtepping vp in ſtead of them which lay by heapes vnder their feet, and ſerued them in ſtead of ſteps to get vp to the rampiers) maintained a long and terrible fight: at which time the great ordinance alſo ſore annoied the defendants, ſo that with one ſhot (whereby the greatneſſe of the harmes done at other times may be gathered) eighteene of the Chriſtian defendants were ſlaine. As for arrowes, they flew as thicke as haile into the citie; ſo that they obſcured the light of the day, and lay in moſt places of the ſtreet a ſpan thicke: ſo that for the ſpace of a moneth after, the inhabitants vſed no other fuell to burne, but Turkiſh arrowes. It was a ruthfull ſight to haue ſeene the bodies of the valiant Chriſtians rent in ſunder with the great ſhot, and pieces of them cleauing vpon euerie wall thereabout, euerie ſtreet was ſtained with their bloud, the great ordinance continually thundred, churches and houſes came ratling downe, yea the heauie countenance of the ayre

The aſſault fiercely againe renued by the Turks.

A wofull ſight.

ayre it selfe seemed to bewaile the miserie of the poore Christians: besides, the noise of trumpets, drums, and other instruments of warre, with the horrible crie of the hellish Turkes, was so great and hideous, that it seemed as if heauen and earth should haue gone togither: nothing was to be heard but the verie terrour of the eare; nothing to be seene but death, and the verie instruments of death. And now in this extremitie a fearefull crie ran through the citie, That without present helpe all would be lost at the great gate: Wherupon, not onely they which were whole (which were the fewest in number) but they also which lay wounded or sicke in their beds, cheering vp themselues, with weapons in their hands ran with speed to the place where the danger was; chusing rather there to die, than to be slaine in their beds. Thus whilest the Christians of all sorts, and from all parts of the citie ran desperatly to the gate, the Turkes were on euerie side hardly pressed and in great number slaine: yet fresh men still comming vp as if they had sprung out of the earth, the deadly fight was by them still maintained. For the Turkes on the one side, for feare of the tyrant, laboured with might and maine to win the citie; and the Christians on the other, knowing no hope left for them if they should be ouercome, with no lesse resolution defended the same. In this obstinacie of minds, manie fell on both sides: sometimes the Turkes seemed to haue the better, and were straight way by the Christians put to the worse. Which manner of mortall fight with doubtfull euent, was continued most part of that day: vntill that at length manie being on both parts slaine, and the rest for most part sore wounded and hurt, the furie of the assault began to assuage: for the Turkes now wearie of that long and deadly fight, and fainting with their wounds, had no great stomacke to mount vp the rampiers, where they saw no hope to preuaile, but all things threatning present death. *Mahomet* beholding the wonderfull slaughter of his men, and that hauing done what was possible for men to doe, they now fought as men discouraged, and in despaire of victorie himselfe, caused a retrait to be sounded, which the Turkes no sooner heard, but that they left the assault, and without order ran to their tents as men halfe feared out of their wits. *A doubtfull fight.*

Of this victorie, the Christians (as they had good cause) rejoyced greatly: yet was this joy mingled with much sorrow and heauinesse, for the losse of such worthy men as were slaine in that assault, manie of whose bodies, they were glad to gather vp by peecemeale, some here, some there, some cleauing on this wall, and some on that: which they, as the time would giue leaue, honourably buried with the rest of the slaine. At which time also, they with all diligence and expedition repaired their breaches, and put all things in such readinesse, as if they should haue presently receiued a fresh assault.

Mahomet wonderfully grieued with the shamefull dishonour and great losse he had receiued at the last assault, repented himselfe that euer he had taken the matter in hand, wishing that hee had neuer heard of the name of SCODRA: and in his choller and frantike rage, most horribly blasphamed against God, most wickedly saying, That it were enough for him to haue care of heauenly things, and not to crosse him in his worldly actions. In which furie he descended from the mount and got him into his tent, where he againe tormented himselfe with his melancholie passions by the space of two daies; wherein he would neither be spoke withall, or admit any man to his presence. Vpon the third day he called a generall counsell of his commaunders and best souldiours, and there openly before them all said, That he was determined to giue the enemie a fresh assault, for that being weakned with so manie assaults, he could not possibly be able to hold out another: and therefore hoped for an easie victorie. But he had no sooner so said, but that all they that heard him, cried out with one voice to the contrarie: saying, That it was not by anie meanes to be attempted, forasmuch as his best souldiours were alreadie slaine, and the greater part of them that were left, either sore wounded, or brought to that weakenesse that they were not able to doe anie more seruice; and that therefore it were better for them to kill one another, or else himselfe to kill them one by one, than to expose them to be so shamefully butchered by the Christians. In this diuersitie of opinions, *Achmetes Bassa* the great champion of the Turkes (a man reuerend and of great authoritie, for his birth, yeares, and rare experience in martiall affairs, and one by whom *Mahomet* had done great matters) standing vp, with pleasing speech calmed his furious mind, and with substantial reasons persuaded him to desist from that his entended purpose, and to take another surer course, as followeth.

Your great valour and worthie praises inuincible emperour (said he) *who is able to expresse? the great-* *A notable speech of the great Bassa Achmetes.*

greatneſſe wherof the mind of man cannot conceiue, and my dull ſpirit but wonder thereat; my tongue faltereth to ſpeake of them, neither would this time ſerue ſo much as to recount them. It is of all men deemed a thing of great honour (moſt dread ſoueraigne) when a prince hath receiued a kingdome from his anceſtors, to be able in ſafetie to keepe and defend the ſame: greater than this is it, honourably to encreaſe and augment it, ſo left: but of a ſmall thing, by worthie proweſſe to bring it to the higheſt type of worldly honour, is of all other things the greateſt. Which moſt rare excellencie, all men worthily aſcribe vnto your perfection and felicitie: and I of all others can thereof bring the moſt aſſured teſtimonie, who haue oftentimes heard it of mine anceſtors (which following the fortune of the Othoman princes out of ASIA into EVROPE) that your worthie predeceſſors at their firſt comming into EVROPE (without offence be it ſaid) poſſeſſed but a corner thereof; to whom you afterward by diuine appointment ſucceeding, haue adioined ſo many prouinces, kingdomes, and empires, as were tedious to rehearſe them. For who can worthily expreſſe, how you haue in EVROPE ſubdued CONSTANTINOPLE, the imperiall citie of the Eaſt empire, with all THRACIA, ACHAIA, GRECIA, PELOPONESVS, BEOTIA, THEBES, and the noble citie of ATHENS, the mother and nurſe of all good learning. The empire of TRAPEZOND, with the emperour thereof, is by you ouerthrowne: the kingdomes of SERVIA and BOSNA, with the princes of PELOPONESVS, are by you gloriouſly vanquiſhed. You haue at your commaund twelue kingdomes in ASIA the leſſer, PONTVS, BYTHINIA, CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, CILICIA, PAMPHILIA, LYCIA, CARIA, LYDIA, PHRIGIA, NICHOMEDIA, and NICEA, with the famous citie of PRVSA. Beſides theſe, IONIA, DORIS, SMYRNA, COLOPHON, EPHESVS, MILETVM, HALICARNASVS, PERGAMVS, with the countrey of TAVRICA, are vnder your ſubiection. The great countrey of ARMENIA hath felt your force: the Iſlands of LESBOS, CHIOS, and EVBŒA, are parts of your empire. What ſhould I ſpeake of infinit people and nations, by you moſt victoriouſly vanquiſhed? This may ſuffice for all, that you haue gained from the Chriſtians twentie prouinces and two hundred great citties. For it were too long to rehearſe the Mahometane kings and princes by you alſo vanquiſhed: in all your expeditions all things haue yet giuen place to your fortune. The antient monuments may now ceaſe to extoll the praiſes of Cæſar, Scipio, Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and other cheefetaines of ROME, and forraine nations: for why, they are all inferior to you both for victories and countries ſubdued. The Othoman famille is vndoubtedly fatall for ſoueraignetie: all the world ſhall in ſhort time come vnder your gouernment, and all nations ſhall ſerue you. As for this towne of SCODRA, let it not ſo much greeue you: worldly things (as you know) doe oftentimes deceiue our expectation: in them fortune beareth great ſway. Yet for this matter, quiet your ſelfe: for I dare gage my faith vnto your imperiall maieſtie, that I will in ſhort time find meanes, that this citie ſhall ſtand at your deuotion. Did not I of late bring into your ſubiection the impregnable citie of CROIA, which you ſo long deſired? But whereas you would now againe forthwith attempt to win it by aſſault, I therein craue your pardon, in that I cannot be of that opinion, but muſt needs thinke farre otherwiſe: for to attempt warre, and to be ouerthrowne, is an eaſie matter for euery man to doe; but to vanquiſh the enemie, and to carrie away the triumph, that right few men know. He that conſulteth of ſuch great and weightie matters, ought to be free both from furie and deſire, both euill counſellours. The Chriſtians of SCODRA are not in my opinion to be againe aſſaulted: for in ſo doing you ſhall but loſe your labour. For if you could not ſubdue them, your armie being then freſh and ſtrong, how ſhall you now ouercome them with much fewer, and they wounded, weake and feeble? I haue viewed the whole campe, and ſearched euery tent; and found no place, no tent, yea ſcarcely any cabbin, without groning, ſighing, weeping, or wailing; in euery place was heauineſſe, ſorrow, mourning, and death it ſelfe: for in the laſt aſſault you loſt thirtie thouſand and more of your beſt ſouldiors: many moe are greeuouſly wounded and maimed: none, but he carrieth about him ſome ſigne that he was there: few or none there be that dare againe mount the hill to giue a freſh aſſault, they are all afraid and diſcouraged. Whom when I demanded, how ſo great a feare was come vpon them, and what was the cauſe they had ſo loſt their wonted courage? they anſwered me, That it was the looke, euen the very looke of them of SCODRA, whoſe eyes did ſeeme vnto them to burne and ſparkle with fire: their ſterne and terrible countenances (ſaid they) haue ſtrucke this terrour into vs. Wherefore I thinke it not good to giue a freſh aſſault with men ſo diſmayed: but rather to vſe policie and delay againſt ſuch reſolute enemies. This citie of SCODRA is the eye and head of all this prouince, which the Venetians haue notably fortified and planted with ſtore of ordinance and of all things els neceſſarie for defence thereof; but eſpecially with moſt valiant ſouldiors, of purpoſe choſen out of many their garriſons for defence of this citie: you haue not now to doe with the weake and effeminate people of ASIA, but with the

the hard and rough people of EPIRVS. *And you know (most mightie emperour) the ſtrength and courage of this nation: it is now thirtie yeares that you haue made warre againſt this people, and haue not yet altogether ſubdued them: and how dangerous and chargeable this warre hath beene vnto you, who knoweth not? It is now ſix moneths ſince we came firſt before this citie; we haue intrenched our ſelues round about it, we haue day and night laid hard ſiege vnto it, we haue battered it of long with eleuen cannons: I ſpeake not of other ſmaller peeces or engines of warre, with all kind of ſhot and fire-worke, and whatſoeuer els we could deuiſe. We haue many times to our coſt aſſaulted it: what could be done by force, ſtrength, or multitude of valiant men, is alreadie done in the former aſſaults. Nothing hath been left vnattempted, no policie no direction hath wanted in your leaders, neither courage in your ſouldiors. What ſhould I recount the innumerable great ſhot, or ſpeake of our arrowes and darts, deliuered into the citie as ſhowers of haile? Did all this or any thing els we could doe, any thing terrifie theſe defendants? Were they not, nay are they not ſtill readie, with great aſſurance and courage at all aſſayes to encounter vs. You take a wrong courſe by force to conſtraine them. They haue taken vpon them the defence of this place, and are not thence to be remoued, there ſhall you be ſure ſtill to find them either aliue or dead. And what account they make of their liues, you ſee; they will ſell them vnto vs deare for their countrey, and preferre an honourable death before a ſeruile life. Wherefore againſt men ſo ſet downe, policie is to be vſed: and them whom we cannot by force ſubdue, let vs by delay and time ouercome. If you will win* SCODRA, *blocke it vp, build ſtrong forts in places conuenient round about it, and furniſh them with good ſouldiors: make a bridge ouer* BOLIANA, *with a ſtrong caſtle on either ſide, to ſtop the paſſage: which done, beſiege the other weaker cities of the Venetians, which are as it were the limbs of* SCODRA: *and ſubdue the countrey round about, which will be no hard matter for you to doe, being maſter of the field: ſo muſt* SCODRA *at length of neceſſitie yeeld vnto you, as of late did* CROIA, *enforced thereunto by famine. Thus may you in ſafetie without ſlaughter of your people come to the full of your deſires.*

The wholeſome counſell of the Baſſa ſo well pleaſed *Mahomet* himſelfe, and the reſt there preſent, that the aſſault was laid aſide, and preſent order taken for the ſpeedie execution of that which was by him ſo well plotted. Whereupon the Baſſa of CONSTANTINOPLE with his forces was ſent to ZABIACHE, a citie in the borders of DALMATIA, ſtanding vpon the lake of SCVTARIE, not faire from ASCRIVIVM, which in few daies was yeelded vnto him. The Baſſa poſſeſſed of the citie, thruſt out all the inhabitants, and leauing therein a garriſon of Turks, returned againe to the campe at SCODRA. At the ſame time the great Baſſa of ASIA was alſo ſent by *Mahomet* againſt DRIVASTO, a citie alſo of the Venetians: which when hee had beſieged and ſore battered by the ſpace of ſixteene dayes, the great tyrant came thither in perſon himſelfe, and the next day after his comming tooke the citie, without any great reſiſtance. Such as hee found vpon the wals, he put to the ſword: of the reſt he tooke three hundred away with him vnto the campe at SCODRA, and there in the face of the citie cauſed them all to be cruelly ſlain, of purpoſe ſo to terrifie the defendants. The next day after hee ſent the great Baſſa of CONSTANTINOPLE to LYSSA, called alſo ALESSA, a citie of the Venetians, ſituated vpon the riuer Drinus, about thirtie miles from SCODRA. The Baſſa comming thither, found the citie deſolate (for the citizens hearing of his comming, were for feare before fled) for which cauſe he ſet the citie on fire. Here the Turks digged vp the bones of the worthie prince *Scanderbeg*, for the ſuperſtitious opinion they had of the vertue of them: and happie was he that could get any little part thereof to ſet in gold or other jewell, as a thing of great price, as is before declared. All theſe things thus done, *Mahomet* committed the direction of all things concerning the ſiege of SCODRA, vnto the diſcretion of *Achmetes*. By whoſe perſuaſion, he leauing a great power for the continuing of the ſiege, departed thence himſelfe with fortie thouſand ſouldiors for CONSTANTINOPLE, curſing and banning by the way all the countrey of EPIRVS, all the inhabitants therein, and euery part thereof, their corne, their cattell, & whatſoeuer els was fruitfull; but aboue all other things the citie of SCODRA, with all that therein was, for that he had neuer receiued greater diſhonour or loſſe than there.

Lyſſa taken by the Turks, and the bones of Scanderbeg digged vp by them, and had in great reuerence.

After his departure, which was about the ſeuenth of September, the two great Baſſaes of CONSTANTINOPLE and ASIA, according to order before taken, built a great bridge ouer the riuer Boliana, and on either ſide a ſtrong caſtle, to the intent that no releefe ſhould that way bee brought into the citie. Which worke when they had brought to perfection, and furniſhed both

castles with garrisons, ordinance, and all things necessarie, they left *Achmetes Bassa* with fortie thousand souldiours to continue the siege, and returned themselues the one to CONSTANTINOPLE, and the other into ASIA. The warie and politicke Bassa mindfull of the charge he had taken vpon him, tooke such order, that no releefe could possibly be brought vnto the citie either by land or by water: and so lying still before it a long time, brought it at length into such distresse and want of all things, that the poore Christians were faine to eat all manner of vncleane and loathsome things; horses were daintie meat, yea they were glad to eat dogs, cats, rats, and the skins of beasts sod: it exceedeth all credit to tell at what exceeding great price a little mouse was sold, or puddings made of dogs guts. All these bare shifts and extremities the poore Christians were content to endure euen vnto the last gaspe, rather than to yeeld themselues into the hands of their mercilesse enemies.

Whilest SCODRA thus lay in the suds, the Venetians wearie of the long and chargeable warre they had to their great losse now maintained against so mightie an enemie, by the space of sixteene yeares; and hauing no meanes to releeue their distressed subjects in SCODRA, thought it best to proue, if they could procure a peace from the tyrant. For which purpose they sent *Benedictus Triuisanus*, a graue Senatour and a man of great experience, to CONSTANTINOPLE: who so well vsed the matter, that after long debating too and fro, at length a peace was concluded; whereof the cheefe capitulations were, That the Venetians should deliuer vnto *Mahomet* the citie of SCODRA, the island of LEMNOS, and the strong castle of TENARVS in PELOPONESVS, and pay him yearely eight thousand duckats; That they might freely after their wonted manner trafficke into the Euxine by the straits of Hellespontus and Bosphorus Thracius, & other parts of his dominions. Concerning the citizens of SCODRA, it was comprised in the same peace, That it should bee at their owne choice either to liue there still vnder the gouernment of the Turkish emperour, or els at their pleasure to depart in safetie with their goods whether they would. *Triuisanus* hauing in this manner concluded a peace, in his returne homeward the fourth of Aprill, found the Venetian Admirall riding at anker in the mouth of Boliana, from whence they both by letters certified the Gouernour and citizens of SCODRA, in what manner the peace was concluded with the Turke, and what prouision was therein made for them. Vpon receit of which letters, the gouernor calling together the citizens, declared vnto them how the case stood: and there with them entered into consultation vpon this hard question, Whether they would remaine there still in their native country vnder the Turkish tyrannie; or forsaking the same, liue amongst other Christians in perpetuall exile? But after the matter had beene throughly debated, and many reasons on both parts alledged, at length it was by generall consent concluded, That they should all forsake the citie and the house of bondage, as dangerous both to their soules and bodies, and liue as it should please God amongst other Christians. So the Turks giuing pledges for the safe departure of the Christians in SCODRA, they all at an appointed day with bag and baggage came out of the citie, and were by the Venetians carefully transported into other parts of their territorie in ITALIE, where they liued in peace. The Turks (who had now besieged the citie a whole yeare) after the departure of the Christians entered the citie with great joy and triumph, which with many others therabout, hath euer since to the great ruth of all Christendome remained in the possession of the faithlesse infidels. Thus was the strong citie of SCODRA lost, and the long warres ended betwixt *Mahomet* and the Venetians, which happened in the yeare 1478.

A hard choice.

Scodra yeelded vnto the Turks.

1480 *Mahomet* now at peace with the Venetians, sent the same *Achmetes Bassa* (by whom he had but a litle before taken in SCODRA) with his fleet of gallies against one *Leonard*, prince of NEGRITVS, ZACYNTHVS, and CEPHALENIA, islands neere vnto PELOPONESVS: where the Bassa arriuing, easily tooke the same islands, the poore prince for safegard of his life being glad to flie into ITALIE with his wife & treasure to king *Ferdinand*, whose nigh kinswoman he had maried.

About the same time *Alis-Beg*, surnamed *Michal Ogli*, *Isa Beg* the sonne of *Cassanes*, and *Baiazet Beg*, surnamed *Malcoczogli* (men of great account amongst the Turks, and most honourably descended) entred into TRANSYLVANIA with a great armie of an hundred thousand men, and brought such a generall feare vpon the country, that *Stephanus Batore* the Vaiuod, was glad with all speed to flie vnto *Matthias* king of HVNGARIE, to declare vnto him the danger of his countrey, and to craue his aid. *Matthias* at the same time lay sicke of the gout: neuertheless he tooke such order by his captaines, *Stephanus Cherepetrus*, and *Paulus Kinisius* countie of TEMESVVARE, that

that the Turks were encountred not farre from ALBA IVLIA, and there in a great and bloudie battell ouerthrowne: wherein *Isa* one of their great captains was slaine, with 30 thousand Turks mo. Neither was this victorie gained by the Christians without losse, *Bator* the Vayuod himselfe being sore wounded, and eight thousand men slaine.

Mahomet in his ambitious humour, had long time desired to haue in his subjection the iland of the RHODES. For why, it grieued him that so small an iland should lie so nie his great dominions in ASIA, holden by a few Christians, to the great trouble of his merchants trading in the Mediteranean, beside manie other harmes daily from thence receiued, and to haue no feeling of his greatnesse. But forasmuch as the winning of that place was thought to be a matter of great difficultie, and in former times vnfortunatly attempted by some of the Mahometane princes: he purposed now with good aduise to take this enterprise in hand. Wherefore calling togither his graue counsellors and most expert men of warre, after he had declared vnto them the manifold injuries receiued from them of the RHODES; he propounded the matter, Whether it were best to attempt the winning of that iland or not? Some forward men persuaded him to reuenge those injuries done by those Christians, and to subdue that iland, which for the neerenesse vnto CARIA, might of right be accounted as part of his dominion; and not to forbeare that enterprise for feare of repulse, forasmuch as he was able to bring mo men to assaile it, than were stones in the wall about it. Others better aduised, declared the strength of the iland, with the valour of the defendants; men alwaies brought vp in armes, and as it were chosen out of all parts of Christendome: so that it was (as they said) like to proue a matter of more difficultie than was by some supposed; whereof some of the Mahometane princes had to their no small dishonour, alreadie made sufficient triall: Alleadging farther, that that small iland which scarcely appeared in the sea, was not of that worth, as that he should thereon gage his honour, with the liues of so manie good men, and most valiant souldiours as might serue for the conquest of a kingdome. For all that, *Mahomet* prickt forward with the spurs of ambition, and continuall solicitation of *Anthonius Meligalus*, a fugitiue knight of the RHODES, resolued to follow the counsell of them which persuaded the warre. This *Meligalus* was a knight of the order, which when he had prodigally consumed his substance which was great, with two others, *Demetrius* and *Sophonius*, men of his owne qualitie and disposition, fled vnto the Turkish emperour; presenting vnto him a perfect plot of the citie, with all the strength both of it, and the isle wherein it stood, and which way he might with most ease win it. In which seruice they frankly offered to spend their liues: but hoping indeed by such foule treacherie to repaire their broken estate. All things being now in readinesse, *Mahomet* appointed *Mesithes Paleologus*, one of his chiefe Bassaes (the neere kinsman of *Constantinus Paleologus* the last emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE) Generall for that expedition; committing to his charge the whole managing of that so great an action. *Mesithes* embarking his armie in number eightie thousand, and throughly furnished with all things necessarie for the siege, set forward from CONSTANTINOPLE, and with a pleasant gale of wind, sayled alongst the coast of ASIA the lesse, towards the RHODES: where by the way he called vnto him *Demetrius* (one of the fugitiue knights) to learne of him the best meanes for the safe landing of his armie. As for the arch traitor *Meligalus*, and chiefe author of this warre, he was fallen sick vpon the way; and in the extremitie of his sickneſse, growing both troublesome and loathsome vnto the Turkes that were with him in the same gallie, was by the marriners throwne ouerboord aliue: crying out in vaine for helpe, no man vouchsafing to haue anie compasion vpon him; and so swallowed vp of the sea, receiued amiddest the waues, the just guerdon of his treacherie.

Mahomet longeth after the Rhodes.

A death right worthy such a traitour.

At this time *Peter Damboyse* a Frenchman, an Auergnoies, a man of singular gouernment, was Great Master of the RHODES; whose valiancie was such, that commonly once in eight daies he had certaine intelligence what great matters passed in the Turkes court: and therewith of such deepe judgement, that he was seldome or neuer ouertaken, or deceiued with anie false aduertisements. This carefull Graund Master, was not ignorant of all these great preparations, neither of the comming of the Bassa; and therefore had before strongly fortified the citie, and so stored the same with all things needfull, as might well haue serued for manie yeares siege: but especially with such shot and powder, that it was deemed (as indeed it was) an especiall meanes whereby the citie was afterwards preserued. At the same time, manie noble and valiant gentlemen hearing of the Turkes designes, repaired thither out of ITALY, FRANCE, SPAINE, GERMANIE,

MANIE, and other places of Christendome, cheerfully to aduenture their liues, in defence both of the place, and of the Christian religion, against the common enemie of Christianitie. The Great Master taking a generall view of all the forces he had, to oppose against so puissant an enemie, found that he had in the citie sixteene thousand able men: in which number were reckoned manie Iewes and other men of seruile condition; who in the siege following, did right good seruice. The great Bassa conducted by the false traitour *Demetrius*, safely landed both his armie and artillerie in the island the two and twentith day of Iune, not farre from the citie. At which time the Great Master considering that the safetie of the citie consisted more in the liuely valour of the defendants, than in the strength of the dead wals, or other warlike prouision; thought it requisite, as a part of his duetie, by cheerfull persuasions to encourage them, valiantly to withstand the force of their enemies. And therefore calling them all together, spake vnto them as followeth:

The oration of the Great Master to the rest of the knights and souldiors, to encourage them valiantly to withstand the Turks.

At length valiant souldiours and fellowes at armes, we see the Turkes our mortall enemies (as we were before aduertised, as well by letters from our friends, as by common fame) breathing after our destruction; in readinesse to destroy our churches, our oratories, our alters, our religion, and whatsoeuer els we account sacred or religious; seeking the ruine of this noble citie, and the cruell death of vs all; gaping at once, to deuour our liues, our wealth, our hope, with all our former honour. And truly as I cannot denie but that the chance of warre is doubtfull, and the euent thereof vncertaine: so when I consider your valiant courage and cheerfulnesse of mind, I presently conceiue a most assured hope of victorie. They haue entered into armes against vs, not so much for anie desert of ours, or vpon anie other quarrell; as for the vnsatiable desire of rule, and the great despite they beare against vs and the Christian religion. But to withstand their furie, and to frustrate their designes, we want neither weapons, nor artillerie, nor prouision for many yeares; we haue a most strong garrison of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germaines, English, and others, the verie chiualrie of Christendome: and that which more is, Christ Iesus our Captaine and Generall, by whose power, we shall no doubt easily repulse the vaine force of our most wicked and graceless enemies. The care wee haue for the defence of the Christian faith, wherunto we are by speciall profession bound, will animate and encourage vs against them, which seeke for nothing more than to extend their wicked and grose superstition, to the great dishonour of God, and of his sonne Christ Iesus. Besides that, we are warlike Frenchmen, Italians, Germaines, and other worthy Christians: they are of CARIA, LYDIA, CAPADOCIA, *and the other delicat countries of* ASIA; *effeminat persons, brought vp to pleasure. I say it not to draw you into anie manifest or ineuitable danger, neither to feed you with vaine hope, or to fill your eares with windie words: but this I promise and assure you of, that if this siege shall continue long, hither will come such strong aide out of* FRANCE, ITALY, GERMANIE *and* SPAINE, *as will serue not onely to raise the siege, but to recouer againe the empires of* CONSTANTINOPLE *and* TRAPEZONDE. *Then shall our enemies see no good end of their counsels; but all their deuises so confounded, as that they shall hardly be able by speedie flight to saue themselues. But suppose the hardest should happen, which I feare not: would not anie man account his life most happely and honourably spent, in defence of a good conscience, and the quarrell of Christ Iesus? Truely my great yeares and course of life now almost spent in defence of the Christian religion (as I euer desired) doth call me forth, as one so assured of that good laid vp for me in heauen by Christ Iesus (whose battell we are to fight) that I no whit feare anie enemies force or future chance: which for all that, I haue as farre as I could, and to the vttermost of my power so prouided for, as that we will not (I hope) be therwith ouerwhelmed. Be you therefore of good cheere and comfort (as I know you are) and shew your selues valiant and couragious, which resteth wholy in your selues: and as for all the rest, time, and our discretion shall right well prouide I doubt not.*

The valiant men and worthy souldiours, resting vpon the assurance of their aged gouernor, departed euerie man to his charge, full of hope and courage. Now had the Bassa landed his great armie, and sent *Demetrius* the traiterous knight, *Meligalus* his companion, with certaine troupes of horsemen and some foot, to view the ground, where he might best encampe with his armie. *Demetrius* in great pride riding about the citie, was knowne by *Anthony Dambosse*, the Great Masters brother; by whose leaue, he sallied out with a troupe of gallant horsemen, and skirmished with them: but the Turkes being mo in number, cast about to haue encloased them; which *Anthony* perceiuing, turned vpon them that were comming behind him, and that with such

ſuch force, that he ſlew or wounded moſt part of them. In this hoat skirmiſh, *Demetrius* hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, and himſelfe ouerthrowne, was there troden to death vnder the horſes feet: an end too good for ſo falſe a traitour. *Muratius* a French knight, vnaduiſedly diſpoiling his dead bodie, was by the Turkes ſlaine, and his head preſented vnto the Baſſa inſtead of *Demetrius*.

The Baſſa approaching the citie, at the firſt comming tooke a great orchard, which the Great Maſter had ſtrongly entrenched, and therein placed certaine companies of ſouldiours, with ſome ſmall pieces of ordinance: which place if it could haue beene kept, might haue fitly ſerued the defendants to haue at their pleaſure ſallied out vpon the enemie. But they which were appointed to the keeping thereof, either terrified with the ſight of ſo great an armie, or elſe doubting to be able to hold it againſt ſo great a power, abandoned it by night, and retired into the citie; leauing the great ordinance behind them for haſt. In this place, the Baſſa by the counſell of *George Frapaine* (a Chriſtian fugitiue of the RHODES, and now maſter of his ordinance) began to plant his batterie, & from thence to batter the tower called Nicholea, or S. *Nicholas* his tower, diſtant frō the citie three hundreth paces. But againſt this place, *Damboyſe* had ſo aptly mounted two great Baſiliskes, that he made him glad quickly to forſake the ſame: yet finding no other place more conuenient for his purpoſe, ſhortly after he neere vnto the ſame place planted againe his batterie, of farre greater force than before. Wherein beſide the ordinance of greateſt charge, he had three hundred ſmaller pieces for batterie: wherewith at the firſt he did ſmall harme, for that this *George Frapaine* repenting himſelfe (as it was thought) of his foule treaſon, beſtowed the ſhot to ſmall purpoſe; for which cauſe the Baſſa began to haue him in diſtruſt: which *Frapaine* perceiuing, fled by night againe vnto the RHODES, and diſcouered vnto the Great Maſter all the ſecrets of the Turkes campe. The Turkes continuing the batterie, had ſore ſhaken the aforeſaid tower called S. *Nicholas*, and beaten downe ſome part thereof: which the Chriſtians with great induſtrie, ſpeedily repaired in beſt ſort they could. For all that, the Turks gaue therunto a fierce aſſault, by the ſpace of ſix houres, forcing themſelues to the vttermoſt to haue taken it: but perceiuing that it preuailed them nothing, they retired, hauing loſt eight hundred of their men, with manie others drowned in the ſea, of whom the number was not knowne, and a thouſand others ſore wounded. *Eight hundred Turks ſlaine.*

Meſithes diſappointed of his former purpoſe, bent his artillerie againſt the wals of the citie, and with continuall batterie had made a faire breach. But *Damboyſe* foreſeeing the danger, had with great labour caſt vp ſuch rampiers with a countermure before the breach, that the Baſſa durſt not in anie caſe aduenture to enter the breach he had made. For performance of this ſo neceſſarie a worke, the captaines themſelues refuſed not to put to their helping hands: by whoſe example, all the reſt of the people which were able to doe anie thing, being moued, willingly employed their labour vntill the worke was fully finiſhed.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Cali-Baſſa* the younger (a great courtier) was ſent from *Mahomet*, to ſee with what ſucceſſe the ſiege went forward. Vpon whoſe arriuall, it was giuen out through all the Turks campe, That *Mahomet* was in perſon himſelfe comming to the ſiege, with an hundred thouſand men, and an hundred and fiftie peeces of great ordinance. Theſe news (of purpoſe deuiſed to the terrour of the defendants) being blowne out of the campe into the citie, ſtrucke an exceeding great feare into the mindes of ſome of the defendants, and ſo diſcouraged the Spaniards, with their nigh neighbors that came from NAVAR, that they began openly to reaſon in their conuenticles, That it was not poſsible for the citie to be defended againſt ſuch a power; and therefore after an inſolent manner, deſired leaue to be gone: to the great diſcouragement of the reſt. The Great Maſter vnderſtanding of their doings, ſent for theſe mutinous Spaniards: and after he had ſharpely reprooued them both of diſorder and cowardiſe, promiſed to ſhip them away forthwith out of the iſle, ſaying, That he doubted not, right well to defend the citie againſt the greateſt power of the Turke, without the helpe of ſuch baſe minded cowards. In the meane time he commanded them to ſurceaſe from their mutinous talke, threatning otherwiſe to make them examples to others, what it were ſo much to forget themſelues. But theſe Spaniards ſhortly after, better conſidering of the matter, and what a diſhonour it would be both to themſelues and their nation, if they ſhould ſo diſhonourably be ſent away; repenting themſelues of that they had done, came and craued pardon of the Great Maſter: and to redeeme their former fault, in all ſallies and ſeruices during that ſiege, ſhewed themſelues moſt valiant and

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forward men: for all that, the Great Maſter would neuer afterwards truſt them in any ſeruice alone. The Baſſa attempting much and preuailing little, thought it would much further his deſignes, if he could by anie meanes take the Great Maſter out of the way, by whoſe carefull policie he ſaw all his deuiſes ſtill countermaunded: wherefore to bring this his purpoſe to paſſe, he practiſed by the meanes of one *Ianus* a Dalmatian, to poyſon him. This *Ianus* hauing conceiued this treaſon from the Baſſa, was receiued into the citie of the RHODES, as a Chriſtian fugitiue fled from the Turkes: where hee acquainted himſelfe with one *Pythius* an Epirot, of great familiaritie with *Marius Philelphus* (of late ſecretarie vnto *Damboyſe*, but as then out of fauour and in diſgrace, for that he was partaker with the Spaniards in the late mutinie.) *Ianus* by the meanes of *Pythius*, whom he had now throughly corrupted, ſought after *Philelphus*, who then as hee right well knew, liued diſcontented, as a fit inſtrument whereby to worke this treaſon; for that he was a man well acquainted with the cookes and butlers, and other ſeruitours in the Great Maſters houſe, and himſelfe (yet) there verie conuerſant alſo. *Pythius* preſuming of his old acquaintance and familiaritie with *Philelphus*, and waiting vpon his melancholie humour, began to perſuade him to reuenge the diſgrace he liued in, and withall to ſhew him the meanes how to doe it, by poyſoning of the Great Maſter: which might (as he ſaid) fall out to his greater good than he was yet aware of. *Philelphus* making ſemblant as if he had not diſliked of the motion, was deſirous to know of him what farther benefit might thereby ariſe vnto him, more than reuenge. To whom *Pythius* forthwith ſhewed the Baſſaes letters to *Ianus*, whereby hee aſſured him, that whatſoeuer he ſhould promiſe vnto anie man for the furtherance of the practice, he would to the full performe the ſame. *Philelphus* hauing got full vnderſtanding of the treaſon, preſently diſcouered the ſame to *Damboyſe*. By whoſe commandement *Ianus* and *Pythius* were ſtraightwaies apprehended, and being examined confeſſed the treaſon: for which *Ianus* loſt his head, and *Pythius* (as hee had well deſerued) was ſhamefully hanged. *Philelphus* for his fidelitie, was pardoned his former errour, and againe receiued into the Great Maſters fauour.

Treaſon againſt the great Maſter diſcouered, and the traitours executed.

The Baſſa vnderſtanding that the treaſon was diſcouered, and the traitours executed, was much grieued therewith. Neuertheleſſe, he ceaſed not with continuall batterie to ſhake the citie, but eſpecially the tower of S. *Nicholas*, for the aſſailing whereof he made wonderfull preparation. Amongſt other things, he had framed a great bridge, ſtaied with ſtrong ropes and cables, ouer a ſhort fret of the ſea, betwixt the place of his batterie and the ſame tower, whereon ſix men might march a breaſt: in which deuiſe he repoſed great hope. But as the Turkes were making faſt this bridge, and had (as they thought) brought the worke to a good perfection; *Gernaiſe Rogers* an Engliſh man of great courage, and verie skilfull in ſea matters, found meanes by night to cut and breake in ſunder all the ropes and cables wherewith the bridge was ſtaied: which now looſe, was by the violence of the ſea quickly carried away, and the Turkes diſappointed of their purpoſe. For which good ſeruice he was by the Great Maſter honorably rewarded, and of him in publike audience highly commended.

Yet was the furious batterie by the Baſſa ſtill maintained, and a new bridge framed vpon ſmall boats and lighters, faſt moored with cables and anchors; and diuers peeces of great ordinance placed in fuſts and gallies. So that the tower was at one time batteted both by ſea and land, the defendants aſſailed with ſmall ſhot and arrowes innumerable, and the tower at the ſame inſtant deſperatly ſcaled. But *Damboyſe* had ſo placed his great ordinance, that with the force thereof the bridge was broken in ſunder, foure of their great fuſts ſunke, with great ſtore both of men and ordinance: the defendants alſo in the tower, with ſhot, timber, ſtones, and other ſuch like things prouided for that purpoſe, grieuouſly ouerwhelmed the Turks that were ſcaling the wals, and beat them downe with great ſlaughter. This hoat aſſault was deſperatly maintained by the Turkes, from three a clocke in the morning vntill ten: when the Baſſa ſeeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the aſſault, hauing therein loſt aboue 2500 men; whoſe dead bodies ſhortly after driuen on ſhoare, were ſpoyled by the Chriſtians. The ſame night two mercinarie ſouldiors of CRETE, going about to haue fled vnto the enemie, were apprehended and put to death. And *George Frapaine*, who in the beginning of the ſiege fled from the Turks, now againe vehemently ſuſpected of treaſon, was executed alſo.

Two thouſand fiue hundred Turks ſlaine in the aſſaults.

Thus neither force nor treaſon preuailing, the Baſſa becauſe he would leaue nothing vnproued that might better his cauſe, ſent certaine meſſengers vnto the great Maſter, offering vnto him

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in the name of the Turkiſh emperour, great rewards, with many honourable preferments, if he would yeeld vp the citie; which he could not (as they would haue perſuaded him) long hold againſt ſo mightie an enemie: wiſhing him now in his declining eſtate not to refuſe ſuch honourable and princely offers, for feare he were afterwards conſtrained to accept of farre worſe, or els through his deſperat wilfulneſſe plunge himſelfe and his people into ſuch extreame perill, as ſhould be impoſsible for him or them to find any way out of. Whereunto the great Maſter in breefe anſwered: *That he would not willingly in his ſure eſtate vſe the counſell of his enemie: neither in his greateſt diſtreſſe refuſe chearefully to yeeld his life vnto Almightie God, to whom he did owe it; and that with farre better will than to yeeld vp the citie vpon any conditions, beare they neuer ſo faire a ſhew of honour or profit.* The meſſengers perceiuing his conſtant reſolution, rather to die than to yeeld his citie, began (according to inſtructions before giuen them by the Baſſa) to temper with him another way, and to perſuade him to yeeld vnto the mightie emperour ſome ſmall yearely tribute or other homage, as an acknowledgement of his greatneſſe, and ſo to liue as his friend in peace. But the great Maſter knowing by the wofull example of others, that in that ſmall requeſt lay included the beginning of the Turkiſh thraldome and ſlauerie: vtterly refuſed to pay him the leaſt tribute, or to doe him the leaſt homage that could be deuiſed. With which anſwere the meſſengers returned, hauing obtained nothing of that they were ſent for.

The reſolute anſwer of the great Maſter.

The reſolute anſwer of the great Maſter reported by the aforeſaid meſſengers vnto the Baſſa, troubled him exceedingly: for though he had ſmall hope by force to win the citie, yet hee was alwayes in hope vntill now, at his pleaſure to forſake the ſiege with ſome ſuch reaſonable compoſition as might ſtand with his honour. But ſith nothing remained now, but by plaine force to conſtraine his enemies; hee reſolued for the ſafegard of his honour, in that extremitie to vſe that extreame remedie. Wherfore beſide the great peeces of batterie he had alreadie planted againſt the wals, he mounted diuers ſmaller peeces much higher, thereby the more to annoy the defendants, by beating downe of their churches and high built houſes. His ordinance thus placed, he battered the citie day and night for the ſpace of foure dayes together without intermiſsion: during which time, the Chriſtians out of the citie ſpared not liberally to beſtow their ſhot amongſt their enemies alſo: ſo that the aire ſeemed to grow thicke, and the light of the day to be darkned with the ſmoke of the great ordinance; and the great ſhot came ſo thicke into the citie, that the fearefull women and children were glad to ſhroud themſelues from the danger thereof, in cellars and caues vnder ground. So long continued this great batterie, that at length the ſtrength of the wall gaue place to the furie of the cannon, and a faire breach was laid open for the enemie to enter: which was no ſooner made, but that with the firſt ſhew thereof the Turks gaue thereunto a deſperat aſſault; and preuailing by reaſon of their multitude, had vpon the ſuddaine recouered the top of the wals, and there ſet vp ſome of their enſignes: but the Chriſtians ſpeedily comming in on euery ſide to the defence of the breach, they were againe quickly repulſed and beaten down into the ditches, out of which moſt of them neuer riſe more. At which time the Turks in another place with their ſcaling ladders had gained the top of the wals, and there aduanced their enſignes alſo, and were now fiue hundred of them entred the citie, and come into the ſtreet called the Iews ſtreet: where they were encountred by the Great Maſter & his followers, and all ſlaine that were alreadie entred, and their enſignes that ſtood vpon the wals throwne downe. The reſt yet ſcaling the wals, and ignorant of the fortune of their fellowes, were likewiſe beaten from the wals, and with wonderfull ſlaughter rejected. So that the Baſſa not able longer to endure the ſlaughter of his men, being in both places repulſed, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and left the aſſault; wherein he had loſt of his moſt forward men about fiue thouſand, with ſmall loſſe of the Chriſtians. In this aſſault the great Maſter himſelfe receiued fiue wounds, whereof one vnder his right pap was thought to haue been deadly: which yet afterwards was very well cured with the reſt.

A faire breach made by force of the Turkes batterie.

After that the Baſſa had by the ſpace of three months to ſmall purpoſe ſpent all his forces and deuiſes vpon the citie, he began to doubt whether it were better for him to raiſe his ſiege and depart, or to tarrie and expect ſome better fortune, which in all his former actions had ſeemed almoſt to haue waited vpon him: to forſake the ſiege, was diſhonourable; and to continue it without hope, preſented no leſſe danger. Beſides that, in the former aſſaults he had alreadie loſt nine thouſand of his beſt ſouldiours, and all the reſt of his armie was filled with heauineſſe and deſpaire, to heare the wofull ſighing and groning of their fellowes, of whom fifteene thouſand lay

diſperſed

disperſed in the campe ſore wounded, and readie many of them to giue vp the ghoſt: and alſo but euen a little before two great ſhips ſent from *Ferdinand* king of NAPLES with men and munition, were in deſpight of all the Turkes gallies ſafely arriued at the RHODES, to the great joy and encouragement of the beſieged, and no leſſe diſcontentment of the Turks. Whileſt the Baſſa was thus deliberating what courſe to take, a rumor was raiſed in the campe, That the Chriſtian princes were comming with great power to relieue the town: with which newes the whole armie was exceedingly troubled; whereupon he raiſed his ſiege. Some others ſay that *Mahomet* hearing of the euill ſucceſſe of his armie in the iſland of the RHODES, with the difficultie of the ſiege, and now readie to goe in perſon himſelfe againſt the Sultan of ÆGIPT, ſent for the Baſſa, and that ſo the ſiege was raiſed. Howſoeuer it was, the Baſſa before his departure cauſed all the vines and trees growing in that part of the iſland to be cut downe and ſpoiled: and ſo after he had poured forth his furie vpon the ſenceleſſe creatures, which he could not according to his deſire exerciſe vpon the people, againe embarked his armie, and with ſhame departed, the 17 day of Auguſt.

The Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege.

At the ſame time that the RHODES was thus beſieged, *Mahomet* ſent his old and moſt expert captain *Achmetes Baſſa*, with a great fleet and a ſtrong armie to make an entrance into ITALIE (for no kingdom was ſo ſtrong, which the ambitious tyrant in the pride of his heart thought not hee might now commaund) and hauing long before conquered CONSTANTINOPLI, otherwiſe called New ROME, was ſtill dreaming I wot not what of the conqueſt of old ROME alſo. The miſcheeuous Baſſa according to his great maſters deſigns, embarked his armie at VALLONA (otherwiſe called AVLONA) a ſea towne in the borders of MACEDONIA; and from thence paſsing directly ouer that narrow ſea, which is in breadth about ſixtie miles, landed his men in that rich and fertile part of ITALIE, called in antient time APVLIA (now PVGLIA) neere vnto the old and famous citie of HYDRVNTVM, at this day called OTRANTO: where as ſoone as this warlike Baſſa had landed his forces, he forraged all that rich country alongſt the ſea coaſt, and tooke ſuch infinit ſpoile as might well haue ſatisfied the greedie deſire both of himſelfe and of his hungrie ſoldiors: all which rich bootie he cauſed to be conueyed vnto his gallies. So when he had at his pleaſure raunged vp and downe the countrey by the ſpace of foureteene dayes, and ſaw that none made head againſt him, he laid ſiege to OTRANTO, the cheefe citie of that countrey, and as it were the key of that part of ITALIE: and hauing with ſuch ordinance as he tooke out of his gallies made a breach, eaſily entred the ſame, and ſo without any great loſſe tooke the citie. A thing not greatly to be maruelled at, for as much as it was but weakly manned, and more weakely defended, by men altogether liuing in ſecuritie in the middeſt of their wealth and pleaſure. The Archbiſhop, with *Zurlo* the Gouernour, and the cheefe men of the citie, for ſafegard of their liues fled into the great cathedrall church, as into a ſanctuarie; where they were altogether moſt miſerably ſlaine. The reſt of the citizens, whoſe hard fortune it was to eſcape the ſword (as people reſerued to more miſerie) were afterward ſhipped ouer into GRECIA, and there ſold for ſlaues. The landing of the Turkes in APVLIA, with the taking of OTRANTO, brought a generall feare vpon all ITALIE, inſomuch that *Sixtus Quartus*, then the great Biſhop of ROME, forgetting all things ſaue himſelfe, was about to haue forſaken the citie for feare. Now after the Turkes had at their pleaſure ranſackt OTRANTO, *Achmetes* cauſed the ſame to be ſtrongly fortified (as the ſure footing of the Turkes in ITALIE) and victualled for eighteene moneths, and there leauing eight thouſand of his beſt ſouldiors in garriſon, returned himſelfe with the reſt to VALLONA, and ſo by land to CONSTANTINOPLE to know his great Maſters further pleaſure: but purpoſing with himſelfe, with the firſt of the next Spring to haue returned with greater forces againe into ITALIE for the proſecuting of his former victorie. Which if he had done, it was greatly to haue been feared, that all that goodly countrey, ſometime miſtreſſe of the world, but then and yet alſo rent in ſunder by the diſcord and ambition of the Chriſtian princes, had in ſhort time become a prey vnto the barbarous Turke for euer.

Achmetes landeth his army in Apulia neere to Otranto, and ſpoileth the country.

Otranto taken by the Turkes.

But whileſt the great Baſſa (in his life time the great ſcourge of Chriſtendome) thus proudly plotteth the ruine and deſtruction of faire ITALIE, God in whoſe hands the hearts of kings are, put an hooke in the great tyrants noſe, and led him quite another way. For at the ſame time, the Caramanian king, aided by the Perſian and the Sultan of ÆGIPT, had in a great battaile ouerthrowne *Baiazet* (*Mahomets* eldeſt ſonne then liuing) and ſlaine moſt part of his armie: in reuenge whereof, *Mahomet* with great expedition raiſed a great and puiſſant armie, and taking

Achmetes

Achmetes with him as his cheefe man of war, rejecting the wars of ITALIE vnto a more conuenient time, passed ouer into ASIA: where vpon the way, about a daies journey short of NICOMEDIA, a citie of BYTHINIA, at a place called GEIVISEN, he fell sicke; and there for the space of three dayes greeuously tormented with an extreame paine in his bellie, which some supposed to be the collicke, died; but being indeed (as most men thought) poysoned: when hee had liued about 52 yeares, and thereof raigned 31, in the yeare of our Lord 1481. His bodie was afterwards magnificently buried in a chappell neere vnto the great Mahometane temple, which he himselfe first built at CONSTANTINOPLE.

1481

Mahomet dieth at Geinisen in Bythinia, not without suspition of poyson.

He is buried at Constantinople.

The death of this mightie man (who liuing troubled a great part of the world) was not much more lamented by those that were neerest vnto him (who euer liuing in feare of his crueltie, hated him deadly) than of his enemies, who euer in doubt of his greatnesse, were glad to heare of his end. He was of stature but low, and nothing answerable to the height of his mind, square set, and strong limmed; not inferiour in strength (when he was yong) vnto any in his fathers court, but to *Scanderbeg* onely; his complexion was Tartarlike, sallow and melancholie, as were most of his ancestours the *Othoman* kings; his looke and countenance sterne, with his eyes piercing, hollow and little sunke as it were in his head, and his nose so high and crooked that it almost touched his vpper lip. To be breefe, his countenance was altogether such, as if nature had with most cunning hand therein depainted and most curiously set forth to view the inward disposition and qualities of his mind: which were on both parts notable. Hee was of a very sharpe and apprehensiue wit, learned as amongst that nation, especially in Astronomie, and could speak the Greek, Latine, Arabicke, Chaldey, and Persian tongues. He delighted much in reading of histories, and the liues of worthie men, especially the liues of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Iulius Cæsar*, whom he proposed to himselfe as examples to follow. He was of an exceeding courage, and thereto very fortunate: a seuere punisher of injustice, in them especially to whom hee had committed the administration of justice. Men that excelled in any qualitie, he greatly fauoured and honourably entertained: as he did *Gentill Bellin*, a painter of VENICE, whom he purposely caused to come from thence to CONSTANTINOPLE, to draw the liuely counterfeit of himselfe, for which he most bountifully rewarded him. He so seuerely punished theft, as that in his time all the wayes were safe, and a theefe scarcely to bee heard of. But these good parts were in him obscured with most horrible and notorious vices: for why, he was altogether irreligious, and of all others most perfidious, ambitious aboue measure, and in nothing more delighted than in blood: insomuch, that it is probably gathered, that hee was in his time the death of eight hundred thousand men: craft, couetousnesse, and dissimulation were in him accounted for tollerable faults, in comparison of his greater vices. In his loue was no assurance, and his least displeasure was death: so that hee liued feared of all men, and died lamented of none. He had issue three sonnes, *Mustapha* (dead before him as is before declared) *Baiazet*, and *Gemes*, or rather *Zemes*, of some called *Zizimus*, competitor of the empire with his elder brother: whom hee exceedingly troubled in the beginning of his raigne, so that he could not well attend any other thing but him: which oportunitie (by God himselfe no doubt offered for the safegard of ITALIE) *Alphonsus* duke of CALABRIA, (king *Ferdinand* his eldest son) taking hold vpon, with all the power he could make in ITALIE, besieged the Turks in OTRANTO: with whom he had many sharpe skirmishes, wherein he lost diuers of his great captaines and commaunders; as the countie *Iulio de Aquauiua*, *Loys de Capua*, and the countie *Iulio de Pisa*, with others, and was still by the strong garrison of the Turks put to the worse: vntill such time, as being strengthened with aid out of SPAINE and PORTINGALE, but especially with certaine companies of most valiant souldiours sent from *Matthias Coruinus* out of HVNGARIE (whose forces the Turks most feared) he began to cut them short, and straitly besieged the citie both by sea and land: vntill at length the besieged Turkes hearing of the death of their great emperour, and now hardly pressed with the dangers of a strait siege, no longer expecting the returne of *Achmetes* their Generall (then readie to haue come to their rescue with fiue and twentie thousand soldiors) yeelded vp the citie vnto the duke vpon composition before made, That they might with bag and baggage in safetie depart thence: which they did, after they had to the great terror of all ITALIE holden that strong citie by the space of a yeare. And so was that rich countrey rather by the mercie of God (in taking away the great tyrant) preserued, than by the strength or policie of the inhabitants; which was then in great danger to haue

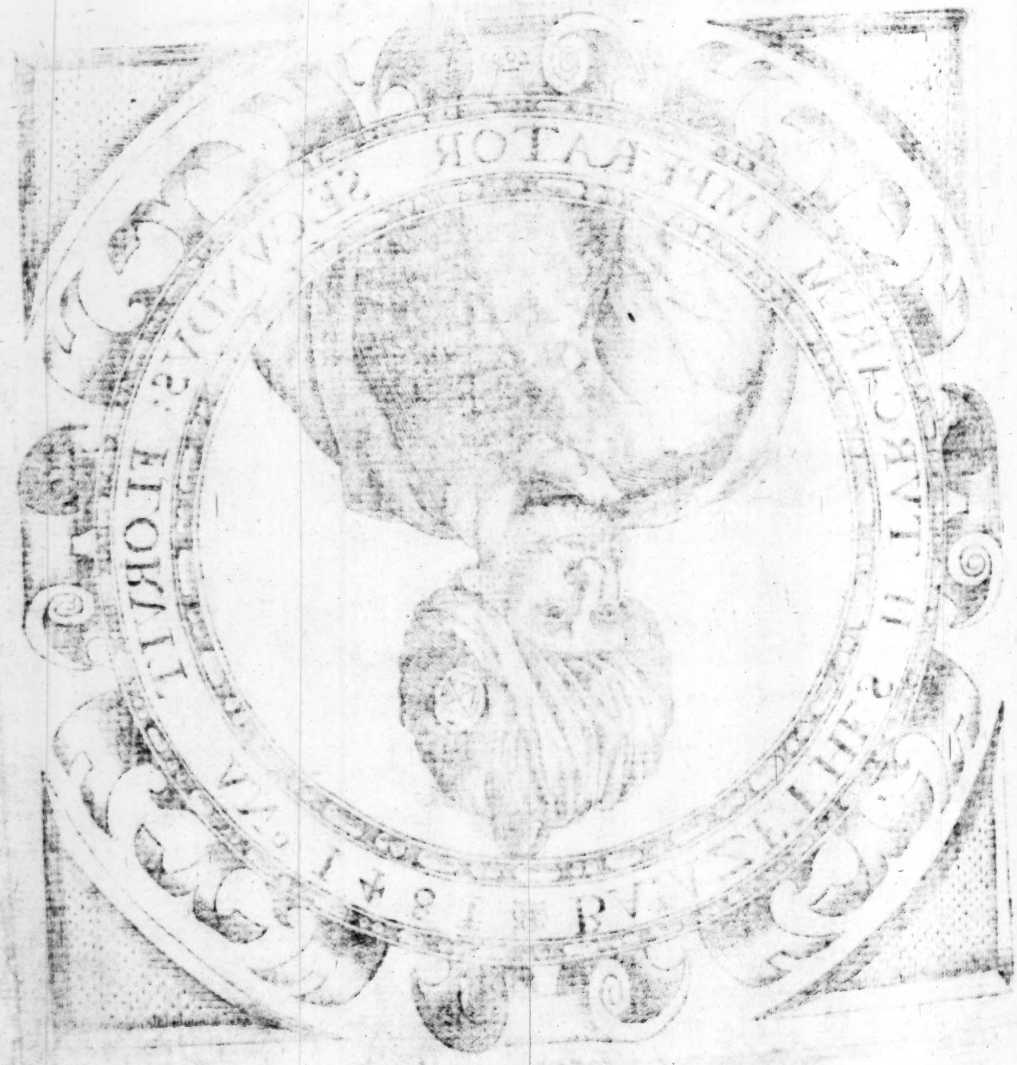
The sonnes of Mahomet, Mustapha, Baiazet, and Zemes.

Otranto yeelded vp by the Turks vpon composition.

haue for euer giuen place vnto the power of the great tyrant, had he longer liued; yea and after his death to the power of *Baiazet* his ſonne, had he not by domeſticall troubles been enforced to turne himſelfe another way, and as it were to neglect in time to releeue his diſtreſſed garriſon in OTRANTO, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

FINIS.

Chriſtian princes of the ſame time with Mahomet the Great.	*Emperours*	*Of the Eaſt*	*Conſtantinus Palæologus, laſt Chriſtian emperor of Conſtantinople.*	1444. 8.
		Of the Weſt	*Frederick the third, Archduke of Auſtria.*	1440. 54.
	Kings	*Of England*	*Henrie the ſixt.*	1422. 39.
			Edward the fourth.	1460. 22.
		Of Fraunce	*Charles the ſeuenth.*	1423. 38.
			Lewis the eleuenth.	1461. 22.
		Of Scotland	*Iames the ſecond.*	1437. 24.
			Iames the third.	1460. 29.
	Biſhops of Rome		*Nicholas the V.*	1437. 8.
			Calixtus the III.	1455. 3.
			Pius the II.	1458. 6.
			Paulus the II.	1464. 7.
			Xyſtus the IIII.	1471. 13.



Phil. Lonicer. Turc. Hiſt. lib. 1.

Arma manu quatiunt fratres hoſtilia, regnum,
Hinc BaiaZethes, ZiZimus inde petit.
BaiZethes rerum potitur, Rhodon, inde Quiritum,
Zizimus extrema mœnia ſorte petit.
Suſtinet & bello, varias & pace, procellas,
BaiZethes, fœlix & miſer, inter opes.
Iam ſenio tremulus, fert bella domeſtica, regno
A gnato iectus, dira venena bibit.

Like earthborne brethren, *BaiaZet* and *ZiZimus* in armes,
Seeke for the Turkiſh empire great, the one by th'others harmes.
Vntill that *BaiaZet* preuail'd, and *Zizimus* was faine
To flie to RHODES, from thence to ROME, whereas he caught his baine.
Great ſtormes endured *Baiazet*, in peace and bloudie broiles:
A man both happie and accurſt, amongſt his richeſt ſpoiles.
But now forworne with trembling age, and ciuile diſcord new,
Thruſt from his empire by his ſonne, died poiſoned by a Iew.

THE LIFE OF BAIAZET, SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND SECOND EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

VPon the death of *Mahomet* the late emperour, great troubles began to ariſe about the ſucceſsion in the Turkiſh empire; ſome of the Baſſaes and great captaines, ſeeking to place *Baiazet* the eldeſt ſonne of *Mahomet* in the empire; and others with no leſſe deuotion labouring to preferre *Zemes*, or *Gemes*, otherwiſe called *Zizimus*, *Baiazet* his younger brother. By occaſion whereof, there aroſe two great and mightie factions, which in few daies grew to ſuch heat, that manie great tumults and hoat skirmiſhes were made in diuers places of the imperiall cittie, betwixt the fauourites of both factions, and great ſlaughter committed. In theſe broiles, the prowd Ianizaries for an old grudge ſlew *Mahomethes*, one of the foure great Baſſaes, a man by whoſe graue counſell moſt of the waightie affaires of the Turkiſh empire had beene managed during the raigne of the late emperour: And proceeding farther in their accuſtomed inſolencie, ſpoiled all the Chriſtians and Iewes which dwelt amongſt them, of all their wealth and ſubſtance; at which time the rich merchants and citizens of CONSTANTINOPLE which were naturall Turkes themſelues, eſcaped not their rauening hands, but became vnto them a prey and ſpoile alſo. The other three Baſſaes of the court, *Iſaack*, *Meſithes*, and *Achmetes* (lately returned from the winning of HYDRVNTVM in ITALIE) although they ſecretly maligned and enuied one at the greatneſſe of an other; yet to appeaſe theſe ſo dangerous troubles, and to aſſure their owne eſtates, joyned hands togither, and by their great authoritie and multitude of followers and fauourites, found meanes that *Corcutus* (one of the younger ſonnes of *Baiazet*, a young prince of eighteene yeares old) was as it were by generall conſent of the nobilitie and ſouldiours ſaluted emperour, and with great triumph and ſolemnitie placed in the imperiall ſeat. In whoſe name, the aforeſaid Baſſaes at their pleaſure diſpoſed of all things, little or nothing regarding either *Baiazet* or *Zemes*, then both abſent, the one at AMASIA, and the other at ICONIVM in LYCAONIA: for the jealous Turkiſh kings, neuer ſuffer their ſonnes to liue in court neere vnto them, after they be growne to yeares of diſcretion; but ſend them to gouerne their prouinces farre off: where they are alſo vnder the commaund of the emperours lieutenants generall in ASIA or EVROPE, and may not depart from their charge without great danger, not ſo much as to viſit their father, without his expreſſe leaue and commandement. So jealous are thoſe tyrants, yea euen of their owne ſonnes.

Diſſention amõg the Turks about the ſucceſsion.

Baiazet and *Zemes* hearing of the death of their father, and of the troubles in the imperiall cittie, haſted thitherward with all ſpeed, where *Baiazet* being the neerer, firſt arriued: but finding the empire alreadie poſſeſſed by *Corcutus* his younger ſonne, and himſelfe excluded; he in the griefe of his heart, poured forth moſt grieuous complaints before God and man, calling heauen and earth to witneſſe of the great wrong and injurie done vnto him by the prowd Baſſaes. And what by teares and humble obteſtations, what by great gifts and greater promiſes, but moſt of all by the earneſt labour & ſolicitation of *Cherſeogles* the Viceroy of GRÆCIA, and the Aga or captaine of the Ianizaries, both his ſons in law, preuailed ſo much with the great Baſſaes and ſoldiors of the court, that *Corcutus* being of a mild and courteous diſpoſition, ouercome by their entrea-

Baiazet commeth to Conſtantinople.

tie and the reuerence of his father, resigned vnto him the imperiall gouernment, which he presently tooke vpon him with the generall good liking of the people, and made *Corcutus* gouernor of LYCIA, CARIA, and IONIA, with the pleasant and rich countries thereabouts; allowing him a great yearly pension for the better maintenance of his estate, with promise also of the empire after his decease: and so sent him away to his charge, where he most pleasantly liued during the raigne of his father *Baiazet*; giuing himselfe wholy to the studie of Philosophie, which made that he was afterwards lesse fauoured of the Ianizaries and other men of warre.

Zemes riseth against his brother Baiazet.

Zemes thus preuented by his elder brother, and vnderstanding by his friends how all things stood at CONSTANTINOPLE, and that *Baiazet* was alreadie possessed of the empire: returning with great speed, raised a puissant armie in the countries which were vnder his commaund; and marching through the heart of ASIA the lesse, by the way as he went, tooke into his possession such cities and strong places as he thought best: and so entring into BYTHINIA, tooke the great citie of PRVSA, the auntient seat of the *Othoman* kings. Purposing in himselfe, that as *Baiazet* had shut him out of EVROPE, so he would also in requitall thereof exclude him out of that part of the Turkish empire which is beyond HELLESPONTVS in ASIA, and to make himselfe lord thereof. Wherein fortune at the first seemed vnto him most fauourable, all the people whersoeuer he came yeelding vnto him obedience as vnto their prince and soueraigne: so that in short time he seemed both vnto himselfe and to others in strong possession of that part of the empire.

Baiazet goeth against Zemes.

Of these his proceedings *Baiazet* hauing intelligence, and perceiuing the greater part of his empire now in danger to bee lost; and doubting farther that *Zemes* his ambitious mind would hardly rest therewith long contented: for remedie of so great a mischeefe, leuied a strong and puissant armie, wherewith he passed ouer into ASIA, and came to NEAPOLIS, a citie of ANATOLIA, neere whereunto *Zemes* lay with his armie strongly encamped. As *Baiazet* was vpon the way against his brother, *Achmetes* the great Bassa (in the confession of all men the best man of warre, and most expert captaine amongst the Turkes, and of all others most entirely beloued of the Ianizaries) came, and vnarmed, presented himselfe vpon his knees before *Baiazet*, his sword hanging at his saddle bow: to the great admiration of many, who could not but wonder to see so worthie a cheefetaine of so great place in time of seruice, without any apparent cause, in such humble manner to appeare before his soueraigne, as if he had had nothing to doe with armes. It chanced many yeares before in the mortall warres betwixt *Mahomet* the late and great emperor of the Turkes, and *Assymbeius Vsun-Cassanes* the king of PERSIA, that *Baiazet* hauing the leading of the right wing of his fathers armie, had not martialled it in so good order as was to *Mahomet* his liking: for which cause he commaunded this *Achmetes* to goe and set that part of the battell in better order. Which his soueraignes commaund whiles hee most skilfully performed, *Baiazet* taking it in euill part, as tending to his owne disgrace, in great choller threatened the Bassa to find a time when he would be reuenged vpon him: But he being a man of great spirit, and one that durst both do and say much, perceiuing his meaning, bid him do what pleased him; and laying his hand vpon his sword, solemnly vowed, That whensoeuer he came to commaund as emperour, he would neuer after weare sword in field: the remembrance wherof was the cause that he then came in manner aforesaid, readie to serue if he were thereto commaunded, or otherwise to endure what so his princes pleasure was. *Baiazet* perceiuing, that the vnkindnesse so long before conceiued, was not yet disgested, in token of grace stretched out to him his scepter, and taking him vp, commaunded him to girt his sword vnto his side, and not to remember that which he had long before both forgiuen and forgotten. And knowing right well that he was a most valiant and expert captaine, made him Generall of his armie, to the great contentment of the Ianizaries and the rest of the armie: who so soone as they saw him, gaue out diuers great shouts for joy, as if victorie had most assuredly attended vpon him. *Achmetes* taking vpon him the charge, came and encamped so neere as he could to *Zemes*, and so lay by the space of ten daies: during which time, many sharpe skirmishes were made with diuers fortune; sometime the one side preuailing, and sometime the other. At length the matter was brought to a generall battell: wherein after a long and cruell fight, and great slaughter on both sides, the fortune of *Baiazet*, conducted by the policie of *Achmetes*, preuailed against *Zemes*. Who seeing his armie ouerthrowne, betooke himselfe to flight, and came to ICONIVM: in which flight, many of *Zemes* his followers were taken prisoners, whom *Baiazet* would haue pardoned and enlarged, but that by the persua-

Achmetes made Generall of Baiazet his armie.

sion

ſion of *Achmetes* he changed his mind, and to the terrour of others ſuffered them all to be put to the ſword.

Zemes doubting after this ouerthrow to fall into his brothers hands, and finding no means to make head againe: when he had ſtayed three daies at ICONIVM, cauſed his treaſure, plate, jewels, and other things of great valour and light carriage to be truſſed vp, and taking with him his mother and his two yong children, a ſonne and a daughter, accompaied with a ſmall retinue, fled into SYRIA, then part of the dominion of *Caytbeius*, commonly called the great Sultan of ÆGYPT and SYRIA. It was not long after the departure of *Zemes* from ICONIVM, but that *Baiazet* came thither with his armie, to haue ſurpriſed him: but vnderſtanding of his flight, he took order for the peaceable gouernment of that part of his empire. And ſo hauing ſuppreſſed that dangerous rebellion, and againe reduced that troubled part of his empire to his obeiſance, returned with victorie to CONSTANTINOPLE. *Zemes flieth into Syria.*

The diſtreſſed prince *Zemes* trauelling through SYRIA, came at length to HIERVSALEM: where he ſtayed a good ſpace, deuoutly viſiting the monuments of that moſt auntient and famous citie. From thence he trauelled into ÆGYPT; where at his firſt entrance into the countrey, he was met by diuers of the greateſt nobilitie of that kingdome, ſent from the great Sultan, by whom he was honourably conducted to CAIRE, and there preſented to *Caytbeius*, of whom hee was graciouſly welcommed: vnto whom after due reuerence done, hee declared the cauſe of his comming as followeth: 1482

Zemes his ſpeech vnto Caytbeius Sultan of Ægipt

If it were not to me certainely knowne (moſt victorious) that you are not ignorant either who I am, or from whence deſcended, or with what iniurie enforced, after long and painefull trauell I am here arriued; it would much concerne me to vſe another manner of beginning of my ſpeech, and with greater proteſtation of words to ſeeke your gracious fauour. But for as much as all theſe things are vnto your moſt royall Maieſtie ſufficiently knowne, as I doe well perceiue in this, that your infinit clemencie hath entertained me with farre greater kindneſſe, than I in ſuch my aduerſe fortune durſt wiſh for, much leſſe requeſt: now nothing remaineth for me to ſay, more than iuſtly to complaine vnto your inuincible Maieſtie of the wrong and iniurie done vnto me by Baiazet, *whom I may more iuſtly tearme my cruell enemie than kind brother. For he not contented to haue taken vnto himſelfe my fathers empire by great tumult and ſlaughter, hath with all hoſtilitie and force of armes perſecuted me his brother, excluded out of the imperiall citie, and then liuing in* BYTHINIA, *troubleſome neither to him nor any of his people, and neuer reſted vntill he had chaſed me out of the bounds of my fathers empire. Neither hath the iealous deſire of ſoueraigntie (whereof my father whileſt he liued, had him alwayes in diſtruſt) ſo much mooued him vnto this ſo cruell a fact, as a certaine vnnaturall crueltie towards all his kindred in generall, and mortall hatred againſt me his brother in particular: for he which is alreadie poſſeſſed of the empire, and doth with all hoſtilitie perſecute a priuat perſon, ſubiect and expoſed to his iniurie, that man thirſteth not after ſoueraignetie, but after blood; neither deſireth he to conquer, but to kill. And whereas after my fathers death great troubles ariſe in* CONSTANTINOPLE, *and many bloodie skirmiſhes were fought betwixt the fauourits of both of vs, it cannot with any truth be laid to my charge, as done by my aduiſe or counſell, I being at the ſame time ſo far from thence. Neither am I iuſtly to be blamed, if that after my fathers departure I put my ſelfe vpon the way towards* CONSTANTINOPLE, *eſpecially being ſent for thither by many my good friends, men of great marke and qualitie: but his fortune preuailing, I gaue place, and leaſt my comming to the imperiall citie might haue been the occaſion of new troubles, I turned aſide into* BYTHINIA, *and ſo to* PRVSA, *with purpoſe there to haue reſted in quiet, if my brother would haue giuen me leaue. But ſo farre was he from that, to ſuffer me there to reſt, as that I was by him moſt cruelly aſſailed as an open enemie: and had I not by ſpeedie flight withdrawne my ſelfe from the imminent danger, and departed quite out of my fathers kingdome, I muſt haue yeelded my ſelfe, my blood, and life, as a ſacrifice into his cruell hands. Neither is he to me ſo mortall an enemie, or thirſteth after my life ſo much for feare, as for very hatred and mallice: for what is there in me to feare? Verely nothing:* CONSTANTINOPLE *is his, the fauour of the great cheefetaines and men of warre is his, the treaſure and regall riches are all his; wherefore he hateth his brother, but feareth him not. He will ſway all things alone, he will haue all that belongeth to the* Othoman *familie alone, and he, yea none but he, muſt liue alone.* Xerxes *was a mightie king, and yet in that great and large kingdome he not onely preſerued his brethren in ſafetie, but had them alſo in great honour and eſtimation. What did* Alexander *the Great? Who not*

onely

onely tooke pleaſure in his brother, but had him alſo as a companion of his moſt glorious expeditions: and many other famous kings of forraine nations, and of our owne familie, haue ruled both more ſafely, and better ſtrengthened with the counſell and aid of their moſt louing brethren, rather than with others. But Baiazet *is of a farre other mind, reputing violence and haughtineſſe of heart to be his greateſt and ſureſt defence: herein his fierce nature delighteth, more than in the lawfull courſe of nature, iuſtice, and equitie; he had rather haue his brother his enemie than his friend, and to driue him into exile than to make him partaker of his counſels. But I beſeech thee moſt puiſſant Monarch, the faithfull keeper and maintainer of our law and religion, by the ſacred reliques of our great prophet* Mahomet, *which thou haſt at* Hierusalem *and* Mecha, *ſuffer me not, a kings ſonne, to liue in baniſhment and exile, poore and miſerable, a ſcorne of his brothers crueltie, farre from home, farre from his countrey and kingdome: but regarding the law of the great Prophet, lift vp the afflicted and oppreſſed, and by the great authoritie which you haue, bridle domeſticall wrong; or if that will not take place, reuenge it with thy ſword, and ſuffer not our empire, with ſo great trauell founded, by the crueltie or follie of one wilfull man to be ouerthrown: which ſhould be no more greeuous and lamentable to vs, than dangerous to your moſt high eſtate, and all other kings and princes of our religion. For you of your ſelfe vnderſtand right well, what deadly enemies the Chriſtian princes are vnto the Turks: and doe you thinke, that if any great warre (which I wiſh not) ſhould ariſe of this our diſcord, that they would long reſt in quiet, and as idle beholders ſtand looking on vntill it were of it ſelfe appeaſed? Or rather, hauing ſuch an opportunitie preſented, would not with might and maine ſuddainely inuade our kingdome, before ſhaken with ciuile warres, and ſeeke the vtter ruine and deſtruction of the ſame? Which their deſire, if that hatefull people could bring to paſſe (which thing* Mahomet *turne vpon themſelues) my mind abhorreth to thinke how far that miſcheefe would run: for the* Othoman *familie once rooted out, there is none of our religion, your Maieſtie onely excepted, which is able to withſtand their power: wherefore you muſt then ſtand for your ſelfe, and all the reſt, you alone muſt withſtand the force of the Chriſtians, you muſt maintaine that warre with much loſſe, and greater charge, and moſt vncertaine ſucceſſe. Wherfore inuincible Monarch, I moſt humbly beſeech thee, that pitying our eſtate, whiles the matter is yet whole, and remedie is yet to be had, to deale with* Baiazet *by your embaſſadors, That though he will not receiue me his brother as partener of the empire, yet at leaſt to admit me into ſome ſmall part of my fathers kingdome: let him raigne and rule, let all things be at his commaund; let it be lawfull for me poore man, but to liue in reſt and quiet ſomewhere, poſſeſſing but ſo much as may ſuffice me honeſtly to lead a priuat life. Which thing if he ſhall refuſe to graunt, although he neither feare the lawes of God or man: yet as I haue at* Hierusalem, *ſo will I alſo ſhortly at* Mecha *(if by your leaue I may) complaine vnto the great prophet of the iniuries done vnto me by my cruell and vnnaturall brother; and afterwards make proofe of your compaſſion towards me, all which I hope ſhall much auaile. But if (which I would not) I ſhall proue all theſe things in vaine, ſith deſperation enforceth men to all extremities, I will goe with fire, ſword, and ſlaughter, by ſecret and open force, by right and wrong; and hated, will vex my hatefull brother by all manner of miſcheefe, by all manner of reuenge. Neither will I make an end of confounding of all, vntill I be either receiued into part of the empire, or els together with my life leaue thoſe deſperat and loſt things for him alone to enioy. For I deeme it much better, quickly to die, than with diſgrace and infamie to protract a lingering loathed life.*

The great Sultan in courteous manner comforted the diſtreſſed prince, willing him to bee of good cheere, and patiently to beare his preſent hap: for as much as it became a man borne in ſo high fortune, not to be diſcouraged with any miſchance, or diſmaied if things fell out otherwiſe than he looked for: commending him withall, for that hee ſaw in him no leſſe courage than might well haue becommed his better eſtate: and willing him to liue ſtill in hope, promiſed to doe what in him lay, to reconcile him vnto his brother, and to perſuade him that he might be receiued into ſome part of the kingdome. And to that purpoſe ſhortly after diſpatched away an honourable embaſſage to *Baiazet*. *Zemes* in the meane while, by the ſame Sultans leaue, vpon a ſuperſtitious deuotion trauelled into Arabia, to viſit the temple of *Mahomet* at Mecha, and his ſepulchre at Medina. Vpon his returne to Caire, the embaſſadours before ſent, returned alſo, but not hauing obtained any thing they deſired: for *Baiazet* would not giue eare to any agreement, but ſeemed altogether to contemne and deſpiſe his brother. Wherfore *Zemes* more vpon ſtomacke and deſire of reuenge, than for any hope he had of the empire, determined with himſelfe

Cerbelius the Ægiptian Sultan ſendeth embaſſadors to Baiazet.

himselfe to make open warre vpon him: reposing some good hope in his secret friends, and in the reuolt of some of the great captaines, who discontented with the gouernment of *Baiazet*, secretly wished for his returne.

Whilest hee was thus plotting these waightie matters, a messenger with letters came fitly from the king of CARAMANIA, offering with all the power he could make, to joyne with him, if he would take vp armes against his brother. This poore titular king then liued in ARMENIA, and being able by his friends to make some good force, was in hope by joyning with *Zemes* to recouer some part of the Caramanian kingdome, from whence his father was not many yeares before driuen by the force of the late Turkish emperour *Mahomet* the Great, *Baiazet* his father. It is hard to say, whether of these distressed and exiled princes gaue the greater encouragement to the other, to take this desperat war in hand, being both together farre vnable by all the friends they could make to encounter with the great power of *Baiazet*. But what is so dangerous or desperat which aspiring minds will not attempt, in hope of a kingdome? whose brightnesse so dazeleth their eyes, that they can see nothing but it.

1483

The king of Caramania sollicteth Zemes to take vp armes against Baiazet.

Hereupon *Zemes* hauing receiued great gifts of the Ægyptian Sultan, with promise of aid, departed from CAIRE (the Sultan earnestly persuading him to the contrarie) & as it was before appointed, met with the Caramannian king vpon the borders of ASIA the lesser: where they concluded to joyne together such forces as they had, and to inuade *Baiazet*. Which they accordingly did: for raising all the power they could, they entered into CILICIA, now called CARAMANNIA; and joyning their armies together, encamped betweene ICONIVM and LARENDA. Neither did *Baiazet* in time of so great a danger sit still, not so much fearing his brothers power, as the reuolting of his captaines and souldiors; whom he knew either to loue, or at least not to hate the young prince his brother. Wherfore he raised a great armie, and sent *Achmetes* the great man of war before with the one part thereof, himselfe following after with a far greater strength: for at that time he had vnder his ensignes two hundred thousand men.

As he was marching with this great armie, a rumor was raised in the campe, That some of his cheefe captaines had conspired to betray him into the hands of his brother, and that many of the souldiours secretly fauouring *Zemes*, would vpon the joyning of the battell forsake him, and take part with his brother. Which report so troubled *Baiazet*, that he stood in doubt what to doe, or whom to trust: but knowing that nothing winneth the heart of the common souldiour more than the Generals bountie, he forthwith caused a wonderfull masse of money to bee deuided amongst the captaines and souldiors, loding their minds with ample promises of farre greater rewards, for their fidelitie and valour to be shewed in that present seruice. Hauing thus assured vnto himselfe the wauering minds of his souldiours, he began to draw neere to ICONIVM, where his enemies lay encamped: and by glosing letters and flattering messengers made shew openly, as if he had beene very desirous to come to some good agreement with them, but secretly went about to stop all the straits & passages, in such manner as that it should not be posible for them againe to retire backe into SYRIA: for hee doubted nothing more, but least they being but few in number, & so in strength far vnequall vnto him, would not vpon so great disaduantage hazard the fortune of a battell, but retire themselues into SYRIA, and so to his exceeding trouble and infinit charge protract the warre.

Zemes perceiuing his brothers subtill drift, and seeing no such reuolt as he had hoped for, and as had before by letters to him beene promised; and waighing with reason his owne weake forces, retired in good time vnto the straits of the mountaine AMANVS, which deuideth CILICIA from SYRIA. Here, despairing of all good successe in the enterprise he had taken in hand, he perswaded the Caramannian king his confederat to giue place vnto the time, and to reserue himselfe vnto his better fortune: and so breaking vp his armie, with a few of his followers came downe to the sea coast of CILICIA; where he hired a tall ship to attend in readinesse, that if any suddaine danger should arise, he might goe aboord, and so saue himselfe by sea. In the mean time he sent a messenger vnto *Damboys*, Great Master of the RHODES, certifying him, That for as much as he had no place of safetie left amongst his owne people, wherein hee might shrowd himselfe from the furie of his brother, still seeking after his life, hee would vpon his safe conduct come vnto him into his island of the RHODES. Which his request the Great Master easily graunted, deeming the flight of so great a prince from the Turke, to be a thing much profitable to the Christian commonweale: and thereupon he presently sent forth certaine gallies to fetch him

Zemes flieth to sea.

him from the troubleſome coaſt of CICILIA. But before theſe gallies were come, *Zemes* was enforced by the ſudden acceſſe of his enemies, for the auoiding of preſent danger, to go aboord on that ſhip which he had prouidently before prepared to be in readineſſe for ſuch purpoſe. And hauing put a little from the ſhoare, ſhot backe againe an arrow with letters made faſt vnto it, directed vnto his brother *Baiazet*, containing as followeth:

Zemes his letters to his brother Baiazet.

Thou knoweſt (moſt vnkind and cruell brother) that I flie not vnto the Chriſtians, the mortall enemies of the Othoman *family, for hatred of my religion or nation; but enforced thereunto by thy iniurious dealing, and dangerous practiſes which thou inceſſantly attempteſt againſt me, yea euen in my extreame miſerie. But this aſſured hope I carrie with me, that the time will come when as thou the author of ſo great wrong, or thy children, ſhall receiue the iuſt guerdon of this thy preſent tyrannie againſt thy brother.*

It is reported, that when *Baiazet* had read theſe letters, he was ſo troubled in mind, that for certaine daies he gaue himſelfe wholy to mourning and heauineſſe, and would in no wiſe be comforted: inſomuch, that he was brought into the campe by the Baſſaes, as a man halfe diſtraught of his wits, ſhunning for a ſeaſon all mens ſpeech and companie.

Zemes flieth to the Rhodes.

Zemes ſailing to the RHODES, was there honourably receiued of the Great Maſter, and all the reſt of the knights of the order: to whom in their publike aſſembly three daies after, he openly declared the cauſes of the diſcord betwixt his brother and him: alleadging for the colour of his rebellion, That although *Baiazet* were his elder brother, yet that he was borne whileſt his father yet liued in priuat eſtate, vnder ſubjection and commaund, long before hee poſſeſſed the kingdome, and ſo no kings ſonne: whereas hee himſelfe was the firſt borne of his father, being an emperour, and ſo not heire of his fathers priuat fortune (as was *Baiazet*) but of his greateſt honour and empire; and yet not of ſuch an hautie mind, but that he could haue beene content to haue giuen place vnto his brother, ſo that he could haue beene contented likewiſe to haue granted him ſome ſmall portion of the empire, wherein he might ſafely haue liued as a poore prince, and his brother: but that ſuch was his pride, as that he would not vouchſafe to ſuffer him to liue ſo much as a poore priuat life in anie corner of ſo large an empire, and was therefore by his vnnaturall and tyranous dealing, enforced to craue aid of the Chriſtian princes. Of whom (for ſo much as he had alwaies heard much honour) he was in good hope to find ſuccour and reliefe in that his diſtreſſed eſtate: proteſting vnto God and the world, that if euer it ſhould be his good fortune by their meanes and helpe to obtaine the empire, he would neuer be vnmindfull of ſo great a benefit; but to make with them a perpetuall and inuiolable peace, and ſo to reſt their faſt friend for euer. The Great Maſter on the other ſide comforting him with cheerfull ſpeeches, promiſed to keepe him in ſafetie from the furie of his brother; and farther, to commend his cauſe to the other great kings and princes of Chriſtendome.

The deſcription of Zemes.

This exiled prince *Zemes* was about the age of eight and twentie yeares when he came to the RHODES; of ſtature tall, ſomewhat corpulent and well limbd, gray eied, but looking ſomething a ſquint; hooke noſed, and in the middle riſing, in ſuch manner as the Perſians commend in their kings: of colour browne, ſpare of ſpeech, and by nature cholericke; a great feeder, ſo that he ſeemed rather to deuoure his meat than to eat it; much delighted in ſwimming, and to lie abroad in the night; penſiue and melancholy, which men imputed to his great cares, neuer merrie but in the companie of the graund Maſter; a religious obſeruer of his ſuperſtition, from which he could neuer be drawne during the long time he liued in exile; learned, as among the Turkes, ſo that he writ the hiſtorie of his fathers life. But leauing him in ſafe keeping with the Graund Maſter of the RHODES, let vs againe returne to the courſe of our hiſtorie.

Baiazet hauing now the ſecond time chaſed away his brother, after he had well quieted that part of his troubled kingdome in ASIA, returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE, carefully attending when ſome new motion ſhould be made by his brother, to his farther diſquiet. But after he vnderſtood that he was with the Great Maſter of the RHODES, he ſent certaine of the Baſſaes (amongſt whom *Achmetes* the great ſouldiour is reported to haue beene one) vnto the Great Maſter, requeſting him to deliuer vp *Zemes*, offering for him a wonderfull ſumme of money. Which diſhonourable requeſt, when it could by no meanes be obtained, the ſame embaſſadors in the name of their maſter, concluded a peace verie commodious for the Rhodians: wherein amongſt other things it was agreed, That the Great Maſter ſhould keepe *Zemes* in ſafe cuſtodie, ſo that he ſhould no more trouble the Turkiſh empire: in conſideration whereof, and for his honorable

norable vſage, *Baiazet* ſhould yearly pay vnto the Great Maſter thirtie thouſand duckets the firſt of Auguſt, which was afterward accordingly paied.

It fortuned that whileſt *Achmetes* the great Baſſa (emploied in matters abroad) was abſent 1484
from the court, *Baiazet* diſcourſing with the other Baſſaes his graue counſellors, vpon his late expedition into ASIA againſt his brother, ſeemed to be highly offended with the vntruſtineſſe and doubtfull faith of ſome of his greateſt captaines and ſouldiours: yet vpon whom he might juſtly lay the blame, he well knew not, although it ſeemed by his talke he ſhould ſomewhat diſtruſt the great captaine *Achmetes*. Hereupon *Iſaack* the moſt auntient Baſſa of the court, and of greateſt authoritie next vnto *Baiazet* himſelfe (whoſe daughter, a ladie of exceeding beautie, *Achmetes* had long before married: but doubting that ſhe had yeelded her honour to the wanton luſt of *Muſtapha* the eldeſt ſonne of *Mahomet* the late emperoer, had put her from him, and would by no meanes be reconciled; for which cauſe there was a ſecret hatred euer after betwixt thoſe two great Baſſaes) perceiuing the emperours diſcontented and ſuſpitious humor, and deſiring nothing more than the deſtruction of *Achmetes*; tooke hold vpon this opportunitie, and by all meanes he could deuiſe, encreaſed the ſuſpition of the treaſon, which had alreadie too much poſſeſſed the jealous emperour: ſometimes craftily imagining, intelligence to haue paſſed betwixt *Zemes* and *Achmetes*; and forthwith amplifying his power and authoritie, which (as hee ſaid) was ſo great with the Ianizaries and ſouldiors of the court, that they by reaſon of his often imploiments, were wholy at his deuotion; ſo that he might at his pleaſure doe more in *Zemes* his quarrell, than ſhould ſtand with the ſafetie of *Baiazet*: a matter to be well conſidered of, and alſo carefully preuented. For remedie of which dangers, it was thought neceſſarie that *Achmetes* at his returne to court, ſhould be taken away and ſlaine. *Achmetes his death contriued.*

Achmetes fearing nothing leſſe than that which was contriued againſt him, came after his wonted manner to the court: and was with the other great Baſſaes inuited to a ſolemne ſupper, which *Baiazet* had commaunded to be prepared, to ſolace himſelfe after his trauels (as it was giuen out) with his chiefe Baſſaes. To this royall ſupper came *Achmetes* with the reſt of the bidden gueſts, miſtruſting nothing, and was there ſumptuouſly feaſted by *Baiazet*: who to make his gueſts the merrier, drunke wine plentifully himſelfe, cauſing them alſo to drinke in like manner, ſo that they were full of wine: a thing vtterly forbidden by their law, yet daily more and more vſed, eſpecially by their great men in their feaſts. Supper now ended and the night farre ſpent, *Baiazet* in token that they were welcome, and ſtood in his good grace, cauſed certaine rich robes of pleaſing colours to be brought forth, and to be caſt vpon euery of his gueſts one, giuing beſide vnto euery one of them a faire guilt boule full of gold. But vpon *Achmetes* was caſt a gowne of blacke veluet, which amongſt the Turks may well be called the mantle of death; being ſo ſure a token of the emperors heauie indignation, as that it is death for any man once to open his mouth or to intreat for him vpon whom it is by the emperours commandement ſo caſt. *Achmetes* ſeeing himſelfe now vnder the ſhadow of death, and knowing it but vaine to intreat for mercie; as he was a man of great ſpirit, brake forth and ſaid: *Oh cachpogli* (which is as much as to ſay, thou ſonne of a whore) ſith thou entendedſt ſo much crueltie againſt me, why didſt thou not put it in execution before thou hadſt enforced me to drinke this impure and forbidden wine? and ſo caſting his eies vpon the ground ſat ſtill. The other Baſſaes hauing leaue to depart, giuing thanks to the emperour, and crauing pardon for their exceſſe, kiſſed the ground at his feet and ſo departed: with whom *Achmetes* offered to haue gone out alſo, but was forthwith commanded to ſit ſtill, for that the emperour had to talke with him in ſecret. The Baſſaes were no ſooner departed, but the terrible executioners of *Baiazet* his wrath ſtept in, and laid hands vpon *Achmetes* to haue ſlaine him: when one of the Eunuchs in greateſt fauour with the tyrant, ſtanding by, aduiſed him not to be too haſtie in executing of ſo great a man, ſo entirely beloued of his beſt ſouldiours and men of warre, but rather to ſtay his execution for a while, to ſee how the matter would be diſgeſted; and in the meane time, by torture to wreſt out from him what might be got, to make it in ſome ſort appeare, that he died for his due deſert. Hereupon *Baiazet* deferred his execution to a farther time, and cauſed him there preſently to be ſtript, and carried away to be tortured.

Amongſt other gallants of the court which attended the comming out of the great Baſſaes whom they followed, was one of *Achmetes* his ſonnes, a gentleman of great hope, who miſsing his father amongſt the reſt, began preſently to miſtruſt that all went not well: & ſpeedily running from *Achmetes his ſon ſtirreth vp the Ianizaries to help his father.*

from one of the Baſſaes to another, with much adoe learned the hard eſtate of his father: whereof he was alſo at the ſame inſtant aduertiſed by a ſecret friend neere about *Baiazet*: Hereupon this young gentleman began forthwith piteouſly to lament his fathers miſhap, and to exclaime againſt the crueltie of *Baiazet*: calling vpon the Ianizaries for aid, putting them in remembrance of his fathers great and manifold deſerts towards them, togither with his imminent danger: and ſo running vp and downe the citie in the dead time of the night, had in ſhort ſpace raiſed vp all the Ianizaries in armes. Who vnderſtanding of the danger of their antient commander, whom they generally loued and honoured as their father, came running by heapes from all parts of the citie vnto the court gate, there with terrible exclamation doubling and redoubling, their *Bre, Bre* (which barbarous word they commonly vſe in expreſsing their greateſt diſcontentment and furie) and did indeed ſo furiouſly beat at the court gate, that *Baiazet* fearing leaſt they ſhould breake in by violence, cauſed the outer gate to be ſet open, and ſhewing himſelfe from aboue out at an yron window, demaunded of them the cauſe of that tumult and vprore. To whom they inſolently anſwered, That they would by and by teach him as a drunkard, a beaſt, and a raſcall, to vſe his great place and calling with more ſobrietie and diſcretion: and amongſt many other opprobrious words wherewith they ſhamefully loaded him, they called him oftentimes by the name of *Bengi*, *Bengi* (that is to ſay, Bachelor or Scholler) which amongſt thoſe martiall men, contemners of all learning, is accounted a word of no ſmall reproach and diſgrace. And after they had in moſt deſpitefull manner thus reuiled him, they proudly commaunded him forthwith to deliuer *Achmetes* vnto them, or elſe to take that ſhould enſue thereof. *Baiazet* terrified with this inſolencie of the Ianizaries, and fearing ſome ſudden violence to be offered, commaunded *Achmetes* to be without delay deliuered vnto them: which was done in ſuch haſt, that he was brought forth vnto them almoſt naked, bare legged, and bare headed, bearing in his bodie the manifeſt markes of his hard vſage. The Ianizaries receiuing him with great rejoycing, ſupplied his want of apparell with ſuch habiliments, as they for that purpoſe vpon the ſudden tooke from *Baiazet* his minions: and ſo taking him vp vpon their ſhoulders, with great joy carried him out of the court, ſtill crying vnto him, How he did, and how he felt himſelfe? and ſo guarded him home, readie no doubt to haue ſlaine *Baiazet* and rifled the court, if he would haue but ſaid the word. But he yet loyall, laboured with good words to appeaſe that tumult, and to pacifie their furie: excuſing that which *Baiazet* had done againſt him, to haue beene done only to correct him, for that happely he had forgotten ſome part of obedience and duetie. Neuertheleſſe, hereupon remained no ſmall heart burning betwixt *Baiazet* and the Ianizaries for a long time after: yet *Baiazet* for feare of them reconciled himſelfe to *Achmetes*, and in open ſhew had him in greater honour than before, promoting him euen vnto the higheſt degrees of honour, howbeit he inwardly hated him to death. And the more, by the continuall inſtigation of the old Baſſa *Iſaack*: by whoſe perſuaſion, when it was thought that all had beene forgotten, he was by *Baiazets* commandement as he ſat at ſupper in the court, thruſt through the bodie and ſlaine. This was the miſerable end of *Achmetes*, the great champion of the Turkes, and one of the greateſt enemies of Chriſtendome that euer liued in the Turkiſh court: for by him, *Mahomet* ſubuerted the empire of TRAPEZONDE, tooke the great citie of CAFFA (called in auntient time THEODOSIA) with all the countrey of TAVRICA CHERSONESVS, the impregnable citie of CROIA, with all the kingdome of EPIRVS, the ſtrong citie of SCODRA, and a great part of DALMATIA; and laſt of all OTRANTO, to the terrour of all ITALY: by him alſo *Baiazet* vanquiſhed and put to flight his brother *Zemes*, as is before declared. In reward of which good ſeruices, he was by the tyrant (vpon a meere ſuſpition) thus cruelly & ſhamefully murdred. About this time alſo *Caigubus* (*Zemes* his ſon, then but a child) was by the commaundement of *Baiazet* his vncle, ſtrangled, in the new tower at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Baiazet for feare deliuereth Achmetes to the Ianizaries.

Achmetes ſlaine.

Baiazet now grieuouſly offended with the pride and late inſolencie of the Ianizaries, cauſed ſecret inquirie to be made, of them which were the authors of thoſe late ſtirs: and finding them to be the officers of their companies, and eſpecially thoſe which had before ſlaine *Mahomet Baſſa* the great polititian, immediatly after the death of *Mahomet* the late emperour; at which time they had alſo raiſed great tumults, and done much harme in the citie: he vnder colour of preferment, ſent away thoſe authours of ſedition into diuers parts of his empire, appointing vnto them (as vnto old ſouldiors and men of good deſert) certaine lands and reuenues for their maintenance and preferment. But as ſoone as they were departed, he by ſecret letters commaunded the

the gouernours and magiſtrates of thoſe places whereunto they were ſent, ſuddenly to apprehend them, and as traitors to put them to death; which was accordingly done. The Ianizaries of the court and about CONSTANTINOPLE, hearing what had happened vnto their fellowes, became wonderfully diſcontented, and began to mutine in diuers places of the citie, vttering ſpeeches againſt the emperour full of deſpight and reuenge: which thing when *Baiazet* vnderſtood, and had well conſidered the late danger he was in, togither with the intollerable pride and inſolencie of thoſe his maiſterfull ſlaues; he ſecretly purpoſed in himſelfe for curing of ſo dangerous a diſeaſe, to vſe a moſt deſperat remedie: which was, ſuddenly to kill and deſtroie all the Ianizaries, eſpecially thoſe which were belonging to the court, or about CONSTANTINOPLE. This his purpoſe he imparted to diuers of his greateſt Baſſaes, charging them vpon paine of his heauie diſpleaſure not to diſcloſe it: and for the execution therof, had ſent for great numbers of thoſe ſoldiors which are called Acanzij, who are amongſt the Turks reputed for the beſt ſort of common ſoldiors. Moſt of all the Baſſaes to whom he had imparted this his cruell deuiſe, much diſliked thereof, as too full of perill and danger: yet ſeeing him fully reſolued for the performance thereof, would not, or durſt not ſay anie thing to the contrarie. Onely *Alis* and *Iſhender Baſſa*, both diſcended of the honourable family of *Michal Ogli*, diſſuaded him from attempting any ſuch thing: alleadging firſt, that the Ianizaries were in number manie, ſouldiours of great courage and experience, reſolute men, and ſuch as would ſell their liues deare: then, admitting that he ſhould kill all them about the court and in CONSTANTINOPLE, yet foraſmuch as all his ſtrong towns and caſtles, eſpecially in the frontiers and chiefe places of his dominions, were poſſeſſed and holden by ſtrong garriſons of other Ianizaries, fellowes and friends of theſe (who would vndoubtedly take vp armes in defence of themſelues, and reuenge of their dead friends) it were a thing verie like to endanger himſelfe togither with the whole ſtate of his empire, beſide the great diſhonour which would grow vnto himſelfe thereby for euer. 1485

Baiazet purpoſeth to deſtroy the Ianizaries.

This ſo dangerous an exploit, wherein the hands of ſo manie were to be vſed, was not kept ſo ſecret, but that the vigilant and wily Ianizaries had got an inckling thereof: and thereupon began daily more and more to ſuſpect the matter, both by the often and ſecret repaire of the great men to the court, more than they had before ſeene; and alſo by the vnwonted multitude of thoſe Acanzij which were daily brought vnto the imperiall citie by great companies. Wherefore fearing to bee ſuddenly ſurpriſed, they banded themſelues togither, and openly ſtood vpon their guard: and by chance lighting vpon *Alis-beg* as he came from the court (who was in deed their beſt friend) after their barbarous manner, with manie opprobrious and contumelious words, demaunded of him, if he were not one of them who had conſpired their deſtruction: and without more adoe had preſently ſlaine him, had he not (as a well ſpoken man) with great proteſtations and oathes perſuaded them, that he neuer conſented to anie ſuch thing, or that they needed to feare any ſuch thing from him: and ſo with much adoe rid himſelfe out of their hands.

Baiazet ſeeing his purpoſe diſcouered, & that he could not without great bloudſhed and danger both to his ſtate and perſon, worke his will vpon the Ianizaries: by the counſell and aduiſe of them that ſaw farther into the matter, to colour his former intention, commanded by open proclamation, That the Ianizaries and other his men of warre (of whom hee had a great power now aſſembled at CONSTANTINOPLE) to be in readineſſe againſt a certaine prefixed day, to go with him into MOLDAVIA: as if he had raiſed that power for that purpoſe onely. But when the time was come that he ſhould ſet forward, the Ianizaries put themſelues in order of battell by themſelues, and would in no wiſe joyne themſelues with the reſt of the armie, or receiue the emperour into the middeſt of their rankes, as they had alwaies before accuſtomed; but furiouſly ſhaking their weapons at him, told him plainly, that hee had ſought their deſtruction: and bid him therefore if he thought it ſo good, to ſet his executioners to worke vpon them, whom hee ſhould find both readie and able to defend themſelues. To pacifie their furie, *Baiazet* was glad to giue them good words, and to vſe all the meanes he could (by his great Baſſaes and other captaines which were able to doe anie thing with them) to perſuade them to be quiet; ſwearing vnto them by the holy ſoule of his father (a ſolemne oath amongſt the Turkes) that he would not harme or wrong the meaneſt of them. So with much adoe they were at length appeaſed, and receiued *Baiazet* into the middeſt of them as their wonted manner was.

This dangerous tumult ſo quieted, *Baiazet* ſet forward, and paſsing ouer Danubius entered into MOLDAVIA, where he firſt laied ſiege to a ſtrong towne ſtanding vpon the Euxine ſea, called

Baiazet inuadeth Moldauia.

called of the Turkes KELE, but in antient time ACHILLEIA, which was at length deliuered vnto him by compoſition. From thence hee went to AC-GIRMEN, otherwiſe called ASPROCASTRON, which after a moneths ſiege was alſo deliuered vp by compoſition: which two ſtrong places ſo woon, he returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE.

Many great princes ſue to the Maſter of the Rhodes for Zemes.

Many great princes deſirous of *Zemes*, laboured by their embaſſadours to haue obtained him of the Great Maſter of the RHODES, firſt *Baiazet* his brother fearing leaſt hee ſhould at one time or other againe breake forth vpon him, or els ſet vp by the Chriſtian princes, trouble his eſtate, offered great ſummes of mony to haue had him deliuered into his hands: and *Charles* the French king purpoſing the conqueſt of NAPLES (which he in few yeares after performed) and after that to haue inuaded GRÆCIA, thought *Zemes* a moſt fit inſtrument for the furtherance of thoſe his high deſignes, and was therefore wonderfull deſirous to haue had him. *Mathias* alſo king of HVNGARIE (a fortunat warriour againſt the Turke) perſuaded that the hauing of him might be vnto him a great furtherance in the courſe of his victories, ſought by all the meanes he could to haue obtained him. At which time alſo *Innocentius* the eight of that name, biſhop of ROME, no leſſe deſirous than the reſt, to haue in his keeping ſo great a pledge of peace and warre (the bridle of the Turkes furie, together with the large penſion) hee was ſure to receiue yearely from *Baiazet* for the ſafe cuſtodie of him, ſo wrought the matter by *Lyonell* biſhop of CONCORDIA his cunning legat, that the Great Maſter fearing on the one ſide to be conſtrained by the great power of *Baiazet* to graunt that he had ſo often refuſed, and now ſo earneſtly ſolicited on the other ſide by the biſhop, cauſed *Zemes* to bee deliuered to him at ROME in the yeare 1488: for which doing hee was by the biſhop honoured with the honour and title of a Cardinall. So *Zemes* to the great profit of the biſhop (who receiued from *Baiazet* a yearely penſion of fortie thouſand duckats) remained in ſafe cuſtodie at ROME all the time of *Innocentius*, and alſo of *Alexander* the ſixt his ſucceſſour: vntill that the French king, *Charles* the eight, paſsing through the heart of ITALIE with a ſtrong armie, againſt *Alphonſus* king of NAPLES in the yeare 1495, and making his way through the citie of ROME, ſo terrified the great Biſhop, who altogether fauoured and furthered the title of *Alphonſus*, that he was glad to yeeld to ſuch articles and conditions as pleaſed the king; and amongſt the reſt to giue in hoſtage vnto the king his graceleſſe ſonne *Cæſar Borgia Valentinus*, and alſo to deliuer vnto him *Zemes* his honourable priſoner, as ſhall be afterwards in place conuenient at large declared.

In the beginning of *Baiazet* his raigne, whileſt he was buſied againſt his brother *Zemes* in ASIA, *Iohn Caſtriot*, the ſonne of *Scanderbeg*, aided by the Venetians, after he had fortunately ouerthrowne the Turks in a battell neere vnto CROIA, recouered a great part of EPIRVS out of their poſſeſsion. At which time alſo *Iohn Chernouich*, a Chriſtian prince of ALBANIA, caſting off the Turkiſh yoke impoſed vpon him by the late emperour *Mahomet*, ſuddainely tooke vp armes, and by the helpe of the Venetians valiantly expulſed his enemies out of that part of ALBANIA: and ſo troubled *Baiazet*, that he was glad to ſuffer him peaceably to enjoy all that hee had by force recouered, and further to content him with a ſmall tribute for the reſt.

1486

Baiazet inuadeth Caramania.

Baiazet highly offended with *Abraham* (whom ſome call *Pyramet*) the king of CARAMANIA, for aiding his brother *Zemes* againſt him; in reuenge thereof raiſed a great armie both in EVROPE and ASIA: & marching alongſt ASIA the leſſe through the countries of PHRIGIA, MISIA, CARIA, LYDIA, and PAMPHILIA, entered at length into CARAMANIA. But the king of CARAMANIA hearing before of his comming, and knowing himſelfe too weake to meet him in field, fortified the ſtrong cities and places of his kingdome, and retired with his armie into the ſtraits of the mountaine TAVRVS, where it parteth CILICIA from SIRIA, wherin he was in more ſafetie than in any of his ſtrongeſt holds. *Baiazet* finding no way to come to him, ſpent moſt part of the Summer in ſpoyling of the open countrey: but perceiuing his enemies could not ſo be drawne into the field, he laied ſiege vnto the famous citie of TARSVS, being the cheefe citie of the champaine part of CILICIA (the natiue place of S. *Paule* the Apoſtle) and in ſhort time ſo battered the wals of the citie with his great ordinance, that he had made them faultable. The citizens conſidering the danger they were in, offered to deliuer vp their citie, their libertie liues and goods reſerued. Of which their offer *Baiazet* accepted, and moſt honourably performed his promiſe for their ſafetie: not permitting any of his ſouldiours to enter the citie, more than ſuch as muſt needs for the guard of his perſon, and ſafe keeping of the cittie. And for as much as Winter began now to grow faſt on, he diſperſed his ſoldiors into the countrey

Tarſus in Cilicia yeelded to Baiazet.

trey villages round about, not ſuffering the countrey people to till or ſow their land, or to doe any thing els which might turne to their profit or good; whereby they were enforced to yeeld themſelues wholly to his deuotion. The Caramanian king ſeeing his people dayly fall from him, and fearing to be at length forſaken of his ſouldiors alſo; in this his diſtreſſe obtained aid both of men and money of *Caytbeius* the great Sultan of Æ GIPT, and ſo with all the power hee could make, tooke the field with the firſt of the Spring, fully reſolued to trie the fortune of a battell, although in ſtrength and power he knew himſelfe much inferiour to his puiſſant enemie.

Baiazet glad to ſee his enemie ſo forward, ſpeedily aſſembled his armie, and without delay offered him battell: which the Caramanian king refuſed not. So betwixt them was begun a fierce and terrible fight; which by the skilfull conduct of the leaders, and exceeding courage of the ſoldiors, was maintained the whole day, with doubtfull victorie and great ſlaughter on both ſides, new ſupplies ſtill comming on in ſtead of them which were ſlaine. The day declining, the Caramanian king (whoſe fatall deſtinie had now appointed him vnto his laſt worke) ſeeing his wearied ſouldiours rather ouerlayed with multitude than by force vanquiſhed, to begin to giue ground vnto their enemies; courageouſly thruſt forward with his guard and other valiant ſouldiours about him, with ſuch furie, that hee brake into the middeſt of his enemies battaile: where being knowne, hee was forthwith enuironned by the Turkes, and ſo hardly charged on euery ſide, that hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, he was enforced to fight on foot; where after he had with his owne hand ſlaine diuers of his enemies, hee fell downe dead in the middeſt of them. His ſouldiors diſcouraged with his death, turned their backes and fled, and in flying, were for moſt part either ſlaine or taken priſoners. After this victorie, *Baiazet* ſpeedily ouerran all that large countrey, and without reſiſtance, in ſhort time brought vnder his obeyſance all the countrey of C ILICIA.

A long and terrible battell betwixt Baiazet and the king of Caraman.

There was at that time in that part of C ILICIA which is called T RACHEA, and lieth towards the ſea ſide, an antient Mahometane prince, who had vnder his commaund moſt part of that country, with the famous and populous citie of S CANDELORO, the cheefe place of his reſiance. This prince had of long time liued betwixt the Turkiſh kings and the kings of C ARAMANNIA, as neuter, ſtill fearing the greater, but indeed louing neither: and had vntill then chiefely maintained his ſtate by the alliance he and his anceſtors continually held with the kings of C YPRVS and the Grand Maſters of the R HODES. Againſt this poore prince, the onely one now left in A SIA the leſſe, not ſubject vnto the Turkiſh kings, began *Baiazet* now to turne his forces: purpoſing before he proceeded any further, to make a full conqueſt of the leſſer A SIA, and ſo to make all ſure behind him. Of which his purpoſe, the prince hauing knowledge, and wiſely waying his owne ſmall power to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemie: offered by his embaſſadours to deliuer vnto *Baiazet* his chiefe citie of S CANDELORO, with all the reſt of his territorie in C ILICIA, vpon condition, that *Baiazet* ſhould giue vnto him other poſſeſsions for it in ſome other part of A SIA the leſſer, to the like value. Which his offer *Baiazet* accepted, and ſo became lord of all the ſea coaſt, from the ſtraits of B OSPHORVS vnto the confines of S YRIA.

After he had thus conquered C ILICIA, with a great part of the mountaine T AVRVS, hee deſcended into A RMENIA the leſſe, and in ſhort time brought vnder his ſubjection ſo much of that countrey, as alſo of C APPADOCIA, as was ſometime belonging to the Caramanian kings. When *Baiazet* had thus ſlaine the Caramanian king, and ſubdued that moſt antient kingdome of the Turkes, which had long and many times mightily contended with the glory and power of the *Othoman* kings; he left *Muſtapha* (one of his great Baſſaes) at I CONIVM, with his Aſian armie to keepe in obedience thoſe new woon countries: and as a triumphant conqueror returned himſelfe to C ONSTANTINOPLE, where he was of his ſubjects joyfully receiued.

After that *Baiazet* had thus enlarged his empire with the kingdome of C ARAMANNIA, and was now become an vnwelcome neighbour vnto the great Sultan of Æ GIPT and S YRIA; he began to ſwell in diſdaine againſt that mightie prince, for that he had giuen aid againſt him, firſt vnto his brother *Zemes*, and after that to the Caramanian king in theſe late warres: of which wrong, purpoſing to be reuenged, hee ſhortly after appointed one *Caragoſes Baſſa* his lieutenant in A SIA, with *Iſhender*, another of his great captaines, with a ſtrong armie to inuade S YRIA, then part of the great Sultans kingdome. Theſe two great commaunders, well appointed for the purpoſe, when they were come to the vttermoſt parts of C ILICIA, the new bounds of *Baiazets* empire, were then to paſſe by the confines of *Aladeules* his kingdome, before they could

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paſſe the great mountaine TAVRVS to come into SYRIA. This *Aladeules* commaunded as king ouer the rude and fierce people which dwelt alongſt that great and rough mountaine, and was then in league with the Sultan: he hearing of the approch of the Turks armie, with a great number of his mountaine people lay in ambuſh in the ſtraits, whereby the Turkes muſt needs paſſe, of purpoſe to intercept them. *Iſhender* marching in the vauntguard with a great number of the voluntarie ſouldiors called Acanzij, as the manner of the Turkes is, and fearing nothing leſſe than to be ſet vpon by the mountaine king, before he was aware was come into the middeſt of his enemies; and was by them ſo fiercely charged on euery ſide from their places of aduantage, that he there loſt moſt part of his men, and forſaken of the reſt, which ſought by flight to ſaue themſelues, he with his two ſonnes and others were taken priſoners. *Michael-beg* the eldeſt of the two being faſt bound, was ſlaine by one of *Aladeules* his followers, whoſe brother he had ſlaine in that skirmiſh: his head being cut off, was by the commaundement of *Aladeules* caried to his father *Iſhender*, the more to greeue him: who diſdainefully willed the meſſenger not to ſhew it vnto him, but to bid his maſter eat it if he would: with which anſwere *Aladeules* was exceedingly mooued: neuertheleſſe pitying the old mans miſerie, he ſhortly after ſet *Iaxis Beg* the yonger brother at libertie; but *Iſhender* himſelfe he ſent priſoner vnto *Caitbeius* the great Sultan at CAIRE, where he remained in priſon fiue yeares after. *Caragoſes* the Baſſa diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo great a man, retired with his armie backe againe into CILICIA, and from thence aduertiſed *Baiazet* what had happened, by whom he was commanded to returne to CONSTANTINOPLE, as a man vnfit for ſo great an enterpriſe.

1488 The next Spring following, *Baiazet* conſtant in his former reſolution for the inuaſion of SYRIA, ſent *Achmetes* another of his Baſſaes, with a farre greater armie than had *Caragoſes*, againſt the Sultan: who was no ſooner come vnto the farther part of CILICIA, but he was there at a place called of the Turkes TZVCVR OVA, encountered by the Ægyptians and Arabians, and there in a great battaile ouerthrowne; wherein he himſelfe fighting moſt valiantly, loſt two of his fingers, and being taken priſoner was ſent to CAIRE.

Achmetes Baſſa diſcomfited and taken priſoner and ſent to Caire.

1489 *Baiazet* with this ouerthrow rather incenſed than diſcouraged, made great preparation the next yeare againſt the Sultan both by ſea and land, ſuch as he had not before at any time made. And when all things were now in readineſſe, ſent *Alis Baſſa* (of ſome called *Calibeus*) and *Cherſeogles* his ſonne in law, two notable captaines, with a great and puiſſant armie by land againſt the Ægyptian Sultan: at which time he requeſted of the Venetians, with whom he was then in league, that he might by their good leaue, as occaſion required, refreſh his fleet (then readie to put to ſea for the inuaſion of SIRIA, as he ſaid) in their Iſland of CYPRVS. Which his requeſt was by the generall conſent of the Senat denied, as a thing tending to the danger of their ſtate: yet wiſely doubting leaſt *Baiazet* taking that deniall in euill part, ſhould ſeeke to haue that by force which he could not obtaine by requeſt, they preſently ſent *Franciſco Priuolo*, their Admirall, to ſea with thirtie gallies for the defence of that Iſland. He hearing that one fleet of the Turks gallies, lately come out of HELLESPONTVS, lay houering at the Iſland of SCIROS, expecting a farre greater from the coaſt of IONIA; and carefully conſidering how ſecret and ſuddaine the Turkiſh deſignements were, although it was giuen out, that all that great preparation was made againſt the Sultan: yet to prouide that they ſhould not ſuddainely ſurpriſe the Iſle, hee ſpeedily ſent ſundrie companies of ſouldiours, eſpecially archers out of CRETA, into CYPRVS, for the better defence thereof: but ſtayed himſelfe with his fleet at the Iſland of NAXOS, that ſo at hand he might be the readier to withſtand whatſoeuer the Turkes intended. But when he vnderſtood that all their fleet was met, and now ſet forward, he hoiſed ſaile, and held his courſe directly for CYPRVS. In the meane time, the Turkiſh fleet ſayling alongſt the coaſt of LYCIA, PAMPHILIA, and CILICIA, kept on their courſe, vntill they came vpon the coaſt of SIRIA: by which time *Calibeus* and *Cherſeogles* were come with a mightie armie into CILICIA, neere vnto the mountaine TAVRVS.

Caitbeius the Ægyptian Sultan hauing before had certaine intelligence of the great preparation that *Baiazet* had made againſt him, had before ſent *Vsbeg*, a moſt valiant and politicke captaine, with a ſtrong armie of his Mamalukes and other his moſt expert ſouldiors into SIRIA, to be readie at all times to withſtand the Turkes. This worthie cheefetaine vnderſtanding of the comming of the Turkes armie, thought it greater policie to carrie the calamities which alwayes wait vpon great armies, into the enemies countrey, than to receiue it into his owne boſome. And there-

therefore although he knew himſelfe to be for number farre inferiour vnto his enemies, yet ſupplying that want with the valour courage and aſſured confidence he had repoſed in the approoued and inuincible force of his Mamalukes, he expected not the comming of the enemie into SYRIA, but paſsing ouer the mountaine AMANVS, and ſo deſcending into CILICIA, met him not farre from TARSVS, in the ſame place (as it was thought) where *Alexander* the Great had long before in a great battell vanquiſhed *Darius*.

A long and terrible battell betweene the Turks and the Mamalukes.

Theſe two puiſſant armies come from farre out of diuers part of the world the one to find the other, were no ſooner come togither, but that with like cheerfulneſſe they joyned battell; and that with ſuch violence and furie, that the earth ſeemed to tremble vnder their feet, and a moſt preſent deſtruction threatned vnto them all: Which terrible and cruell fight was maintained all that day with doubtfull victorie and exceeding ſlaughter on both ſides. The politike Generals with new ſupplies of freſh ſouldiours, continually relieuing the moſt diſtreſſed parts of their battels: and they likewiſe as men prodigall of their liues, reſolutely offering themſelues to all dangers. When this moſt dreadfull fight had in this ſort endured the whole day, and manie thouſands of valiant men of late aliue, lay now dead vpon the ground, the approching night brake off the battell: and both the armies ſore wearied and weakned (but eſpecially the Turks) retired to their camps, where they reſted that night.

But the Ægyptians comming to their campe, found all their carriages with their prouiſion of victuals and other neceſſaries quite taken away and gone. Which thing (as ſome write) the bordering people of the countrey (for moſt part liuing vpon robberie) had done in the time of the battell, to pleaſe the Turkes: or as ſome others report, they which had the charge thereof, terrified with the greatneſſe of the Turkes army, and doubtfulneſſe of the battell, fled away; and taking their way alongſt the ſea ſide, fell into the hands of the Turkes which were put on ſhore out of the gallies, and ſo were of them ſpoiled. How ſoeuer it was (for in ſo great vncertaintie I dare not affirme) certaine it is, that the Ægyptians were ſore troubled with the loſſe of their prouiſion; fearing that if they ſhould now ſtay longer in the countrey, they ſhould forthwith be driuen to great extremities for want of neceſſaries. Wherefore, when they had euill reſted that night, the next day early in the morning they preſented themſelues in order of battell before their enemies, brauing them into the field, and daring them to battell. The Turkes diſdaining to ſee anie prouder in field than themſelues, after they had in goodly order raunged their battels, ſet forward with enſignes diſplaied againſt their proud enemies. There began a moſt terrible and bloudie battell, fought with ſuch deſperat reſolution, as if they had ſolemnly vowed either to ouercome or die in the place where they ſtood. A man would haue ſaid, that the former daies furie had beene but a play in compariſon of this. Manie valiant ſouldiours couered with their dead bodies the ſame ground whereon they liuing ſtood when they receiued the firſt encounter of their enemies. Of both thoſe great armies none was ſeene to giue ground, or once looke back. The Turks Ianizaries, and the Ægyptians Mamalukes, the vndoubted ſtrength of the greateſt Mahometane Monarchs (ſouldiors for their valour much feared, and through the world renowmed) there buckled togither, and ſtanding foot to foot, ſpent the vttermoſt of their forces one vpon another: as if they would in that battell haue made it knowne vnto the world, which of them were to be accounted the better ſouldiours. Whileſt victorie ſtood thus doubtfull, and the day was now farre ſpent, *Vsbeg* (the Ægyptian Generall) with fifteene thouſand valiant horſmen (whom he had reſerued for that purpoſe) gaue a freſh charge vpon the Turkes ſquadrons, with ſuch force, that they had much adoe to keepe their order, and began now to giue ground; which was by and by made good againe, by other freſh men ſpeedily brought on by the Baſſaes. Then became the battell more fierce than before, euerie man ſtriuing to the vttermoſt of his power, to ſell his life vnto his enemie as deere as he could. In which manner of fight all the reſt of the day was ſpent, vntill that after the going downe of the ſunne, the darkneſſe of the night comming faſt on, they were glad for lacke of light to breake off the battell and to retire themſelues into their campes, not knowing as yet who had got the better.

The Turks flie away by night.

The Turkes Baſſaes taking view of the armie, and finding that of an hundred thouſand fighting men which they brought into the field, there was ſcarce a third part left, and moſt of them alſo maimed or hurt; and doubting to be ſet vpon againe the next morning by their reſolute enemies, fled away ſecretly the ſame night, leauing behind them for haſt, their tents well ſtored with victuals, and all other things needfull. The Ægyptians alſo hauing loſt one halfe of their

armie (which was at the firſt ſeuentie thouſand) and wanting their neceſſarie prouiſion, were retired alſo the ſame night into the mountaine TAVRVS, not knowing anie thing of the flight of the Turkes. And ſome of the ſouldiours paſsing quite ouer the mountaite without ſtay into SYRIA, raiſed a report all ouer the countrey as they went, That the Sultans armie was ouerthrowne, and that the Turks had got the victorie: ſo vncertaine was the true knowledge of the euent of that battell, euen vnto them that were preſent therein. The Ægyptian lying that night vpon the ſide of the mountaine, had ſpeedie intelligence from *Aladeules* of the flight of the Turkes: which being alſo confirmed by his eſpials to be true, he preſently came downe from the mountaine, and entred into the Turkes campe, where he found plentie of victuals and of all other things needfull for the refreſhing of his army.

Aladeules the mountaine king, with the people called Varſacide, by whoſe confines the Turkes muſt needs in their returne paſſe, robbed and ſlew manie of them in their diſordered flight; and had ſo ſtopped the paſſages, that they were in flying ouertaken by the Mamalukes and ſlaine, with ſo great a ſlaughter, that of all that great army of the Turkes few remained aliue to carrie newes home. *Calibeius* and *Cherſeogles* the Baſſaes, were in that flight both taken priſoners, and afterwards preſented to *Caitbeius* the Sultan at CAIRE; with eighteene enſignes of the Turkes Sanzackes, which are great men amongſt them, hauing euerie one of them the regiment and commaund of ſome one prouince or other, and are in degree next vnto the Baſſaes.

Neither was the fortune of *Baiazet* his nauie at ſea, better than that of his armie at land: for as it lay at rode vpon the coaſt of SYRIA at the mouth of the riuer Orontes, which runneth by the famous citie of ANTIOCHIA, his gallies were by tempeſt and rage of the ſea put from their anchors, and in the ſight of their enemies ſwallowed vp of the ſea; or elſe driuen vpon the main, and there with the ſurges of the ſea beaten in peeces. *Baiazet* not a little troubled with theſe loſſes both by ſea and land, at length with much adoe, by his embaſſadours concluded a peace with the Sultan, vnto whom he reſtored all ſuch places as he had before taken from him: for which the Sultan deliuered vnto him, *Calibeius*, *Cherſeogles*, *Achmetes*, and *Iſhender*, with all the reſt of the Turkes priſoners, which he had in great number in his keeping.

1492 *A peace concluded betwixt Baiazet and Caitbeius.*

Shortly after this peace was concluded betwixt theſe two great and mightie princes, *Caitbeius* the Sultan died: who of a Circaſsian ſlaue, by manie degrees of honour, and by the fauour of the Mamalukes his fellowes, obtained the rich kingdome of Ægypt, which he right worthely gouerned to his immortall praiſe by the ſpace of two and twentie yeares; commaunding at one time the great and rich countrey of ÆGYPT, with all AFFRIKE as farre as CIRENE, Weſtward; and IVDEA, with a great part of ARABIA, and all SYRIA, vnto the great and famous riuer Euphrates, Eaſtward. In the latter end of his raigne, he (ouercome with the importunitie of his wife *Dultibe* an Arabian borne, a woman of an hautie ſpirit) joyned his ſonne *Mahomethes*, a young man of about foure and twentie yeares old, with him in the fellowſhip of his kingdome; that ſo poſſeſſed of it, his father yet liuing, hee might the better enjoy it after his death. Contrarie to the cuſtome of the Mamalukes, who of long time had not vſed to haue their king by ſucceſsion, but by their free election. Who grudging to be thus defrauded of their wonted choiſe, immediatly after the death of *Caitbeius*, ſlew *Mahomethes* his ſonne; and in a few moneths after, foure mo, who one after another, without their good liking, had aſpired vnto the kingdome: neither could they be contented, vntill ſuch time as that they had according to their wonted cuſtome ſet vp a Sultan of their owne choiſe.

About the ſame time that the aforeſaid peace was concluded betwixt the two great Mahometane princes, *Baiazet* and *Caitbeius*, *Charles* the French king was making great preparation againſt *Alphonſus* king of NAPLES, giuing it out, That after he had recouered that kingdome, he would forthwith from thence inuade the Turkes dominions in GRÆCIA. Which great attempt the haughtie king was induced to take in hand, by the perſuaſion of diuers of his nobilitie, but eſpecially by the ſolicitation of *Lodouicus Sfortia* duke of MILLAN: whereby the whole ſtate of ITALIE was in ſhort time after ſore ſhaken, and *Sfortia* himſelfe, author of thoſe troubles, at laſt carried away by the French, miſerably ended his dayes as a priſoner in FRAVNCE. *Alphonſus* the Neapolitane king doubting the greatneſſe of the French king his enemie, entred into a confederation with certaine of the ſtates of ITALIE againſt the French, but eſpecially with *Alexander* the ſixt then Biſhop of ROME: for the beter aſſurance whereof, he gaue his

his baſe daughter in marriage to *Godfrey Borgia*, the Biſhops ſonne, and made him prince of CARINVLA: his other ſonne *Francis* he entertained alſo in great pay to ſerue him in his wars. And by his embaſſadour *Pandonius Camillus*, lately returned out of FRANCE, gaue *Baiazet* to vnderſtand what the French king had purpoſed againſt them both, requeſting him to aid him with ſix thouſand horſemen and as many foot againſt their common enemie, promiſing to giue them honourable entertainement during thoſe warres. And to further the matter, *Alexander* the great Biſhop ſent *George Bucciarde*, a Ligurian, skilfull in the Turkiſh language, embaſſadour to *Baiazet*, to declare vnto him with what great preparation, both by ſea and land, the young French king (deſirous of honour and the enlargement of his kingdome) was about to inuade NAPLES; and then, with what great power (after he had diſpatched his warres in ITALIE) he purpoſed to paſſe ouer into GRÆCIA; and that hee had to that end earneſtly trauelled with him, to haue *Zemes* his brother deliuered into his hands, whom he deſired to vſe as a moſt fit inſtrument for the troubling of his ſtate and empire, by reaſon of his many friends: yet that his Holineſſe (hauing the French in diſtruſt as a proud and ambitious people, as alſo carefull for the danger of the citie of ROME, and of the ſtate of ITALIE in generall) had entered into a confederation with *Alphonſus* king of NAPLES, with their vnited forces to withſtand that proud nation, both by ſea and land; wanting nothing more for the accompliſhment thereof, than mony: by which onely meanes *Baiazet* might (as hee ſaid) prouide for the ſafetie of his kingdome in GRECIA, if he would put to his helping hand, to furniſh them with mony for the entertainment of ſouldiors: for as much as the citie of ROME, and the kingdome of NAPLES, were the ſureſt wals of that ſide of the *Othoman* empire; if hee not altogether refuſing the charge, would not ſpare for a little coſt to maintaine the warre rather in that forraine countrey, than to receiue it, brought home to his owne dore: concluding, That it were much more commodious and eaſie with his treaſures to repreſſe his enemie in a ſtrange countrey a farre off, than by dint of ſword and plaine battell in his owne. A thing by experience well knowne, that they which haue neglected and ſet at nought remote dangers, for ſparing of charge, haue afterwards been enforced with greater danger to receiue the ſame into their owne boſomes, when as they were become deſperat and paſt remedie. *Baiazet*, who both by his eſpials and often letters and embaſſadours from *Alphonſus*, knew all this to be true, gaue great thankes to the biſhop by his embaſſador, for that he ſitting in ſo high place, did ſo friendly and in ſo good time admoniſh him, both a ſtranger, and of a contrarie religion, of things of ſo great conſequence: yet for anſwere, hee willed him to returne againe to his maſter with one *Dautius* his embaſſadour, who ſhould carrie with him both money and his other ſecret reſolutions concerning thoſe matters. Amongſt other things giuen him in charge, was an Epiſtle written in Greeke, wherein the barbarous king with great cunning perſuaded the biſhop to poyſon *Zemes* his brother, as a man of a religion altogether contrarie to his: for indeed of him alone for his great vertues *Baiazet* ſtood in feare and doubt, leaſt hee ſhould by ſome chance eſcape out of priſon to the troubling of his ſtate. For the performance of this his requeſt, he promiſed faithfully to pay vnto the biſhop two hundred thouſand duckats, and neuer after, ſo long as he liued, to take vp armes againſt the Chriſtians. Otherwiſe than had his father *Mahomet* and his grandfather *Amurath* done, who both as deadly enemies vnto the name of the Chriſtians, neuer ceaſed by continuall warres to worke their woe.

Alphonſus king of Naples, and Alexander the Biſhop of Rome craue aid of Baiazet againſt Charles the French king.

Baiazet ſendeth Dautius his embaſſadour to Alexander biſhop of Rome.

But *George* the biſhops embaſſadour, and *Dautius*, trauelling towards ITALIE, and hauing now happely paſſed the Adriaticke, as they were about to haue landed at ANCONA were bourded by *Io. Rouereus*, brother to *Iulianus* the Cardinall (a man of great account in thoſe quarters) and cleane quit of their treaſure and whatſoeuer elſe they had aboord. *Rouereus* pretending for the defence of the fact, That the biſhop did owe him a great ſumme of money, due vnto him for his good ſeruice done in the time of *Innocentius* his predeceſſour, for which he now paied himſelfe. Neither could the biſhop, much troubled with that injurie, euer after recouer any one part thereof, although he threatened vengeance with fire and ſword, and alſo ſought for recompence of the Venetians, whom it concerned to ſaue the Turkes harmeleſſe in thoſe ſeas: for why, *Rouerus* bearing himſelfe vpon the French, which were now vpon comming, whoſe faction he followed, kept the money, and ſet at nought the biſhops thundering curſes and vaine threats. *Dautius* himſelfe, *Baiazets* embaſſadour, being ſet on ſhore, was glad to goe on foot to ANCONA; and ſo from thence paſsing vp the riuer Padus, came to *Franciſcus Gonzaga*, duke of MANTVA, of whom (for the antient friendſhip betwixt him and *Baiazet*) hee was courteouſly entertained and

Io. Rouereus robbeth the Turkes embaſſadour.

and furniſhed both with money and apparell, and ſo ſpoiled returned into GRÆCIA, to carrie newes vnto his maſter how he had ſped.

When *Baiazet* vnderſtood by *Dautius* the euill ſucceſſe he had in his late iourney, he forthwith ſent *Muſtapha* one of the Baſſaes of the court, vnto the great Biſhop *Alexander*, with like inſtructions as he had before giuen to *Dautius*: who with better hap arriued in ITALIE, and came to ROME in ſafetie; where he forgot no part of that was giuen him in charge by his great maſter. But amongſt manie other things, the life of *Zemes* was that he moſt ſought for at the Biſhops hands.

1495 At the ſame time, which was in the yeare 1495, the French king *Charles* the eight of that name, paſsing through the heart of ITALIE with a ſtrong armie againſt *Alphonſus* king of NAPLES: and taking his way without leaue through the citie of ROME, ſo terrified *Alexander* the biſhop, who (as we haue before ſaid) altogither fauoured, and as much as in him lay furthered the cauſe of *Alphonſus*; that he was glad to yeeld to all ſuch articles and conditions as it pleaſed him then to demaund: not purpoſing in himſelfe at all the performance of anie of thoſe things, which for feare he had with great ſolemnitie promiſed, as the iequell of the matter afterwards declared. Amongſt other things, he was enforced to giue vnto the king his graceleſſe ſonne *Ceſar Borgia Valentinus* (then one of the cardinals) in hoſtage, for the performance of the other of his promiſes. Which diſgrace the craftie old biſhop ſought to couer, by gracing his ſonne with the title of his legate: and with him he was alſo enforced to deliuer *Zemes* the Turke, *Baiazet* his brother his honourable priſoner; who to the great profit of the biſhop and his predeceſſour, had remained in ſafe cuſtodie at ROME about the ſpace of ſeauen yeares. But *Zemes* within three daies after he was deliuered vnto the French, died at CAIETA, being before his deliuerance poiſoned (as it was thought) with a powder of wonderfull whiteneſſe and pleaſant taſt; whoſe power was not preſently to kill, but by little and little diſperſing the force therof, did in ſhort time bring moſt aſſured death: which pleaſant poiſon, *Alexander* the biſhop skilfull in that practiſe (corrupted by *Baiazet* his gold, and enuying ſo great a good vnto the French) had cauſed to be cunningly mingled with the ſugar wherewith *Zemes* vſed to temper the water which he commonly dranke. His dead bodie was not long after ſent to *Baiazet*, by *Muſtapha* his embaſſador, who to the great contentment of his maſter, had thus contriued his death with the biſhop. Not long after this dead bodie ſo farre brought, was by the appointment of *Baiazet*, honourably enterred amongſt his aunceſtors at PRVSA. *Cæſar Borgia* alſo the biſhops ſonne, a little before giuen in hoſtage vnto the French king, deceiuing his keepers at VELITRAS, returned againe to ROME before the French king was come to NAPLES. This wicked impe come of an euill ſtrain, not worth the remembrance but by way of deteſtation, (the verie monſter of nature, if a man ſhould well conſider the courſe of his whole life) ſhortly after his eſcape, enuying at the honour of *Candianus* his brother, who then was Generall ouer the biſhop his fathers forces, which were at that time great: when he had one night merily ſupped with his ſaid brother with their mother *Vannotia*, traiterouſly cauſed him to be vnawares murdered in the ſtreets as he was going home, and his dead bodie to be caſt into the riuer of Tiber. Then caſting off his prieſtly habit with his Cardinals roabs, he tooke vpon him the leading of his fathers armie in his brothers ſtead, and gaue himſelfe wholy to martiall affaires: a vocation beſt fitting his fierce and bloudie diſpoſition. And with exceeding prodigalitie, wherwith he exhauſted his fathers coffers and the treaſures of the church, bound faſt vnto him deſperat ruffians and ſouldiours (eſpecially Spaniards, his fathers countrey men) ſuch as he knew fitteſt to ſerue for the execution of his moſt horrible deuiſes. Which manner of his proceedings, although they were ſuch as all good men deteſted, yet did the old hypocrit his father winke thereat, fearing as it was thought, to be murdered of the viper himſelfe, when it ſhould ſerue for his purpoſe. Now when he had thus ſtrengthned himſelfe, and that he was become a terrour to all the nobilitie of ROME and the ſeigniories thereabout, he by the deuiſe and helpe of his father (who deſired nothing more than to make him great) firſt draue the moſt honourable family of the *Columnij* out of the citie, and afterwards out of LATIVM: and by moſt execrable treacherie, poiſoned or killed the honourable perſonages of the great houſes of the *Vrſini* and *Caetani*; taking vnto himſelfe their lands and poſſeſsions. With like crueltie he ſtrangled at one time foure noblemen of the *Camertes*: and draue *Guido Feltrius* out of VRBIN. He tooke the citie of PISAVRVM from *Io. Sforția*, who with much difficultie eſcaped his bloudie hands: and draue the *Malateſtaes* out of ARIMINVM. The great ladie *Catherine*

Zemes dieth, poiſoned by Alexander biſhop of Rome.

The euill life of Cæſar Borgia.

*rine Sforti*a he thruſt out of FORVM LIVII and FORVM CORNELII, and ſhamefully led her in triumph through ROME. And neuer ſatisfied with bloud, which he without meaſure ſhed, he tooke the citie of FAVENTIA from *Aſtor Manfredus*, a young gentleman of rare perfection: whom after the beaſtly tyrant had moſt horribly abuſed againſt nature, he cauſed to be cruelly ſtrangled, and his dead bodie to be caſt into Tiber. Hauing thus filled the meaſure of his iniquitie, and as a fretting canker, hauing either deuoured or driuen into exile moſt part of the Roman nobilitie; and purpoſing by the ſupportation of his father, to make himſelfe lord and ſoueraigne both of the citie, and of all LATIVM; in the pride of his thoughts he was by the hand of the moſt higheſt attached and caſt downe, and that by ſuch meanes as he leaſt feared. For being with his father at a ſolemn ſupper in the Vaticane, of purpoſe prepared for the deſtruction of certaine rich Cardinals and ſome other honourable citizens, they were both poiſoned by the fatall errour of one of the waiters; who miſtaking of a flagon, gaue the poiſoned wine to the accurſed biſhop and his ſonne, which was prepared for the gueſts: whereof the old biſhop in few daies after died. But his ſonne who had drunke the ſame more delaied with water, although he died not of long time after, yet preſently fell into ſuch an extreame ſickeneſſe, that he was not able to helpe himſelfe, or to commaund his deſperat followers, whereof he had great ſtore: but lying ſicke, in ſhort time ſaw himſelfe of them forſaken, and two of his enemies, *Pius* the Third, and *Iulius* the Second, one after another ſitting in his fathers place. Of which two, *Pius* enjoyed that pontificall dignitie but ſixteene daies: and *Iulius* ſucceeding him, cauſed this *Cæſar Borgia* (who of right had deſerued a thouſand deaths) to bee ſhut vp in the caſtle called MOLES ADRIANI, from whence he ſet him at libertie vpon the deliuerie of certaine ſtrong holds which were yet holden by his garriſons. After he had thus rid himſelfe out of *Iulius* the biſhops hands, he fled to OSTIA, and ſo by ſea to NAPLES: where he was by the commaundement of *Ferdinand* king of SPAINE, apprehended by *Conſaluus* the Great, and tranſported into SPAINE; for feare leaſt he being of a moſt troubleſome nature, and much reſorted vnto by his old fauourits, ſhould raiſe ſome new ſtirs in ITALIE. He was no ſooner arriued in SPAINE, but he was caſt into priſon in the caſtle of MEDINA, where after he had lien three yeares he deceiued his keepers, and with a roape which he had gotten, let himſelfe downe from an high tower of the caſtle: and ſo eſcaping, fled to the king of NAVARRE, whom he afterwards ſerued in his wars, and was in an hoat skirmiſh againſt the kings enemies (wherin he had obtained the victorie) ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot. Vnworthy after ſo manie horrible villanies, to haue ended his daies ſo honorably. His dead bodie was found ſtript, and ſo brought vnto the king vpon a bad beaſt, as if it had been a dead calfe all naked; which was by his commandement honourably buried at PAMPILONA.

The death of Cæſar Borgia.

But to returne againe from whence we haue ſomething too long with this troubleſome body gone aſtray. The French king hauing thus loſt both his great hoſtages, *Zemes* the Turke by death, and the Cardinall *Borgia* by eſcape, held on his journey towards NAPLES: and with wonderfull ſucceſſe preuailed as hee went, all places yeelding vnto him without any great reſiſtance. *Alphonſus* ſeeing himſelfe deſtitute of ſuch aid as he had in vaine requeſted both of the Turkiſh emperour and of the Venetians, and now almoſt beſet with his mightie enemy, to whom ſo manie ſtrong places had in ſhorter time been deliuered than anie man had before imagined; and withall, conſidering with himſelfe, how that he had loſt the hearts of his ſubjects (the ſtrongeſt defence of princes) for that moſt of the nobilitie, and eſpecially the Neapolitans, hated him for his too much ſeueritie in puniſhing the offenders in the late rebellion, wherein the princes of SARNE and SALERNE were chiefe; and the common people were no leſſe offended with the grieuous and heauie exactions, required of them for the maintenance of theſe warres, inſomuch that their murmuring ſpeeches came oftentimes to his owne hearing; as oftentimes it falleth out, That the hatred of the ſubjects againſt their princes, which hath for feare of long time beene diſſembled during their proſperitie, more frankly and fiercely breaketh out in their declining eſtate: For theſe cauſes, *Alphonſus* fearing to be forſaken of his people, as a man in deſpaire, with aboundance of tears openly in the ſight of all the Neapolitans, reſigned his kingdome of NAPLES vnto his ſonne *Ferdinand*, when as he had as yet ſcarcely raigned one whole yeare after the death of *Ferdinand* his father: and with foure gallies paſſed ouer to MAZERE A a citie of CICILIA. His ſon *Ferdinand*, a prince of rare perfection and ſingularly graced with all the vertues of true nobilitie, and thereto deerely beloued of all the people, was to the wonderfull contentment of the Neapolitans with great joy and acclamations ſaluted king: and ſo hauing performed

The French king inuadeth Naples.

formed all the ceremonies belonging to his coronation, returned preſently to his armie. By this time the French king with all his forces was entered farre into the kingdome of NAPLES: and hauing taken by aſſault certaine cities which truſted too much to their owne ſtrength, ſtrucke ſuch a generall terrour into the minds of the Neapolitanes, that they thought no place now ſtrong ynough to abide his batteries, or power ſufficient to encounter his forces. *Ferdinand* the young king with his armie had taken the ſtraits of the forreſt of S. *Germane*, thereby to impeach the further paſſage of the French king. But whileſt he was there buſied, he was ſuddenly aduertiſed, that *Fabritius Columna* with a great power of Frenchmen had by the Appenines broken into CAMPANIA, and ſo was marching towards him: wherefore doubting to bee ſhut vp betwixt two ſtrong armies of the enemies, he retired ſpeedily to CAPVA, a ſtrong citie ſituat vpon the riuer Vulturnus; purpoſing there by meanes of that deepe riuer, to ſtay the French from paſsing farther. But whileſt hee lay there, newes was brought vnto him, That all the cittie of NAPLES was in an vprore, and that the citizens were all vp in armes, as men in doubt which way to turne themſelues. *Ferdinand* not a little troubled with theſe bad newes, commended the charge of his armie and the defence of the citie of CAPVA to his cheefe captaines, and rid himſelfe in poſt backe againe to NAPLES.

Ferdinand departeth from Capua to pacifie an vprore at Naples.

It is a ſtrange thing to tell, what a ſuddaine alteration enſued vpon his arriuall there: for ſuddenly all the tumult was appeaſed, euery man laied downe his armes, and welcommed him with a generall gratulation: for he was a man of a great and an inuincible courage, and of ſo comely a perſonage as might eaſily win the hearts of his ſubjects; inſomuch, that when he earneſtly requeſted them, that they would not traiterouſly betray him vnto his barbarous & cruell enemies, being their naturall king, or rather their brother borne and brought vp amongſt them: they all with one conſent anſwered, That they would ſpend their liues and goods in his quarrell, ſo long as he ſhould keepe his armie whole, and defend the citie of CAPVA: But if it ſhould ſo chance, that the Aragonians ſhould be ouerthrowne, or els for feare abandon that citie, and the French king, as victor, to approch the citie of NAPLES; he ſhould doe both againſt reaſon and equitie, if by exacting fidelitie and allegeance of his ſubjects, apprehended with ſo juſt a feare, he ſhould ſo expoſe that noble citie with the fruitfull countrey thereabout, to bee ſpoiled and deſtroyed by a mercileſſe and cruell enemie. Whileſt *Ferdinand* was thus buſied in appeaſing and confirming his wauering ſubjects at NAPLES, the French king had taken diuers cities, and was come before CAPVA. The citizens of CAPVA although they were alwayes well affected to the Aragonian kings: yet ſeeing the French king as a moſt violent tempeſt to beare downe all before him, began now to conſult amongſt themſelues of yeelding vp the cittie; whereunto they were the more prickt forward, by the ſuddaine reuolt of the great captaine *Triuultius* with his followers, as alſo by the departure of *Verginius* and *Petilianus*, two great and famous commaunders, who ſeeing themſelues forſaken of *Triuultius*, fled with their companies vnto the citie of NOLA. In this diſcomfiture of king *Ferdinand* his armie, the Frenchmen had entered into the ſuburbes of the citie: which thing *Gothfredus* and *Gaſpar* (two valiant Germane captaines) beholding, ſallied with their companies out of the citie, of purpoſe to abate the pride of the French, & to confirme the doubtfull citizens: Theſe worthie captaines when they had with exceeding valour repulſed the French, and thought to haue againe returned into the citie, could not be ſuffered to enter, but were by the citiſens ſhut out of the gate, in danger to haue had their throats cut by the enemie. In which perplexitie they were glad vpon their knees to entreat the cowardly citiſens ſtanding vpon the wals, not in ſuch traiterous manner to betray their friends readie in their defence to beſtow their liues: and with much entreating, at length obtained of thoſe heartleſſe men, that they might by ten and ten in a companie be receiued in at one gate of the citie, and ſo put out at another, fartheſt from the danger of the enemie: in which ſort when they had paſſed through the citie, they tooke the way towards NAPLES: and vpon the way met with the king at AVERSA, vnto whom they declared all that had happened in his abſence at CAPVA. Who although he ſaw his armie diſperſed, and all things now deſperat, yet went hee on forward, and came to the very gates of CAPVA, and there called vpon diuers of the cheefe men of the citie, requiring to be let in. But when hee ſaw there was none to giue him anſwer, and an enſigne of the French king diſplayed vpon the wall, in token that the citie was become French, hee returned to NAPLES: where he found the gates now ſhut againſt him, and all the citiſens vp againe in armes, and not willing to receiue any of the ſouldiors which came from CAPVA, more than the king himſelfe: for

for flying fame preuenting his returne, had filled euerie corner of the citie with report, That all the cheefe captaines of his armie were either gone outer to the enemie, or els for ſafegard of their liues fled; That the whole armie was broken vp, and CAPVA yeelded to the French. Wherfore the Neapolitanes framing their fancies according to the condition of the time, began now alſo to fawne vpon the good fortune of the French, and to haue king *Ferdinand* in contempt: which hee well perceiuing, and fetching a compaſſe farther off from the cittie, came vnto the caſtle, whereinto he was receiued with his followers by his faithfull captaines therein before left. But prouidently foreſeeing that he could not there long ſtay, but that hee ſhould bee beſieged by his enemies both by ſea and land, he commended the keeping of that peece vnto *Alphonſus D'aualus*, a moſt valiant captaine, and departed himſelfe with twentie gallies well appointed vnto ÆNARIA, an Iſland not farre from NAPLES, hauing in it a commodious harbour and a ſtrong caſtle: where fortune, neuer firme but in miſerie, ſeemed againe to deride the poore remainder of his honor: For comming thether, the captaine of the caſtle, vnworthely named *Iuſtus*, forgetting his dutie towards his ſoueraigne, of whom he had before receiued many extraordinarie fauours, moſt traiterouſly now in his ſo hard diſtreſſe ſhut the gates of the caſtle againſt him at his landing, and vnkindly refuſed to receiue him. With which vnexpected ingratitude, the poore king was wonderfully perplexed and almoſt abaſhed: yet with earneſt entreatie and ample commemoration of the benefits and preferments which both his father and himſelfe had in times paſt beſtowed vpon him, he preuailed ſo much with this vnthankefull man, that hee was content to receiue him into the caſtle, ſo that he would come but himſelfe alone: of which his offer, when no more could be got, the king ſeemed to accept. So the captain hauing opened a port to receiue him in, was in the very entrance thereof ſuddenly ſtabd to the heart with a dagger by king *Ferdinand* and ſlaine in the middeſt of his armed ſouldiours. Which was done with ſuch a countenance and majeſtie, that the warders with their weapons in their hands, diſmayed with his look, forthwith at his commaundement opened the gate, and receiued him in with all his followers. Whereby it appeareth, That in the countenance of princes reſteth a certaine diuine majeſtie, in all fortunes aboue the common courſe of nature: which is of power to daunt the hearts of moſt diſloyall traitors in the performance of their vnnaturall treaſons. The next day after the departure of king *Ferdinand* from the caſtle of NAPLES, *Charles* the French king was receiued into the citie with ſuch pompe, triumph, and acclamation of the Neapolitanes, as if they had euen then by the benefit of that forraine king been reſtored vnto perfect libertie, and deliuered out of ſome long and hard bondage. Shortly after, the caſtle of NAPLES, with all the ſtrong places thereabout, were yeelded vnto the French, and embaſſadours ſent from all the princes and people of that kingdome, yeelding themſelues into the power of the French king. Then *Ferdinand* ſeeing all loſt and gone, departed from ÆNARIA, where he lay expecting the euent of his hard fortune, and ſailed into SICILIA. Thus the houſe of ARAGON in leſſe than fiue moneths loſt the kingdome of NAPLES, about 63 yeares after that it was firſt taken from the French by *Alphonſus* the elder, this *Ferdinand* his great grandfather.

A moſt reſolute fact of king Ferdinand.

Charles the French king receiued into Naples.

The report of the great preparation made by the French for this warre, had long before filled the eares of them which dwelt in any part of the Turks dominions in EVROPE: but when they ſaw the French enſignes diſplayed vpon the wals of the caſtles and ſtrong townes alongſt the coaſt of CALABRIA and SALERNE, ſuch a ſudden feare fell vpon the Turkes garriſons alongſt the coaſt of EPIRVS and MACEDONIA on the other ſide of the Adriaticke, oueragainſt that part of ITALIE, that many of them forſooke their charge: the Chriſtians in thoſe places, as alſo in GRÆCIA and PELOPONESVS beginning then to lift vp their heads in hope of their deliuerance, and to make the beſt preparation they could to joyne with the French againſt the Turks: but eſpecially the rough and wild people inhabiting the high mountaines called ACROCERAVNII in the borders of EPIRVS, who preſently tooke vp armes, refuſing to be any longer tributaries vnto the Turkiſh emperour.

This proſperous and ſpeedie ſucceſſe of the French king in the conqueſt of NAPLES, filled the minds of moſt of the Chriſtian princes, as alſo of the Turkiſh emperour, with a doubtfull expectation, whither his greatneſſe would grow: many being of opinion, that he couertly affected the empire of ROME, and to make himſelfe the ſole monarch of ITALIE. Which conceit no little troubled both the great Biſhop *Alexander*, and *Maximilian* then emperour. *Baiazet* alſo feared much, leaſt he ſhould vpon the ſuddaine turne his forces into EPIRVS or GRÆCIA, to his

his no ſmall diſquiet. And *Ferdinand*, the aduiſed king of SPAINE, was no leſſe carefull for the ſafetie of SICILIA. *Lodouicus Sfortia* alſo (ſhortly after created duke of MILLAN, the cheefe occaſion of the French kings comming into ITALIE, and a great aider of him in thoſe warres) began now to conſider better of the matter, and to ſtand in doubt of the king, whom hee well perceiued to make ſmall reckoning of his word or promiſe, ſo that he might thereby enlarge his dominions. And the Venetians, who in all theſe warres had ſtood looking on as neuters (in hope that when the Aragonians and French had with long warres, which they vainely imagined, well weakened one another, that they might then at their pleaſure ſhare out ſomething for themſelues) were now in doubt with the reſt of the ſtates of ITALIE to loſe ſome part of their owne territorie: for now there was no prince or ſtate in ITALIE able to oppoſe themſelues againſt the French, but ſtood as it were all at his deuotion.

A great league made by diuers Chriſtian princes againſt the French king.

Wherefore the aforeſaid princes, namely *Maximilian* the emperour, *Ferdinand* king of SPAINE, *Alexander* Biſhop of ROME, the ſtate of VENICE, and *Lodouicus Sfortia* duke of MILLAN, for the more aſſurance of their eſtates, by their embaſſadors ſpeedily ſent from one to another, concluded a ſtrong league amongſt themſelues, whereof the cheefe capitulation was, That if any of theſe confederates ſhould vpon their owne accord make war vpon any other prince, they ſhould doe it vpon their owne charges: but if any of them ſhould chance to be inuaded by any other, that then euery one of theſe confederates ſhould of their owne charge ſend foure thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot in aid of their confederate ſo inuaded, vntill the wars were ended: which league was to endure for twentie yeares. The fame of this league was welcome to many other princes, but eſpecially to *Baiazet*, who now feared nothing more than the forces of the French, and therefore had offered vnto the Venetians, to aid them both by ſea and land againſt the French, if their affaires ſhould ſo require. This league ſo much pleaſed not other princes, but it troubled the French king more, as of purpoſe made againſt him, although it was by the confederates pretended to be made onely for their owne ſafetie. Wherefore he with all expedition placed his beſt captaines with ſtrong garriſons in all the cities and ſtrong holds of the kingdome of NAPLES, and left *Mompenſer* his viceroy in the citie of NAPLES, and with the reſt of his armie returned towards FRAVNCE; purpoſing by the way as he went to terrifie the diſſembling Biſhop, ſo if it were poſsible to draw him from the league, and afterwards to deale with *Sfortia* and the reſt as he might. But when he was come neere vnto ROME, the Biſhop for feare fled out of the citie to PERVSIVM, intending from thence to haue fled to VENICE, if the French king ſhould haue further purſued him. *Charles* deceiued of his purpoſe, in peaceable manner entered the citie, and there ſtayed three dayes and ſo departed; vſing violence againſt none, but againſt ſuch as were well knowne to be of the Aragonian faction. From ROME hee marched to PISA, and ſo with much paine paſsing the Appenines, was at the riuer of Tarrus, not farre from PARMA, ſet vpon by *Franciſcus Gonzaga* duke of MANTVA, generall of a great armie which the Venetians and *Sfortia* had raiſed vpon the ſudden to haue ſtopped his paſſage: in which battaile he was in great danger to haue beene taken or ſlaine, and there loſt his tents, with all the rich ſpoile gotten in the rich kingdome of NAPLES: yet hauing at length with great ſlaughter valiantly repulſed his enemies, he afterwards returned in ſafetie home.

Ferdinand recouereth his kingdome of Naples from the French, and dieth.

About the ſame time that this battell was fought at Tarrus, the young king *Ferdinand*, lately driuen out of his kingdome by the French king, returned againe out of SICILIA to NAPLES: where he was joyfully receiued of the Neapolitanes, and by the helpe of his friends (but eſpecially of the great *Conſaluus*, ſent in his aid by *Ferdinand* king of SPAINE) in leſſe than a yeares ſpace recouered the kingdome of NAPLES againe from the French: and then dying without iſſue, left the ſame vnto his vncle *Federicus*: wherein the vncertainetie of worldly honours, the cheefe felicitie of ambitious minds, is well to be noted; when as in that one kingdome the cheefe gouernment was ſix times changed in leſſe than the ſpace of three yeares. For firſt *Ferdinand* the elder dying, left that kingdome vnto his ſonne *Alphonſus*, at ſuch time as the French king was making preparation for theſe warres: *Alphonſus* deſpairing of his owne forces, reſigned the kingdome to his ſonne *Ferdinand*, when he had ſcarcely raigned fully a yeare: *Ferdinand* in leſſe than three moneths was driuen quite out of ITALIE by *Charles* the French king: *Charles* poſſeſſed of the kingdome, in ſhort time after was againe diſpoſſeſſed by the ſame *Ferdinand*: *Ferdinand* hauing with much trouble thruſt out the French, died within leſſe than a yeare: After whom ſucceeded *Federicus* his vncle, no leſſe vnfortunate than the reſt. And *Charles* the French king

king himſelfe liued not long after, but died ſuddenly as he came from playing at Tenniſe, being then but ſeuen and twentie yeares old, leauing the flouriſhing kingdome of FRANCE, with the troubleſome title pretended to the kingdome of NAPLES, vnto *Lewes* his ſucceſſour, who liued with great trouble to conquer the ſame, and with greater greefe to looſe it againe.

The death of Charles the French king.

1496

1497

But to returne againe to the courſe of our hiſtorie, from whence the great occurrents of that time (not altogether impertinent to our purpoſe) haue a little too farre led vs. *Baiazet* deliuered of two great feares, firſt by the death of his brother *Zemes*, and after by the caſting out of the French out of NAPLES; began now to turne his forces vpon the Chriſtians, and by his lieutenant *Bali-beg*, Sanzacke of SILISTRA, inuaded the countries of PODOLIA and RVSSIA, being part of the Polonian kingdome, where the Turkes did great harme, and carried away many priſoners. But comming againe the ſecond time, and making ſuch like ſpoile as before, they ſtayed ſo long, that the cold of the Winter (which in thoſe countries is very extreame) was now come on: and in their returne, as they were about to haue paſſed through MOLDAVIA, they were by *Stephanus*, prince of that countrey, denied both paſſage and victuals, and forced to take the way alongſt the ſea coaſt: where many of them ſtragling from the armie, were by the way cut off and ſlaine by the Moldauians; and the reſt, what by the extremitie of the cold, what for want of food, and foulneſſe of the way, periſhed: ſo that of that great armie very few returned home. The Turks hiſtories report, That in this expedition were loſt fortie thouſand Turkes.

The Turkes inuade Podolia & Ruſsia. and in their returne are for moſt part loſt.

He ſent alſo *Cadames* one of his Baſſaes into ILLIRIA; who ſpoiling that countrey, with a part of CROATIA, was encountred by nine thouſand Croatians and Hungarians neere vnto the riuer Moraua, vnder the leading of countie *Bernard Francopaine*: where after a cruell and bloudie fight, the Chriſtians were put to the worſe, and aboue ſeuen thouſand of them ſlaine; the reſt ſaued themſelues by flight through the mountaines and woods. Of the Chriſtians that were loſt, manie were drowned in Moraua, chuſing rather ſo to end their daies than to fall into the hands of their cruell enemies. This ouerthrow was imputed to the Generall, who would needs giue the Turkes battell in plaine field, although he was earneſtly entreated by countie *Io. Torquatus* to haue kept the ſtraits of that countrey, whereby he might haue had great aduantage of the enemie. *Torquatus* himſelfe hauing loſt all his horſemen in that battell, and his horſe killed vnder him, fought valiantly on foot, vntill hee was by the multitude of his enemies oppreſſed and ſlaine. The Baſſa to giue *Baiazet* a ſure teſtimonie of the victorie, cauſed all the noſes of the ſlaine Chriſtians to be cut off and put vpon ſtrings, and ſo by wagon ſent them as a barbarous preſent to CONSTANTINOPLE. After the death of *Charles* the French king, *Lewes* the twelfth of that name hauing obtained that kingdome, writ himſelfe alſo duke of MILLAN, as diſcended of one of the daughters of *Io. Galeatius* firſt duke of MILLAN: in which his ſuppoſed right he was fully reſolued to make warre vpon *Sforția* then duke of MILLAN. And for his better ſucceſſe in thoſe warres, ſought by all meanes he could, to draw ſome other of the princes and ſtates of ITALIE into the fellowſhip of that intended warre; but aboue all others the Venetians, as moſt commodious for his purpoſe, with whom he made a firme league; and for the aid they were to giue him, couenanted that they ſhould haue for their ſhare, the citie of CREMONA, with all the pleaſant countrey about ADVA, then part of *Sforția* his dominion: which was afterwards accordingly performed.

Sforția vnderſtanding of this compact made againſt him, and knowing himſelfe farre too weake of himſelfe to ſtand againſt ſo puiſſant enemies; attempted firſt to ſet *Maximilian* the emperour, with the ſtates of GERMANIE vpon the French king: But that not ſorting to his deſire, he ſought to agree with the king by offering to hold his dukedome of him, by paying him a yearely tribute. After he had thus in vaine proued all the meanes he could deuiſe to haue appeaſed the French king, & prouided for his own ſafetie; he by his embaſſadors ſent of purpoſe, certified *Baiazet* of the confederation betwixt the French king and the Venetians, and that their purpoſe was, after they had oppreſſed him, and ſome other of the ſtates of ITALIE, then with their vnited forces to inuade his dominions: and that therefore it were good for him in time to looke vnto it, and to giue aide againſt thoſe which would in ſhort time become his moſt dangerous enemies. By this meanes the Duke was in good hope, ſo to buſie the Venetians by bringing the Turke vpon them, as that they ſhould ſtand the French in ſmall ſtead. At which time alſo the embaſſadours of FLORENCE did what they could to pricke forward the Turke to make

1498

warres vpon the Venetians; for the malice they bare against them for protecting them of PISA against the oppression of the Florentines.

Baiazet perswaded by the embassadors, and calling to remembrance the injuries before done him by the Venetians; first in giuing aid to *Iohn Castriot* the sonne of *Scanderbeg*, and *Iohn Chernouich* another prince of EPIRVS (whereby he lost a great part of that countrey, and was also farther enforced to yeeld to such conditions as altogither stood not with his honour;) and againe by denying to giue his fleet leaue to put into their harbours in CYPRVS, in the time of his warres against the Sultan of ÆGYIT: all which he was glad then to endure, for feare least that his brother *Zemes* (then liuing) should by their means be set vp against him; promised now to do what these embassadours had requested: glad in his mind that the discord of the Christian princes had presented vnto him so fit an opportunitie of reuenge.

1499 Hereupon he made great preparation both by sea and land against the Venetians, and vpon the sudden caused *Scander Bassa* (his lieutenant in ILLYRIA) with twelue thousand horse to breake into the countrey of FRIVLI, part of the Venetian territorie vpon the frontiers of ITALIE. The Bassa as he had in charge, passing ouer diuers great riuers, at length entred the countrey, burning and destroying all before him as farre as LIQVENTIA, carrying away with him all the poore countrey people prisoners. But when he was come to the bankes of TILIAVENTVM, and vnderstood that hee came too late to pleasure the duke of MILLAN (for why, the French with the Venetians had before without resistance driuen him quite out of ITALIE and GERMANIE) he there, with more then barbarous crueltie put foure thousand poore prisoners to the sword: and so hauing filled the country with mourning and with bloud, returned from whence he came, loded with the spoile of that rich countrey.

Friuly part of the Venetian territorie spoiled by the Turkes.

At the same time also, *Baiazet* put to sea such a fleet as none of his predecessors had before set forth; and with a great armie in person himselfe marched alongst the sea coast of MOREA, in such sort, as that his armie by land and his fleet at sea (as neere as they could) kept euen pace, the one within sight of the other. Neither were the Venetians vnmindfull of themselues, but set forth a strong fleet vnder the charge of *Anthony Grimani* their Admirall; in number farre inferiour to the Turkes, but for equipage, strength, skilfull marriners, and all other manner of warlike prouision, much superiour. For which cause the Turkes, although defied and braued by the Venetians, yet durst not at the first joyne with them in battell; but still crept alongst the coast of MOREA, not daring to put farther off into the sea. In this their course, the Venetians troubled them exceedingly, sometimes making shew as if they would haue constrained them to fight, and otherwhiles giuing them chase, neuer departing far from them; wisely accounting it right good seruice, if they could but keepe that hugie fleet from landing in ITALIE, or other places of the Venetian territorie. Most men were in good hope, that if those great fleets should haue joyned in battell, the Venetians should haue had a notable victorie; for that the enemie as afraid, kept so dangerous a course and so neere the maine. The longer they thus sailed, the more was the state of VENICE offended with their Admirall, that he contrarie to all expectation delaied to fight, and still suffered the dangerous enemie to approach neerer and neerer their territories: and there were none which had not rather he should haue set all vpon the hazard of one battell, than to protract by delay a long and doubtfull warre. Whilest all mens minds were thus in expectation of some great exploit to be done vpon the enemie, newes came to the citie, That the Turks fleet had put into the hauen SAPIENTIA in the iland SPHRAGA, to water, and was there embayed by the Venetians. This report was of most men joyfully receiued, as if the victorie had been alreadie assured: and so much the more, for that it was vainly supposed, that it would be gained without anie great losse. But others which better knew the place, deemed of the matter farre otherwise, saying, That the place wherein the enemie lay was such, as that he might safely at his pleasure depart thence. Yet forsomuch as the Turkes fleet was more subject vnto danger in putting out of the harbour than in the wide sea, there was no man but was of opinion, That the Venetian Admirall would set vpon them as they should come forth againe. Whilest men were thus diuining too and fro, and the Venetians attended the comming forth of the enemies fleet, it fortuned that *Andreas Lauredanus*, and *Albanus Armerius* (two valiant gentlemen) but a little before come from CORCYRA of purpose to be present at the battell, were the first that began the fight; and with their two nimble ships (after they had changed a few bullets) bourded a tall ship of the Turkes, being of such beautie and burthen that she seemed rather a castle

Fight at sea betwixt the Turks and the Venetians.

ſtle than a ſhip, wherof one *Baruch* of SMYRNA (a notable pirat) was captaine: who after a long and cruell fight, perceiuing that he muſt either yeeld or by force be taken, deſperatly ſet fire on his owne ſhip, by rage whereof both ſhe and the Venetian ſhips faſt grapled vnto her, were all three togither burnt downe to the water: manie of the men (to ſhun the violence of the fire) leapt ouer boord into the ſea, where ſome of them were taken vp by other ſhips, and ſome periſhed. Some few others of the Venetian fleet couragiouſly aſſailed the Turkes at their comming out; and doing great harme, put the Turkes whole fleet in no ſmall feare. But the moſt part of the Venetian gallies lay looking on a farre off; vnto whom the other before in fight with the Turks, after they had done what they could, retired alſo. But by that they had done, it appeared plainly that the Venetian Admirall that day let ſlip out of his hands a moſt notable victorie, if he as a reſolute man had with his whole fleet charged the enemie.

After this fight the Turkes held on their courſe, ſtill keeping MOREA on the right hand, whom the Venetians ſtill followed: at length the Turkes fleet was come to the entrance of the gulfe of PATRAS, where the Venetians againe faintly ſetting vpon them, ſuffered them to recouer the gulfe; with no leſſe diſhonour than they had before let them eſcape at the port SAPIENTIA. For the Venetians, hauing the aduantage of the place, and better appointed for fight at ſea, might eaſily (as it was ſuppoſed) haue gained the victorie, if the commanders (but eſpecially the admiral) had been ſo forward in the ſeruice as became men of their place. But manie of thē afraid to fight, lay aloofe; ſo that *Dauthes* the Turks Admirall (who perceiuing himſelfe too weake, had purpoſed to haue run his gallies on ſhoare, and ſo to haue fled to the armie at land if he had felt himſelfe ouercharged by the Venetian fleet) had now contrarie to his expectation recouered the gulfe he deſired, though not without loſſe of ſome of his gallies. Within this gulfe ſtandeth the auntient citie of NAVPACTVM (now called LEPANTO) then ſubject to the Venetians, whither *Baiazet* was then come by land with his armie; and now by the comming of his fleet into the gulfe, laid hard ſiege vnto the citie both by ſea and land. They of the citie ſeeing themſelues on euerie ſide beſet with their enemies, without anie great reſiſtance fell to compoſition with *Baiazet*, and ſo yeelded vnto him the citie, which the Turks hold at this day.

Lepanto yeelded to the Turks.

Grimanus the Venetian Admirall returning to Venice, was for his euill ſeruice (or rather for that he according to his mild nature had not vſed ſeueritie againſt ſuch captaines as refuſed to fight) caſt into priſon: and although he was a man mightely friended, yet was he by a publike decree baniſhed into one of the Abſyrtides, iſlands vpon the coaſt of LIBVRNIA. From the firſt foundation of the citie of VENICE was neuer man impugned with more ſpight, or defended by greater friends: but common hatred preuailing, he was neuertheleſſe exiled. Thus *Baiazet* hauing made a road into the Venetian territorie by *Scander Baſſa*, and taken from them the citie of NAVPACTVM with the countrey thereabout, returned with victorie to CONSTANTINOPLE.

The next yeare following, which was the yeare 1500, *Baiazet* put to ſea a greater and ſtronger fleet than he had the yeare before: and himſelfe in perſon, with a puiſſant armie of an hundred & fiftie thouſand men entred by the ſtrait of CORINTH into PELOPONESVS, and marching through the countrey came and encamped before the ſtrong citie of METHONE (now called MODON) then vnder the gouernment of the Venetians. At which time his great fleet met him there alſo by ſea, as he had before appointed. When he had thus beſet the citie both by ſea and land, and with long and continuall batterie made three great and faire breaches in the wals, he gaue vnto the ſame two terrible aſſaults, and that with ſuch deſperat furie that manie of them which went formoſt vnto the breach, ouerthrowne by the preſſe of them which followed, were troden to death. Yet neuertheleſſe the citie was both times valiantly defended by the citiſens and gatriſon ſouldiors: ſo that when he had done what he could, he was glad to retire from the wals, hauing filled the towne ditches with the bodies of his ſlaine Turkes. The Venetian Admirall *Triuiſanus* lying at the iſlle of ZACYNTHVS (but farre too weake to fight with the enemie) in the beginning of the ſiege ſent *Valerius Marcellus* and *Baptiſta Polanus*, with two gallies full of men and munition in reliefe of the beſieged: and now doubting their farther wants, ſent *Io. Maripetrus*, *Alex. Cothius* of CORCYRA, and *Cachuris* of HYDRVNTVM, with three other great gallies, with men, munition, and ſuch other things as he thought needfull for the defence of the citie. Theſe three reſolute captaines comming with a full wind, and packing on all their ſailes, brake through the Turks fleet lying in their way, and ran themſelues a ground vnder

1500

Methone beſieged both by ſea and land by Baiazet.

the wals of the towne: for they of the towne had ſo barred the hauen for feare of the enemie, that they could not that way poſsibly get in. The citiſens and ſouldiors joyfull of the comming of this freſh ſupplie, and withall fearing leaſt the gallies ſhould be fet off againe from them by the enemie, came running by heapes from all parts of the citie towards the ſea, to receiue this new come aid: which was done with ſuch a confuſed diſorder, that diuers places of the citie towards the land, were left without defendants, as if there had beene no enemie neere. Which the Ianizaries quickly perceiuing, preſently entered by thoſe forſaken places with little or no reſiſtance. Then the citizens all too late began to make head: for the Ianizaries alreadie entered, made way for the reſt of the armie; which ſwarming into the citie, ſlew without pitie all that came in the way, as well Grecians as Venetians, with all the ſouldiours but euen then newly landed out of the three gallies. In this ſlaughter *Anthonius Fabrius* and *Bardella*, gouernours of the towne, with *Andreas Falco*, biſhop of METHONE, in his pontificalibus and his mytre on his head, were ſlaine: none eſcaped the furie, but ſuch as were for their ſtrength reſerued for ſeruile labour, or for their beautie, to the victors luſt: and of theſe a thouſand bound faſt together in long ropes were brought to *Baiazets* pauilion, and there in his ſight by his commandement cruelly murdered. The cities of CORONE and PYLVS, now called NAVARRINVM) ſometime the dwelling place of old *Neſtor*, terrified with the taking of METHONE, yeelded themſelues by compoſition to *Baiazet*. This citie of CRISSEVM, now knowne by the name of *Caput S. Galli*, was taken alſo by *Cherſeogles*, *Baiazet* his ſonne in law. All theſe were cities belonging to the Venetians. NAVPLIVM was alſo beſieged by *Haly Baſſa*, but yet ſtill defended by the Venetians. *Baiazet* hauing new fortified the citie of METHONE, and ſtored it with new inhabitants, left in it a ſtrong garriſon, and ſo with victorie returned to CONSTANTINOPLE.

Methone taken by the Turks.

Corone, Pylus, and Criſſeum yeelded to the Turks.

1501 At this time *Triuiſanus* the Venetian Admirall died (of greefe of mind as ſome ſuppoſed) in whoſe place the Senat ſent *Benedictus Piſaurius*, a noble and valiant gentleman, who with the Venetian fleet followed the enemie, then departing from the ſiege of NAVPLIVM, purſuing them euen vnto the ſtraits of Helleſpontus, ſtill cutting off ſuch as ſtragled or tarried behind the reſt of the fleet: by which meanes hee tooke aboue twentie of their ſhips and gallies, and in his returne tooke from the Turkes the Iſland of ÆGINA, and landing in diuers places of the Turkes dominions, left vnto them the wofull remembrance of his being there. Afterwards meeting with *Conſaluus*, ſurnamed the Great (ſent by *Ferdinand* king of SPAINE, to aid him againſt the Turkes) at ZACYNTHVS, he inuaded CEPHALENIA, which *Triuiſanus* his predeceſſour had in vaine attempted the yeare before, and laied hard ſiege to the citie, which was for a ſpace valiantly defended by the Turkes: yet at length by the good conduct of *Conſaluus* it was by force taken, when as *Giſdare* the Gouernour thereof, with his garriſon of Turkes, had before fought it out euen to the laſt man. The citie being taken, all the whole Iſland yeelded forthwith to the Venetians.

Cephalenia taken by the Venetians.

Piſaurius hauing taken CEPHALENIA, repaired the citie, and leauing a ſtrong garriſon for defence of the iſle, departed to CORCYRA: where hee was aduertiſed, That the Turkes were rigging forth a great fleet againſt the next Spring; wherof ſome part lay in the bay of AMBRACIA not farre from CORCYRA, ſome at EANTE, and the reſt within the ſtraits of HELLESPONTVS. Wherefore purpoſing to do ſome exploit vpon thoſe gallies which lay in the bay of AMBRACIA, to auert the mind of the enemie from perceiuing of that he had ſecretly with himſelfe intended, he ſent the greateſt part of his fleet vnto the iſland of NERITOS, who ſuddenly landing, ſhould put the inhabitants in feare. The captaines ſent about this buſineſſe, cheerefully put in execution what the Admirall had commaunded, and by their ſudden landing raiſed ſuch a tumult, that all the countries thereabout were filled with the expectation of that which ſhould enſue thereof. The Bay of AMBRACIA is ſo ſtraitened on either ſide with the mountaines of EPIRVS, that the entrance thereof is but halfe a mile ouer: but by and by opening it ſelfe into a great wideneſſe, and running vp into the land, maketh a moſt pleaſant and ſafe harbour for ſhips and gallies to ride in. *Piſaurius* with a faire wind comming thither with eight gallies well appointed, when the Turkes thought him to haue been at NERITOS, and entring the ſtrait, rowing farther into the bay, burnt one of the Turkes great gallies, to the terrour of all them that dwelt round about the bay, and carried away with him eleuen moe, laded with munition and victuall, through the ſtrait; the Turkes in vaine fretting thereat, and doing what they could with their

their great ordinance from shore to haue sunke him in going out of the bay. But hauing done what he came for, he returned with his prey againe to CORCYRA. Not long after he also recouered the castle of PYLOS in MOREA, which as it was suddenly gotten, so was it as suddainely lost. For *Camalia*, a notable pyrat of the Turkes, who had been abroad seeking after purchase, putting into that harbour by chance, tooke three gallies, there left by the Admirall for defence of the place, and so terrified the faint-hearted captaine, that hee fell to composition with the pyrat, to yeeld him the castle, so that hee and his souldiours might in safetie depart: which the pyrat graunting, had the castle deliuered vnto him, which he could not with farre greater strength haue possibly woon. So was PYLOS for feare twice in one yeare yeelded vp vnto the Turks, and was both times the death of the cowardly captaines which gaue it vp, being both beheaded by the commaundement of the Admirall. About the same time *Pisaurius* attempted to haue burnt other of the Turkes gallies lying in the riuer EANEA, vpon the coast of MACEDONIA, but not with so good successe as before: For the Turkes, made more carefull by the losse they had but a little before receiued at ADRACTA, did now more vigilantly looke vnto their gallies. So that when *Pisaurius* had in certaine small vessels, made of purpose for that seruice, imbarked two hundred resolute souldiors to haue gone vp the riuer to haue fired the gallies, they were by the way, after they had entered a good way into the riuer, encountered by the Turkes, and enforced to returne. But before they could get out of the riuer, the wind rose so contrarie with such a fuffe gale full in the mouth of the riuer, that the mariners ouermastered with the violence of the weather, when they had done what they could, and spent all their strength, were driuen ashore, some on the one side of the riuer, and some on the other, and so fell into the hands of their enemies, of whom it bootde not to craue mercie.

Pylos taken from the Turks, and againe yeelded vnto them.

About this time *Baiazet* tooke also the auntient and famous citie of DIRRACHIVM, now called DVRAZO, from the Venetians being before ruinous and almost quite abandoned by the inhabitants, as a place of danger, and not to be kept, now that the Turke had got all the country round about it. The Venetians sore pressed with these warres so long maintained against the Turke, had many times prayed aid of other Christian princes, and were well holpen by the Spaniard in the taking of CEPHALENIA: and now *Lewes* the French king vpon a good deuotion to that warre, sent the lord *Rahestan* with seuen tall ships and fifteene gallies well appointed out of PROVINCE and GENVA, to aid the Venetians his friends. This fleet departing from NAPLES, where they had by the way put in, and passing about ITALIE, and so through the Ionian sea, came to MELOS, one of the CYCLADES; at which Island *Pisaurius* with his fleet in short time arriued also: from whence they by mutuall consent departed together to inuade the Island of LESBOS. And being there safely arriued, landed their forces, and layed siege vnto the strong citie of MYTILENE, where by the furie of their artillerie they in short time had made a faire breach in the wall. In the time of this batterie whilest the breach was in making, *Pisaurius* with part of his fleet sailed to TENEDOS, for it was reported, That certaine of the Turkes gallies were then comming for that place out of Hellespontus. Which report, as some write, was of purpose giuen out by the French, thereby to withdraw the Venetian Admirall from the siege, that so in the meane time they being in good hope to take the towne in his absence, might themselues carrie away the honour thereof, together with the rich spoile. Others fauouring the French, blame the Venetian Admirall, as if he had of purpose departed, enuying at the honour of the French: which is hard to be beleeued in so honourable a personage, and in an action so much concerning the good of his commonweale. Howsoeuer it was, the breach being made, in his absence was by the Frenchmen presently assaulted: although that *Paulus Valatesius* the Venetian vice-Admirall earnestly requested the French Admirall to deferre the assault for a while, and to expect the returne of *Pisaurius*. Which his counsell the French Admirall gaue him the hearing of, but yet went forward with the assault. The Frenchmen after their manner furiously assailing the breach, were valiantly repulsed by the Turkes: so that in the breach was made a deadly and most terrible fight, many falling on both sides. Yet for all that, the citie was manfully defended by the Turkes, and the Frenchmen enforced to retire. The French Admirall hauing taken this repulse, commaunded all things to be carried aboord, purposing to haue forsaken the siege, and so to haue departed: when in the meane time the Venetian Admirall returned, and with much adoe perswaded the French to stay. Whereupon the batterie was againe begun with greater furie than before, and now the leaders were consulting of a

Dyrrachium taken by the Turks.

Mytilene besieged.

freſh aſſault to be giuen, when ſuddenly newes was brought, that the Turks fleet was comming to releeue the citie: and thereupon the aſſault was for a time deferred, and the batterie continued. But thoſe Turkes which came, being in number but few, were for moſt part by them in the gallies taken and caſt ouer boord; ſome few that got to land, ſaued themſelues in the woods and deſart places of the Iſle. By this time the citie was againe made faultable, and the Venetians with great courage aſſailed the breach, and had twice gained the top of the rampiers, from whence they were againe both times beaten downe by the Turkes, the French all the while looking on. Many valiant men were there ſlaine and hurt, and in the end the Venetians were glad with loſſe to retire, as had the French done before. Whileſt this was in doing, a pinnace came to the fleet with newes, that the Great Maſter of the RHODES was comming with his gallies to the ſiege: whereupon the Admirals determined to maintaine the ſiege vntill his comming. But the next day after, the French Admirall changing his purpoſe ſhipped his men, and hoiſing ſaile departed to CHIOS: and ſayling thence towards ITALIA, was ouertaken with a moſt terrible tempeſt, wherein the Admirall gallie with two others were loſt with eight hundred good ſouldiours, the Admirall himſelfe with aboue fortie others were by chance contrarie to all hope ſaued, and with much danger with his weather-beaten fleet recouered the hauen of TARENTVM. The Venetian Admirall thus forſaken of the French, and ſeeing the time paſt wherein hee expected the comming of the Great Maſter of the RHODES, brake vp the ſiege, and departed from LESBOS to CHIOS, and from thence to PAROS, where hee found the Maſter of the RHODES with his gallies; vnto whom he complained greatly of the inconſtancie of the French, imputing it vnto them, that the citie of MYTILENE was not woon: neither were they behind with him, but in euery place where they came, laid the fault as much or more vpon him. From PAROS the Venetian Admirall tooke his courſe to the Iſland of MELOS; where hee found one *Rhichini*, an arch-pyrate of the Turkes, who by force of tempeſt was driuen on ſhore, and by the ſuddaine comming downe of the Iſland people, taken: him (for that he had exerciſed exceeding crueltie vpon certaine Chriſtians whom he had taken) *Piſaurius* cauſed to be faſt bound to a ſpit, and with a ſmall fire to be roſted to death. From MELOS he returned to CORCYRA, and there wintered.

The ſiege of Mytilene broken vp.

1502 The next Spring *Piſaurius* with certaine gallies which *Alexander* biſhop of ROME had ſent vnto him vnder the commaund of *Iacobus Piſaurius* biſhop of PAPHIA, ſayled to NERITOS, now called S. MAVRA, which is an Iſland parted from the firme land with a little fret of the ſea, long time before that way let in by the Corinthians. Here *Piſaurius* ſuddenly landing his men, ſurpriſed the Iſland, and with wonderfull celeritie and induſtrie caſt vp two great trenches in ſuch ſort and to ſo good purpoſe, that three thouſand of the Turkes horſemen comming at a low water ouer that narrow ſtrait which parteth the iſland from the maine, were with loſſe repulſed, and forced to retire. Whereupon S. MAVRA the cheefe citie was foorthwith deliuered vnto *Piſaurius*, with the reſt of the iſland.

Nerito taken by the Venetians.

The Venetians wearie of this long and chargeable warre againſt ſo mightie an enemie, ſent *Lodouicus Manetius* their embaſſadour, to *Baiazet*, to entreat with him for peace: but *Baiazet* ſtood vpon ſuch hard points, that nothing could at that time be concluded: yet *Manetius* ſo diſcreetly vſed the matter, that *Baiazet* ſent with him at his returne to VENICE, his embaſſadour, to propound vnto the Senat ſuch conditions as it pleaſed him to graunt them peace vpon. This embaſſadour had audience in the Senat twice, where hee in the name of his maſter propounded ſuch prowd and vnreaſonable conditions, that they were by the Senat rejected, and ſo he himſelfe diſmiſſed and ſent backe againe.

1503 The yeare following the Venetians ſent an embaſſadour to *Baiazet*, who mooued with the pitifull complaints of his owne ſubjects, for the dayly harmes they receiued from the Venetians alongſt the ſea coaſt, as alſo for want of trade; and fearing alſo ſome troubles like to ariſe in his kingdome in ASIA (as indeed there did not long after) yeelded himſelfe now more willing to heare of peace, than before. This embaſſadour called *Zacharias Phriſcus*, was well heard of *Baiazet*, and after long ſute had brought the matter he came for into ſome good tearmes: and being honourably rewarded by the Turkiſh emperour, returned home, carrying with him vnto the Senate farre more reaſonable conditions of peace than had at any time before been by *Baiazet* propounded. Hereupon the Venetians ſhortly after ſent *Andreas Gritti* (an honourable Senatour) a man well knowne to *Baiazet* both for his famous traffique in former time at CONSTANTINOPLE,

STANTINOPLE, and also for that in these late warres he was taken prisoner at the winning of METHONE, and his life spared at the intercession of *Cherseogles* (*Baiazet* his sonne in law) and afterward raunsomed: he in the name of the state from whence he came, concluded a peace with *Baiazet*. The capitulations whereof were, first that the Venetians should deliuer vp the ilands of NERITOS and LEVCADIA, reseruing vnto themselues the iland of *Cephalenia* only: Then, that *Baiazet* should restore all such goods as had beene taken from the Venetian merchants, in these late warres; and that it should be lawfull for them (as they were wont) safely to trafficke into the Euxine sea, and to CONSTANTINOPLE; and there to haue their Consull or gouernour as they had had in former time. And last of all, that the Venetian territorie should be certainly knowne, and separated from the Turkes by certaine bounds and limits. These conditions were solemnly agreed vpon, and confirmed both by *Baiazet*, and the state of VENICE: and so a firme peace concluded in the yeare 1503, after the warres had continued betwixt them about the space of fiue yeares.

A peace concluded betwixt Baiazet and the Venetians.

The same yeare *Baiazet* assembled a great and puissant army of his best and most approued souldiours, as well in ASIA as EVROPE, which met togither at SOPHIA, purposing (as it was thought) to haue inuaded HVNGARIE: but worthely doubting the successe of that warre against so warlike a nation, he changed his purpose, and leauing *Achmetes Bassa* with his Asian souldiors at SOPHIA, turned himselfe with the rest of his armie into ALBANIA (to reduce those rebellious people againe to his obeisance) and had before sent a fleet of gallies to stop the passages of that countrey alongst the sea coast. But the countrey people vnderstanding of his comming, fled into the high and rough rocks and mountaines, from whence they did the Turkes great harme: who neuertheless with incredible labour and aduenture, mounted those difficult places; and killing an exceeding number of those mountaine and sauage people, carried all the women and children they could light vpon, away with them prisoners: and with fire and sword made all the countrey desolate. After which spoile done, *Baiazet* returned with his armie to MANASTIRVM; and departing thence, vpon the way met with a Derusiar (which is a phantasticall and beggarly kind of Turkish monks, vsing no other apparell but two sheepskins, the one hanging before and the other behind) a lustie strong fat fellow, attired after the manner of his order with a great ring in each eare: who drawing neere vnto *Baiazet*, as if he would of him haue receiued an almes, desperatly assailed him with a short scimitar which he had closely conuaied vnder his hypocriticall habit. But *Baiazet* by the starting of the horse whereon he rid (being afraid at the sudden approach of the hobgoblin) partly auoided the deadly blow by the traitor entended, yet not altogither vnwounded: neither had he so escaped the danger, had not *Ishender Bassa* with his horsemans mase presently struck downe the desperat villaine as he was about to haue doubled his stroke; but being now struck downe, he was forthwith rent in pieces by the souldiours. This treacherous and desperat fact so much moued *Baiazet*, that he proscribed all them of that superstitious order, and banished them out of his empire.

Baiazet in danger to haue beene slaine by a Derusiar or Turkish monke.

After so manie troubles *Baiazet* gaue himselfe vnto a quiet course of life, spending most part of his time in studie of philosophie, and conference with learned men: vnto which peaceable kind of life, he was of his owne naturall disposition more enclined than to warres; albeit that the regard of his state, and the earnest desire of his men of warre, drew him oftentimes euen against his will into the field. As for the ciuile gouernment of his kingdome, he referred it wholy vnto his three principall Bassaes, *Alis*, *Achmetes*, and *Iachia*, who at their pleasure disposed of all things. After he had in this quiet and pleasing kind of life to his great contentment passed ouer fiue yeares, of a little neglected sparke suddenly arose such a fire in ASIA, as was hardly after with much bloud of his people and danger of that part of his empire quenched: the reliques whereof yet troubleth those superstitious people at this day. Which thing was brought to passe by the craftie deuise of *Chasan Chelife*, and *Schach Culi* his boy (whom some call *Teckel Scachoculis*, and others *Techellis*) two hypocriticall Persians: who flying into those countries, and with the counterfeit shew of faigned holinesse hauing procured vnto themselues a great name amongst those rude people, with a number of windie headed followers (filled with the noueltie of their new doctrine) raised first such a diuersitie of opinions about the true successours of their vntrue prophet; and afterwards such a rebellion amongst the people, as that the one yet remaineth, and the other was not in a good while after with great bloudshed appeased.

Baiazet by nature peaceable.

But

But for the better vnderſtanding of the ground of theſe troubles, which hapned at this time G
in the raigne of *Baiazet* by occaſion of theſe two fugitiue Perſians; as alſo of the mortall warres
which afterwards enſued betwixt *Hyſmael* (commonly called the great Sophi of PERSIA) and
Selymus, *Baiazet* his ſucceſſor: it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe briefly to declare the great
mutation which at this time hapned in the Perſian kingdome, as well in the ſtate it ſelfe, as in
matters of their ſuperſtition. At ſuch time as *Aſymbeius Vſun-Caſſanes* raigned in PERSIA, there
was one *Haider Erdebil* (whom *Iouius* calleth by the name of *Harduelles*) a man honorably diſ-
cended amongſt the Perſians; who contemning worldly honour, riches, pleaſure, and whatſoe-
uer elſe belonged vnto delicacie of life (commonly accounted the greateſt part of humane feli-
citie) as meere vanities and trifles, led ſuch a ſtraight and auſtere kind of life, with ſuch conti-
nencie and contempt of the world, as that the vulgar people, for moſt part giuen to pleaſure, H
wondering at that in him which they could not or would not themſelues imitate, began to haue
the man in ſingular admiration for the opinion they had conceiued of his vpright life and rare
vertues. The fame of this new prophet (for ſo he was accounted) was growne ſo great in the
Perſian kingdome, that people without number reſorted out of all parts of PERSIA and ARME-
NIA vnto the great citie of TAVRIS to ſee the man. And he the more to ſeduce the multitude
(delighted with nouelties) began to inuay againſt the common receiued opinion of the Maho-
metanes, concerning the true ſucceſſours of their great prophet; and to retiue the opinion of *Gia-
ni*, ſurnamed *Soſi*: perſuading the people (as if he had been inſpired with ſome diuine inſpiration)
That none of the profeſſors of the Mahometane religion ſhould inherit the kingdome of heauen
after they were dead, but ſuch as were the followers of *Haly*, the true ſucceſſour of the great pro- I
phet *Mahomet*, and his fellow in writing. Whom he taught them onely to honour as priuie to
the mind of the great prophet, and ſo to receiue his writings as of all others moſt authenticall; re-
jecting *Ebubekir*, *Omer*, and *Oſman*, with their writings, as moſt wicked & accurſed men; whom
the Turkes had euer, and yet doe with the other Mahometanes, honour and worſhip as the true
ſucceſſours of their great prophet *Mahomet*, and his ſincere interpretors, togither with the afore-
ſaid *Haly*, whom the Perſians doe onely acknowledge: and therefore in their praiers doe com-
monly ſay, *Curſed be Ebubekir, Omer, and Oſman, and God be fauourable to Haly and well pleaſed with him.* Which their difference about the true ſucceſſor of their prophet, in whom was no
truth, hath been, and yet is, one of the greateſt cauſes of the mortall wars betweene the Turks and
Perſians: and not the diuers interpretation of their law (as manie haue written) which among the K
Turkes and Perſians is all one.

The Turks and Perſians differ not about the interpretation of their law, but about the true ſucceſſor of their great prophet Mahomet.

Vſun-Caſſanes mooued with the fame and vertues of this new prophet, or rather (as ſome
thought) deſirous to win the hearts of the multitude of them that had receiued this new phan-
taſie; gaue him in mariage his daughter *Martha*, begotten of the Chriſtian ladie *Deſpina* the
daughter of *Calo Ioannes* emperour of TRAPEZONDE. Which marriage the Chriſtian empe-
rour made with that Mahometane prince, and he alſo accepted thereof, thereby to ſtrengthen
themſelues againſt the Turkiſh emperour *Mahomet* the Great; whoſe power was then become
a terrour vnto all his neighbour princes: but to how ſmall purpoſe this policie ſerued them both,
is before declared in the life of the ſame *Mahomet*. At the concluſion of this marriage, the empe-
rour had ſpecially couenanted with *Vſun-Caſſanes*, that his daughter *Deſpina* might haue the free L
exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion. Whereby it eaſily came to paſſe, that this *Martha* her daugh-
ter, inſtructed by her mother, became a Chriſtian alſo: who now married by her father vnto this
preciſe hypocrit *Haider Erdebil*, in ſhort time bare him a ſonne called *Hyſmael*, whom ſhe ſo
much as ſhe could trained vp in the principles of the Chriſtian religion. Whereby it came
to paſſe, that afterwards when hee had by rare fortune obtained the kingdome of PERSIA,
he alwaies during his life had the Chriſtians in good regard, and neuer found fault with their
religion.

Haider marrieth Martha the daughter of the great king Vſun-Caſſanes.

Haider thus graced with the marriage of the great kings daughter *Martha*, only for his rare
vertues and puritie of life, as was commonly ſuppoſed; grew now into farre greater credit and
eſtimation of the people than before. So that his doctrine and opinions began to be generally M
receiued, and the number of his followers ſo greatly augmented, that *Iacup* ſucceeding his father
Vſun-Caſſanes but lately dead, began to haue the power and credit of *Haider* his brother in law
in ſuſpect; and to diſtruſt leaſt the Perſians (who ſecretly fauoured the remainder of the poſteri-
tie of their auntient kings) ſhould aſſemble togither vnder the colour of this new ſuperſtition,

and

and raise some dangerous rebellion before he were well setled in his seat. For he was not ignorant, that *Asembeius Vsun-Cassanes* (his father) had but by force and pollicie vsurped the kingdome, hauing killed *Molooncbres* the lawfull king: whereof there arose two factions, some fauouring the vsurper, and other some the poore remainder of the discent of their auntient kings of the race of *Tamerlane*. For which causes *Iacup* (as hee was of a suspitious and troublesome nature, and aboue measure jealous of his state, nothing regarding the neere alliance or reputed holinesse of his godly brother in law) caused him, suspecting no such matter, to be secretly murthered: and so hauing strucke off his head, with fire and sword persecuted all the professors of that new doctrine; so to deliuer himselfe for euer of that his vaine and needlesse feare: *Hysmael* the sonne of *Haider* (who was afterwards called the great Sophi of PERSIA) being then but a child, as it were by fatall destinie escaped the furie of his cruell vncle *Iacup*, and fled into HIRCANIA vnto one *Pyrchales* his fathers friend, who then ruled in a small territorie neere vnto the Caspian sea.

Haider Erdebil secretly murdred.

Amongst many other of the disciples and followers of *Haider* (which in that cruell persecution were glad to flie for safegard of their liues) the two before named *Chasan Shelife*, and *Schach Culi*, afterwards surnamed *Cuselbas*, in outward shew both of vertue and learning not inferiour vnto their master, flying that dangerous tempest and passing ouer the riuer Euphrates, came into ARMENIA the lesser, and there tooke vp their dwelling at the great mountaine ANTITAVRVS: at the foot whereof the broken rockes haue diuers darke and obscure caues, made partly by art, and partly by nature; which place is of the inhabitants called *Teke-Ili*: whereof diuers historiographers, I know not whether deceiued by the name of the place, or else wittingly transferring the name of the place vnto the man that liued therein, haue called this *Schach Culi* (who of the two proued of greater fame) by the name of *Techellis*, by which name we will also from henceforth call him. A thing heretofore much vsed amongst the religious, and also some of the children of great princes, who oftentimes bare the names of the places where they were borne, or where they most liued. This place is both wholsome and exceeding pleasant, for the varietie of fruits and liuely springs, wherwith the plaines adjoyning are continually watered, and the mountains at all times of the yeare garnished.

Here *Shelife* with his companion *Techellis*, hauing separated themselues farre from the companie of men, and giuen themselues wholy to a contemplatiue life, for diuers yeares liued most straitly and austerely, contenting themselues with such things as the earth of it selfe affoorded them, without seeking for better. These hipocrits were first seene, and afterwards acquainted with the sheepheards and heardsmen liuing vpon the mountaines: and in processe of time with the rude husbandmen and countrey people, who wondring at their strait and deuout kind of life, relieued them with all things necessarie. Yea *Baiazet* himselfe hearing of their austere and deuout manner of liuing, sent them yearely six or seauen thousand aspers, as his almes giuen them vpon charitie and deuotion. But afterwards when they began to tell fortunes, and as it were by the way of diuination to prognosticat of things to come, the rurall people held them for more than men, and conceiued of them a firme opinion that they were some diuine prophets. And so were by the countrey people first drawne into the countrey villages, and afterwards as if it had been against their wils, into the cities; where they had in short time filled all the countrey farre and neere, with the admiration of their fame. But after they began to publish their new phantasied doctrine concerning the true successour of their great prophet *Mahomet*, they wanted not their new-fangled followers (as had *Haider* their master before among the Persians) who had them in singular reuerence; perswaded now by them, that they should be condemned for euer, if they did not (as they were by them taught) giue the honour of the true successi-on of their great prophet, onely to *Hali*, and him onely to reuerence and call vpon next vnto the great prophet himselfe.

When they had thus with their often sermons and blind propheeies seduced the people, and in short time woon great credit amongst the vulgar sort, of themselues too much giuen to noueltie and superstition; they commanded their disciples and followers to weare vpon their Turkish hats a red band or riband, whereby to be knowne from others that were not of their profession. Of which red bands or ribands, they which professed this new superstition, were and yet are ouer all the East part of the world called by the name of *Cuselbassas*, which is to say *Red heads*.

The beginning of the Cuselbassas.

Hysmaell

Hyſmaell his behauiour in the time of his exile.

Hyſmaell alſo liuing in exile, moſt earneſtly embraced that new ſuperſtition which *Haider* his father had before taught in PERSIA, but with farre better fortune and ſucceſſe. For as ſoone as he was growne to mans eſtate, he following his fathers manner of life, and being by nature wonderfull eloquent, comely of perſon, exceeding wiſe, and of an inuincible courage, was of the rude vulgar people accounted of more like a god than a man: ſo that he grew to be of great fame and power amongſt thoſe barbarous people with whom he liued. And not the baſe and vulgar ſort only, but diuers noblemen alſo and others of good reputation, once allured with the noueltie of his doctrine, the more to manifeſt their good will towards the author of their ſect; after they had forſaken their old ſuperſtition, ceaſed not (as the manner of men is) to cõmend him in the higheſt degree of vertue & honor. And he himſelfe as yet but a youth, altogether bending his wit to the ſetting forth of himſelfe, making ſemblant of more than was indeed in him, obtained, as if it had beene againſt his will, riches, honour, fame, and authoritie; of all which things, hee as a notable diſſembler ſeemed to make no account or reckoning: neither were there ſome wanting which would ſweare, that *Haider* his father (as he was an excellent Aſtronomer) calculating his natiuitie, ſhould ſay, That he ſhould prooue a great prophet, and the author of true religion, who ſubduing the greateſt part of the Eaſt, ſhould become as glorious both in matters of religion and martiall affaires, as was *Mahomet* the Great prophet himſelfe. Which report being bruted abroad amongſt the vulgar people, greatly encreaſed his authoritie, and gaue them occaſion to talke of wonders. Not long after *Hyſmaell* was firſt by the admiration or rather aſſentation of his friends and followers, and afterwards as if it had ben by a generall conſent, ſurnamed *Sophos*: which amongſt thoſe people ſignifieth a Wiſe man, or the interpreter of the gods. Theſe proſperous beginnings, with the troubled ſtate of the Perſian kingdome, encouraged him to take in hand great matters: for his vncle *Iacup* the Perſian king was long before dead, being together with his ſonne poyſoned by his adulterous wife: which thing he preſently perceiuing, enforced her to drinke of the ſame cup; and becauſe he would be ſure that ſhe ſhould not eſcape, with his owne hand ſtrucke off her head, and immediately after died, with his ſonne. After whoſe death great troubles aroſe about the ſucceſsion: and diuers great men one after another aſpired to the kingdome, which they enjoyed not long. And amongſt the reſt *Eluan-beg* (whom *Iouius* calleth *Aluantes*) at that time ſtood in no ſure poſſeſsion of the kingdome, being mightily impugned by his brother *Moratchamus*.

Hyſmaell returneth into Armenia, and recouereth his inheritance.

Hyſmaell taking hold of this opportunitie, armed diuers of the moſt able men of his followers, and receiuing ſome ſmall aid from his poore old friend *Pyrchales*, entered into ARMENIA, and there partly by the fame that ran of him, and partly by the good will of the people, rather than by any force, recouered his fathers inheritance, whereunto the remembrance of his dead father did not a little further him. He encouraged with this good beginning, dayly grew ſtronger and ſtronger, by the continuall repairing vnto him of ſuch as hauing once receiued the doctrine of *Haider*, were glad of long for (feare of perſecution) to diſſemble the ſame: but now hauing got an head and cheefetaine to cleaue vnto, began openly to ſhew themſelues againe, and in great number to reſort vnto him, in hope of the good ſucceſſe of their religion, not ſo happely begun by his father.

Sumachia taken by Hyſmaell.

His power thus dayly encreaſing beyond his expectation, he laied ſiege vnto SVMACHIA, a citie in the confines of MEDIA, which he tooke by force and ſacked: and with the ſpoile thereof both enriched and armed his ſouldiors, which before were for moſt part naked men. The taking of this citie wonderfully encreaſed both his fame and courage, as oftentimes it falleth out, That haughtie minds, courageouſly attempting high exploits, by the good euent of their firſt attempts make way vnto the full of their ſtately deſires. So after this, *Hyſmaell* his thoughts were not ſo low, as to thinke of the taking of this or that litle citie; but how he might now compaſſe the great citie of TAVRIS, the very ſeat of the Perſian kings, and afterwards the kingdome it ſelfe. Whereupon repoſing no leſſe confidence in his owne good fortune, than the valour of his ſouldiors, he marched with his armie directly to the citie of TAVRIS, and that with ſuch expedition, that he was come before it before any ſuch thing was feared, much leſſe prouided for. *Eluan* the Perſian king was then at TAVRIS, and had but a little before fought a great battaile with his brother *Moratchamus* for the kingdome: and hauing vanquiſhed him, draue him out of ARMENIA and PERSIA; and afterwards, as it commonly falleth out in the winding vp of ciuile warres, had cauſed diuers of the cheefe citiſens of TAVRIS, which had taken part with his bro-

Hyſmaell commeth to Tauris.

brother againſt him, to be ſeuerely executed, filling the eyes of their friends with the horrible ſpectacle of their diſmembred bodies, and the hearts of moſt men with ſorrow and heauineſſe: whereby he had ſo alienated the minds of the citiſens from him, that now vpon the approch of *Hyſmaell*, they were all readie to forſake him: of which their diſpoſition *Hyſmaell* was beforehand enformed, and vpon the good hope thereof had haſted his comming. *Eluan* the Perſian king thus ouertaken on the ſuddaine, had not time to raiſe ſuch forces as might ſuffice either to encounter his enemie, or defend the citie; wherefore deſpairing of his owne ſtrength, and juſtly fearing the reuolt and furie of the diſcontented citiſens, as a man diſmayed, ſuddainely fled out of the citie. After whoſe departure the gates were preſently ſet open vnto *Hyſmaell*. For the citiſens which in thoſe troubleſome times (wherein the two brethren contended for the kingdome) had ſuffered great calamitie, choſe rather in that preſent danger to receiue a conqueror of ſo great fame as was then *Hyſmaell*, than to their vtter deſtruction to oppoſe themſelues againſt him in the quarrell of their cruell king: and the rather, for that they ſaw a generall ſecuritie and open way to preferment propoſed vnto all ſuch as ſhould receiue the reformed religion of this new conquerour.

Hyſmaell entering the citie, ſlew certaine of the kings guard which were not yet departed, and then vtterly raſed the ſtately tombe wherin his vncle *Iacup* was after the manner of the Perſian kings royally buried. And to mitigate the ſorrow hee had ſo long conceiued of his fathers death, and with reuenge to appeaſe his angrie ghoſt, he cauſed the tyrants bornes to be digged vp and ſcattered abroad, and the memoriall of his name to bee quite raſed out of all places of the citie.

Hyſmaell taketh the citie of Tauris, and defaceth the tombe of his vncle Iacup.

Although *Hyſmaell* was thus poſſeſſed of the regall citie of TAVRIS, and had therby made a way for the obtaining of the whole kingdome; yet hee knew that ſo long as *Eluan* liued, his conqueſt was not vnto him aſſured: and therefore to the vttermoſt of his power he augmented his armie with new ſupplies taken vp in that populous citie, whom he furniſhed with armour and weapons taken out of the kings armourie. In the meane time newes was brought vnto him, that the Perſian king before fled into the fartheſt part of his kingdome, was now comming from SCYRAS with a great armie againſt him; and that *Moratchamus* his brother, forgetting in this common danger all former quarrels, had raiſed a great armie about BABILON in ASSYRIA, in ſhort time to joine with his brother.

Hyſmaell neuertheleſſe nothing terrified with the report of the great preparation of the two brethren againſt him, to the intent hee might ſeeme to vndertake this warre by the appointment of God, and vpon a greater aſſurance than vpon his owne ſtrength, reſolued to go againſt them. And ſo after he had muſtered his armie, and in beſt manner he could prouided all things neceſſarie, he ſet forward from TAVRIS: vſing no other perſuaſion to encourage his ſouldiors, but that they ſhould as became reſolute men, make haſt and follow him whom God had giuen them for a cheefetaine and leader, vnto a moſt aſſured victorie. The Perſian king was at the ſame time ten dayes journey from TAVRIS, when *Hyſmaell* with incredible celeritie preuenting the fame of his comming, was come to the mountaine NIPHATES, which parteth ARMENIA from ASSYRIA: which mountaine *Eluan* purpoſing ſhortly to paſſe ouer with his populous armie, had ſent before his ſcouts to diſcouer the ſtraight paſſages, and a multitude of pioners to make the wayes more commodious for his great armie to paſſe. Which thing *Hyſmaell* vnderſtanding, and politickely conſidering that it ſhould be much for his aduantage, if hee ſhould firſt himſelfe paſſe ouer thoſe great mountaines, and ſo vpon the ſuddaine ſet vpon his enemies then lying in ſecuritie, and fearing nothing leſſe than ſuch a deſperat attempt: vpon that reſolution aduanced his enſignes vp the mountaines; and hauing with ſmall reſiſtance diſcomfited them which kept the paſſages, came downe the ſame mountaines like a tempeſt, and furiouſly aſſailed the king, then lying in his campe on the other ſide at the foot of the mountaine: vpon the approch of whom, ſuch a hurly burly was raiſed in the kings campe, that what for the confuſed tumult of the ſouldiors, and fearefull outcries of the multitude of baſe people which followed the campe, the king could ſcarcely giue order vnto his captaines what he would haue done, or yet encourage his ſouldiors, or put them in order of battaile. So that *Hyſmaell* giuing a fierce onſet with his Armenian ſouldiors, there was ſuddainely begun a moſt terrible and bloodie battaile. Neither did that day the fortune of *Hyſmaell* faile him, whoſe courage and proweſſe neuer failed: For aſſailing the kings battaile of footmen, with three ſquadrons at once, he had ouercome them and put them

Hyſmaell goeth againſt the Perſian king.

them to flight before that the horſemen could arme themſelues and mount their horſes, which G
were for moſt part vnſadled and vnbrideled at his comming. The king, who had nothing either
feared or foreſeene this ſo ſuddaine a miſcheefe, but had vainely perſuaded himſelfe, That the ve-
ry fame of his comming with ſo huge an armie, would ſo terrifie his enemies, as that hee ſhould
find none either at TAVRIS, or in all ARMENIA, that durſt make reſiſtance; was glad now to
run too and fro to encourage his ſouldiors, to ſtay his diſcomfited battailes, yea and to come to
handie blowes himſelfe. But when neither his captaines nor ſouldiors could put in execution his
ſuddaine directions which he was enforced to giue in that imminent danger, being at once ouer-
come with ſhame and deſperation, he reſolutely thruſt himſelfe into the head of his battaile, and
Eluan the Per- there valiantly fighting, was ſlaine. Whereupon the Perſian horſemen, the greateſt ſtrength of
ſian king ſlaine. the kings armie, hauing now no king for whom they ſhould fight, betooke themſelues to flight, H
after whom followed the archers and all the reſt of the kings armie.

When as *Hyſmaell* had with leſſe loſſe than a man would haue thought ſo great a vi-
ctorie could haue beene atchieued, poſſeſſed the enemies tents, hee made no great purſute after
them, for that he thought it more requiſit to refreſh his ſouldiors, throughly wearied and almoſt
ſpent with long trauell and the late fight: wherefore for certaine dayes he repoſed himſelfe with
his armie in thoſe his enemies forſaken tents. Afterwards, when hee had receiued embaſſadours
from diuers places, yeelding their cities and townes, and that the fauour of the people generally
enclined to him, together with the victorie; he marched with his armie to SCYRAS, where hee
was of the citiſens, who had before heard of the victorie, joyfully receiued, and his armie relie-
ued with all things he could deſire. *Hyſmaell* there entertained with the greateſt honours that I
the fearefull citiſens could poſsibly attribute vnto him, did oftentimes preach vnto them of the
truth and excellencie of his fathers doctrine, and withall gaue out ſtraight proclamations, That
he would account all them for his enemies, which did not within the ſpace of thirtie dayes re-
nounce their old ſuperſtition, and receiue this new found veritie (as he would haue it.) Where-
fore for as much as on the one ſide were propoſed moſt certaine rewards, by the happie courſe of
his victories; and on the other, was threatened exile and torture to ſuch as ſhould obſtinatly per-
ſiſt in their opinion; in ſhort time hee drew all the vulgar people to embrace his new doctrine.
And afterwards hauing payed his ſouldiors with the riches of that great citie, he gallantly furni-
ſhed both his old and new ſouldiors that wanted armour, with moſt excellent armour and fur-
niture: for in that citie, one of the greateſt and moſt famous of the Eaſt, were many ſhops full of K
all kind of armour, which the armourers with wonderfull cunning vſed to make of yron and
ſteele and the juice of certaine hearbes, of much more notable temper & beautie than are thoſe
which are made with vs in EVROPE; not onely headpeeces, cuiraſſes, and complete armors, but
whole capariſons for horſes, curiouſly made of thin plates of yron and ſteele. Departing from
SCYRAS, he tooke alſo the great cities of SAPHA, ſuppoſed to haue been the citie in antient time
called SVSA, and SVLTANIA, which for the wonderfull ruines of the huge buildings, is deemed
Hyſmaell goeth to haue been the antient and famous citie TIGRANOCERTA. Theſe great matters quickely diſ-
againſt Mora- patched, and hauing in euery citie placed gouernours of his owne ſect, hee paſſed ouer the riuer
chamus. of TIGRIS into MESOPOTAMIA, of purpoſe to expulſe *Moratchamus* the late kings brother
out of BABILON, who was yet in armes, and had entended (as is before ſaid) to haue paſſed into L
ARMENIA, to haue joyned his forces with the king his brother: but now terrified with his bro-
thers calamitie (who together with a moſt puiſſant armie, and the ſtrength of the Perſian king-
dome, was in one day fallen from the height of ſo great a fortune) thought it not beſt to trie his
fortune in the field againſt ſo fortunate an enemie, but forthwith to withdraw himſelfe into the
remoteſt places of that large kingdome, and from thence to expect ſome better fortune. For he
well knew that he was not able to withſtand his victorious enemy, now leading after him a moſt
puiſſant armie, who not long before had with a ſmall power vanquiſhed & ſlain his brother in a
great battell. *Hyſmaell* now by the greatneſſe of his fame and forces, and as it were by the fauor of
God himſelfe, become a terror to all the princes of the Eaſt, entered into MESOPOTAMIA after
the flight of *Moratchamus*, & receiued all that great prouince into his ſubjection, euery man as it M
were ſtriuing who ſhould firſt by his ſpeedy ſubmiſsion purchaſe the fauor of the victorious con-
queror. To be breefe, *Moratchamus* alreadie terrified, and repoſing no great hope in himſelfe, or
his own power, neither deeming it for his ſafetie to ſhut himſelfe vp within the wals of any ſtrong
citie, truſſed vp his things of greateſt price, and with his wiues and children fled into ARABIA.

This

This *Moratchamus* is he whom ſome hiſtoriographers call *Mara Beg*, and is in the Turkes hiſtories called *Imirſa Beg*, who (as they report) afterwards marrying the daughter of *Baiazet*, and recouering part of the Perſian kingdome, was ſuddenly murthered by ſome of his nobilitie, whom he purpoſed ſecretly to haue put to death, if they had not preuented the ſame by murthering of him firſt. *Hyſmaell* hauing victoriouſly ſubdued a great part of the Perſian kingdome, and filled all the Eaſt part of the world with the glorie of his name, returned out of ASSYRIA into MEDIA, and tooke in ſuch cities and ſtrong holds as were yet holden by the garriſons of the late Perſian king. And afterwards returning into ARMENIA, made wars vpon the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, which dwell vpon the borders of the Caſpian: For that thoſe nations, in auntient times tributaries vnto the Perſian kings, taking the benefit of the long ciuile warres wherewith the kingdome of PERSIA and all the Eaſterne countries, with the ruine of the kings houſe, had been of late turmoiled; had neither paied anie tribute by the ſpace of foure yeares, nor ſent anie honourable embaſſage as they were wont, and as was expected, eſpecially in ſo great a victorie and alteration of the ſtate.

Hyſmaell hauing thus obtained the Perſian kingdome, in ſhort time became famous through the world, and was juſtly accounted amongſt the greateſt monarchs of that age. But nothing made him more to be ſpoken of, than the innouation he had made in the Mahometane ſuperſtition: for by his deuiſe and commaundement, a new forme of prayer was brought into their Mahometane temples, farre differing from that which had been of long time before vſed. By reaſon whereof, *Ebubekir*, *Homer*, and *Oſman*, the ſucceſſours of their great prophet *Mahomet*, before had in great regard and reuerence, began now to be contemned, & their writings nothing regarded: and the honour of *Hali* exalted, as the true and onely ſucceſſour of their great prophet. And becauſe he would haue his ſubjects and the followers of his doctrine knowne from the Turkes and other Mahometanes, he commaunded that they ſhould all weare ſome red hatband, lace, or riband vpon their heads; which they religiouſly obſerue in PERSIA vntill this day: whereof they are of the Turkes called *Cuſelbas* or *Redheads*. And in ſhort time he had ſo vſed the matter, that he was wonderfully both beloued and reuerenced of his ſubjects: inſomuch that his ſayings were accounted for diuine oracles, and his commaundements for lawes. So that when they would confirme anie thing by ſolemne oath, they would ſweare by the head of *Hyſmaell* the king: and when they wiſhed well to anie man, they vſually ſaid, *Hyſmaell* grant thee thy deſire. Vpon his coine which he made both of ſiluer and gold, on the one ſide was written theſe words, *La illahe illalahu, Muhamedun reſul allahe:* which is to ſay, *There are no gods but one, and Mahomet is his meſſenger.* And on the other ſide, *Iſmaill halife lullahe*; which is to ſay, *Hyſmaell the Vicar of God.*

Hyſmaell exceedingly beloued and honoured of his ſubiects.

Whileſt *Hyſmaell* was thus wreſtling for the Perſian kingdome, *Chaſan Chelife* and *Techellis* (whom wee haue a little before declared to haue beene brought out of the mountaines and deſarts into the countrey villages, and afterwards into the cities; and to haue filled the countries of ARMENIA and a great part of the Leſſer ASIA with the noueltie of their new doctrine and opinions, firſt phantaſied by one *Giunet Siech*, and afterward reuiued by *Haider Erdebill Hyſmaell* his father) hauing gathered a great armie of ſuch as had receiued their doctrine, inuaded the Turkes dominion. For after that *Techellis* (this cold prophet) had with wonderfull felicitie in the preſence of manie prognoſticated of things to come; and *Hyſmaell* the Sophi (of late a poore exiled and baniſhed man) was thought to haue growne vnto the higheſt type of worldly honours, not by mans helpe, but by vprightneſſe of life, and the fortunate paſſage of an vndoubted religion: ſuch a deſire of receiuing that new ſuperſtition poſſeſſed the mindes of the people in generall, that the cities and townes thereabouts were now full of them which in token of their new profeſsion had taken vpon them the wearing of the red hat, the knowne [illegible]nce of the *Cuſelbas*. Firſt they met togither at the citie of TASCIA at the foot of the mount[illegible] ANTITAVRVS, or as the Turkiſh hiſtorie reports, at the citie of ATTALIA, to the number of ten thouſand vpon a great Faire day; where they laied hands vpon the chiefe magiſtrate of the citie and executed him, ſetting his quarters vpon foure of the higheſt towers of the citie: and farther perſuaded by theſe new maſters of this new ſuperſtition, to take vp armes in defence of themſelues and of their ſincere religion (as they tearmed it) in caſe that anie violence ſhould be offered them by the irreligious Turkes; they all ſwore neuer to forſake their captaines for anie diſtreſſe, or yet refuſe anie labour or aduenture for the honour of their moſt holy religion (as they would

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Chaſan Chelife and Techellis inuade the Turkes dominions.

would haue it) in defence whereof, they had alreadie vowed their ſoules and bodies. Theſe ring-leaders of rebellion, ſeeing the minds of their franticke followers ſo well prepared for their purpoſe, and repoſing a great confidence in their valour and reſolution; and withall conſidering that the money which was bountifully brought in vnto them by the countrey people, partly for deuotion, partly for feare, was not ſufficient to maintaine ſo great a multitude; gaue leaue by publike proclamation to their vnruly followers, to forage the countrey round about them, and to liue vpon the ſpoile of them which would not receiue that new found doctrine. Whereupon they deuiding themſelues into diuers companies, and raunging vp & down the country, brought into the campe great abundance of cattell and other ſuch things as the countrey yeelded: and forthwith (their multitude ſtill encreaſing) they entered into LYCAONIA, a populous and fruitfull countrey, where they refreſhed themſelues manie daies, roaming vp and downe to the great grieuance and terrour of the people: and brought ſuch a feare vpon the whole countrey, that they which dwelt in open dorpes and villages, were glad to flie with their wiues, children, and goods into the ſtrong citie of ICONIVM: for proclamations were in manie places ſet vp in the names of *Chaſan Chelife* and *Techellis*, wherein manie both ſpirituall and temporall bleſsings were in moſt ample manner propoſed to all ſuch as ſhould forthwith take part with them, and follow that their new doctrine alreadie eſtabliſhed in PERSIA: But vnto ſuch as ſhould obſtinatly perſeuere in their old ſuperſtition, after they had once drawne their ſword, was threatened vtter deſtruction without hope of pardon or life. So that all the inhabitants thereabouts, terrified with the terrour of this proclamation, ſome for feare of death, ſome vpon vnconſtancie; ſome for ſafegard of their goods and poſſeſsions (dearer vnto them then any religion) ſome other indebted, infamous, in danger of law: beſide manie fugitiue ſeruants daily reſorted to theſe new maſters. Not long after, whileſt the Turks were making preparation for the ſuppreſsing of this dangerous rebellion, certaine troupes of horſemen ſent from *Hyſmaell* came in good time to theſe new prophets: for *Hyſmaell* in fauour and furtherance of that new ſuperſtition, had a little before by fit meſſengers, exhorted them to proceed couragiouſly in their ſo religious an enterpriſe, and to joyne martiall force vnto the religion they profeſſed: promiſing further, not to bee wanting vnto them at their need, but to ſend them skilfull leaders, and from time to time to furniſh them with coine for the maintenance of that warre. All this *Hyſmaell* did openly in deſpight of *Baiazet*, of ſmall beginnings to ſow the ſeed of greater warre. For he bearing an old grudge againſt *Baiazet*, for the former warres betwixt the Turkes and the Perſians, as alſo for their diſagreement in matters concerning their ſuperſtition; and prickt forward with the heat of youth, deſired nothing more in the greatneſſe of his power, and proſperous ſucceſſe of his affaires, than to haue occaſion to make wars with the Turkiſh king: For which purpoſe he ſent his embaſſadours vnto the ſtate of VENICE to joyne with them in league and amitie, in ſuch forme ond ſort, as they had long time before by *Catarinus Zenus*, *Barbarus* and *Contarenus* their embaſſadours, concluded with *Vſun-Caſſanes* the great Perſian king his grandfather. The chiefe things that he requeſted of the Venetians was, That they would ſend him out of ITALIE by the way of SYRIA, men skilfull in the caſting of great ordinance, and with their fleet to trouble *Baiazet* by ſea: promiſing in the meane time himſelfe to fill ASIA the leſſe with his army by land, and ſo to giue a faire occaſion vnto them, to recouer by ſea all ſuch places, as they had before in the late warres loſt vnto the Turkes vpon the coaſt of PELOPONESVS and GRÆCIA.

Hyſmael ſendeth embaſſadors vnto the Venetians, to ioyne in league with them againſt Baiazet.

The Venetians hauing with all courteſie entertained the embaſſadours, gaue them anſwere, That they would neuer be forgetfull of the antient league and amitie they had made with the Perſian king; the remembrance whereof, was vnto their ſtate a thing moſt pleaſant: and that they were wonderfull glad, that the new king was an enemie vnto the Turke, and had them in ſuch [redacted]d, as to participat vnto them the cauſes of that warre: and farther to promiſe vnto them thoſe things, which if his grandfather *Vſun-Caſſanes* or his vnckle *Iacup* would haue performed, he ſhould not now haue had need to make warres with the Turkiſh emperour. But ſuch was the alteration of things and times, that as the Perſian kings then liuing at home in peace, thought it not good to ſtir whileſt *Baiazet* was buſie in EVROPE; ſo now their ſtate ſtanding in far worſe condition and fortune, could not performe that which they heartily wiſhed, and moſt of all deſired: for that they thought it not good to breake the league which they had not long before made with *Baiazet* the Turkiſh emperour: eſpecially then, when ſundrie warlike nations of EVROPE conſpiring togither, and diuers mightie kings prouoked with no injurie, but onely enuying

ing at their happie eſtate, made warres vpon them; yet were neuertheleſſe in good hope, that God would ſtand in their juſt defence, and ſtill preſerue their ſtate, which no enemies power had for the ſpace of 700 yeares and more, euer beene able to ouercome. Wherefore they ſhould ſhew vnto their king, that they would as occaſion ſhould ſerue, and as it ſhould ſtand with the good of their ſtate, doe their vttermoſt deuoire, to make him vnderſtand, that nothing was deerer vnto them than the friendſhip of ſo great a king: nor anie thing more honourable than by mutuall counſell and combined forces, to aſſaile the Turke their common enemie.

Shortly after, the embaſſadours (hauing obtained nothing more than the hope of a league to be in time concluded, and being honourably rewarded) returned with their gallies to CYPRVS, and ſo from thence to SYRIA, where they had ſecret conference with *Petrus Zenus* (the ſonne of *Caterinus Zenus*, a man famous for his embaſſage vnto *Vſun-Caſſanes* into PERSIA) gouernour of the Venetian merchants at DAMASCO. Which thing *Baiazet* hauing intelligence of, and of the paſſage of the Perſian embaſſadors that way, cõplained grieuouſly both by his embaſſadors and letters vnto *Campſon Gaurus* Sultan of Ægypt, that he dealt not as a friend and confederat with him, in ſuffering thoſe embaſſadours ſo to paſſe through the middeſt of SYRIA vnto the Chriſtians their common enemies, to ſtir them vp to warre. Whereupon, all the Venetian merchants which were at TRIPOLIS, ALEPPO, DAMASCO, BERYTVS, and ALEXANDRIA, and eſpecially *Zenus* himſelfe, were forthwith apprehended by the commandement of the great Sultan, and carried in bonds to CAIER: whete they were manie times enforced in chaines to anſwere vnto ſuch things as were laid to their charge, and after they had by the ſpace of a yeare endured the manifold deſpights of the prowd Mamalukes, hardly obtained to eſcape with life and libertie.

The two ſeditious prophets *Chaſan* and *Techellis* well ſtrengthned with the aid of the Perſians, were now come vnto ICONIVM the moſt famous citie of LYCAONIA; and waſting all the country before them, drew a great multitude of people to receiue their new doctrine. For the repreſsing of which outrages, *Orchanes* and *Mahomethes*, two of *Baiazet* his nephews (who in ſteed of their fathers *Alem Schach* and *Tzihan Schach*, the ſonnes of *Baiazet* before dead, gouerned thoſe countries) gathered togither their forces, and diſdaining to ſuffer ſuch diſgrace by ſuch a rabble of raſcall people, in the ſight of ſo famous a citie, came into the field to giue them battell. But they in their youthfull heat making too much haſt, and joyning battell in a place of diſuantage, were by the rebels ouerthrowne and put to flight. Neither would theſe ringleaders in that victorie haue forborne to haue aſſailed ICONIVM, but that they wanted artillerie and engines of war requiſit for the beſieging of cities.

Orchanes and Mahometes two of Baiazet his nephewes ouerthrowne by Techellis.

Corcutus alſo one of the ſonnes of *Baiazet*, hauing at the ſame time leuied a conuenient army about THYATIRA, SYPILVS, MAGNESIA, and PHOCEA, durſt not farther ſtur or ſet forward againſt the rebels, although they lay diſperſed about the countrey faſt by him. Theſe new prophets with enſignes diſplaied, marching from countrey to countrey through the heart of the leſſer ASIA, entered at length into BYTHINIA, where neere vnto the riuer Sangarius they met with *Caragoſes Baſſa* the Viceroy of ASIA, comming againſt them with a great army well appointed, which he had a little before raiſed vpon the bruit of the comming of theſe rebels; and had alſo commaunded *Acomathes* (whom the Turkes call *Achmetes*) the eldeſt ſonne of *Baiazet* then liuing, gouernour of the great countries of CAPADOCIA and PONTVS, to raiſe his power, and to follow at the backe of the rebels: who if they ſhould hap to be put to the worſe, would neither be able to retire, neither to keepe the field, being ſo ſhut vp betwixt two great armies. But *Techellis* by his ſpeedie comming, fruſtrated theſe deſignes of the Viceroy: for marching with all poſsible ſpeed, he was vpon *Caragoſes* before he was well aware of his comming, neere vnto the mountaine HORMYNVS; as he was then taking vp of mo ſouldiours, and daily expected the comming of others, as if he had beene going againſt ſome puiſſant enemie. The Viceroy ſeeing the rebels approach, although he had before not purpoſed to haue encountred them before he had raiſed farre greater forces: thought it not now to ſtand with his honour to refuſe to giue them battell, although his armie for moſt part conſiſted of the rude countrey peaſants, taken vp vpon the ſudden out of PAPHLAGONIA, GALATIA, PONTVS, and BYTHINIA, raw ſouldiours, and for moſt part vnarmed: as commonly they are which in thoſe countries are preſſed againſt their wils out of the townes and villages, and are of the Turkes called Aſapi, who of the Ianizaries are ſcarcely accounted for men. But his greateſt confidence he reſ ij poſed

poſed in the approued valour of his auntient horſemen, by whoſe meanes he doubted not, in ſafetie to retire out of the battell, and to ſaue himſelfe if anie thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than well; making no great account of the common ſouldiours more than by them if he could to weaken the force of the rebels: who on the other ſide (their greateſt force conſiſting of footmen) had no hope to ſaue themſelues by flight, but onely by plaine valour and dint of ſword. Which *Techellis* well conſidering, exhorted his ſouldiours to remember into what countrey they were come, and that there was no cities of refuge, no new power, no other gods of defence to flie vnto, if they ſhould not that day play the men: Wherefore let vs couragiouſly (ſaid he) ſet forward againſt our enemies, and by victorie defend our liues, togither with the truth of our religion, for which we haue vowed both our ſoules and bodies. He had ſcarce ſaid thus much, but that his whole army (in token of cheerfulneſſe) gaue a moſt terrible ſhout, & without farther ſtay, ſet vpon their enemies. The Viceroy had placed his footmen in the maine battell in the middle, and his horſemen in the wings, thereby to haue compaſſed in his enemies: but *Techellis* had ſet all his footmen in one great ſquare battell, and his Perſian horſemen for a refuge. But the Viceroy his freſhwater ſouldiors, could ſcarcely abide the ſight of *Techellis* his army: for in the front of the battell ſtood ſouldiours throughly armed, and all the reſt of his armie with red hats vpon their heads, as if they had been embrued with bloud, which wonderfully terrified the Baſſaes cowardly and vnskilfull ſouldiors: ſo that hauing endured the fight ſcarcely halfe an houre, they all turned their backs and fled. The Turkiſh horſemen which had valiantly aſſailed the rebels army on both ſides, although they had ſlaine manie with their arrowes and launces, and ſomewhat diſordered the battell, for that the footmen were enforced to leaue their places, and to preſſe ſtill on forwards againſt them; yet when *Techellis* his ſouldiours (hauing ouercome the footmen, and diuiding themſelues into diuers ſquadrons) began with their long pikes to kill their horſes, and to lay hardly vnto them, they likewiſe betooke themſelues to flight alſo. Then the Perſian horſemen (which all this while had ſtood ſtill as lookers on) left their ſtandings, and following the chaſe ſlew manie of the Turkes in their diſordered flight: and following faſt on, encloſed the Viceroy as he was ſtaying of his horſemen, and could not for the thickneſſe of the duſt well diſcerne his enemies; ſo that he had beene there taken, if he had not beene ſpeedily reſcued by his guard, and ſo deliuered from that danger: The reſt of the Turkes horſemen ſaued themſelues by flight. In this battell ſeauen thouſand of the Turkes footmen were ſlaine, and all their enſignes taken, with great ſtore of prouiſion.

The battell betweene Caragoſes and Techellis.

After which victorie, *Chaſan* and *Techellis* reſting their armie one day, marched to the citie of CVTAIE, neere vnto the mountaine HORMINIVS: This citie is ſcituated as it were in the middeſt of ASIA the leſſe, and is the ſeat of the Turkiſh emperours Viceroy in ASIA; as SOPHIA in MŒSIA is for his other Viceroy in EVROPE: For it was reported, that the country people had for feare of the preſent warre, conuaied thither the greateſt part of their wealth; and the rebels well knew, that the Viceroy himſelfe with his chiefe horſemen were fled thither alſo: Neither doubted they, but that all the armie might be greatly enriched by the wealth of that citie, if they ſhould without delay employ their whole forces for the gaining thereof; their enemies now altogither diſcouraged with their late ouerthrow. *Techellis* alſo deeming that enterpriſe of ſo much worth as whereon to gage his whole forces, comming before the citie, placed ſuch field pieces as he had before taken in the battell, and his archers in ſuch fit places as might moſt annoy the defendants; afterwards hee cauſed ſcaling ladders to be ſet vp, and proclamation made through all his campe, That the whole ſpoile of the citie ſhould be the ſouldiours, if they could take it; with promiſe of greater rewards to them that ſhould firſt recouer the top of the walles. Filled with this hope, the rebellious multitude approched the wall, fearing neither enemies force, multitude of ſhot, or danger of death; ſtriuing who ſhould firſt mount the ladders, and ſome clambering one in the necke of another, ſo to get vp by the ruines of the wall. The defendants in the meane time from aboue caſting downe vpon them great ſtones, timber, fire, ſcalding water, lime, ſand, and ſuch like without meaſure: Wherwith although many were ouerthrown and cruſht to death or ſpoiled, yet others preſently ſtept vp in their place; neither was anie of them ſeene for feare of ſo preſent danger, to ſhrinke backe or be diſcouraged. For the Viceroy on the one ſide, and *Techellis* on the other, were both eyewitneſſes of euery mans valour in that hot ſeruice: the one prickt forward with doubtfull hope, for feare to be enforced to giue ouer the aſſault ſo begun; and the other, with the due regard of his honour, life, and ſtate, all ſubject to that danger;

Techellis beſieged Caragoſes the Viceroy in the citie of Cutaie.

ger; and therefore in perſon himſelfe performed all the parts of a woorthie cheefetaine and couragious ſouldior. But at length the defendants wearied with the fierce aſſault of the enemie, and for moſt part wounded, *Techellis* continually ſending in freſh men, and withdrawing ſuch as were hurt, by plaine force brake into the citie in two places ouer the heapes of the dead bodies: and hauing repulſed the defendants, burſt open one of the gates, and thereby brought in his whole armie. Then began a miſerable ſlaughter of the ſouldiors and poore citizens in euery houſe and corner of the citie. At which inſtant, the pallace whether the viceroy had retired himſelfe with his familie, was alſo taken. The viceroy himſelfe, with his wiues and children, were there alſo taken priſoners, and the ſtately pallace built of marble, in a trice conſumed with fire.

Caragoſes the viceroy with his wiues and children taken by Techellis in the citie of Cutaie.

The rich citie of CVTAIE, the ſeat of the great commander of the Turkiſh empire in ASIA, thus taken by *Techellis*, and his whole armie both beautified and enriched with the ſpoile thereof: he perſuaded himſelfe, that it was now no hard matter for him to take the citie of PRVSA alſo, the antient ſeat of the Turkiſh kings in BYTHINIA, and ſo to endanger the whole ſtate of the Turkes empire in ASIA, if he ſhould now without delay carrie the terrour of himſelfe thither, before the Turkes could in that countrey make head againſt him, or the citizens be able in ſo ſuddaine a feare to make any ſufficient prouiſion for the defence of themſelues and their cities; and ſo in the courſe of his good fortune to vſe the courage and cheerefulneſſe of his ſouldiors. Wherefore appointing a day when he would ſet forward, he commaunded all things neceſſarie to bee made readie for the taking of that rich citie, being neither ſtrongly walled neither furniſhed with any good garriſon for the defence thereof.

But whileſt hee was making this preparation, a new armie, lately ſhipt ouer the Helleſpont from CALLIPOLIS into ASIA, enforced him to change his former determination. For *Baiazet* awaked at the name of *Techellis*, and the fame of the new ſuperſtition now generally receiued in PERSIA, had long before giuen commaundement to his ſonnes, nephewes, and the viceroy of ASIA, That they ſhould with all carefulneſſe prouide, that that part of his kingdome tooke no harme thereby. But after he ſaw *Techellis* of a poore hermit become a great captaine, and backt alſo with the Perſian king, and all his dominions in ASIA now in danger of ſome great alteration, he ſent *Alis Baſſa* ouer with his Europeian armie. This *Alis* an eunuch, borne in MACEDONIA (yet for his courage comparable with the greateſt captaines) had for his many and worthie deſerts, in the time of the great emperour *Mahomet*, *Baiazet* his father, got vnto himſelfe both the honour and name of a moſt famous cheefetaine. He hauing made choice of the principall horſemen of EPIRVS, MACEDONIA, SERVIA, ILLYRIA, and THRACIA, and joyning vnto them ſeuen thouſand Ianizaries (the moſt aſſured hope of the Turkes in all their expeditions) paſſed ouer from CALLIPOLIS into PHRYGIA, and vpon the way directed his letters vnto *Achomates* and *Corcutus*, *Baiazet* his ſonnes, and to all the other Sanzackes and Gouernours of the Turkes prouinces in ASIA, That they ſhould with as much ſpeed as they could raiſe their forces, and meet him in GALATIA. But *Techellis* aduertiſed of his comming, thought it beſt for him to depart out of PONTVS, and to retire to ſome place of more ſafetie, leaſt by longer ſtaying he ſhould be encloſed by his enemies, repairing thither wards on euery ſide, or els vpon ſome great diſaduantage be enforced to joyne battaile: for he ſaw, that if he ſtayed neuer ſo little, he ſhould find no ſafe paſſage or place of refuge to retire vnto, hauing left ſuch large and ſpacious countries, ſo many enemies cities, ſo many great riuers, ſo many diſcontented people behind him; all which the firſt fauour of the vulgar ſort, and ſpeedie courſe of his victorie, had a little before laid open vnto him. Wherefore calling together his captaines and moſt expert men of warre to conſult vpon the matter, it was generally thought to bee a point of meere madneſſe, or els of extreame neceſsitie, with ſo ſmall a power of vnskilfull ſouldiors, without any ſufficient ſtrength of horſemen, to joyne battaile with ſuch an enemie as better knew the country than he, and farre exceeded him both for the number and expertneſſe of his ſouldiors. Wherefore *Techellis* truſsing vp the rich prey he had before gotten, began now with ſpeed to retire backe againe with his followers through GALATIA. But the Baſſa hauing intelligence almoſt euery houre by letters and eſpials both of the retiring of *Techellis*, and the way hee held, paſſed ouer the riuer Sangarius; and coaſting the countrey, came and encamped betwixt the cities of CVTAIE and ANCYRA, which way it was ſuppoſed the enemie would paſſe. Where when he had there a while reſted his wearied ſouldiors, and was certainely aduertiſed, that the rebels had taken

Baiazet ſendeth Alis Baſſa againſt Techellis, out of Europe.

ken another way, he ſet forward againe, and after fiue dayes march in the plaines of GALATIA, G ouertooke the ſtraglers of the enemies, who wearied or wounded, were not able to hold way with the armie: all whom the Baſſa commaunded to be cruelly put to the ſword. And *Techellis* to terrifie the great Baſſa, or at leaſtwiſe with a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſtay his purſute, cauſed *Caragoſes* the viceroy, whom hee had carried along with him in chaines, to be cruelly empaled by the high way ſide vpon a great ſharpe ſtake ſet faſt in the ground, and ſo left him ſticking for the Turkes to wonder at. But *Alis Baſſa* nothing diſmayed with the horrible death of ſo great a perſonage, held on his way with more haſt than good ſpeed, exhorting his ſouldiours patiently to endure the painfulneſſe of the long march, and to ſtraine themſelues to take reuenge of thoſe rebellious theeues and robbers, who deſtroying the countrey before them, ſpared not ſo much as the Turks children and the temples of their religion: and ſo the day following came H into the plaines of ANCYRA. The ſame day alſo *Achomates* came vnto the Baſſa with ten thouſand ſouldiors. *Alis Baſſa* perceiuing that he could not poſsibly with his whole armie ouertake his enemies marching with greater ſpeed before him, and greeued at the heart to ſee them eſcape out of his hands, reſolued to proue if hee could with his horſemen ouertake them: whereupon leauing his footmen with *Achomates*, hee himſelfe with eight thouſand horſe following the enemie vpon the ſputte, ouertooke the rereward of their armie at the mountaine OLYGA, a little from the citie of ANCYRA, vnto whom he gaue an hot skirmiſh.

The battell betwixt Alis Baſſa and Techellis.

Techellis which a little before had taken a fit place for his campe, vpon the riſing of the hill, although he ſaw his men faint with long trauell and the ſcorching heat of the Sunne, yet quickly perceiuing that he ſhould haue to doe onely with horſemen, and that in a place of aduantage; I turning his armie, and orderly placing his ſouldiors, as the ground and the ſhortneſſe of the time would giue leaue, valiantly receiued the impreſsion of the Turkes, and with their long pikes and arrowes at the firſt repulſed them: ſo that it ſeemed, they would neither haue giuen ground vnto the bragging horſemen, neither haue done any thing not beſeeming their former victories, had not *Alis Baſſa* ſent in a thouſand Carbines, who in troupes orderly following one another, deliuered their ſhot as thicke as haile vpon the enemie: with which ſtorme many of them being ſlaine, and moe wounded, their rankes began to be ſomewhat diſordered: whereupon the other horſemen breaking in, with great ſlaughter ouerthrew the vauntguard of *Techellis* battaile: in

Chaſan Chelife ſlaine.

which conflict *Chaſan Chelife* himſelfe was ſlaine. *Techellis* alwayes at hand where moſt need was, euen in the middeſt of the ſlaughter of his men, ſet in order a new battaile of his moſt rea- K die and beſt armed ſouldiors, the onely remedie in ſo great a diſtreſſe; and bringing them on into the front of the battaile, oppoſed them againſt the horſemen, now (as they thought) in poſſeſsion of the victorie: commaunding them by little and little to retire vnto the mountaine, to the intent that they might ſeeme to doe that by commandement of the generall, which they were like ynough to haue done of themſelues for feare; hoping that it would ſo come to paſſe, That the Turkes finding the diſaduantage of the place, would leaue ſo hardly to aſſaile them. But the Baſſa encouraged with the firſt ſucceſſe of the battaile, exhorted his ſouldiors to vrge the victorie, now almoſt as good as gotten, and not to giue the enemie ſpace to recouer the ſtrength of the mountaine, but valiantly to charge them, and with a little ſhort paines that day to end all that warre, to the honour of *Baiazet* their ſoueraigne, and worthie commendation of themſelues in generall. L In this ſort encouraging them, he with a troupe of his beſt horſemen (to animate the reſt, and to ſhew his owne valour) brake through the enemies battaile: which thing he in the ſame heat, with more courage than diſcretion, attempting to performe the ſecond time, was encloſed by his ene-

Alis Baſſa ſlain.

mies and ſlaine: vpon whoſe fall the fortune of the battaile was in a moment changed. For the Turkes, which erſt fought courageouſly, hauing beaten backe and almoſt ouerthrowne their enemies, now diſmayed with the death of their Generall, began to fight but faintly, and by little and little to giue ground, and at laſt turning about their horſes, fled. On the other ſide, *Techellis* his ſouldiours, who but a little before had repoſed greater hope in the ſtrength of the place and the mountaine, than in their weapons and valour, now encouraged with new hope, and taking heart in the faint charge of their enemies, began to thruſt forward, and with a moſt terrible noiſe M crying victorie, put to flight the Turkes horſemen, before wearied with long trauell, when as they had by the raſhneſſe of their Generall loſt a notable victorie almoſt already gained. *Techellis* although he knew that the enemie could neither refreſh his horſes, nor yet with any aſſurance keepe the field, if he ſhould haue purſued him; yet hauing loſt many of his beſt ſoldiors, and the

reſt

reſt of his armie ſore weakened with trauell, faſting and fighting, determined to refreſh his wearied followers vpon the mountaine OLYGA. From whence after a few dayes he marched ouer the riuer Halys vnto the citie of TASCIA, his old dwelling place, and ſo to the citie of CRENIS, which the riuer Marſya (much ſpoken of by the Poets) runneth thorow, and is now called by the name of MARAS, but as then the regall ſeat of the mountaine king *Aladeules*. The Turkes horſemen hauing thus in ſome ſmall ſort rather reuenged the injuries done by the rebels than obtained any victorie, returned to *Achomates*, who was then comming on with the footmen. Not long after *Baiazet* vnderſtanding of the death of *Alis Baſſa* his Generall, ſent *Ionuſes Baſſa*, a warlike captaine, and of great experience (borne in EPIRVS) in his ſtead. Who as ſoon as he had receiued the charge of the armie from *Achomates*, marching forthwith into CAPPADOCIA, and keeping the way on the right hand towards the mountaine ANTITAVRVS, came in few dayes vnto the citie of TASCIA, the place of *Techellis* his abode: where burning and deſtroying the countrey all about, he came and encamped with his armie at the foot of the mountaine. The Baſſa had in his armie aboue fortie thouſand horſe and foot, well appointed with many field peeces, and plentie of victuals which he brought with him, for feare of want in that bare countrey. *Techellis* terrified with his comming, hauing of late receiued no aid from *Hyſmaell* the Perſian king, and wanting alſo great artillerie; and beſides that, ſeeing his ſouldiors greatly both deminiſhed and diſcouraged with the late battaile at OLYGA; determined not vpon ſo great diſaduantage to meet his enemie in the plaine field, but to keepe the rough mountaine and thicke woods, hoping that if he could be able any time to keepe thoſe ſtrong places, hee ſhould either receiue ſome aid from *Hyſmaell*, or by the heat of the Turkes leaders take them at ſome notable aduantage. In the meane time many notable skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the ſouldiors on both ſides: for the Turkes fetching a compaſſe oftentimes about the mountaines, and ſeeking for the beſt paſſages, by the eaſie riſing of the hils, came to skirmiſh with their enemies: and *Techellis* his ſouldiors on the other ſide, ſallying many times out of the woods and abrupt places of the mountaines, valiantly aſſailed the Turkes. After they had a long time in this ſort, as if it had beene in diſport, rather proued their forces one vpon another than done any great matter, the Turkes prying into euery corner, at length perceiued two wayes whereby their whole armie with enſignes diſplayed might without any great difficultie bee brought vnto the top of the mountaine, and ſo into their enemies ſtrength. The Baſſa hauing well viewed and conſidered the places, cauſed the Ianizaries at one inſtant to march vp to the mountaine by one of the aforeſaid wayes, and the reſt of his armie by the other: who with ſoft pace climing vp the ſteepe mountaines, with their targuets defended themſelues as well as they could againſt their enemies darts and ſhot. For *Techellis* his ſouldiours hauing before taken the high mountaines and places of aduauntage, caſt downe vpon the Turkes great ſtones and ſhot without number, as if it had beene out of ſome ſtrong forts. But the Turkes bending certaine ſmall field peeces againſt the places which moſt annoied them, eaſily draue them from their ſtandings; the harquebuſiers ſtill following their enſignes, ſhrouded cloſe vnder the targuetiers, and deliuering their deadly ſhot as ſhowers of raine vpon their enemies. Whoſe deſperat approch *Techellis* perceiuing, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and with all his armie retired farther off into the higher mountaines and rougher woods. The night following, perceiuing that by the euill ſucceſſe of the former skirmiſh he had loſt a great part of his credit and ſtrength, he with great ſilence forſooke the woods, and paſsing quite ouer the mountaines fled into ARMENIA, then part of the Perſian kingdome. Neither did the Turkes perceiue their departure vntill it was light day, and that their ſcouts entring the thicke woods, and finding the enemies baggage with ſome wounded ſouldiors not able to flie, brought newes vnto the Baſſa of the enemies departure and of his ſpeedie flight into ARMENIA. Which thing when hee by them which were taken, vnderſtood to be certainely true, fretting and chafing like a mad man, that hee had not preſently vpon the enemies retreat beſet the wood round, he ſent his horſemen forthwith to purſue them: but all in vaine, for *Techellis* was by direct and knowne wayes gone into ARMENIA. Some few ſtragglers not able to make ſo much haſt as the reſt, were ouertaken by the Turkes horſemen, and brought backe to the Baſſa.

Ionuſes Baſſa ſent by Baiazet, Generall of his armie againſt Techellis.

Techellis thus put to flight, *Ionuſes* cauſed ſtrait inquiſition to be made through all the cities of the leſſer ASIA, for all ſuch as had profeſſed the Perſian religion: and them whom he found to haue borne armes in the late rebellion, hee cauſed to be put to death with moſt exquiſit torments,

ments,& the reſt to be burnt in their foreheads with an hot yron,thereby for euer to be knowne; G whom,together with the kinsfolkes and friends of them that were executed, or fled with *Techellis*, he cauſed to be tranſported into EVROPE, and to be diſperſed through MACEDONIA, EPIRVS, and PELOPONESVS: for feare leaſt if *Techellis* now fled into the Perſian kingdome, ſhould from thence returne with new forces, they ſhould alſo againe repaire vnto him, and raiſe a new rebellion. This was the beginning, courſe, and ending of one of the moſt dangerous rebellions that euer troubled the Turkiſh empire: wherein all, or at leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of their dominions in ASIA might haue been eaſily ſurpriſed by the Perſian king, if he would thoroughly haue proſecuted the occaſion and opportunitie then offered.

The remainder of *Techellis* his followers, flying into PERSIA, by the way lighting vpon a Carauan of merchants laden with ſilkes and other rich merchandiſe, tooke the ſpoile thereof: H for which outrage comming to TAVRIS the captaines were all by the commandement of *Hyſmaell* executed, and *Techellis* himſelfe to the terrour of others burnt aliue.

Techellis burnt at Tauris.

1509

A great earthquake at Conſtantinople.

The next yeare (which was the yeare 1509, the fourteenth day of September) chanced a great and terrible earthquake in the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, and the countries thereabouts: by the violence whereof, a great part of the wals of that imperiall citie, with manie ſtately buildings both publike and priuat, were quite ouerthrowne, and thirteene thouſand people ouerwhelmed and ſlaine. The terrour whereof was ſo great, that the people generally forſooke their houſes, and lay abroad in the fields: yea *Baiazet* himſelfe, then verie aged and ſore troubled with the gout, for feare thereof remoued from CONSTANTINOPLE to HADRIANOPLE; but finding himſelfe in no more ſafetie than before, he left the citie and lay abroad in the fields in his tent. I This earthquake endured by the ſpace of eighteene daies,or (as the Turkes hiſtories report) of a moneth,with verie little intermiſsion; which was then accounted ominous, as portending the miſerable calamities which ſhortly after happened in the *Othoman* family. After this earthquake enſued a great plague, wherewith the citie was grieuouſly viſited, and for the moſt part vnpeopled. But after that the earthquake was ceaſed, and the mortalitie aſſuaged; *Baiazet* cauſed the imperiall citie to be with all ſpeed repaired, and to that purpoſe gaue out commiſsions into all parts of his dominion for the taking vp of workmen: ſo that there were at once in worke eightie thouſand workmen, who in moſt beautifull manner, in the ſpace of foure moneths againe repaired the ruines of that great citie.

Baiazet had by his manie wiues, eight ſonnes and ſix daughters, which liued to be men and K women growne, and the ſonnes all gouernours in diuers prouinces of his large empire: whom the Turkiſh hiſtories reckon vp in this order, *Abdullah Zelebi*, *Alem Schach*, *Tzihan Schach*, *Achmet*, *Machmut*, *Corcut*, *Selim*, and *Muhamet*. Yet *Antonius Vtrius* a Genoway, who long time liued in *Baiazet* his court, and (as he of himſelfe writeth) waited in his chamber at the time of his death, reckoning vp the ſons of *Baiazet*, maketh mention but of theſe ſix, *Sciemſcia*, *Alemſcia*, *Achomates*, *Mahometes*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*: naming the forenamed by names ſomething differing from the other. *Sciemſcia* the eldeſt, gouernor of CARAMANIA, for his towardlineſſe moſt deerely beloued of his father, died of a naturall death before him, and was of him and his ſubiects greatly lamented. *Alemſcia* died in like manner, of whoſe death as ſoone as he was aduertiſed, by mourning letters written in blacke paper with white characters (as their L manner of writing is, in certifying of heauie newes) he caſt from him his ſcepter with all other tokens of honour, and cauſed generall mourning to be made for him in the court, and through all the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, by the ſpace of three daies; during which time all ſhops were ſhut vp, all trading forbidden, and no ſigne of mirth to be ſeene: and for a certaine ſpace, after the manner of their ſuperſtition, cauſed ſolemne ſacrifices to be made for the health of his ſoule, and 7000 Aſpers to be giuen weekly vnto the poore. His dead bodie was afterward with all princely pompe conuaied to PRVSA, and there with great ſolemnitie buried. *Tzihan* gouernor of CARIA, and *Mahomet* gouernor of CAPHA, vpon their fathers heauie diſpleaſure, were by his commaundement both ſtrangled.

The children of Baiazet.

Of his other foure ſonnes, *Achmet*, otherwiſe called *Achomates*; *Machmut* or *Mahometes*, M *Corcut* or *Corcuthus*, and *Selymus*; the ſecond (namely *Mahometes*) was of greateſt hope and expectation, not giuen to ſenſualitie or voluptuous pleaſure as *Achomates* his eldeſt brother, neither altogither booki ſh as was *Corcuthus*, nor yet of ſo fierce and cruell a diſpoſition as *Selymus*: but of ſuch a liuely ſpirit, ſharpe wit, bountifull diſpoſition, and princely carriage of himſelfe,

ſelfe, that in the judgement of moſt men, he ſeemed alreadie worthie of a kingdome. Which immoderat fauour of the people, cauſed his elder brother *Achomates*, yea and *Baiazet* alſo himſelfe to haue him in no ſmall jealouſie, as if he had affected the empire; and was in ſhort time the cauſe of his vntimely death. Which thing he nothing doubting, haſtened (as fatall things are) by ſuch meanes as hee leaſt feared might haue procured anie ſuch mortall diſtruſt or danger.

Moſt of *Baiazet* his children were by diuers women, yet *Achomates* and this *Mahometes* were by one and the ſame mother: for which cauſe, *Mahometes* tooke greater pleaſure in him than in any his other brethren, although it were not anſwered with like loue againe. *Achomates* was lord and gouernour of AMASIA, and this *Mahometes* of MAGNESIA; who deſirous to ſee the manner of his brothers life and gouernment, diſguiſed himſelfe with two of his familiar and faithfull friends, as if they had been religious men, of that order which the Turkes call *Imailer*. [Theſe men are for moſt part comely perſonages, borne of good houſes, who in cleanly attire made after an homely faſhion, doe at their pleaſure wander vp and downe from towne to towne, and countrey to countrey, noting the diſpoſition and manners of the people; whereof as fitteth beſt their purpoſe, they make large diſcourſes afterwards to others: they commonly cartie about with them ſiluer cymbals, whereon they play moſt cunningly, and thereunto ſing pleaſant and wanton ditties: for which idle delight, they receiue money of the people, as an almes giuen them of deuotion. Theſe are the common corrupters of youth, and defilers of other mens beds; men altogither giuen to eaſe and pleaſure, and are of the Turkes called, The religious brethren of Loue: but might of right better be tearmed, *Epicurus* his hogs, than profeſſours of anie religion at all.] *Mahometes* and his two conſorts, as men of this profeſsion, trauelled vp and downe the countries of PONTVS and CAPADOCIA, where *Achomates* commaunded, and ſo to the citie of AMASIA; receiuing for their merrie glee by the way as they went, the almes and deuotion of the fooliſh countrey people. And being at the length come to AMASIA vpon a ſolemne holiday, they awaited the comming of *Achomates* to the church: who paſsing by, ſtaied a while liſtening attentiuely vnto their pleaſant and alluring harmonie; which was for that purpoſe moſt curiouſly and skilfully before deuiſed, and by them both with their inſtruments and voices, performed. When they had ended their muſicke, and according to the manner of their idle profeſsion expected his deuotion: *Achomates* being a man of a ſpare hand, commaunds fiue aſpers to be giuen them in reward [which is about ſix pence of our money.] *Mahometes* diſdaining his brothers baſe reward, as a ſigne of his miſerable diſpoſition, would in no wiſe diſcouer himſelfe, as he had before determined; but taking horſe, returned with ſpeed to MAGNESIA: from whence hee writ taunting letters vnto his brother *Achomates*, ſcoffing at his good husbandrie (no praiſe to a prince) and in contempt ſent him backe againe his fiue aſpers: which thing *Achomates* tooke in ſo euill part, as that he was neuer afterwards friends with him. The report of this fact was in ſhort time diſperſed throughout all parts of the Turkiſh empire, diuers men diuerſly deeming of his purpoſe therein.

Not long after *Mahometes* had in this ſort plaied with his brother *Achomates*, he attired himſelfe with certaine of his truſtie followers as if they had beene ſeafaring men, and with a ſmall bark came to CONSTANTINOPLE, and there landing as aduenturers from ſea, tooke diligent view both of the imperiall citie and of the citie of PERA ſtanding oppoſite againſt it, curiouſly noting how all things were by his fathers appointment ordered and gouerned. It happened whileſt he was thus ſtaying at CONSTANTINOPLE, that *Baiazet* had appointed a ſolemne aſſembly of all his chiefe Baſſaes at the court; which *Mahometes* was deſirous to haue the ſight of, as alſo of the faſhion of his fathers court: but as he with his companions preſſed to haue entred in at the court gate, they were by their baſe apparell taken of the porters to haue been rude mariners, and ſo by them kept out. Wherefore conſulting what to doe in that caſe, he went and preſently bought a moſt beautifull Chriſtian captiue boy, and the next day comming againe to the court with two of his companions (as if they had been aduenturers at ſea) requeſted to be let in, for that they had brought a preſent for the emperour. So finding means to be admitted vnto the preſence of *Baiazet*, one of his conſorts (as if he had been a ſea captaine) boldly ſtept forth, and with due reuerence offered the preſent vnto the emperour; which he thankfully tooke, and in token thereof gaue him his hand to kiſſe, and commaunded a rich garment wrought with gold to be giuen vnto him, with two other of leſſe valour vnto *Mahometes* and his fellow, ſuppoſed to be the ſaid captaines followers: who all this while ſtood a farre off, as if it had beene for reuerence of the

Mahometes diſguiſed as a ſeafaring man, commeth to Conſtantinople, and ſo to the court.

empe-

emperor, but in deed for feare to be diſcouered. As theſe counterfeit gueſts were returning from the court in their garments of fauour, they happened to meet with three courtiers which knew *Mahometes*; who diſmounting from their horſes, had done him honour and due reuerence, as to the ſonne of the great emperour, had he not by ſecret ſignes forbidden them, as one vnwilling to be knowne. When he had thus ſeene his father, the court, and the imperiall citie, he went againe aboord, and ſo with ſpeed returned to MAGNESIA.

The report of this his doing, had in ſhort time filled both the citie and the court, and was at laſt brought to *Baiazet* his eares: which raiſed in his ſuſpitious head manie a troubleſome thought, greatly fearing, that in theſe ſlie practiſes lay hidden ſome ſecret and deſperat conſpiracie, dangerous to himſelfe and his other children. Wherefore after long diſcourſe had with the three great Baſſaes then of his ſecret counſell, concerning the matter; to rid himſelfe of all feare, he reſolued in anie caſe to take him away. And therefore cauſed them in his name to write vnto *Aſmehemadi*, a gallant courtier, and alwaies neere vnto *Mahometes*, to poiſon him with a ſecret poiſon, for that purpoſe incloſed in thoſe letters ſent vnto him: with promiſe of great rewards and preferments for that his ſeruice, to be afterwards receiued from the emperour: Charging him withall, that if he could not effect the matter, he ſhould ſo conceale it, as that *Mahometes* ſhould haue no diſtruſt thereof; the leaſt ſuſpition whereof, would tend to his vtter deſtruction. This *Aſmehemedi* for ſome vnkindneſſe bare a ſecret grudge againſt *Mahometes*, which *Baiazet* knowing of, made choiſe of him the rather: And he on the other ſide, partly to performe the old tyrants commaund, and partly to reuenge his owne priuat; vigilantly awaited all opportunities to bring to effect that he had in charge. At length it fortuned, that *Mahometes* hauing diſported himſelfe in his gardens of pleaſure, and being thirſtie after his exerciſe, called for drinke: *Aſmehemedi* alwaies at hand, in a gilt boule fetcht him ſuch drinke as he deſired, whereinto he had ſecretly conuaied the deadly poiſon ſent from *Baiazet*. *Mahometes* hauing drunke thereof, in ſhort time began to feele himſelfe euill at eaſe, and preſently ſent for his phiſitions: who thinking that he had but ſomething diſtempered himſelfe with drinking too much cold drinke in his heat, perceiued not that hee was poiſoned, vntill that within ſix daies after he died. Of whoſe death *Baiazet* aduertiſed, could not abſtaine from mourning, although he himſelfe had beene the onely author thereof: and the more to manifeſt his heauineſſe, commaunded all the court to mourne with him, and prayers to be made in their temples after their ſuperſtitious manner, and almes to be giuen to the poore for the health of his ſoule. His dead bodie was afterwards carried to PRVSA, and there honourably buried with his aunceſtors. *Aſmehemedi* the traitour in reward of his vnfaithfulneſſe towards his maſter, was by the commaundement of *Baiezet* caſt into priſon, and neuer afterwards ſeene, being there (as it was thought) ſecretly made away.

Mahometes poiſoned by Aſmehemedi.

Aſmehemedi iuſtly rewarded for his treacherie

Now had *Baiazet* but three ſonnes left, *Achomates*, *Selymus*, and *Corcutus*. *Achomates* gouernour of AMASIA, was a man both politike and valiant; but much giuen to pleaſure and delight: him *Baiazet* and moſt part of the great men of the court fauoured aboue the reſt of his brethren; except ſuch as were before corrupted by *Selymus*. *Corcutus* for his mild and quiet nature was of moſt men beloued, but not thought ſo fit for the gouernment of ſo great an empire; eſpecially by the Ianizaries and ſouldiours of the court, for that he was (as they thought) altogither drowned in the ſtudie of philoſophie, a thing nothing agreeing with their humour. Yet might *Baiazet* ſeeme to doe him wrong, if he ſhould not according to his promiſe againe reſtore him vnto the poſſeſsion of the empire, which he had almoſt thirtie yeares before receiued at his hands; as is before in the beginning of his life declared. But *Selymus* being of a more hautie diſpoſition than to brooke the life of a ſubject vnder the commaund of either of his brethren, and altogither giuen to martiall affaires; ſought by infinit bountie, faigned courteſie, ſubtile pollicie, and by all other meanes good and bad, to aſpire vnto the empire. Him therefore the Ianizaries with all the great ſouldiours of the court, yea and ſome of the chiefe Baſſaes alſo (corrupted with gifts) wiſhed aboue the reſt, for their lord and ſoueraigne: deſiring rather to liue vnder him which was like to ſet all the world on a hurlie burlie, whereby they might increaſe their honour and wealth, the certaine rewards of their aduentures, than to lead an idle and vnprofitable life (as they tearmed it) vnder a quiet and peaceable prince.

Whileſt men ſtood thus diuerſly affected towards theſe princes of ſo great hope, *Baiazet* now farre worne with yeares, and ſo grieuouſly tormented with the gout that hee was not able

to

to helpe himselfe: for the quietnesse of his subjects and preuenting of such troubles as might arise by the aspiring of his children after his death, determined whilest he yet liued (for the auoiding of these and other such like mischeefes) to establish the succession in some one of his sonnes; who wholly possessed of the kingdome, might easily represse the pride of the other. And although he had set downe with himselfe, that *Achomates* should be the man, as well in respect of his birthright, as of the especiall affection he bare vnto him; yet to discouer the disposition of his subjects, and how they stood affected, it was giuen out in generall tearmes, That hee meant before his death to make it knowne to the world, who should succeed him in the empire, without naming any one of his sonnes; leauing that for euery man to deuine of, according as they were affected: which was not the least cause, that euery one of his sonnes with like ambition began now to make small account of their former preferments, as thinking onely vpon the empire it selfe.

1511 *Selymus aided by Mahometes his father in law, riseth against his father*

First of all *Selymus*, whom *Baiazet* had made gouernor of the kingdome of TRAPEZOND, rigging vp all the ships he could in PONTVS, sayled from TRAPEZOND ouer the Euxine (now called the Blacke sea) to the citie of CAPHA, called in auntient time THEODOSIA, and from thence by land came to *Mahometes* king of the Tartars called Præcopenses, a mightie prince, whose daughter he had without the good liking of his father before married: and discouering vnto him his entended purpose, besought him by the sacred bonds of the affinitie betwixt them, not to shrinke from him his louing sonne in law in so fit an oportunitie for his aduancement: and withall shewed vnto him, what great hope of obtaining the empire was proposed vnto him by his most faithfull friends and the souldiors of the court, if hee would but come neerer vnto his father (then about to transferre the empire to some one of his sonnes) and either by faire meanes to procure his fauour, or by entering with his armie into THRACIA, to terrifie him from appointing either of his other brethren for his successour. The Tartar king commending his high deuise, as a kind father in law with wonderfull celeritie caused great store of shipping to bee made readie in the Ponticke sea, and MŒOTIS, but especially at the ports of COPA and TANA, vpon the great riuer of Tanais, which boundeth EVROPE from ASIA; and arming fifteen thousand Tartarian horsemen, deliuered them all to *Selymus*, promising forthwith to send him greater aid if he should haue occasion to vse the same. These things being quickely dispatched, *Selymus* passing ouer the riuer Borysthenes, and so through VALACHIA, came at length to Danubius, and with his horsemen passed that famous riuer at the citie of CHELIA: His fleet hee commaunded to meet him at the port of the citie of VARNA, called in antient time DIONYSIOPOLIS, in the confines of BVLGARIA and THRACIA: he himselfe still leuying moe men by the way as he went, pretending in shew quite another thing than that he had indeed intended: which the better to couer, he gaue it out as if he had purposed to haue inuaded HVNGARIE.

Baiazet sendeth embassadours to Selymus,

But *Baiazet* a good while before aduertised, that *Selymus* was departed from TRAPEZOND, and come ouer into EVROPE, maruelling that he had left his charge in ASIA (the rebellion of *Techellis* and the Persian warre yet scarce quieted) and that vpon his owne head hee had entertained forraine aid to make warre against the most warlike nation of the Hungarians; and farther, that with his armie by land, he had seized vpon the places neerest vnto THRACIA, and with a strong nauie kept the Euxine sea, hee began to suspect, as the truth was, That all this preparation was made and entended against himselfe: for the craftie old fire had good proofe of the vnquiet and troublesome nature of his sonne, especially in that without his knowledge hee durst presume to take a wife from amongst the Tartars, and afterwards with no lesse presumption of himselfe raise an armie both by sea and land: Whereby he easily perceiued, that he would neuer hold himselfe contented with a small kingdome, so long as hee was in hope by desperat aduenture to gaine a greater. Yet thinking it better with like dissimulation to appease his violent and fierce nature, than by sharpe reproofe to moue him to farther choller, he sent vnto him embassadours to declare vnto him with what danger the Turkish kings had in former times taken vpon them those Hungarian warres: for example whereof he needed not to goe further than to his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who many times to his exceeding losse had made proofe of the Hungarian forces: wherefore he should doe well to expect some fitter opportunitie, when as he might with better aduise, greater power, and more assured hope of victorie, take those wars in hand. Whereunto *Selymus* answered, That he had left ASIA, enforced thereunto by the injuries of his brother *Achomates*, and was therefore come ouer into EVROPE, by dint of sword

and

and the helpe of his friends, to win from the enemies of the Mahometane religion a larger and better prouince for that little barren and peaceable one which his father had giuen him, bordering vpon HIBERIA and CHOLCHOS, bare and needie people, liuing as connies amongst the rockes and mountaines. As for the Hungarians, whom they thought to be a people inuincible, and therefore not to be dealt withall, he was not of that base mind to be daunted with any danger, were it neuer so great: and yet that in his opinion the warre was neither so difficult or dangerous, as was by them pretended; for as much as the antient prowesse of that warlike nation was now much changed, together with the change of their kings; and their discipline of war not onely much decayed, but almost quite lost, after that *Vladislaus*, farre vnlike in policie and prowesse, had succeeded the renowmed *Matthias* in that kingdome. Neither had he (as he said) from his cradle learned to be afraid of death, or of the common chances of warre, as knowing that neither God nor man would bee wanting to him, who with an honourable resolution did aduenture vpon vertuous and worthie attempts: and that therefore hee was fully resolued for his owne honour (which his father had in some sort blemished by the immoderate aduancement of his brethren) either to die honourably in the field in battaile against the enemies of the Mahometane religion, or els gloriously to extend the bounds of the Turkish empire: and that he would not (though one of the yongest in the *Othoman* familie) bee accounted inferiour to any of his brethren in vertue and prowesse. Thus was the Hungarian warre neuer by *Selymus* entended, notably by him pretended; and with no lesse dissimulation by *Baiazet* dissuaded. The embassadours, although *Selymus* in all his speeches shewed no token of peace: yet in his fathers name presented vnto him diuers gifts, therby if it might be to appease his fierce and cruell mind. Vnto his old gouernment they adjoyned SAMANDRIA, which the Hungarians call SCHENDEROVIA, a strong citie of SERVIA vpon the borders of HVNGARIE, with many other strong townes in the same countrey: they gaue him also threescore thousand duckats, beside a thousand garments of cloth and silke: with good store of prouision wherewith to relieue and content the souldiors by him entertained; least that they drawne farre from home in hope of spoile, should take it in euill part if they should be sent away emptie handed. *Selymus* in a happie time hauing receiued these gifts, returned the embassadours vnto his father, with more doubtfull answere and vncertaine hope than before: yet changing nothing in himselfe of his former resolution, secret messengers and letters from his friends in the court still whetting him forward (too much alreadie enflamed with desire of soueraignetie) perswading him to make hast and to repose his greatest hope in his quicke speed; for that they vnderstood, that about the time of his setting forward, his brother *Achomates* was comming with a great power, being sent for out of CAPADOCIA by his father.

Presents giuen to Selymus by his fathers embassadours.

Baiazet would appoint his successour whilest he yet liued.

In the meane time *Baiazet*, moued the rather with the feare of *Selymus*, resolued vpon that, whereof he had long before in his mind deeply considered, and now said openly, That he would appoint his successour, who in stead of himselfe, spent with yeares and sickenesse, should bring with him the flower of youth and strength of bodie, fit to gouerne so great an empire. But when these things were propounded vnto the souldiours of the court by the foure great Bassaes (who in all things both of peace and warres had next place vnto the emperour himselfe) it was forthwith gainesaied by those martiall men, crying aloud with one voice, That they would know no other emperor but *Baiazet*, vnder whose conduct and good fortune they had now serued about thirtie yeares: and therefore would not suffer him to liue a priuat life in obscuritie, who with so many victories and strong cities taken, had brought the *Othoman* empire vnto that height of renowme and glorie. They said moreouer, that there was in him yet strength ynough, if he would but with the reuerend honour of his age retaine the majestie of his place, and the glorie he had gotten with his long and happie raigne, and most famous victories: and that of his children, such a one should vndoubtedly in his due time succeed in the empire, as of right ought: only they wished, that the old emperour might in the meane time liue in health with a long and happie raigne: neither needed he (as they said) to feare that after his death any controuersie should arise amongst his sonnes about the succesion; for that the *Othoman* progenie vsed to attaine the imperiall seat, according to the old custome of their aunce stours the *Othoman* kings, by right and order onely, and not by corruption or faction. But if hee would needs vpon his owne priuat good liking, or as it were by new adoption proceed to make choice of such a one, as the people and the men of warre (his most loyall and faithfull subjects) could not so well like of, it would be

be an occaſion of much more trouble, and happily the meanes to bring in that confuſion of the ſtate, which he thought thereby to eſchew. For then, beſide the diſlike of the people, the other brethren would neuer endure ſo notable an injurie, or euer be at quiet, vntill they had (as men wrongfully caſt off and diſinherited) by ſtrong hand and endangering of all, recouered their honour loſt by the headſtrong will of their aged father.

The ſouldiors thus before inſtructed by the friends and fauourites of *Selymus*, who with money and large promiſes had corrupted their captains and cheefe officers, ſpake theſe things frankly to haue deterred the old emperour from his purpoſe. But he thinking that they had (as he himſelfe did) eſpecially affected *Achomates* his eldeſt ſonne; for that they had generally proteſted, that they would againſt all injuries defend his honour vnto whom the empire ſhould of right appertaine: ſaid he would make choiſe of *Achomates*, if it ſhould ſtand with their good liking. But the cheefe of the ſouldiors, who corrupted by *Selymus*, had together ſold both their faith and themſelues, cunningly commended *Achomates*, and ſeemed wonderfully to like of him; yet to accept of him for their ſoueraigne, *Baiazet* yet liuing, they ſaid was not agreeing with the antient cuſtome of the *Othoman* kings, neither for the behoofe of the men of war, neither yet good for the ſtate of the empire: for as much as neither his brethren *Corcutus* and *Selymus*, neither the ſouldiors of the court, could with patience endure the leaſt touch of the ſuſpition of infidelitie; which they muſt needs doe, if he as a ſuſpitious father ſhould doubt either of the loue or loyaltie of his moſt dutifull ſonnes, or of the faith or conſtancie of his moſt faithfull ſeruants, wherof he had made ſo many trials. Beſides that, it ſeemed vnto them all vnreaſonable, that by the odious prejudice of that fact, the ſouldiors ſhould be defrauded of the rewards vſually graunted vnto them during the time of the vacancie of the empire, ariſing of the ſpoile taken from them which are of religion different from the Turkes. For it is a cuſtome, that immediately vpon the death of the Turkiſh emperour, all the Iewes and Chriſtians which liue at CONSTANTINOPLE, PERA, HADRIANOPLE, THESSALONICA, and PRVSA, eſpecially marchants, expoſed vnto the injuries of the Turkes, are by the Ianizaries and other ſouldiors of the court ſpoiled of all their wares and goods, and become vnto them a prey: neither will they giue their oath of allegeance vnto the new emperour, vntill he haue graunted vnto them all that prey, as a bountie, and haue ſolemnely ſworne by his owne head (the greateſt aſſurance that can by oath be giuen amongſt the Turkes) freely to pardon all the offenders, and for euer to forget all the outrages before committed. When *Baiazet* ſaw his men of war thus generally to oppoſe themſelues againſt the tranſlation of the empire to *Achomates*, he of purpoſe to corrupt the minds of them which were alreadie before corrupted, promiſed to giue them fiue hundred thouſand duckats, if they would ſtand fauourable to *Achomates* and accept him for their ſoueraigne: which maſſe of money his cuſtomers and receiuers vndertooke to leuie of the ſame marchant ſtrangers and Iewes, and to pay it as *Baiazet* had promiſed. Yet the ouerthwart frowardneſſe of theſe men of warre ouercame the good fortune of *Achomates*, although the reward propoſed, were great: For why, they had in their martiall minds conceiued farre greater rewards and preferments, if inſtead of a peaceable and quiet prince, a monſtrous tyrant of reſtleſſe nature (as was *Selymus*) might by their helpe and meanes aſpire to the empire. Thus *Baiazet* driuen from his hope, thought it beſt for the preſent to diſſemble the matter; and concealing his greefe, with patience to put vp that diſhonour vntill a fitter opportunitie were offered for the effecting of that he ſo much deſired.

Baiazet ſeeketh to prefer Achomates to the empire.

Selymus aduertiſed from his friends, with what affection and faſtneſſe the ſouldiours of the court had in the ſecret fauour of him openly withſtood the earneſt deſire of *Baiazet* for the preferment of *Achomates*, becauſe he would not longer fruſtrate the expectation of his fauourits by lingering and delay, or ſeeme to diſtruſt the readie good will of the men of warre towards him, left the borders of HVNGARIE; and with his armie marching through THRACIA, encamped at length vpon the riſing of an hill not farre from HADRIANOPLE, from whence the neighing of his horſes might eaſily be heard, and his tents from the high places of the citie diſcouered. From thence he ſent a meſſenger vnto his father then lying in the citie, to certifie him, That for as much as he had not of many yeares before ſeene him, he was now therefore deſirous to come vnto his preſence to viſit him, before hee croſſed the ſeas backe againe by his appointment to TRAPEZOND: and the rather, becauſe it might chance that he ſhould neuer ſee him againe, being now become both aged & diſeaſed: beſides that, it much concerned (as he would haue had him

Selymus marcheth with his armie towards Hadrianople.

Selymus his diſſembling embaſſage vnto his father.

him to beleeue) the quietneſſe of his kingdome in ASIA, and the vnitie of his children, if the controuerſies betwixt him & his brother *Achomates*, which could not ſafely be committed to meſſengers, might by themſelues be diſcouered to him their father, as an indifferent hearer and decider of the ſame. Wherfore he humbly beſought him, to appoint him a time and place to giue him audience in, and not to denie him leaue to come and kiſſe his hands; which thing his anceſtors neuer refuſed to graunt vnto their poore friends, much leſſe vnto their children. *Baiazet* who a few dayes before vnderſtanding of the comming of *Selymus*, and throughly ſeeing into his deuiſes, had called vnto him certaine of his Sanzackes or cheefe captaines, with their ſelect companies out of the neereſt parts of GRÆCIA, and had alſo ſet ſtrong watch and ward through the citie: fearing leaſt vnder the colour of parley his ſouldiors attending about his perſon, corrupted by *Selymus* and his friends (who euen then loded with gifts and promiſes, were ſecretly vpon the point of reuolt) ſhould be quite drawne away from him, and ſo he himſelfe at length bee either by open force oppreſſed, or ſecret trecherie circumuented, thought it beſt to cut him off at once from all hope of conference or acceſſe vnto his preſence. Wherfore ſeriouſly blaming him, that he had vpon his owne head brought his armie into another mans prouince, that he in armes required audience, and laſt of all ſo inſolently abuſed his fathers lenitie and patience; hee by the ſame meſſenger ſent him farther word, That he ſhould not preſume to approch any neerer vnto him, or expect any thing appertaining to peace: who guarded with forraine power, had without his fathers leaue entered into armes, and ſpoyled the countries of his friends: and that therefore he ſhould doe well with all ſpeed to depart out of THRACIA, yea and out of EVROPE alſo, and disbanding his forces, againe to retire himſelfe vnto his owne charge in PONTVS; in which doing he ſhould find greater fauour and kindneſſe with him his father, than euer he had before: but if he would needs proceed in the courſe by him begun, that then he would no more take him for his ſonne, but for his enemie; and before it were long, ſharpely chaſtiſe him for his malapert inſolencie, little differing from vnnaturall treacherie. The meſſenger with this anſwere diſmiſſed, it was not long after but that *Baiazet* was by his eſpials aduertiſed, that *Selymus* the night following was riſen with his armie, and marched directly towards CONSTANTINOPLE: whether he was ſent for by his friends, in hope that vpon his approch with his armie, ſome ſuddaine tumult and vprore would to his auaile ariſe in that ſo great and populous a citie. Whereupon *Baiazet* fearing leaſt in ſtaying at HADRIANOPLE, hee might looſe the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, early in the morning by breake of the day departed from HADRIANOPLE towards CONSTANTINOPLE: vpon whoſe departure *Selymus* peaceably entered the citie of HADRIANOPLE, the citiſens fearing, that if they ſhould haue made any reſiſtance, their vnſeaſonable faithfulneſſe towards *Baiazet* might haue turned to their vtter deſtruction. *Selymus* after he had a while refreſhed his armie with the plentie of that citie, according to his former determination ſet forward againe, of purpoſe by long and ſpeedie marches to haue preuented his fathers comming to CONSTANTINOPLE. *Baiazet* was yet ſcarcely come to CHIVRLVS, or rather TZVRVLVM, an antient ruinous citie almoſt vpon the mid way betwixt HADRIANOPLE and CONSTANTINOPLE, when warning was giuen him of them that followed his armie, that the forerunners of *Selymus* were at hand, cutting off the ſtraglers of his armie, and with hot skirmiſhing ſtayed and troubled his rereward. The aged emperour more mooued than terrified with the ſtrangeneſſe of the matter, becauſe his marching ſhould not ſeeme as if it were a flight or chaſe, commaunded his ſtanderd to be ſet vp, and all his armie to make a ſtand, of purpoſe, that if *Selymus* ſhould ſo fiercely come on to giue him battaile, he might find him in readineſſe. The great captaines and noblemen then preſent with *Baiazet*, whether it were for old acquaintance, or vpon ſome new inclination of their affection, or els vpon hope of new aliance and preferment, wiſhing well vnto *Selymus*, and therefore indirectly and cunningly fauouring him, ſeemed not to like of *Baiazet* his reſolution, to be ſo farre mooued (as they ſaid) with the youthfull heat and lightneſſe of his ſonne, as to ſeeke reuenge by battaile, whereas the victorie it ſelfe could yeeld him nothing but ſorrow, but the ouerthrow threatened deſtruction both to himſelfe and all them that were with him: the imminent euent whereof ſeemed to bee ſo much the more dangerous and fearefull, by how much hee was at that time inferiour vnto his ſonne both in warlike prouiſion and number of men. Wherefore it were good for him (they ſaid) to moderate his anger, and not now in the winding vp of his life to make too much haſt by a miſerable death in a wofull battaile to ſtaine the whole glorie of his former life. There was (as they would haue perſuaded

Selymus ouertaketh his father.

The cheeſe men about Baiazet ſecretly fauour Selymus, and diſſuade him from giuing him battaile.

ſuaded him) but one onely courſe to bee taken full of wholeſome policie and ſafetie, and that was, That he ſhould with ſuch ſpeed as he had begun, march on forward to CONSTANTINOPLE; that ſo *Selymus* excluded out of the citie (his chiefeſt hope) and then not knowing which way to turne himſelfe, ſhould either of his owne accord, or for feare of his fathers greater forces thinke of returne: and ſo with his raſcall followers more honeſtly periſh by the hands of them whoſe countries he had ſpoiled, and vpon whom he muſt of neceſsitie liue in his retire, than by the ſword of his father. The author of this counſell was *Muſtapha*, the moſt auntient Baſſa of thoſe which being in greateſt authoritie about the emperour are onely of his priuie counſell, and ſway all matters of importance concerning either peace or warre: he then vpon an vnthankfull and malitious mind loathing *Baiazet*, as one that had too long raigned, hated him alſo for certaine priuat diſpleaſures conceiued of the emulation of the other younger Baſſaes by him promoted: and ſecretly bare great affection to *Selymus*, both in condition and fauour reſembling his grandfather the Great *Mahomet*, by whom he was brought vp himſelfe, and him of all the ſonnes of *Baiazet* he thought moſt worthy of the empire. This *Muſtapha* was borne in the towne of SERES (neere vnto AMPHIPOLIS) the ſonne of a Greeke prieſt, a man of a ſlie craftie and ſubtile wit, alwaies ſubiect to corruption: which diſeaſes of mind were in him well to haue been diſcouered by his froward looke and ſquint eies, the certaine notes of a nature to bee ſuſpected. Next vnto this *Muſtapha* was *Boſtanges Baſſa*, borne of the honourable familie of *Ducagins* in ÆTHOLIA, and thereof called *Ducaginogli*: a man for his couetouſneſſe, ambition, and treacherie, infamous; as the foule and miſerable end of his life afterwards declared: Vnto this man *Selymus* had by ſecret promiſe betrothed one of his daughters now mariageable, as a reward of his corrupted faith. By which ſlight, he had alſo allured *Aiax* (Aga or captaine of the Ianizaries, and great maſter of the houſhold) to promiſe his aid for the obtaining of the empire; whereunto he ſaid he was by deſtinie called: and by his meanes drew other inferiour captaines ſecretly to fauour his quarrell, vnto whom hee ſpared not to promiſe whatſoeuer might pleaſe them. Yea the captaines almoſt generally either corrupted with reward, or for feare following the inclination of the greater commaunders, of themſelues leaned that way. Of all the reſt, only *Cherſeogles Baſſa* (whom the Turks hiſtories call alſo *Achmet Hertezec-ogli*) a faithfull, conſtant, and vpright man, free from all double dealing and deceit, a faſt and aſſured friend vnto *Baiazet* his father in law, was of opinion, That the immoderat pride and inſolencie of *Selymus*, was euen there by force of arms and ſtrong hand forthwith to be repreſſed, before he ſhould approch any neerer vnto the imperiall citie, for feare of raiſing ſome farther trouble and tumult there than were well to be appeaſed; which was the thing that *Selymus* his friends moſt of all deſired. Neither was it to be thought (as *Cherſeogles* ſaid) that the naked Tartarian horſmen, although they were in number moe, would euer be able to abide the firſt charge of *Baiazet* his well armed penſioners. As for the Ianizaries, of whoſe approued faith and valour tried in manie dangers, hee had before had good experience: there was no doubt but that they would now to the vttermoſt of their power, defend the perſon and honour of their aged and victorious emperour, who had of long time ſo well of them deſerued; and alſo reuenge his quarrell vpon diſobedient *Selymus*, who neither fearing God the juſt reuenger of ſuch vngratious dealing, neither the infamie of men, had moſt vnnaturally lift vp his ſword againſt his father, wickedly to depriue him of life of whom he had receiued life. Wherefore he perſuaded him in his owne juſt quarrell, to go forth vnto his ſouldiours with cheerfull countenance, and putting them in remembrance of the benefits they had from time to time moſt bountifully receiued at his hands, as alſo of their alleagance and duetie; to make them to vnderſtand, that repoſing his truſt in their fidelitie and valour, hee had reſolutely ſet downe with himſelfe, in that place before he went any farther, by their faithfull hands to chaſtiſe the preſumptuous inſolencie of his vnnaturall ſonne, togither with his rebellious followers.

Cherſeogles Baſſa the only great man faithfull to Baiazet, perſuadeth him to giue battel to Selymus

But now that we are fallen into the remembrance of this *Cherſeogles*, it ſhall not be amiſſe both for the honour of the man, and the great loue he alwaies bare vnto the Chriſtians, to ſtep a little out of the way, to ſee the cauſe why he being a Chriſtian borne, turned Turke. For hee was not (as almoſt all the reſt of the great men about *Baiazet* were) of a child taken from his Chriſtian parents, and ſo brought vp in the Mahometan religion; but being now a man grown, turned Turke: yet ſo, as that he neuer in heart forgot either the Chriſtian religion or loue toward the Chriſtians; a thing not common among ſuch renegates. He being the ſonne of one

Cherſechius a ſmall prince of ILLYRIA, neere vnto the Blacke mountaine, and going to be ma- G
ried vnto a ladie whom he moſt entirely loued, and vnto whom he was alreadie betrothed, ho-
nourably deſcended of the houſe of the Deſpot of SERVIA: his intemperat father, with luſtfull
eye beholding the young ladie of rare feature and incomparable beautie, deſired to haue her for
himſelfe; and regarding more the ſatisfying of his owne inordinat deſire, than his owne honour
or the fatherly loue of his ſonne, tooke her in marriage himſelfe: all his friends labouring in vaine
to diſſuade him, and with open mouth crying ſhame of ſo foule a fact. Wherefore the young
man, moued with the indignitie of ſo great an injurie, and driuen headlong with deſpaire, fled
firſt to the Turkes garriſons which lay not farre off, and from thence to CONSTANTINOPLE;
where the fortune of the man was to bee wondred at: For being brought before *Baiazet*, who
with cheerefull countenance entertained him for that he was honourably deſcended, and well li- H
ked both of the man and of the cauſe of his reuolt: ſmiling vpon him ſaid, Be of good cheere
noble youth, for thy great courage is worthy of farre greater fortune than thy fathers houſe can
affoord thee; now in ſteed of thy loue wrongfully taken from thee by thy father, the kinſwo-
man of a poore exiled prince, thou ſhalt haue giuen thee in marriage the daughter of a great em-
perour, of rare and ſingular perfection. And not long after, abiuring his religion, and changing
his name of *Stephen* to *Achomates* and *Cherſeogles*, hee married one of *Baiazet* his daughters, a
princeſſe of great beautie: and deſerued to haue a place amongſt the Baſſaes of greateſt honour
in the court. Yet ſtill retaining the remembrance of his former profeſsion with a deſire to re-
turne thereto againe: inſomuch, that he kept in his ſecret cloſet the image of the crucifix, which
he ſhewed to *Io. Laſcaris* as to his truſtie friend, as he himſelfe reported. This man at ſuch time I
as the citie of MODON was taken by the Turkes, and a multitude of poore Chriſtian captiues
cruelly put to death in the ſight of *Baiazet*, by earneſt entreatie ſaued the Venetian Senatours
there taken: and afterward by earneſt ſute deliuered *Andreas Gritti*, being priſoner at CON-
STANTINOPLE and condemned to die, who not manie yeares after was choſen duke of VE-
NICE. He was the chiefe meanes whereby the Venetians to their great good obtained peace of
Baiazet. He alſo by his great authoritie and of his owne charge, redeemed innumerable Chri-
ſtians from the ſeruitude of the Turkes, and ſet them at libertie. Neither is his kindneſſe towards
the furtherance of good learning to be forgotten: for at ſuch time as the aforeſaid *Io. Laſcaris*, the
notable and learned Grecian, by the appointment of *Leo* the Tenth ſought for the antient works
of famous writers, he procured the Turkiſh emperours letters patents, that he might freely at his K
pleaſure ſearch all the libraries in GRÆCIA, to the great benefit of good letters. Now *Baiazet*
encouraged by this mans perſuaſion (as is aforeſaid) and hearing as hee lay in his pauilion the
alarum of the enemie, with the tumult and clamour of his owne ſouldiours, as if they had been
men afraid; and ſundrie meſſengers alſo at the ſame time comming vnto him with newes, That
Selymus with his Tartarian horſemen had almoſt encloſed the reareward of his armie, and alrea-
die taken ſome of his baggage: grinding his teeth for verie madneſſe and griefe of mind, with
teares trickling downe his hoarie cheekes, got him out of his pauilion in his horſelitter (for hee
was at the ſame time ſo troubled with the gout, that he was not able to ſit on horſebacke) and
turning himſelfe vnto the penſioners and Ianizaries ſtanding about him, as their manner is,
ſaid vnto them: L

The ſpeech of Baiazet to the Ianizaries and ſouldiours of the court.

Will you (foſter children, valiant ſouldiours, and faithfull keepers of my perſon, who with great good fortune haue ſerued me in field aboue the ſpace of thirtie yeares; and for your faithfull and good ſeruice, haue both in time of peace and warre, of me receiued ſuch rewards, as by your owne confeſſion and thankſgiuing farre exceeded your owne expectation, and the meaſure of our treaſures) will you I ſay ſuffer the innocent father to be butchered by his graceleſſe ſonne? And your olde emperour tormented with age and diſeaſes, to be cruelly murthered by a companie of wild Tartars, little better than arrant roagues and theeues? Shall I be now forſaken in this my heauie olde age and laſt act of life? and ſhall I be deliuered vnto mine enemies by them, by them I ſay, who many yeares ago with great faithfulneſſe and inuincible courage defended mine honour and right againſt my brother M
Zemes? and haue manie times ſince, not onely valiantly defended this empire againſt moſt warlike nations, but alſo moſt victoriouſly augmented the ſame? But I will not ſo eaſily beleeue that which to my no ſmall griefe is brought vnto mine eares, concerning the reuolting of mine armie: neither if I did beleeue it, am I ſo feareſull as to be therewith diſcouraged, or to ſeeke to make ſhift for my ſelfe.

For

For to what purpose should I thinke of flight? as though I could in anie other place find more faithfulnesse or surer defence than with you? And concerning your selues, what should be your hope by this so infamous treacherie? If anie of you (for I cannot beleeue that you are all so mad) without regard of faith, of worldly shame, or the feare of God, haue polluted your minds with the pernitious conceit of so foule a treason; doe you thinke to gaine greater rewards and preferments by your treacherie and villanie, than by your fidelitie and constancie? There be manie which carefull of my person, persuade me to reserue this my sicke and feeble bodie vnto my better fortune, and to commit my selfe to flight; so rather to saue my life with shame and infamie, than to end my daies with honour and glorie: which is so farre from my thought for the apprehension of anie feare to doe, that I will to the contrarie forthwith giue the fierce enemie battell; and in this my last danger make proofe of all your fidelitie and valour, and of euerie one of your good wils in particuler: and so by the conduct of the highest, either defeat the power and breake the strength of this graceless man, or else hauing raigned aboue thirtie yeares an emperour, end my daies togither with them which shall vnto the end continue with me in their faithfulnesse and loyaltie, although I should be most shamefully and dishonourably betraied and forsaken of some of mine owne guard: which thing though lying fame would make me beleeue, yet will I not feare it vntill I see the proofe thereof.

The common sort of the Ianizaries faithfull to Baiazet desire battell.

The common sort of the Ianizaries, vnto whom the great commaunders and captaines corrupted by *Selymus*, had not for their leuitie and multitude communicated their purpose of transferring the empire to *Selymus*: began to crie out as if it had been with generall consent, That he should not doubt to joyne battell with his enemies, and so to make proofe of their constant fidelitie and wonted valour. Which was done with such a cheerfulnesse and desire expressed by great shouts, clapping of hands, and clattering of armour, that it seemed they would play the parts of resolute souldiours, and that as guiltlesse men they tooke it grieuously to be once suspected of treason or infidelitie. Others also who secretly and in heart were well affected to *Selymus*, for fashion sake followed them with like crie: but especially the great commaunders both of the armie and of the emperours court, now changing their affection (whether it were for shame of the fact, or for feare of discouering themselues out of season, is vncertaine.) Wherefore according to the manner of such men, which through their mutabilitie and mischieuous disposition, fearing to be conuinced and discouered, add vnto the present a second and new treason or treacherie, to couer the former: so *Mustapha* and *Bostanges* (not daring now to shew themselues for *Selymus*) to make a great shew of their faigned loyaltie towards *Baiazet*, departed themselues out of his pauilion, to encourage the souldiours and to martiall the battell.

The battell betwixt Baiazet and Selymus.

Baiazet sicke in his chariot, by the aduise of *Cherseogles* the faithfull Bassa, placed his battell in this order: The Sanzakes (which are the gouernors of prouinces) with their horsemen, in number about six thousand, he set in the front of the battell: The Spachi-oglans and Siliphtars, which are the chiefe horsemen of the court (and as it were the emperours pentioners) were placed as two wings on each side of the great squadron of the Ianizaries; in the middest whereof was old *Baiazet* himselfe. Other foure thousand horsemen (seruants to the great men of the court) were left in the rearward, and to guard the baggage. These slaues (for so indeed they are) for their apparell and furniture, yea and valour also, are little inferior to their masters, by whom they are so sumptuously maintained both for strength and ostentation. The battell thus ordered, *Baiazet* commanded the trumpets to sound, and a red ensigne in token of battell to be displaied. On the other side, *Selymus* placing his Tartarian horsemen in both wings, and his Turks in the middest in manner of an halfe moone, for that he in number of horsemen farre exceeded his father, did almost on euerie side enclose him, and so charge him. The Tartars when they were come within an hundred paces of their enemies, casting themselues (after the manner of their fight) into great rings, emptie within in manner of a crowne, and so running round, that they might both backward and forward deliuer their arrowes, cast vpon their enemies whole showers of shot as if it had beene haile, to the great annoiance of the Turkes: when as in the meane time, the other Tartarian archers farther off, shooting their arrowes not right forth, but more vpright towards heauen, which falling directly downe sore gauled the Turkes horses also. But the old souldiors (taught by the example of their captaines) serred close togither, and casting their targets ouer their heads, as if it had beene one whole roofe or penthouse, receiued their arrowes with lesse harme, and hasted with as much speed as they could to come to handie blowes. The pentioners

alſo at the ſame inſtant brauely charged the middle of *Selymus* his battaile, where his Turkiſh horſemen ſtood: and *Ataxe* (captain of the Ianizaries) drawing out ſeuen hundred readie harquebuſiers out of the ſquadron of the Ianizaries, with them aſſailed the hindmoſt of one of the wings of the Tartars: and the foure thouſand ſeruants left in the reareward, as deſirous as the reſt to ſhew their forwardneſſe, with great ſlaughter repulſed the other wing of the Tartars, which came to haue ſpoiled the Turkes carriages. This fierce battaile betwixt the father and the ſonne, with doubtfull euent endured from noone vntill the going downe of the Sunne: *Selymus* in many places ſtill reſtoring his declining battaile, and fighting himſelfe, as for an empire. But after that the Tartars, hardly charged by the harquebuſiers, were not able to abide the ſhot, eſpecially their horſes being with the vnwonted noiſe thereof wonderfully terrified, and ſo carrying backe their riders whether they would or no, began to flie; the reſt of the horſemen could neither by commaundement, threatening, or wounds, be enforced to ſtay, but turned their backes and fled. The footmen alſo whom *Selymus* had attired and armed after the manner of the Ianizaries, being forſaken of their owne horſemen, were now by *Baiazet* his horſemen compaſſed about and almoſt all ſlaine.

Selymus his armie put to flight.

Selymus his armie thus ouerthrowne, and himſelfe hardly beſet, was by certaine troupes of his Turkiſh horſemen which yet ſtayed with him, deliuered from the preſent danger; and being wounded, was mounted vpon a freſh horſe, and ſo with all the ſpeed he could fled after the Tartars. But doubting to be purſued and ouertaken by his fathers ſpeedie horſemen, he changed his horſe, and tooke another of a wonderfull ſwiftneſſe: and ſo reſeruing himſelfe to his future fortune, with a few of his followers fled to VARNA, and from thence by ſea to CAPHA.

The eſtimation Selymus had of his horſe whereon he eſcaped from his father.

The horſe whereon *Selymus* fled, was all eole blacke, called *Carabulo* (that is to ſay, *a Blacke cloud*) whom *Selymus* as a good ſeruitour euer after exempted from all ſeruice: and had him in ſuch eſtimation, that couered with cloth of gold, hee was as a ſpare horſe without a rider led after him in all his great expeditions, firſt into PERSIA, and afterward into ÆGYPT, where he died at CAIRE, and there to the imitation of *Bucephalus*, Great *Alexanders* horſe, had a monument erected for him: wherein *Selymus* ſhewed himſelfe more kind than to his owne brethren, whom he cruelly murthered, and hardly affoorded to ſome of them ſo honourable a ſepulture.

In this battaile of fortie thouſand which *Selymus* brought into the field, eſcaped not aboue eight thouſand, but they were either ſlaine or taken priſoners. Of *Baiazet* his armie were loſt about ſeuen hundred, and three thouſand hurt with Tartarian arrowes: which loſſe he preſently reuenged, with extreame crueltie cauſing all ſuch as were taken priſoners, to be without mercie put to the ſword in his ſight; whoſe heads were laied together by heapes, and their dead bodies as if they had beene towers. Of this notable battaile betwixt the father and the ſonne in the yeare 1511, CHIVRLVS, called in antient time TZVRVLVM, before an obſcure old ruinous citie (or as *Iouius* calleth it, a village) became famous; but much more afterwards by the fatall deſtinie of *Selymus*: who not many yeares after (ſtrucken with a moſt loathſome and incurable diſeaſe) ended his dayes in the ſame place with an vntimely and tormenting death, God (as is to be thought) with reuenging hand in the ſame place taking juſt puniſhment for his former diſloyaltie towards his aged father, as ſhall hereafter be in due time and place declared.

Three dayes *Baiazet* lay ſtill in the ſame place where he had obtained the victorie, vntill ſuch time as all his ſouldiours were againe returned from the chaſe of the enemie: after that, hee held on his way to CONSTANTINOPLE, and there bountifully rewarded his ſouldiours. In the meane time *Achomates* hearing of all the trouble which had happened betwixt his father and his brother *Selymus*, with the euent thereof, came with an armie of twentie thouſand from AMASIA, through the countries of GALATIA and BITHYNIA, vnto the citie of SCVTARI, called in antient time CHRISOPOLIS (though ſome ſuppoſe it to haue beene the famous cittie of CHALCEDON) which citie is ſituated vpon the ſtrait of Boſphorus directly againſt the cittie of CONSTANTINOPLE. In this place *Achomates* encamped his armie, neere vnto the ſea ſide, expecting what courſe his father ſhould take after ſo great a victorie. For beſide the prerogatiue of his age, and the eſpeciall loue of his father towards him, the generall affection of the vulgar people, with the good opinion he had of himſelfe, had alreadie filled his mind with the hope of the empire: wherefore he ceaſed not night and day to ſend meſſengers ouer that narrow ſtrait to CONSTANTINOPLE, & earneſtly to ſolicite *Baiazet* his father in ſo fit an occaſion to make haſt

haſt to diſpatch what he had ſo long before determined, concerning the reſignation of the empire. He alſo importuned his friends and familiars in beſt manner he could to commend him to his father, and in moſt ample ſort to extoll his graue purpoſe for tranſlation of the empire, and to doe the vttermoſt of their deuoire, that ſeeing God and good fortune had juſtly ouerthrown the raſh attempt and force of his brother *Selymus*, he by their good means might the ſooner obtaine the empire, whereof he was the vndoubted heire.

Baiazet, who of himſelfe and according to his old good liking was altogether deſirous of the preferment of *Achomates*, was by their perſuaſions eaſily entreated to haſten the performance of that he had before determined for the transferring of the empire. And making no great ſecret of the matter, commaunded certaine gallies to bee made readie for the tranſporting of *Achomates* from SCVTARI to CONSTANTINOPLE. But the great Baſſaes with the ſouldiours of the court (the ſecret fauourits of *Selymus*) vnderſtanding the matter, began againe openly to reſiſt and impugne his purpoſed determination, and to alleage the ſame reaſons they had before at HADRIANOPLE alleaged: in fine they ſaid plainely, That they would by no meanes ſuffer him ſo farre to diſable himſelfe as an inſufficient man to reſigne the empire, who of late had with ſo valiant and courageous an heart fought for the honour of his crowne and dignitie; and that therefore ſo long as hee liued, they would acknowledge no other ſoueraigne but *Baiazet*: yet for all that as they meant not thereby to cut off *Achomates* his hope, ſo neither ought he to diſtruſt the good will of the men of warre; but that he being a man of moſt approued & known valour, might in due time with their generall good liking enjoy his right, which ſhould then without all queſtion be due vnto him as the eldeſt ſonne of their emperour. They ſaid moreouer, that they had in the late battaile againſt *Selymus* ſufficiently declared what minds they were of both towards their emperour and *Achomates*, and what confidence they were to repoſe in the fidelitie of their ſouldiors; who to manifeſt their faithfulneſſe and loyaltie, had not refuſed to offer themſelues vnto the hazard of a moſt vnequall battaile, yea their liues vnto death it ſelfe. O foule diſsimulation, the couert maske of all miſcheefe, vnder which, meere trecherie is here pretended for great loyaltie, the aged emperour too too much flattered, *Achomates* ſhamefully deluded, and (the man that might not as then without ſome addition of diſgrace bee named) *Selymus*, euen bloodie *Selymus*, ſecretly ſought for aboue all men to be preferred!

Baiazet willing to preſer Achomates to the empire.

Baiazet by this offwardneſſe and inſolencie of the ſouldiors againe diſappointed of his purpoſe, or els (as ſome thought) delighted with the ſweetneſſe of ſoueraigntie: for that after the late victorie he ſeemed (as one growne young againe) neither to feele himſelfe old or vnable ſtill to gouern ſo great an empire; ſent word to *Achomates*, how the matter ſtood, and that he ſhould forthwith depart from SCVTARI to his old charge at AMASIA, from whence he would againe call him at ſuch time as he had with new bountie woon the minds of the ſoldiors, and procured the good liking of other the great men in court, whereby ſo great a matter and not vſuall, might the better and with more ſecuritie be effected.

Achomates thus deceiued of his hope and expectation, greeuouſly complaining that he was ſo mocked of his father, and contemned of the ſouldiors of the court, began to mix his new requeſts with words of heat and diſcontentment, and to inueigh againſt his father, for making him a byword (as hee tearmed it) and a laughing ſtocke vnto the world, after hee had taken the paines to come ſo farre, and that by his ſpeciall appointment. But if hee proceeded ſo to doate, and to make ſo great reckoning of the ſouldiors of the court, that in reſpect thereof hee neither regarded his promiſe, nor that was right and juſt, he would himſelfe by force of arms take vpon him the defence of his owne honour and right, ſo light eſteemed by his father, and reuenge the diſgrace offered vnto him by others.

Whereunto *Baiazet* anſwered by the Cadeleſcher (which is a man of greateſt place and authoritie amongſt the Turkes in matters concerning their ſuperſtition, and therefore of them honoured aboue others, as the ſacred interpreter of their law) that hee did neither well nor wiſely without juſt cauſe to fall into ſo great rage and choller, as by his ſpeech and force to thinke to extort that good which was onely by loue and loyaltie to be gained: whereas all things ſhould be ſurely kept for him, and the empire vndoubtedly deſcend vnto him, if by vntimely haſt hee did not marre that hope which hee ought by ſufferance and patient expectation to cheriſh: hee might (as the Cadeleſcher told him) learne by the late example and fortune of his brother *Selymus*, what might be for his owne good and welfare; and that it was a thing of far more danger,

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desperatly to thrust himselfe headlong into such an action as hee could not posibly see the end of, than moderating by reason his hot pasions, to expect with patience the oportunitie of time, and fitnesse of occasion, with the alteration of matters, all tending to his good.

Achomates enflamed with anger and greefe of the repulse, all the while the Cadeleschер was deliuering his fathers message, gaue him many sharpe taunts, and had much adoe to stay himselfe from offering of him violence; oftentimes threatening him, that in short time both his father should deerely buy the changing of his purpose, and the souldiours of the court their trecherous dealing: and so sending him away with this short answere, hee presently rise with his armie, and pasing through BITHYNIA, cruelly spoiled the country in his returne to AMASIA. There dayly more and more enflamed with the greefe and the indignitie of the repulse before receiued, hee determined to inuade the lesser ASIA: that if it should so fall out, that hee must needs by force of armes trie his right against either of his brethren, he might therein vse the wealth of that rich prouince. Whereby if it should chance that he should by the practise of any faile of the whole empire, yet he should at the leastwise be possessed of the one halfe therof, and be the readier for all euents, hauing all those great and rich prouinces in his power. Wherfore calling vnto him his two sonnes, *Amurathes* and *Aladin*, yong princes of great hope, after he had greeuously complained of the vnkindnesse of his father *Baiazet*, and of the injuries done against him by his enemies in the court, he declared vnto them, that there was now no hope left for him to obtaine the empire, except they would forthwith enter into armes with him, and so together with him defend both his and their owne right and honour, against the mallice and injuries of their enemies: which he said, would be an easie matter to doe by surprising the lesser ASIA, if they would courageously aduenture vpon it; for as much as all PISIDIA, LYCAONIA, PAMPHYLIA, with the sea coast of IONIA, were not as then kept with any armie or nauie: and as for his brother *Corcutus*, there was no great doubt to bee made of him, who according to his quiet disposition would bee content either to sit still, or els in regard of his just quarrell take part with him; or if he would needs intermeddle his quiet estate with the troubled, and so enter into arms, might easily be thrust out of whatsoeuer he possessed: as for the gouernours of the rest of the prouinces, he doubted not, but that they would also yeeld either to his commaund or fortune. Wherefore hee willed them to plucke vp their hearts as men of courage, and to goe into the countries thereabouts to take vp men, and whatsoeuer els were needfull for the warres. These gallants, of their owne youthfull disposition readie ynough for such a matter, and now encouraged with their fathers persuasion, did what they were by him commaunded, and had in short time raised a notable armie of voluntarie souldiours, of whom the greatest part were of seruile condition. But *Achomates* himselfe, besides his old armie which hee had in former time lead against the Persian rebels, leuied new forces also, and called forth into the field all the able men that were to be found in the cities round about: and so running through the prouince, proclaimed himselfe king of ASIA, and such as would not forthwith yeeld vnto him, those he and his two sonnes in diuers places prosecuted with all hostilitie: by which meanes many cities, especially such as were but weakely fortified, partly for feare, partly by constraint were deliuered ouer vnto him.

Achomates inciteth his two sons *Amurat* and *Aladin* to take part with him against their grandfather *Baiazet*.

After that, he entered with his armie into LYCAONIA, and the borders of CILICIA, where by embassadours and often letters he requested *Mahometes* his brothers sonne (who then gouerned those countries) to aid him in his just quarell against them, who by craftie and sinister persuasions had to his dishonour and disgrace withdrawne his fathers good will from him, and so farre seduced him, as that hee was determined to appoint another successour in the empire, than him his eldest and first begotten sonne: which their mallice he would (as he said) preuent, & by force of armes recouer his right, which his father knowing to be due vnto him, was about to haue put him in possession of whilest he yet liued, had he not by the sinister practise of others beene hindered: for the recouerie whereof, if *Mahometes* would out of his prouince aid him with men and victuall, and so further his just cause, he promised that he should find a farre better vncle than he had found a father; and that his present friendship should in time be most amply and bountifully requited.

Wherunto *Mahometes* answered, that he could not do what his vncle had required, except he were so commanded by his grandfather *Baiazet*, whom alone he acknowledged for his dread soueraign: & that it was not for him to judge, whether he did right or otherwise, That he would not

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in his life time resigne the empire to his sonne. But this (he said) he was not ignorant of, that he was not to yeeld his obedience to anie other, so long as he liued possessed of the empire: to whom both his father *Tzihan Shach* whilest he liued, and himselfe also had giuen their oath of obedience and loyaltie. Wherefore it were good for him to pacifie himselfe, least in seeking vntimely reuenge of his enemies, he should to the offence of all men wrong his father: and by too much heat and hast ouerthrow both his hope and honour; which of right should be most great, if he could but in the meane time haue patience, and stay himselfe a while. *Achomates*, who expected nothing lesse than such an answere, but thought that *Mahometes* would either for loue or feare haue presently come vnto him; and now finding his requests to bee with greater grauitie and consideration denied by his nephew, than they were by reason of him demaunded; entred with his armie into the borders of his prouince, and with fire and sword began to destroy the countrey before him. Which *Mahometes* with such power as he had thinking to remedie, was by the way encountered by his vnckle not farre from LARENDA, and there ouerthrowne: and taking that citie for refuge, was there certaine daies besieged by *Achomates*; and at last together with his brother (then but a child) deliuered into his hands, at such time as the citie was by the fearfull citizens by composition yeelded vnto him. *Achomates* hauing taken the citie with his two nephewes, caused *Mahometes* his counsellors, with his foster brother, by whose persuasion it was supposed that he had so answered his vnckle and endangered himselfe, to bee all put to death.

These proceedings of *Achomates* filled *Baiazet* with griefe and indignation, that he should in so great yeares be set vpon by two of his owne sonnes, one after the other. Yet to proue if those troubles might without more bloudshed be pacified, he sent his embassadours vnto him to reproue him for his disloialtie; and to command him forthwith to set at libertie his two nephewes, *Mahometes* and his brother, and so without more stir to get him againe to AMESIA: which if he should refuse to doe, then to denounce vnto him open warre. But he, which by how much the more he had after his repulse ambitiously affected the empire, had resolued with himselfe to deale so much the more cruelly in his proceedings: hauing receiued this message from his father, caused the chiefe embassador (for that he had in franke speech deliuered his message and denounced vnto him wars) to be in his owne presence put to death; and threatned the rest with the like, if before the going downe of the sunne they voided not his campe.

1512

Baiazet sendeth embassadors to Achomates.

Achomates killeth his fathers embassadours.

This outrage highly offended *Baiazet*, and alienated the minds of manie before well affected to *Achomates*: for that without any reuerence of his father and contrarie to the law of nations, he had violated the embassadours sent to him for peace. Vpon the first brute hereof, the souldiours which then waited at the court gate, in the hearing of *Baiazet* exclaimed, that the insolencie of *Achomates* was not longer to be suffered, but forthwith by force to be represt; that by sufferance and delay he would grow from euill to worse; and that if *Baiazet* should prolong the time, and in fatherly sort seeke by faire meanes to reclaime him, hee should afterwards in vaine craue the aide of his best souldiours against his rebellious sonne strengthened by his owne long sufferance. *Mustapha* also the chiefe Bassa, with *Bostanges* and others of great place (who secretly fauoured *Selymus*, and had cunningly caused these things by fit men to be dispersed amongst the souldiours) began at the first to mutter, and as it were to wonder at the strangenesse and hainousnesse of the fact; in such slie sort, as if they had condemned the deed done, but not the doer. But afterward, when they saw that *Baiazet* was throughly heated, both by his owne angrie disposition and the speech of the souldiors, and vpon the confidence of his former victorie against *Selimus*, now readie to seeke reuenge; they began then to heape fresh coles vpon the fire, and bitterly to inuay against *Achomates*, as a traitour to his aged father and the state; and withall highly commended the fidelitie and courage of the Ianizaries and souldiours of the court, who for the safetie and honour of their aged emperour, were most prest and readie to expose themselues, their liues, and whatsoeuer else they had, vnto new dangers.

So was *Achomates* by the craft and subtiltie of these great men, by the anger of his father, and the iudgement of the souldiours, proclaimed traitour; and order taken, that the souldiours of the court with the Europeian horsemen, should with all possible speed be sent against him into ASIA. But when choise was to be made of some valiant and worthie Generall that might take vpon him so great a charge, which seemed especially to appertaine vnto some one of the great Bassaes: it was strange to see, how they all began to straine courtesie at that preferment, and euerie

Achomates proclaimed traitor.

rie one to refuſe the place and diſable himſelfe, ſaying, That it were a great indignitie, that the emperours armie ſhould be led againſt his ſonne by anie of his ſeruants: and the ſouldiours (hauing their leſſon before hand) ſaid plainly, That they durſt not, nor would not draw their ſwords or lift vp their hands againſt the ſonne of the emperour, and heire apparant of the empire, except they were conducted and commaunded by ſome of the *Othoman* bloud in perſon preſent with them: for ſo had his brother, long before when he rebelled in CILICIA, and now of late *Selymus* his rebellious ſonne, beene both ouerthrowne and vanquiſhed, euen by the conduct of *Baiazet* himſelfe, and not by anie of his ſeruants. Theſe things all tended to this purpoſe, that *Selymus* might by indirect meanes be reconciled to his father (whom they ſecretly fauoured, although for feare of diſpleaſure they durſt not ſo much as name him but by way of diſgrace) and by this verie meanes to make way for his returne to CONSTANTINOPLE, and ſo conſequently giue him power to ſeaze vpon the empire. For it was probably ſuppoſed, that neither *Baiazet* himſelfe, being verie aged and diſeaſed; neither *Corcutus*, altogither buried in his ſtudie, would vndertake the managing of thoſe wars: ſo that of the *Othoman* family onely *Selymus* was left to whom that charge might be committed, all the nephewes of *Baiazet* by reaſon of their tender yeares, as yet vnfit for the ſame. At theſe ſpeeches of the Baſſaes and the ſouldiors, *Baiazet* as a man perplexed and in a chafe, flung away into his pallace, excuſing himſelfe by his great yeares and diſeaſed bodie: but complaining deepely, that *Corcutus* in following the vaine title of learning, with a quiet contented kind of life, had in the meane time neglected other ſtudies and honourable qualities, better beſeeming his princely birth and calling. As hee was thus reaſoning with himſelfe, and deuiſing what courſe to take; *Muſtapha* the old Baſſa, who all the time of his raigne had vſed to disburden him of his cares, hauing by way of talke drawne him into a full diſcourſe concerning the proceeding in the intended warre, ſet vpon him with this craftie and premeditated ſpeech, framed of purpoſe for his deſtruction.

The craftie oration of the great Baſſa Muſtapha to Baiazet, for the bringing home of Selymus

Your Maieſtie may not (moſt dread ſoueraigne) although by yeares and ſtrength of bodie you were neuer ſo well able, you may not I ſay, either tranſport your armie, or your ſelfe paſſe ouer in perſon into ASIA; *leaſt whileſt you are there, from place to place chaſing* Achomates, *you leaue a far more dangerous enemie behind you in* EVROPE; *who may in your abſence ſeaze vpon* THRACIA, GRECIA, *yea and the imperiall citie it ſelfe, deſtitute of ſufficient defendants. Doe we not heare, that* Selymus *is raiſing of new forces aboue* VARNA? *to expect a new ſupply of horſemen from the Tartar king his father in law? and alreadie as it were houering ouer our heads? Is he not of greater ſpirit and courage, than to be daunted or diſmaied with the misfortune of one battell? Or if you ſhall ſend ouer your old beaten ſouldiours into* ASIA, *and call* Corcutus *into* EVROPE *with the forces he leuied the laſt yeare, who in time of your ſickneſs may withſtand the attempts of* Selymus: *will he feare theſe freſh water ſouldiours of* ASIA, *or their philoſophicall Generall, which feared not the ſouldiors of your court, the pickt and choſen men of the world, and your ſelfe a moſt worthy and victorious emperour? You are deceiued, and (if I may be bold ſo to ſay) you throughly ſee not into the doubtfull euent of things, if you thinke not that you muſt at one time wage warre againſt two dangerous enemies, euen in the remoteſt parts of your empire, in* ASIA *and* EVROPE: *For whileſt you ſhall go about to expulſe* Achomates *out of* CAPADOCIA, Selymus *neerer at hand, and waiting all opportunitie; will by and by at your backe, raiſe a moſt dangerous warre in the verie heart and chiefe ſtrength of your empire. But if you moued with the greatneſſe and due conſideration of the danger, ſhall go about to defend* THRASIA, *and for that purpoſe retaine with you the moſt approoued and faithfull ſouldiours of the court, you ſhall ſee all* ASIA *on a fire before your face: neither will* Achomates *make an end of waſt and warre, vntill ſuch time as he haue drawne the empire of* ASIA *to himſelfe. Wherefore if it be not to be imputed to your fault, but to your fate or fortune, that two begotten of your ſelfe, ſhould by your ſelfe and the conſent of all men be adiudged traitours vnto your crowne and dignitie; whereof the one through raſhneſſe, the other vpon pride and vaine diſcontentment, hath riſen vp in armes againſt you: why doe you not in ſo doubtfull and perplext a matter, preferre ſafe and ſound aduiſe before that which masketh vnder the ſhew of maieſtie and honour? and whom you cannot both at one time correct and be reuenged vpon, to ſet vpon them as occaſion ſhall ſerue when they are togither by the eares betwixt themſelues? This is the onely hope of your ſafetie, this is the onely way, if you ſhall reſolue (as the common prouerbe ſaith) to driue out one naile with another, and ſo to ouercome your enemies. Moderate a while your hoat deſire of reuenge, and for the preſent diſſemble your griefe;*

greefe; graunt vnto one of them pardon, and in ſhew take him into your grace and fauor, imploy him againſt the other: ſo ſhall you without danger, howſoeuer it fall out, perſecute the one whom you loue not, with the haſard of the other whom you truſt not: and at your pleaſure oppreſſe him, to whom you ſhall commit your enſignes and armie; the hands of your faithfull and truſtie ſouldiors being euer at your appointment readie to take reuenge. So ſhall you with ſecuritie make an end of this warre, expoſing vnto the danger him whom you had rather to ouercome (as your enemie) by him whom you wiſh alſo to periſh.

Muſtapha had ſcarce made an end of ſpeaking, but the other Baſſaes (as they had before agreed amongſt themſelues) began where he left, and with all their cunning laboured to perſuade *Baiazet* to call home his ſonne *Selymus*, and to make him Generall of his armie againſt his brother: ſaying, That he had alreadie endured ſufficient puniſhment for his former diſloyaltie, and that therefore it was like that he as a well corrected child would from thenceforth containe himſelfe within the compaſſe of his moſt dutifull obedience: whereas *Achomates* proud of his birthright, hauing of late violated his fathers embaſſadours, and filled all ASIA with rebellion, was not like to bee brought to any reaſonable conformitie, vntill hee were by force of armes pluckt downe, and ſo made to know himſelfe, in like manner as was his brother *Selymus* of late. *Baiazet* ſeeing that in reſoluing of a matter of ſo great conſequence, *Cherſeogles Baſſa* (his ſonne in law, and the onely faithfull counſellour then about him) ſat all ſilent, hanging the head, as a man not of the ſame opinion with the reſt, ſtood a great while in doubt what to reſolue vpon: he could not ſo eaſily forget the late injuries done againſt him by *Selymus*, it was yet freſh in memorie, how that he had out of ASIA inuaded EVROPE, ſurpriſed HADRIANOPLE, giuen him battaile, endangered his perſon with his Tartarian horſemen, and that onely by the goodneſſe of God he had obtained the victorie: on the other ſide, his Majeſtie contemned, his nephewes impriſoned, his embaſſadours violated, the citties of ASIA ranſacked, and all thoſe goodly countries preſently ſmoking with the fire of rebellion, ſo filled his old heart with anger and indignation, as that he deſired nothing more than to be reuenged. Whileſt hee was thus ſtrugling with his owne thoughts, and doubtfull what to doe, the vnfaithfull Baſſaes by deepe deceit and treacherie (*Cherſeogles* moſt inſtantly perſuading the contrarie) ouercame him ſo farre, as with his owne hand to write letters to *Selymus*, promiſing him, that forgetting all injuries paſt, he would vpon the hope of his loyaltie, receiue him into his former grace and fauour, and make him Generall of his armie, if hee would without delay repaire to CONSTANTINOPLE, and ſo paſſe ouer into ASIA againſt his rebellious brother *Achomates*.

Whileſt theſe things are in doing at CONSTANTINOPLE, *Corcutus* aduertiſed by letters from his friends of the weake eſtate of his aged father, and by what perſuaſions he had beene induced (after *Achomates* was proclaimed traitor) to call vnto him *Selymus*, and to make him Generall of his armie; came downe out of MAGNESIA to PHOCIS, and there embarking himſelfe in his gallies, ſailed to CONSTANTINOPLE: where being arriued, hee went preſently to the court, attended vpon with a great number of his friends and fauourites; and entring into the priuie chamber, humbled himſelfe before his father, and kiſſed his hand: and after much talke had betwixt them of diuers weightie matters, is reported to haue ſpoken vnto him as followeth.

Corcutus commeth to Conſtantinople.

Corcutus his Oration vnto his father Baiazet.

It is now aboue thirtie yeares paſt (moſt reuerend father, and dread Soueraigne) ſince that I (being choſen and proclaimed emperour by the prerogatiue of the ſouldiors of the court, by generall conſent of the citiſens of this imperiall citie, and by the graue iudgement of the wiſe and graue Baſſaes of the Court) haue cheerefully and willingly, and as I may truly ſay, with mine owne hand deliuered from my ſelfe vnto your Maieſtie the poſſeſſion of this moſt glorious kingdome and empire: Which thing what worldly wight would haue done? but either a mad man, or els a moſt kind and louing ſonne? Vnto which ſo rare an example of a religious and louing heart, I was not by any feare or conſtraint enforced, but onely by regard and contemplation of your owne ſacred perſon, and the due conſideration of my dutie. Neither did it in the courſe of ſo many yeares, euer repent me of that my ſingular kindneſſe and dutie done, when as I contenting my ſelfe with ſuch things as you had vnto me aſſigned, and with the generall commendation of my well doing, as well as with a kingdome, thought this your great eſtate and higheſt type of worldly honour, not to be compared with the quiet contentment of my pleaſing ſtudies: when as I accounted it a vaine thing, and not beſeeming the reſolution

ſolution of a ſetled and quiet mind, to long after theſe wordly things, which being had and enioyed to
the full, worke no full contentment in the inſatiable deſire of man: and that ſurmounting vertue, and
the ſweet, ô moſt ſweet meditation of heauenly things promiſed vnto my contemplatiue and rauiſhed
mind, things of farre more worth and maieſtie than all the kingdomes and monarchies of the world.
But whileſt I was tracing this path, little regarding worldly honour, or the glorie of an empire, and
was for pure deuotion and deſire of knowledge trauelling into the furtheſt part of ARABIA, *vnto the*
altar of our moſt ſacred prophet Mahomet, *and ſo to the Indians, as to men of a more exact know-*
ledge and ſincere profeſſion; you in the middeſt of my trauell drew mee out of ÆGIPT *by the long*
hands of the Ægyptian Sultan, backe againe into PHRYGIA; *commaunding mee, that eſchewing the*
manifold dangers (which in my long trauell I muſt needs haue fallen into) I ſhould from thenceforth
haue more regard of my life and health, and to expect the fruit both of my loyaltie towards you, and of
your fatherly loue towards me: as if you had beene then of opinion, that the time would come, when for
the euill diſpoſition of ſome, an innocent man, deuoted vnto the ſtudie of wiſedome and learning, might
be a ſtay both to your ſelfe and the whole Othoman *familie. Since which time I haue euer both dutifully obeyed your commaund, and with as much care and integritie as I poſſibly could, diſcharged my*
charge: and in the late Perſian warre raiſed and brought into the field mine armie, wherewith I defended the frontiers of my prouince from the incurſions of the Barbarians. But after that they were vanquiſhed, and by your forces driuen out of the leſſer ASIA, *and that my vnnaturall and graceleſſe brethren, the one of them in* EVROPE, *as a moſt deſperat recreant, had in plaine battell aſſailed the perſon of your moſt ſacred Maieſtie (his reuerend father, farre ſpent with age, and then greeuouſly tormented with the gout) of purpoſe to haue at once depriued you both of your life and empire: and the other in* ASIA *ſeeking by like diſloyaltie and moſt horrible treaſon there to poſſeſſe himſelfe of a kingdome, had beſieged and taken priſoners his brothers ſonnes your nephewes, young princes of great expectation, your faithfull and louing ſubiects; and proceeding further, had ſet all that part of your empire on a broile: I thought my ſelfe in dutie bound to repaire hether vnto your imperiall Maieſtie, for that I ſaw it came to paſſe, not without the prouidence of the moſt mightie, that I might at ſuch time eſpecially requeſt the iuſt reward of my due deſert of you my moſt reuerend and louing father, the moſt religious obſeruer of equitie and iuſtice: when as you hauing had too great proofe of the infidelitie of my vnnaturall brethren, might moſt fitly and moſt commodiouſly performe that which you vpon great reaſon might now graunt vnto me your dutifull and obedient ſonne, although my former deſerts had merited no ſuch thing. Wherefore moſt gracious, I humbly pray and beſeech you by all your fatherly loue and affection towards me, and my knowne loialtie towards you, to vouchſafe before the comming of* Selymus, *to haue regard of mine honour, with the ſtate of your empire: for when he ſhall once in armes breake in, hee will at a trice cut off all hope of pacification, and ſupported by the men of warre, confound all things at his pleaſure: for I heare, that the very guarders of your perſon, and cheefe commaunders of your armies, altered in diſpoſition towards you, doe but expect the good offer of time, when they may willingly ſalute for their emperour and ſoueraigne, him, whom your good fortune of late full ſore againſt their wils, ouerthrew in open field. Wherefore that empire whereof I was ſometime poſſeſſed, and for the rare deſert of mine antient loialtie towards you, is of good right due vnto me, reſtore to me againe whileſt you may, and whileſt it is yet in your power, in this ſuddaine and momentarie occaſion now preſented. For your Maieſtie ſhall in vaine fauour my moſt iuſt and vpright claime, after that you (hauing once receiued into the imperiall citie a moſt deſperat and ambitious man) haue for euer loſt your libertie, together with your ſelfe.*

Baiazet comforteth Corcutus, and promiſeth to reſigne to him the empire, after that Selymus is paſſed ouer into Aſia.

Corcutus with teares ſtanding in his eyes hauing ended his ſpeech, the aged emperour moued with a fatherly affection, and the reaſonable perſuaſion of him, his onely loyall and moſt kind ſonne, comforted him vp with good words, and willed him to bee of good cheere; and withall diſcouered vnto him the very ground of his reſolution, in calling home of *Selymus:* telling him farther, That he could be well content to reſigne vnto him againe the empire, but that it was not in his power ſo preſently to doe, for feare of the ſouldiors of the court; who had (as he ſaid) of late withſtood him in the like motion, and would againe with tooth and naile gaineſay it, if he ſhould but giue the leaſt occaſion for them to ſuſpect any ſuch matter: but that by the plot now laied, *Selymus* ſhould vnder the title of honour be drawne out of EVROPE, together with the ſouldiors of the court, into ASIA againſt *Achomates*, both barres vnto his preſent deſire for tranſferring of the empire; in whoſe abſence it ſhould bee in his power freely to diſpoſe thereof

at

at his pleaſure: which he promiſed preſently to reſigne vnto him, ſo ſoone as they were once paſſed ouer into ASIA. Which thing once done, although it were not altogither to their liking, yet feared he not that either the captaines or ſouldiours, who had of late ſo honorably and faithfully defended him againſt *Selymus*, ſhould now for his ſake diſlike of *Corcutus*, or attempt anie thing not beſeeming the glorie of their late deſert: but rather hoped, that if his two vnnaturall and rebellious ſons *Achomates* and *Selymus*, ſhould once joine in battel (as it was moſt like they would) that either the one or both ſhould by the juſt judgement of God periſh for their ſo great diſobedience, murthered by the hands one of an other. *Corcutus* not much miſliking of his fathers purpoſe, and reſting himſelfe wholy vpon his fauour, thought it not good farther to argue the matter his father had ſo well conſidered of: but taking his leaue returned to his lodging, not without hope of obtaining the empire, and ſo remained manie daies after at CONSTANTINOPLE: during which time he ſought neither by gifts nor golden promiſes to procure the loue and good liking of the great Baſſaes, or ſouldiors of the court; for that he as a plaine vpright man, thought it not good by ſute and corruption (the great promotors of the vnworthie) to ſeeke for that at their hands, which was of right due vnto him by his fathers fauour and promiſe.

In the meane time *Selymus* his faſt friends, aduertiſing him of the comming of *Corcutus* to the court, aduiſed him to make haſt, and with all ſpeed poſsible to come to CONSTANTINOPLE; for that it was to bee feared, leaſt *Baiazet* being verie aged, and withall eaſie to be drawne away, might by the perſuaſion of *Corcutus* be enduced to alter, yea and perhaps quite breake off the courſe before well ſet for his moſt readie preferment. Vpon which newes, *Selymus* attentiuely waiting vpon nothing more than to haue acceſſe vnto his friends in court, and before reſolued at his firſt comming thither, not to ſpare for anie coſt in corrupting the men of warre, and ſo to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the empire: made now no ſtay, but with certaine troupes of horſmen commaunding the reſt to follow after, came with wonderfull ſceleritie to CONSTANTINOPLE. *Corcutus* with the great Baſſaes and courtiers, and moſt part of the ſouldiours of the court, going to meet him at the gates of the citie: at his entrance receiued him with a kiſſe (as is the manner of the Turkes) and brought him through the middeſt of the citie, all the people running out by heaps to haue a ſight of the man; of late in euerie mans mouth for his deſperat rebellion, but now welcomed with much thundring ſhot in token of triumph, and the joyfull acclamation of men, women, and children, and people of all ſorts. So that it eaſily appeared, that all the hatred before conceiued againſt him, for his late outrage againſt his father, was now quite forgotten; and that he would in ſhort time before his other brethren aſpire vnto the empire.

The next day after *Selymus* came to the court, and hauing acceſſe to his father, fell proſtrat before him and kiſſed his feet, and with the greateſt ſhew of humilitie poſsible, craued of him pardon for his diſloialtie. O deepe diſſembler, and traitor of all others moſt treacherous! of late in field with ſword drawn to haue ſlaine his aged father, but now proſtrat at his feet; and within an houre, mounted perforce into his imperiall ſeat!

The old emperour ſmiling vpon this Crocodile, in moſt kind manner tooke him vp, and courteouſly ſaid vnto him:

The craftie ſpeech of Baiazet vnto his ſonne Selymus.

Thy faults ſonne Selymus *are ſo much the leſſe, for that they haue found ſpeedie repentance, wherefore I doe the more willingly grant thee pardon: but from henceforth endeuour thy ſelfe, that God who hath giuen thee a notable ſpirit and courage, may alſo be thought to haue endued thee with a good and well diſpoſed mind. There is a martiall matter readie worthy thy hardineſſe, wherein thou maieſt ſufficiently manifeſt vnto the world thy forwardneſſe and courage: there when time ſerueth let it appeare.*

The craftie diſſimulation of Selymus.

Shortly after was called a counſell for the warres, but eſpecially for the chuſing of a Generall to go againſt *Achomates*: the honor of which place, when manie would haue giuen to *Selymus*, he began with great diſsimulation to refuſe, making as though he would not in any caſe be preferred before his brother *Corcutus*, to whom he would (as he ſaid) willingly giue place, both in reſpect of his years and learned diſcretion, who could no doubt with greater authoritie and wiſedome manage that warre: as for himſelfe, now he had obtained his fathers gratious pardon and fauour, he could well content himſelfe with any corner of the empire, were it neuer ſo little.

But *Corcutus* and his friends, who had repoſed all their hope and all their deuiſes in the departure of *Selymus* with the ſouldiours of the court; as if they had with great modeſtie contended on both ſides, againe perſuaded him, yea and inſtantly requeſted him not to refuſe that ho-

nour, by generall conſent without anie diſgrace to his brother, giuen to him as to a worthy chief- G
taine of greater experience in martiall affaires. So *Selymus* with wonderfull cunning deluding *Corcutus* and his fauourits, whileſt he ſeemeth craftely to refuſe the thing he moſt deſireth, is by the generall conſent of all parts, choſen Generall of the armie to go againſt his brother *Achomates*. Which was no ſooner made knowne vnto the ſoldiors, eſpecially the Ianizaries and other ſouldiors of the court; but they before inſtructed, with lowd acclamations ſaluted him, not for their Generall onely, but for their ſoueraigne lord and emperor alſo: and ſo without farther delay put themſelues in armes to defend and make good that they had done, if anie better diſpoſed ſhould ſeeme to withſtand them or diſſent from them.

Selymus by the ſouldiours thus ſaluted emperour, at firſt made ſhew as if he had beene halfe vnwilling to take vpon him the empire; and ſo began faintly to refuſe it, as moued ſo to doe by H
the due reuerence and regard of his father, yet liuing. But after a while he ſuffered himſelfe to be entreated: and then commending himſelfe and his cauſe wholy to the men of war, to bind them vnto him the faſter, promiſed beſide the particuler fauors he ought them, to beſtow a right great and generall larges amongſt them: which he afterwards accordingly performed.

After that, he requeſted the chiefe Baſſaes and commaunders of the armie there preſent, to go forthwith vnto his father, and to take ſuch order (ſeeing it was the mind of the whole army it ſhould be ſo) that the empire might by his goodwill without farther trouble or tumult, be forthwith transferred vnto him.

Muſtapha the great Baſſa, in whoſe wily head all this matter was (to his owne worthy deſtruction) firſt hammered; whether it were vpon a new fineneſſe of his owne, or that *Selymus* (as I
it was giuen out) had threatned to kill him except he would go and ſhew all the whole proceſſe of the matter to his father: comming as a man diſmaied to *Baiazet* (who awaked with clamour and tumult of the ſouldiours was come out of his chamber into the open roomes of his pallace) in few words deliuered vnto him this moſt vnwelcome meſſage as followeth:

The blunt ſpeech of Muſtapha to Baiazet, perſuading him to reſigne the empire to Selymus.

Emperour (ſaid he) *the men of warre haue in their counſell ſaluted* Selymus *both their Generall and Emperour: which their choiſe they require thee to ratifie; being readie preſently to breake into the court to kill vs both, if thou ſhalt refuſe forthwith to reſigne the empire. They all with one conſent requeſt that of thee, which they ha[ue] alreadie put into the hand of an other. Wherefore it is a thing of farre more danger to ſeeke to re[cou]er that thou haſt alreadie loſt, than willingly to yeeld that which is alreadie taken from thee, ſeeing it is not by anie force or pollicie to be regained. They in armes, K
in furie, and now entred into rebellion, thinke vpon ſome greater miſchiefe.*

Baiazet troubled with feare and choller, and then too late perceiuing the treacherie of the Baſſaes, and how he had been by them betraied; pauſing a while at the ſtrangeneſſe of the matter, afterwards in furie brake out into theſe words:

The reſolute anſwere of old Baiazet to Muſtapha and the other Baſſaes.

*Falſe and forſworne, doe you thus betray me? and with ſuch monſtrous villanie requite mine infinit bountie? Why doe you not alſo as murtherers take away my life, which could not endure for a while to expect the diſſolution of this my weake and aged bodie? but depoſing your iuſt & lawfull ſoueraigne, muſt needs in poſt haſt ſet vp a moſt wicked and graceleſſe man to raigne ouer you. But much good doe it you with your deſired emperour, the contemner of God, and murtherer of his father: to whom ere it be long, you ſhall full dearely pay the price of this your perfidious dealing and treacherie againſt me. L
And he himſelfe beginning his empire of moſt vnnaturall treaſon, murther, and bloudſhed, ſhall not (I hope) eſcape the heauie hand of God, the vndoubted and ſeuere reuenger of ſo great impietie and treaſon.*

Muſtapha, with *Boſtanges* and *Aiax* as falſe as himſelfe, returning backe againe to the ſouldiours ſpeaking not a word of the ſorrow and indignation of *Baiazet*; told them how that he was well content to reſigne the empire, and ſo had appointed *Selymus* (vnto whom both God and the generall conſent of the men of warre had alreadie deliuered the empire) to ſucceed him in the empire. When this their ſpeech was generally reported, they whom *Selymus* had before corrupted, began now to hold vp their heads, and looke big on the matter: and others who before ſtood doubtfull what to doe ſeeing now no other remedie, in haſt joyned themſelues vnto the M
ſame faction. Whileſt all things were thus diſorderly carried by the vnruly ſouldiours, *Selymus* was by them mounted vpon a couragious horſe, and ſo with all pomp conducted vp and downe moſt of the faire ſtreetes of the imperiall citie: and with the generall voice and clamour of the people (how ſoeuer their minds were for moſt part otherwiſe affected) ſaluted emperour. And

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the ſame day both the great Baſſaes and the ſoldiors in generall, were all ſolemnely ſworne vnto *Selymus*, as their onely lord and emperour.

Corcutus, whether it were for greeſe of his hope now loſt, or for feare of his life, although *Selymus* had promiſed to giue him the citie of MYTILENE, with the Iſland of LESBOS, ſecretly embarked himſelfe, and ſo returned to MAGNESIA. *Corcutus flieth.*

Baiazet of late one of the greateſt monarchs of the world, but now thus thruſt out of his empire by his ſonne, deteſting both him and the treacherie of his ſubjects, and ouercome with ſorrow and melancholie, determined of himſelfe, before hee were thereto enforced by *Selymus*, to forſake CONSTANTINOPLE, and to retire himſelfe to DIMOTICA (a ſmall cittie wholeſomely ſituated in THRACIA, not farre from HADRIANOPLE; where in former time he had for his pleaſure beſtowed great coſt, & now as he thought beſt fitted his preſent eſtate.) Wherfore cauſing great ſtore of treaſure, plate, jewels, and rich furniture to be truſſed vp, he with fiue hundred of his houſhold ſeruants, full of heauineſſe and ſorrow, with teares trickling downe his aged cheekes, departed out of the imperiall citie towards HADRIANOPLE, with purpoſe from thence to haue gone to DIMOTICA. *Selymus* brought him about two miles vpon his way, and ſo returning againe to CONSTANTINOPLE, tooke poſſeſsion of the pallace.

Baiazet being then about ſeuentie ſix yeares old, or as ſome report full foureſcore; and beſide his old diſeaſe of the gout, ſore weakened with heauineſſe and greeſe of mind, was not able to trauell aboue fiue or ſix miles a day, but was conſtrained by the extremitie of his paine and weakeneſſe, to ſtay ſometimes two or three dayes in a place. Whileſt hee was thus trauelling, *Selymus* no leſſe carefull of the keeping of his eſtate, than he had before beene for the obtaining of the ſame, began now to doubt, That if hee ſhould depart from CONSTANTINOPLE, and with all his forces paſſe ouer into ASIA againſt his brother *Achomates*, *Baiazet* in the meane time might in his abſence returne to CONSTANTINOPLE, and ſo againe poſſeſſe himſelfe both of the citie and the empire. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of that feare, he reſolued moſt viper like before his going, to kill his father, and ſo moſt vnnaturally to depriue him of life of whom hee had firſt receiued life: ſuch is the cruell and accurſed nature of ambition, that it knoweth neither father, mother, brother, wife, kindred, or friend, no, ſometimes not her owne children: the furie whereof was neuer in any one more pregnant, than in this moſt monſtrous and cruell tyrant *Selymus*.

The readieſt and moſt ſecret way he could deuiſe for the effecting of this his damnable deuiſe (which without great impietie could not bee ſo much as once by him thought vpon) was to worke it by poyſon: vpon which reſolution hee ſecretly compacted with *Hamon* a Iew, his fathers cheefe phyſition, to poyſon him; promiſing him for his reward a penſion of ten duckats a day during his life. And for that men are oftentimes with terrour and feare, as well as with reward, enforced to bee the miniſters of miſcheefe; hee to bee the more ſure of this Iew (prone ynough for gaine to doe euill) threatened him with moſt cruell death, if hee did not both ſecretly and ſpeedily worke this feat, commaunding him ſo ſoone as he had done it to return vnto him to CONSTANTINOPLE. *Selymus practiſeth with Hamon a Iew, Baiazet his phiſition, to poyſon him.*

The deceitfull Iew moued both with the feare of death, and hope of reward (two great motiues) comming ſhortly after to *Baiazet*, and finding him very weake, ſeeming to be very carefull of him, told him, That he would prepare for him a potion, which ſhould both reſtore to him his health, and alſo ſtrengthen his weake bodie, if it would pleaſe him to take it the next morning early lying in his bed. *Baiazet* nothing miſtruſting his old phyſition: whom he had ſo often & ſo long truſted, ſaid hee would gladly take it. Early the next morning commeth the Iew with the deadly potion in a cup of gold, *Baiazet* yet ſleeping, which he ſet downe in the chaire of eſtate, and ſo ſtood waiting vntill the aged prince ſhould of himſelfe awake. But *Baiazet* ſtill ſleeping ſoundly (as oftentimes it chanceth when men ſleepe their laſt) and withall ſomewhat longer than ſtood with the Iewes purpoſe, he preſuming of his wonted practiſe, awaked him, and told him, that the time to take the potion was almoſt paſt, and asked him if it were his pleaſure then to take it. *Baiazet* doubting no treaſon, willed him to bring it: whereof when the Iew had taken the ſey (hauing before himſelfe taken a preſeruatiue againſt that poyſon) he gaue it to *Baiazet* to drinke, who cheerefully dranke it vp: the phyſition commaunding them that waited in his bedchamber, and attended on his perſon, to keepe him well couered with warme clothes, and not to giue him any thing to drinke vntill hee had well ſweat. This curſed Iew hauing thus poyſoned *Baiazet poyſoned by the Iew.*

the aged prince, to auoid the danger of the fact, and to carrie the first newes thereof to *Selymus*, G
secretly conuayed himselfe away, and fled in hast to CONSTANTINOPLE. But *Baiazet* attainted with the force of the poyson, began first to feele most greeuous gripings in his stomacke, the strong paine whereof appeared by his miserable complaining and heauie groning; in the midst of which torments he gaue vp the ghost in the yeare 1512, when he had raigned thirtie yeares. The Turkes report that he died a naturall death: but *Antonius Vtrius*, a Genoway, who at that time serued in *Baiazet* his chamber, and was present at his death, reporteth, That vpon his dead bodie the euident tokens of poyson were to bee seene. His dead bodie, with all his treasures were presently brought backe againe to CONSTANTINOPLE, and deliuered to *Selymus*, who caused the bodie of his father to be with the greatest solemnitie that might be, buried in a most sumptuous tombe, in a chappell neer vnto the great Mahometane temple, which he had before built for H
himselfe at CONSTANTINOPLE, which monument there remaineth at this day to bee seene. His seruants were all by *Selymus* restored to their places which they before held in the Court in the time of their old master, excepting fiue of the pages of his chamber, who lamenting the death of their master aboue the rest, had attired themselues all in mourning apparell: for which cause, they were by the commaundement of *Selymus* cast in prison; where two of them were put to death, the other three at the sute of *Solyman*, *Selymus* his sonne, and of other two Bassaes, were saued: but being stript of their rich apparrell, and whatsoeuer els they had gotten vnder *Baiazet*, they were enrolled for common souldiors vnder *Sullustares Bassa*. Of these three this *Antonius Vtrius* the Genoway (before spoken of) was one, who after ten yeares miserable captiuitie amongst the Turks, at last escaped, at such time as *Selymus* was by the Persian discomfited: I
and with much adoe returning againe into ITALIE, writ the historie of all such things as hee himselfe had there seene, with the calamities of *Baiazet* his house, and a great part of the tyrannous raigne of *Selymus*.

The death of Baiazet.

Selymus causeth two of his fathers pages to bee put to death for mourning for their master.

Hamon the Iew iustly rewarded for his trecherie.

Hamon the false Iew (as the same author reporteth) comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, and expecting some great reward for his foule treason, by the commaundement of *Selymus* had his head presently strucke off: with this exprobation of his trecherie, That oportunitie seruing, hee would not sticke for reward to doe the like against *Selymus* himselfe. Of this *Baiazet*, *Ianus Vitalis* writeth this Elogium:

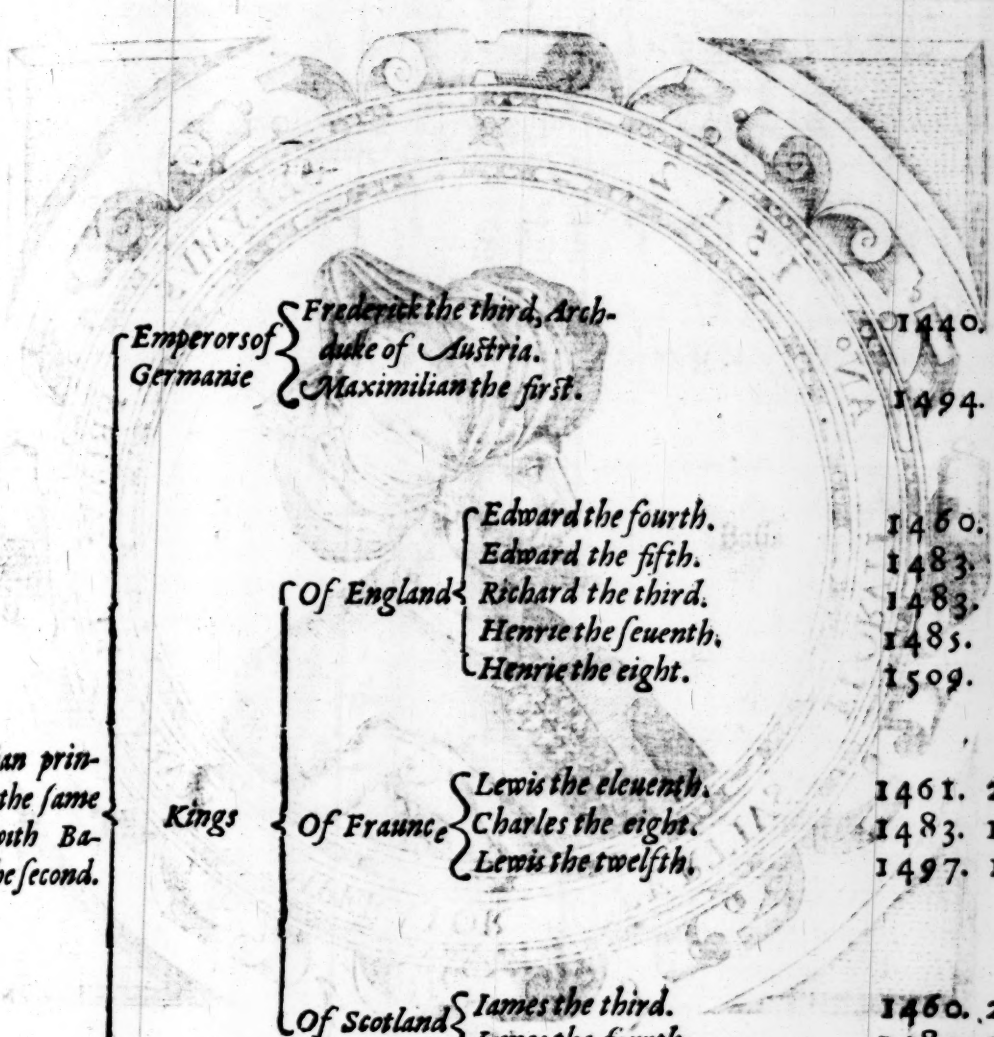
Paulus Iouius illust. virorum, Elog. lib. 4.

Dum rerum exquiris causas, & dum procul Hunnes
Carmannos, Cilices, Sauromatasq; domas:
Baiazete, domi proles tua te petit armis
Et te per fraudes amouet imperio.
Adjcit inde nouum sceleri scelus, & tibi miscet,
Pocula lethiferis illita graminibus.
Intempestiuos crudelis vipera fœtus,
Per sua sic tandem funera, rupta, parit.
Quid tutum est, cui sint ingentia regna tiranno?
Si timeat natos, progeniemq; suam?

In English thus.

Whilest that thou *Baiazethes* seekes of things the hidden cause,
And faine wouldst bring the Hunne and Russe vnder thy Turkish laws:
Thy sonne at home steps vp in armes against thy royall crowne,
And by false treason and deceit finds meanes to plucke thee downe.
Whereto he addeth mischeefe more, and straight without delay,
By poyson strong in glittering boule, doth take thy life away:
The cruell viper so brings forth her foule vntimely brood,
Which eat and gnaw her bellie out, their first and poysoned food.
What things may princes hold for safe, that do great kingdomes sway?
If of their children they must stand in dread and feare alway?

FINIS. *R. K.*



Christian princes of the same time with Bauzet the second.

- Emperors of Germanie
  - Frederick the third, Archduke of Austria. — 1440. 54.
  - Maximilian the first. — 1494. 25.
- Kings
  - Of England
    - Edward the fourth. — 1460. 22.
    - Edward the fifth. — 1483. 0.
    - Richard the third. — 1483. 3.
    - Henrie the seuenth. — 1485. 24.
    - Henrie the eight. — 1509. 38.
  - Of Fraunce
    - Lewis the eleuenth. — 1461. 22.
    - Charles the eight. — 1483. 14.
    - Lewis the twelfth. — 1497. 17.
  - Of Scotland
    - Iames the third. — 1460. 29.
    - Iames the fourth. — 1489. 25.
- Bishops of Rome
  - Xystus the IIII. — 1471. 13.
  - Innocentius the VIII. — 1484. 8.
  - Alexander the VI. — 1492. 11.
  - Pius the III. — 1503. 26 daies.
  - Iulius the II. — 1503. 9.

Phil. Lonicer. Turc. Hiſt. lib. 1.

En Selymus, ſcelere ante alios immanior omnes:
In patris, & fratrum, dirigit arma necem.
In Perſas mouet inde ferox: Memphitica regna
Deſtruit: & Syros Æthiopaſq; domat.
Hinc in Chriſticolas irarum effundere fluctus,
Ipſorumq; imo vertere regna parat.
Cùm diro victus proſternitur vlcere: Chriſtus
Scilicet eſt populi portus & aura ſui.

Lo *Selymus*, in crueltie exceeding others farre,
His father, and his brethren both, deſtroies with mortall warre.
The Perſian fiercely he aſſailes: and conquers Ægypts land:
The Sirian, and the Moore likewiſe, he tam'd with mightie hand.
But purpoſing in his mad mood, the Chriſtians to confound,
And the memoriall of their name to roote from off the ground;
A loathſome Canker eat him vp, and brought him to his end:
Chriſt is to his the ſafeſt port, when he will them defend.

THE LIFE OF SELYMVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE THIRD AND MOST WARLIKE EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

THis *Selymus*, by fauour of the great Baſſaes and men of war whom he had before corrupted, hauing depriued his father *Baiazet* firſt of the empire, and ſhortly after of his life alſo, and now fully poſ- 1512
ſeſſed of the empire himſelfe; firſt tooke view of the treaſures which the Turkiſh kings and emperors his auncеſtors had before of long time heaped vp in great aboundance: out of which hee gaue vnto the ſouldiours of the court two millions of duckets; and for a perpetuall remembrance of his thankfulneſſe towards them augmented their daily wages, allowing vnto euerie horſeman four aſpers a day, and to euerie footman two, aboue their wonted allowance. By which exceeding bountie, he greatly aſſured vnto himſelfe the minds of the men of warre.

Shortly after he paſſed ouer with a great armie into ASIA, leauing the gouernment of the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE vnto his onely ſonne *Solyman*: and marching into GALATIA came to the citie of ANCYRA, in hope there to haue oppreſſed his elder brother *Achomates*. But he vnderſtanding before of his comming, withall wiſely conſidering how vnable he was to withſtand his forces, fled before into the mountaines of CAPADOCIA vpon the confines of ARMENIA, taking vp men by the way as he went, and praying aid of all ſorts of people, yea euen of ſuch as were but of ſmall abilitie themſelues, and vnto him meere ſtrangers; that ſo hee might in beſt manner he could, prouide ſuch ſtrength as might ſerue him to make head againſt his brother, and for the recouerie of ASIA. *Selymus goeth into Aſia againſt his brother Achomates.*

Selymus hauing ſpent that ſommer without doing anie thing worth the ſpeaking of, and conſidering that he could not well winter in that cold country neere vnto the great mountaine TAVRVS, by reaſon of the deepe ſnowes and extreame cold there vſually falling; and that to go farther was to no purpoſe, foraſmuch as *Achomates* flying from place to place and mountaine to mountaine was not to be ſurpriſed, he retired backe againe into BITHYNIA, and ſending his Europeian horſemen downe towards the ſea coaſt, and the Ianizaries to CONSTANTINOPE; reſolued to winter with the reſt of his army at PRVSA. At which time being wholy bent againſt *Achomates* his competitor of the empire, he for certaine yeares continued the league which his father *Baiazet* had before concluded with *Vladiſlaus* king of HVNGARIE, *Sigiſmundus* king of POLONIA, and the Venetians. And thinking no care (no not of children) ſuperfluous which might concerne the eſtabliſhing of his empire, he called vnto him fiue of his brothers ſons, *Orchanes* the ſonne of *Alem Schach*; *Mahometes* the ſonne of *Tzihan Schach*; *Orchanes*, *Emirſa*, and *Muſa*, the ſonnes of his brother *Mahometes*; all young princes of great hope, of yeares betwixt ſixteene and twentie, excepting *Muſa* who was not paſt ſeauen yeares old: of all theſe, *Mahometes* (whom his vncle *Achomates* had a little before taken priſoner at LARENDA, as is before declared, and vpon the death of *Baiazet* had againe ſet him at libertie) being about twentie yeares old, was for rare feature and princely courage accounted the paragon and beautie of the *Selymus murthereth fiue of his brothers ſonnes*

the *Othoman* family: Which great perfection as it woon vnto him the loue and fauour of the G
men of warre, and also of all the people in generall: so did it hasten his speedie death; onely *Selymus* his cruell vnckle enuying him life. After he had got these poore innocents into his hands, he sent for diuers of his great doctors and lawyers, demaunding of them, Whether it were not better that some fiue, eight, or ten persons should be taken away, than that the state of the whole empire should with great effusion of bloud be rent in sunder, and so by ciuile warres be brought in danger of vtter ruine and destruction? Who although they well perceiued whereunto that bloudie question tended, yet for feare of displeasure they all answered, That it were better such a small number should perish, than that the whole state of the empire should by ciuile warre and discord be brought to confusion; in which generall calamitie those few must also of necessitie perish with the rest. Vpon colour of this answere and the necessitie pretended, he commaunded H
these his nephewes before named, to be led by fiue of his great captaines into the castle of PRVSA, where they were all the night following most cruelly strangled. It is reported, that *Mahometes* with a penknife slew one of the bloudie executioners sent into his chamber to kill him; and so wounded the other, as that he fell downe for dead: and that *Selymus* being in a chamber fast by, and almost an eyewitnesse of that was done, presently sent in others, who first bound the poore prince, and afterward strangled him with the rest: whose dead bodies were buried at PRVSA amongst their auncestours. The crueltie of this fact wonderfully offended the minds of most men, insomuch that many euen of his martiall men filled with secret indignation, for certaine daies absented themselues from his presence, shunning his sight as if hee had beene some I
fierce or raging lyon.

1513 Of all the nephewes of old *Baiazet*, onely *Amurat* and *Aladin* (the sons of *Achomates*) yet remained, whom he purposed to surprise vpon the sudden, and so to rid himselfe of all feare of his brothers children; hauing then left none of the *Othoman* familie, but them and his two brethren vpon whom to exercise his further crueltie. These two young princes had a little before recouered the citie of AMASIA, from whence they were the Sommer before expulsed by their vncle *Selymus*, at such time as *Achomates* their father was glad to flie into the mountaines of CAPADOCIA. *Selymus* fully resolued vpon their destruction, sent *Vfegi* one of his Bassaes with fiue thousand horsmen, who by great journies trauelling to AMASIA, might vpon the sudden come vpon these two young princes, and take them altogither vnprouided and as then fearing no such danger: which was thought no great matter for the Bassa to doe, forasmuch as he might with K
his light horsmen easily preuent the fame of his comming; and the citie of AMASIA where they lay, was neither well walled, nor as then furnished with any sufficient garrison for defence therof: beside that, *Achomates* himselfe was at that time absent, busied in taking vp of souldiours vpon the frontiers of CARAMANNIA. But *Mustapha* the old Bassa, by whose especiall meanes *Selymus* had obtained the empire (as is before declared in the life of *Baiazet*) being priuie vnto his wicked purpose, and now in mind altogither alienated from him, detesting his most execrable tyrannie, both for the vnworthy death of *Baiazet* his father, and the guiltlesse bloud of so many young princes his nephewes by him shed without all pitie; and hauing compassion of the imminent danger whereinto these two brethren were now like also to fall; by secret and speedie messengers gaue them warning of the comming of the Bassa, and of all that was entended against L
them. Who vpon such knowledge giuen, presently aduertised *Achomates* their father thereof, and laid secret ambush themselues for the intercepting of their enemies. So that within few daies after, the Bassa comming with his horsemen towards AMASIA, fell before he was aware into the middest of his enemies: at which time also *Achomates* following him at the heeles, so shut him in with his armie on euerie side, that most of his men being slaine, he himselfe with diuers other captaines were taken prisoners and brought to *Achomates*, and by his commaundement committed to safe custodie.

Selymus seeketh after the liues of Amurat and Aladin, the sons of Achomates his brother.

Vfegi Bassa taken prisoner.

Now it fortuned, that some of *Achomates* souldiors scoffing at the prisoners whom they had taken, told them how they had been deceiued, and how all the matter had been carried (so hard a thing it is to haue euen the greatest counsels in court kept secret) boasting that they wanted not M
their friends, euen of such as were most inward with *Selymus*, who secretly fauoured the better cause, and would not long suffer the cruell beast to rage further: All which things *Selymus* his souldiours reported againe after they were raunsomed and returned home. But *Vfegi* the Bassa lying still in prison, and getting certaine knowledge of the whole matter, by secret letters gaue

Selymus

Selymus to vnderſtand, that *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa whom he moſt of all truſted, had ſecret intelligence with *Achomates*, and had beene the only cauſe of the loſſe of his armie.

Selymus of late enuying at the great honour and authoritie of *Muſtapha*, and wiſhing him dead (whoſe deſert he was not able, or at leaſtwiſe not willing to requite) cauſed him vpon this accuſation without farther triall to be ſecretly ſtrangled in his owne ſight, and his dead bodie (as it were in ſcorne of his former felicitie) to be caſt out into the ſtreet for euerie man to gaze vpon. This was the ſhamefull end of this traiterous Baſſa, who had of long time at his pleaſure commaunded all things in the Turkiſh empire, and was for riches, power, and authoritie, next vnto the emperours themſelues: but now lieth as a dead dog in the ſtreet, no man daring for feare to caſt earth vpon him. A rare ſpectacle of the vncertaintie of worldly felicitie, and a worthy example of diſloialtie. But *Achomates* hearing what had hapned to *Muſtapha*, in reuenge thereof in like manner executed *Vſegi Baſſa* his priſoner; and according to his curteous nature ſet all the reſt of the priſoners at libertie.

Muſtapha Baſſa ſhamefully murthered.

Vſegi Baſſa put to death.

Selymus thirſting after nothing more than the guiltleſſe bloud of his brethren and nephewes, vpon whom he had againſt all right vſurped the kingdome, whereof he neuer thought himſelfe ſufficiently aſſured ſo long as any of them breathed: began with the firſt of the Spring, to deuiſe with himſelfe how he might firſt take away his brother *Corcutus*, who then liued at MAGNESIA, and hauing caſt off all hope of the empire, gaue himſelfe wholy to the ſtudie of philoſophie, which he (ſeduced with ambition) had in euill time a little before forſaken; but now retiring himſelfe thereto againe, as to his greateſt contentment, ſpent his time in quiet contemplation, not attempting any thing againſt his cruell brother vſurping the empire. *Selymus* reſolued vpon the deſtruction of this harmeleſſe prince, ſuddenly commaunded his captaines to make choiſe often thouſand horſemen to be in readineſſe within three daies, giuing it out that hee would make an inroad vpon the ſudden into CAPADOCIA. In the number of theſe horſemen *Antonius Mœnauinus* a Genoway, author of this hiſtorie (as he reporteth of himſelfe) was one.

All things being in readineſſe againſt the appointed time, *Selymus* in perſon himſelfe ſet forward with his armie from PRVSA, ſtill keeping the way on the right hand; ſo that the ſouldiors who thought they ſhould haue marched directly into CAPADOCIA and ſo to AMASIA, as it was before commonly reported; began now to perceiue by the contrarie courſe they held, that they were to go for LYDIA and IONIA. When a valiant ſouldiour among the reſt, who had ſometime ſerued one of the Baſſaes in *Corcutus* his court, by diuers circumſtances gathering the intention of *Selymus*, ſecretly conuaied himſelfe out of the armie; and being excellently well mounted, taking the neereſt way, came to MAGNESIA and gaue *Corcutus* warning of the comming of his brother. *Corcutus* conſidering the great danger he was in, richly rewarded the meſſenger; and leauing his houſe in ſuch order as it was wont to be, fled with two of his ſeruants to the ſea ſide, in hope to haue found paſſage either into CRETE, or elſe to the RHODES.

The next day after *Corcutus* was departed, early in the morning came *Selymus* to the caſtle of MAGNESIA before the riſing of the ſunne, in hope to haue found *Corcutus* yet in his bed: but being deceiued of his expectation, he fell into a great rage, and with cruell torments examined all his brothers ſeruants & eunuchs, What was become of him and where he had hid himſelfe? and with much adoe got it out of them, That he had warning of his comming by a fugitiue ſoldiour, and was thereupon fled; but whither they knew not. Wherfore *Selymus* ſtaied there fifteene daies, during which time he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made all ouer the countrey, and alongſt the ſea coaſt for to haue apprehended him. But when after much ſearch he could heare no tidings of him, he cauſed all his brothers treaſure and rich furniture to be truſſed vp, and to be ſent by ſea to CONSTANTINOPLE. So leauing one of his captaines with a thouſand horſemen in garriſon at MAGNESIA, he returned againe to PRVSA with as much ſpeed as he came from thence: verily ſuppoſing that his brother was for ſafegard of his life, by ſea fled into ITALIE. All this while *Boſtanges*, *Selymus* his ſonne in law, lying with a fleet of gallies vpon the coaſt of IONIA, had taken from *Corcutus* all hope of eſcaping by ſea: ſo that he was faine to hide himſelfe in a caue neere vnto the ſea ſide not farre from SMYRNA, liuing in hope that after a few daies the fleet would depart, and ſo he ſhould find ſome opportunitie to eſcape.

Selymus taketh the ſpoile of his brother Corcutus

After he had thus a great while in feare moſt miſerably liued with countrie crabs, and other like wild fruit (a poore diet for a man of ſtate) and was with extreame neceſsitie enforced to ſend his man for reliefe to a poore ſheepheards cottage therby, he was by a country peaſant diſcouered

to

Corcutus taken. to *Caſsumes*, who with too much diligence ſought after his life: and being by him apprehended, was carried towards the tyrant his brother at PRVSA.

Right welcome to *Selymus* was the report of his taking: who as ſoone as he vnderſtood that he was within a daies journey of PRVSA, ſent one *Kirengen-ogli* (who of his ſquint looke was called *Chior Zeinall)* to ſtrangle him vpon the way, and to bring his dead bodie to PRVSA.

This captaine comming to *Corcutus* in the dead time of the night, and awaking him out of his ſleepe, told him his heauie meſſage; how that he was ſent from his brother *Selymus* to ſee him executed, which muſt as he ſaid preſently be done. *Corcutus* exceedingly troubled with theſe heauie newes, and fetching a deepe ſigh, deſired the captaine ſo long to ſpare his life, vntill hee might write a few ſhort lines vnto his brother *Selymus*. Which poore requeſt being granted, he called for pen and paper, and readily in Turkiſh verſe (for he had ſpent all his time in ſtudie) reproued his brother of moſt horrible crueltie; vpbraiding him, that he had not onely moſt diſloially thruſt his father out of his empire, but alſo moſt vnnaturally depriued him of life, of whom he had before receiued the ſame: and not ſo content, had moſt tyrannouſly ſlaine his brothers children; and now like an vnmercifull wretch thirſted after the guiltleſſe bloud of himſelfe, and *Achomates* his brethren. At laſt concluding his letters with many a bitter curſe, he beſought God to take of him juſt reuenge for ſo much innocent bloud by him moſt vnnaturally ſpilt. And when he had thus much written, he requeſted the captaine, that it might togither with his dead bodie be deliuered vnto *Selymus*. So without any farther delay he was according to the tyrants commaund preſently ſtrangled. The next day after, when the dead bodie was preſented vnto *Selymus*, he vncouered the face therof to be ſure that it was he, and ſeeing a paper in his hand, tooke it from him: but when he had read it (for all his cruell nature and ſtony heart) he burſt out into teares; proteſting, that he was neuer ſo much grieued or troubled with any mans death as with his: for which cauſe, he commaunded generall mourning to be made for him in the court, and with princely ſolemnitie buried his bodie. Three daies after, he cauſed fifteene of thoſe diligent ſearchers who firſt found *Corcutus*, to haue their heads ſtruck off, and their bodies to be flung into the ſea, ſaying, That if he were by any extremitie driuen to flie and hide his head, they would not ſtick to ſerue him in like manner as they had done his brother.

The lamentable death of Corcutus.

Now of all the poſteritie of *Baiazet* remained none aliue to trouble the cruel tyrants thoughts but only *Achomates* and his two ſons: who vpon the approch of the Spring, ſet forward with his armie from AMASIA, excited by the often letters of his friends, who aſſured him that *Selymus* might vpon the ſudden be eaſily oppreſſed, if hee would with all expedition come to PRVSA; foraſmuch as the Ianizaries and Europeian horſemen, the vndoubted ſtrength of his armie, were at that time abſent, and he himſelfe as one hated both of God and man, could not in ſo ſudden and vnexpected danger tell what he were beſt to doe, or which way to turne himſelfe: wherefore they willed him without delay to haſten his comming, and not to expect the milder weather of the Spring, leaſt in the meane time *Selymus* ſhould call togither his diſperſed forces: God (they ſaid) did oftentimes offer vnto men, both the opportunitie and means to doe great matters, if they had the power to lay hold thereon, and therfore he ſhould do well now by celeritie & courage to ſeeke to better his euill fortune, which but a little before had bereft him of his fathers kingdome: for if Sommer were once come on, he muſt either gaine the victory by plain battel, which would be a hard matter, or elſe get him packing out of CAPADOCIA and all ASIA the leſſe.

Achomates, who before had promiſed vnto himſelfe better ſucceſſe, as well for the great ſtrength he had of his owne, as for the new ſupply of horſemen he had procured from *Hyſmuell* the Perſian king; but eſpecially for the hope he had, that *Selymus* generally hated for his late crueltie, ſhould in the time of the battell be forſaken of his owne ſouldiours; yeelded to the perſuaſion of his friends, who with many pleaſing words ſet before his eies glorious things, eaſie to be ſpoken, but hard to be effected. Wherefore, when he was come into GALATIA with ſomewhat more than fifteene thouſand horſemen, hauing for haſt left his footmen by eaſie marches to come after him: *Selymus* aduertiſed of his comming, by ſpeedie meſſengers ſent for his horſemen to PRVSA. In the meane time whiles he is leuying other common ſouldiours, and reſpecting the reſt of his forces; fortune, which alwaies fauoured his attempts, did then alſo auert the danger prepared for him by the vnfaithfulneſſe of his followers, and ſhewed vnto him the open way to victorie. For *Achomates* ſecret friends which were in *Selymus* his campe, continuing firme in their good will towards him, did earneſtly by letters perſuade him (being alreadie ſet forward,

ward, and now come as farre as PAPHLAGONIA) to make haſt, and to come before *Selymus* his forces were come together: for that he had ſent for the Ianizaries and Europeian horſemen, and did with all ſpeed and diligence make all the preparation hee could poſsibly; which for all that would all come too late, if he ſhould vpon the ſuddaine come vpon him before hee were prouided. Which letters being by chance intercepted, gaue *Selymus* certaine knowledge both of his brothers purpoſe and comming, together with the treaſon entended againſt him by his owne ſeruants: wherefore executing them who had writ thoſe letters, he in their names cauſed others to the ſame effect to be written to *Achomates*, perſuading him with all ſpeed poſsible to come ſtill on, and not to ſtay for his footmen, for that *Selymus* might eaſily bee oppreſſed with a few troupes of horſemen, if *Achomates* would with ſpeed but come & ſhew himſelfe vnto his friends and fauourites: who vpon the firſt ſignall of battaile would raiſe a tumult in the armie, and vpon the ſuddain kill *Selymus*, vnaduiſedly going too and fro in the battaile. Which letters ſo written, *Selymus* cauſed to be ſigned with the ſeales of them whom he had before executed, & found meanes to haue them cunningly deliuered to *Achomates*, as if they had been ſent from his friends: who giuing credit to the ſame, and preſuming much vpon his owne ſtrength, doubted not to leaue his footmen, who followed eaſily after him, vnder the conduct of *Amurath* his ſonne; and came and encamped with his horſemen neere vnto the mountain HORMINIVS, vpon the bank of the riuer Parthemius. *Selymus* alſo departed from PRVSA, and hauing receiued into his armie ten thouſand Ianizaries (but a little before come ouer the ſtrait) ſent before *Sinan Baſſa*, Generall of his Aſian horſemen, to know & make proofe of the ſtrength of his enemies. The Baſſa not knowing as yet where *Achomates* lay, neither of what force he was, being deceiued by the darkeneſſe of the morning, fell into a place of diſaduantage, where he was ſet vpon by *Achomates*, and hauing loſt ſeuen thouſand of his men, was glad with other eight thouſand which were left, to flie backe vnto *Selymus*.

Treaſon againſt Selymus diſcouered.

Sinan Baſſa diſcomfited by Achomates.

For all this loſſe, was not *Selymus* diſcomfited, or doubtfull of the victorie, but forthwith marched on forward to the riuer Elata, which runneth directly out of the mountaine HORMINIVS into PONTVS, watering moſt large fields vpon the right hand, which at this day are called the plaines of the new land. So did *Achomates* alſo, who although he knew his brother to be euery way too ſtrong for him: yet being encouraged with the late victorie, and in hope that his friends in *Selymus* his armie (whom he vainely ſuppoſed to haue beene yet liuing) would in the very battaile doe ſome notable matter for him, and that victorie would follow his juſt quarrell; reſolued neither to retire backe, neither to expect the comming of the reſt of his armie. The riuer was betwixt the two campes, and the number of both armies certainely diſcouered: yet could not *Achomates* (to whom the open fields offered a ſafe retreat vnto the reſt of his armie) poſſeſſed with a fatall madneſſe, be perſuaded (conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger) in time to prouide for the ſafetie of himſelfe and his armie, carried headlong (as it ſeemed) by inculcable deſtinie to his fatall deſtruction, which preſently after enſued.

Selymus a little before the going downe of the Sun, with his armie paſſed ouer the riuer Elata, and gaue generall commaundement through all his campe, that euery man againſt the next day ſhould bee readie for battaile: and in a wood not far off placed a thouſand horſemen in ambuſh, vnder the leading of *Canoglis* his wiues brother, a valiant young gentleman, whom his father had a little before ſent from TAVRICA vnto his ſonne in law with a choſen companie of Tartarian horſemen: vnto him *Selymus* gaue in charge, that when the battaile was joyned, he ſhould ſhew himſelfe with his horſemen vpon the backe of his enemies, and there to charge them.

Selymus with his armie paſſeth ouer the riuer.

As ſoone as it was day, *Selymus* in a great open field put his armie in order of battaile, placing his horſemen in two wings, ſo that all his ſpearemen were in the right wing, and the archers and carbines in the left: in the maine battaile ſtood the Ianizaries with the reſt of the footmen. On the other ſide *Achomates*, hauing no footmen, deuided his horſemen into two wings alſo.

Whileſt both armies ſtood thus raunged, expecting but the ſignall of battaile, a meſſenger came from *Achomates* to *Selymus*, offering in his maſters name, to trie the equitie of their quarrell in plaine combat hand to hand: which if he ſhould refuſe, he then tooke both God & the world to witneſſe, that *Selymus* was the onely cauſe of all the guiltleſſe bloud to be ſhed in the battaile, and not he: whereunto *Selymus* anſwered, that he was not to trie his quarrell at the appointment of *Achomates*: and though he could be content ſo to doe, yet would not his ſoldiors ſuffer him ſo to aduenture his perſon and their owne ſafetie: and ſo with that anſwere returned the meſſenger

ger backe againe to his maſter, giuing him for his reward a thouſand aſpers.

Achomates hauing receiued this anſwere, without further delay charged the right wing of his brothers armie, who valiantly receiued the firſt charge: but when they were come to the ſword, and that the matter was to be tried by handie blowes, they were not able longer to endure the force of the Perſian horſemen; who being well armed both horſe and man, had before requeſted to be placed in the formoſt rankes, by whoſe valour the right wing of *Selymus* his armie was diſordered, and not without great loſſe enforced to retire backe vpon their fellows. Which thing *Selymus* beholding, did what he might by all meanes to encourage them againe, and preſently brought on the left wing with their arrowes and piſtols, in ſtead of them that were fled: and at the ſame time came on with the Ianizaries alſo, who with their ſhot enforced *Achomates* his horſemen to retire. *Achomates* himſelfe carefully attending euery danger, with greater courage than fortune came in with freſh troupes of horſemen, by whoſe valour the battell before declining was againe renewed, and the victorie made doubtfull: but in the furie of this battell whileſt he was bearing all downe before him, and now in great hope of the victorie, *Canoglis* with his Tartarian horſemen riſing out of ambuſh, came behind him, and with great outcries cauſed their enemies then in the greateſt heat of their fight to turne vpon them: at which time alſo the footmen ſtanding cloſe together aſſailed them afront, and the horſemen whom the Perſians had at firſt put to flight, now moued with ſhame, were againe returned into the battaile: ſo that *Achomates* his ſmall armie was beſet, and hardly aſſailed on euery ſide. In fine his enſignes being ouerthrowne, and many of his men ſlaine, the reſt were faine to betake themſelues to flight. Where *Achomates* hauing loſt the field, and now too late ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight, fell with his horſe into a ditch, which the raine falling the day before, had filled with water and myre: and being there knowne and taken by his enemies, could not obtaine ſo much fauour at their hands as to bee preſently ſlaine, but was reſerued to the farther pleaſure of his cruell brother. *Selymus* vnderſtanding of his taking, ſent *Kirengen* (the ſame ſquint-eyed captain which had before ſtrangled *Corcutus*) who with a bow ſtring ſtrangled him alſo. His dead bodie was forthwith brought to *Selymus*, and was afterwards by his commaundement in royall manner buried with his anceſtours in PRVSA.

Achomates ſtrangled.

Now *Amurat*, *Achomates* his ſonne, vnderſtanding vpon the way by the Perſian horſemen (who ſerred together, had againe made themſelues way through the Turkes armie) of the loſſe of the field and the taking of his father, returned backe againe to AMASIA: and there after good deliberation, reſolued with his brother to betake themſelues both to flight; he with the Perſian horſemen paſsing ouer the riuer Euphrates, fled vnto *Hyſmaell* the Perſian king: but *Aladin* the younger brother paſsing ouer the mountaine AMANVS in CILICIA, fled into SIRIA, and ſo to *Campſon Gaurus* the great Sultan of ÆGYPT.

Amurat and Aladin, the ſons of Achomates, flie the one into Perſia, and the other into Ægipt

After this victorie, *Selymus* hauing in ſhort time and with little trouble brought all the leſſer ASIA vnder his obeiſance, and there at his pleaſure diſpoſed of all things, determined to haue returned to CONSTANTINOPLE: but vnderſtanding that the plague was hot there, hee changed his purpoſe, and paſsing ouer at CALLIPOLIS and ſo trauelling through GRECIA, came to HADRIANOPLE, where hee ſpent all the reſt of that Summer, and all the Winter following: and afterward when the mortalitie was ceaſed, returned to CONSTANTINOPLE; where it was found, that an hundred and threeſcore thouſand had there died of the late plague.

Hyſmaell the Perſian king, whoſe fame had then filled the world, hearing of the arriuall of *Amurat*, ſent for him, and demaunded of him the cauſe of his comming. The diſtreſſed young prince, who but of late had loſt his father, together with the hope of ſo great an empire, & now glad for ſafegard of his life to flie into ſtrange countries, oppreſſed with ſorrow, by his heauie countenance and abundance of teares, more than by words, expreſſed the cauſe of his comming: yet in ſhort ſtrained ſpeech, declared vnto him, how that his father, his vncle, with the reſt of his couſins, all princes of great honour, had of late beene cruelly murdered by the vnmercifull tyrant *Selymus*: who with like furie ſought alſo after the life of himſelfe and his brother, the poore remainders of the *Othoman* familie, who to ſaue their liues, were both glad to flie, his brother into ÆGYPT, and himſelfe to the feet of his imperiall majeſtie.

Hyſmaell moued with compaſsion, and deeming it a thing well beſeeming the greatneſſe of his fame, to take the poore exiled prince into his protection and to giue him releeſe, willed him to be of good comfort, and promiſed him aid. And the more to aſſure him thereof, ſhortly after gaue

gaue him one of his owne daughters in marriage. For it was thought, that if *Selymus* for his tyrannie become odious to the world, should by any means miscarie (as with tyrants it commonly falleth out) that then in the *Othoman* familie, sore shaken with his vnnaturall crueltie, none was to be preferred before this poore prince *Amurat*: besides that, it was supposed, that if hee should inuade him with an armie out of PERSIA, that vpon the first stirre, all the lesser ASIA, mourning for the vnworthie death of *Achomates*, would at once reuolt from him, who for his crueltie and shamefull murthers had worthely deserued to bee hated together both of God and man.

Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring *Hysmaell* furnished *Amurat* his new sonne in law with ten thousand horsemen, willing him to passe ouer the riuer of Euphrates at ARSENGA, and to enter into CAPADOCIA, as well to make proofe how the people of that countrey were affected towards him, as of the strength of the enemie: after whom he sent *Vsta-Ogli*, the most famous cheefetaine amongst the Persians, with twentie thousand horsemen moe, with charge, That he should still follow *Amurat* within one dayes journey: and he himselfe with a farre greater power stayed behind in ARMENIA, doubting to want victuall if he should haue led so great an armie through those vast barren and desolate places, whereby hee must of necessitie passe.

Amurat marching through the lesser ARMENIA, and entering into the borders of CAPADOCIA, had diuers townes yeelded vnto him by his friends; some others hee tooke by force, which he either sacked or els quite rased; and brought such a generall feare vpon the inhabitants of the prouince, that the people submitting themselues vnto him all the way as he went, it was thought he would haue gone directly to AMASIA, had not *Chendemus* (an old warlike captain) whom *Selymus* had left for his lieutenant at ASIA, with a great armie come to meet him at SEBASTIA, which at this day is called SIVAS. This *Chendemus* had also long before aduertised *Selymus* both of the preparation and comming of the Persians, as soone as hee had learned by his espials that they were passed the riuer Euphrates. Vpon which news *Selymus* came presently ouer into ASIA, and commaunding all his forces to meet together at PRVSA, had with wonderfull celeritie leuied thereabout fortie thousand common souldiors. Which so soone as *Amurat* vnderstood, as well by such prisoners as he had taken, as by aduertisement from his friends; although he was very desirous to haue fought with *Chendemus*, yet doubting that if *Selymus* should with his wonted celeritie come against him, he should be entangled in the straits of the mountaine ANTITAVRVS, he retired backe againe to *Vsta-Ogli*. But *Selymus* who all that yeare had in his haughtie thoughts been plotting some such notable exploit as were worthie his greatnesse, standing in doubt whether he should by sea and land inuade HVNGARIE, the RHODES, or ITALIE, at that time sore shaken with ciuile wars: hauing now so fit an occasion giuen him by the Persian (to the great joy of all Christendome) conuerted himselfe wholly vnto the East, and in thirtie dayes march came to ARSENGA. Where joyning his armie with *Chendemus*, when he vnderstood that his enemies hauing harried the countrey, were againe retired; prickt forward with the greefe of the injurie, and desire of reuenge, with hope of victorie hee resolued to follow after them foot by foot, and forthwith to enter into ARMENIA the greater, the principall prouince of the Persian kingdome.

1514 *Amurat spoileth Capadocia.*

Selymus resolueth to inuade the Persian.

But the difficulties of this notable expedition, which were in counsell propounded by them which had best knowledge of those countries, were great and many, all which by his owne good hap and inuincible courage, hee himselfe afterwards ouercame: for the souldiours which had in short time alreadie marched by land out of ILLYRIA, EPIRVS, and MACEDONIA, into CAPADOCIA, must of necessitie in this long expedition take vpon them new labours: they were to endure the sharpe and pinching cold of the huge mountaine TAVRVS, and by and by after the most vehement and scorching heat in the plaines of ARMENIA the lesser, with extreame thirst, hunger, and most desperat want of all things; and well the more, for that the Persians in their retreat spoyling the countrey as they went, had vtterly destroyed all that might serue for the vse of man, of purpose to leaue nothing vnto their enemies, but want of all things, if they should pursue them: besides that, his most expert captaines stood in no small doubt of the pettie princes of ARMENIA the lesse, and the mountaine king *Aladeules*, whom they were to leaue behind them at their backes, without any great assurance of their friendship, who they well knew would faile them, if any thing should happen otherwise than well to *Selymus*, either in battaile,

or for want of victuals, or in the difficulties of the paſſages. For they were to be releeued with victuals from the Armenians: and *Aladeules* forces then in readineſſe, were neither for number nor power to be contemned; who alſo with caſtles commodiouſly placed and ſtrong garriſons, at his pleaſure commaunded all the ſtraits, paſſages, and entrances, which led out of CAPADOCIA into ARMENIA and the Perſian kingdome: for all the mountaine countries were vnder his commaund, and his kingdome ſtretched from the mountaines called SCUDRISCI neere vnto PONTVS, all alongſt the great mountaine TAVRVS vnto AMANVS, which diuideth CILICIA from SYRIA.

Amongſt the reſt, old *Chendemus* viceroy of NATOLIA, a man of great experience, and of all others in greateſt credit fauour and authoritie with *Selymus*, perſuaded him to ſtay awhile in CAPADOCIA, and there to refreſh his Europeian ſouldiours alreadie wearie of their long trauell, and ſo to expect the comming of his enemies. And to diſſuade him from the dangerous expedition into PERSIA, ſpake vnto him as followeth:

Chendemus Baſſa diſſuadeth Selymus from going further againſt the Perſians.

It is not to be thought (moſt mightie and inuincible emperor) that the Perſians are fled for feare, becauſe they retired before they ſet eye vpon vs their enemies: it is a fineneſſe, and they plainly go about to entrap vs, whiles they by flight make a falſe ſemblant of feare. Know we not what cunning heads, what able bodies PERSIA *breedeth? will they feare the naked Turkiſh light horſeman or archer, which with their couragious barbed horſes and themſelues ſtrongly armed, feared not the Scythian ſhot? or (if that be too little) which by their valour haue vanquiſhed ſo manie nations, and gained vnto their king ſo great and large an empire? Thinke you, that you haue either greater or better forces than had long ago* Caſſumes *your vncle? or great* Mahomet *your grandfather? who diuers times prouing their forces vpon this enemie, were more than once put to the worſt, I my ſelfe then ſeruing in their campes neere vnto* TRAPEZONDE *and the mountaines of* NICOPOLIS. *I will not denie, but that the great ordinance which you carrie with you may ſtand you in great ſtead, ſo that fit place may be found to beſtow ſo many field pieces in: but this ſcorched ground, the frozen and abrupt mountaines, with the vaſt and ſolitarie plaines beyond them, terrifie me, whom all the armed forces of our enemies in place of great aduantage could not diſmay. You muſt fight, not only with your valiant enemies, but with the difficulties of nature alſo. Neither may your maieſtie giue any credit to the Armenians, or Aladeules, princes of moſt doubtfull faith; although at your firſt ſetting forward, they ſhew a faire face and ſeeme neuer ſo friendly: for they will but expect and await ſome fit occaſion to take you at an aduantage, and ſo to ſet vpon you when you leaſt feare them. But admit you were aſſured of victorie, ô with how much warme bloud of your beſt ſouldiors ſhall you buy the ſame? with what other ſouldiors, with what other forces will you defend* GRÆCIA, *if the Chriſtian kings hearing that you for enlarging your empire, or deſire of fame being gone into the fartheſt part of* ARMENIA, *ſhall in the meane time inuade you? Wherefore if it be better and more wiſedome with ſafetie to defend your owne, than with danger to ſeeke for that is other mens; if princes of greateſt pollicie haue repoſed the glorie of their victories, not in the greatneſſe of the ſlaughter of their enemies, but in the ſafetie and preſeruation of their owne ſouldiours: ſpare to obiect your ſelfe and your armie to moſt manifeſt danger, and vnaduiſedly to commit all at once to the hazard of good fortune: which being a moſt tickle and vnconſtant miſtreſſe, if ſhe ſhall but once dally with your dangerous attempts, you ſhall through your raſhneſſe in farre ſhorter ſpace tumble downe headlong from the type of ſo great maieſtie, than you haue thereunto a while agoe by your rare vertues worthely aſpired.*

Selymus as he was of a rough and fierce nature, ſo would he haue all things done according to his owne deuiſe and direction. And though he were not a little moued with this ſpeech of ſo graue a counſellor and moſt expert commander, and ſaw many of his captaines troubled with the imagination of the future danger: yet in a fume, refuting ſome little of that which *Chendemus* had ſaid, he diſmiſſed the counſell; proteſting openly, that he would proceed in his entended purpoſe, hap what hap ſhould, from friend or fo: although that old fellow were (as he ſaid) ſo carefull of his life, that he feared to die an honourable death. Which *Selymus* had no ſooner ſaid, but preſently others about him, accuſtomed to ſerue his humour, which enuied at the glorie and wealth of old *Chendemus*, tooke hold vpon thoſe words: and beginning with the greatneſſe of his forces, the valour of his ſouldiours, the ſtore of his artillerie, with his owne inuincible fortune; made eaſie matters of all the former difficulties, and with great words labored to extenuat

all

all that the graue Baſſa had before ſaid concerning the proweſſe and power of the enemie. After that, they began to diſcredit *Chendemus*, ſaying, That he (being a martiall man, and of knowne reſolution in all his moſt warlike actions) had not ſaid as before, for want of courage, or any diſtruſt he had of the victorie, but of purpoſe to hinder that moſt honourable expedition, and to cut off all hope of victorie, which was (as they ſaid) as good as alreadie gotten; being beſore loded with *Amurat* his great promiſes, and the gold of PERSIA. Wherfore they wiſhed him to beware of the ſlie old Fox his wiles and treaſon, and to proceed on in his expedition ſo much the more boldly: and not to thinke that his ſouldiours would refuſe any danger or labour, ſo long as they ſaw courage in himſelfe, but would be readie (as they ſaid) to vndertake the moſt deſperat difficulties of warre; and deſired nothing more, than to be conducted into thoſe farre countries, where by their martiall proweſſe and valiant acts they might make their emperour *Selymus* equall with the Great *Alexander*, and themſelues comparable to his Macedonians. And to worke the vtter deſtruction of this moſt faithfull counſellour without all recure, theſe falſe flatterers ſuborned bold faced accuſers, who falſely and ſhamefully affirmed, that he had receiued great ſums of money from *Amurat*, and did not therefore in time go againſt the Perſian robbers, whereby all the former calamities hapned (as they ſaid) to that prouince: for which pretended cauſes, *Selymus* commaunded *Chendemus* without farther hearing, to be ſlaine. But in deed to terrifie others from like libertie of ſpeech, and withall to teach them to deeme thoſe deuiſes and counſels as moſt excellent, which their ſoueraigne ſhould as it were by diuine inſpiration find out himſelfe; and ſo to accept of them without contradiction. The ſudden death of this moſt faithfull counſellour *Chendemus*, ſtrucke an exceeding feare into the minds of all men; for that ſo honourable a perſonage, of late in ſo great fauour and credit with his ſoueraigne, was without hearing executed; whom they had knowne as a man of great account, both for his proweſſe and pollicie, to haue ſtood faſt on *Selymus* ſide, firſt in his warres againſt his father, and of late againſt his brother: not doubting but that *Selymus* by nature cruell, and ſuſpitious euen of trifles, would with like tyrannie not ſpare men of meaner calling, which ſpared not his deereſt and moſt auntient friends.

Chendemus Baſſa by the commaundement of Selymus ſlaine.

Selymus marching from ARSENGA came to the confines of the leſſer Armenian kings, and of *Aladeules*: where by his embaſſadours he requeſted the kings of thoſe nations (who were then in armes) that they would joyne their forces with his againſt the Perſian, and to go with him into ARMENIA the Great: promiſing that when the wars were happely ended, he would giue vnto them all ſuch territorie as ſhould chance in thoſe warres to be taken from the enemie, as a reward of their aid. But theſe poore kings, which hated both *Hyſmaell* and *Selymus* for the manifold injuries they daily receiued in the frontiers of their dominions, lying in the middeſt betweene them, (as commonly it falleth out that the weakeſt goeth to the wals) craftely expecting the euent of this warre, would not openly ſhew themſelues, but anſwered that they had taken vp armes for no other purpoſe, but for the defence of themſelues and their kingdomes. Not meaning in that doubtfull warre, to beare themſelues as enemies vnto either of thoſe great princes their friends and neighbours, of whoſe juſt grieuances they were not able or worthy to determine: yet if he would without hoſtilitie, in peaceable manner paſſe through their dominions, they promiſed to giue free paſſage vnto him and his armie: and after he were entred into ARMENIA the greater, to relieue him with ſuch prouiſion of victuall as their bare countries could affoord.

Selymus thus deceiued of this his firſt hope (for why, he thought thoſe poore kings would at the firſt either for loue or feare haue beene readie to haue done him all the ſeruice they could) diſſembled his griefe for the preſent, as wholy bent againſt *Hyſmaell*: fearing, that if he ſhould by word or deed offend thoſe neuter princes, he ſhould haue them at his back his moſt aſſured & vndoubted enemies. Wherfore paſsing the mountains called SCODRISCI, he came in eight daies vnto the great mountaines called MOSCHII, which the famous riuer Euphrates with his mightie ſtreame and hugie broken bankes ſeperateth from the great mountaine ANTITAVRVS, and with perpetuall ſteepe ridges runneth into IBERIA and CHOLCHIS, and on the Eaſt diſcouereth ARMENIA the greater. Here *Selymus* with enſignes diſplaied marching alongſt the banke of the riuer, departed not from the ſame, for feare to lacke water in that hoat and drie countrey: and ſo held on his way directly Eaſtward, leauing the countrey of ARMENIA the leſſe vpon his left hand, and the frontiers of the kingdome of *Aladeules* on the right, vntill he came to the

mountaine PERIARDO. This great mountaine, famous by the rising of two great and notable riuers out of it, is for the wonderfull fertilitie of all things, of the barbarous people called LAPRVS, which is to say, fruitfull: for Euphrates and Araxis there running out of two diuerse and contrarie marshes, with many armes, water and enrich that champaine and drie country. *Selymus* hauing made so great a journey, and yet not able so much as by report to vnderstand what was become of *Hysmaell* his great and populous armie, which he knew was but a little before departed out of CAPADOCIA; as a man in doubt, and halfe afraid, stayed and encamped his armie at the head of the riuer Euphrates: and from thence sent out his scouts euery way, if happily they could intercept some which might giue him knowledge of his enemies. But the Armenians, whether it were for feare of the comming of the Turks, or that *Hysmaell* their king had so commaunded, were all before fled out of that part of the countrey whereby *Selymus* was to passe with his armie, and hauing forsaken their houses, had carried away with them, or els by fire destroyed whatsoeuer might serue for the vse of man.

Selymus sendeth out his scouts, who returne with bad newes.

The Turkish scouts after they had by the space of two dayes scoured vp and downe the countrey, returned backe againe to *Selymus*, not hauing taken so much as any one man; shewing vnto him, that all things were destroyed before him, and nothing left but wide fields and a most desolate countrey, without any appearance of man or beast: and that they were of opinion, that either their Armenian guides were deceiued in the way, or els had of purpose brought them into such desert places, whereas wanting pasture for their horses, and food for men, they must needs together perish with hunger. Which their present feare was greatly encreased by the weak kings whom they had left behind them at their backes; but especially *Aladeules*, who either for shame or feare had a few dayes at the first holpen the Turkes with victuals, but after they were farther entered into ARMENIA, performed nothing of that hee had before most faithfully promised: seeking therein the fauour of *Hysmaell*, who hee thought would with the same good fortune vanquish the Turks, that he had not long before the greatest part of the East. *Selymus* perplexed in mind, began now to suspect treason, to feare famine, to dread the deserts and forsaken places, and with greefe of mind to call to remembrance all that old *Chendemus* his faithfull counsellour had before most truly told him: for all that, he shewed himselfe vnto his souldiors with cheerfull countenance, as a man nothing dismayed: which his firme constancie seemed to promise vnto their discouraged minds good successe, with speedie victorie. Wherefore calling vnto him his guides, and such as best knew the countrey; and vnderstanding by them, that on the right hand beyond the mountaine PERIARDO lay the most fruitfull countrey of all ARMENIA, hee rise with his armie, and compassing the hill toward the North, turned downe toward the riuer Araxes, and aboue the citie of COY passed his armie ouer the riuer, his footmen by little bridges, and his horsemen by foords: for Araxes, vntill it haue receiued such riuers as fall into it out of the marishes of the PERIARDO, runneth but with a small streame, and is in some place easie to be passed ouer.

Selymus passeth ouer Araxes.

Selymus had scarcely well got ouer the riuer, and encamped his armie, when *Vsta-Ogli*, who hauing joyned his forces with *Amurath*, lying encamped not farre off; and fearing least the citie of COY and the vnprouided citisens should by the sudden comming of the enemie bee oppressed, quickly rise with his armie, and set forwards to meet with the Turkes: for that citie of all others in that countrey, for fresh fountaines and riuers most pleasant, wherein the Persian kings for the great plentie of all manner of fruit, and wholesomenesse of the aire, leauing TAVRIS, were wont to spend most part of the Summer, had then in it many rich citizens and sumptuous buildings; which *Vsta-Ogli* thought good betimes to rescue, and not with dishonour to loose that rich citie, looking as it were vpon it, and leauing it vnto the enemie, to suffer him there to refresh his hunger-starued souldiors with plentie of all things. *Cassinus* an Armenian borne, and present in those warres, did by many probabilities (as *Iouius* writeth) shew vnto him, that this citie of COY was in antient time that most famous citie called ARTAXATA, which *Domitius Corbulo* destroyed. Neither did *Hysmaell* himselfe (although he had but a little before sent the greatest part of his forces against the Coraxeni, who were then risen vp against him in rebellion, as he that made no great reckoning of the Turkes, or euer thought that they durst haue come so farre into ARMENIA) make any delay, but forthwith, as soone as he had heard of the comming of *Selymus*, came also in person himselfe vnto his armie.

By chance *Vsta-Ogli* (who contrarie to all mens expectation had vntill then shunned to fight, or

or come in ſight of his enemies, of purpoſe with leſſe danger and loſſe of men, to ouerthrow them afterwards, being ſore weakened and almoſt ſpent with long trauell and want of victuals) lay then encamped neere the citie, when as the Turkes ſcouts, vpon the comming of *Hyſmaell*, perceiued by the great riſing of the duſt, and by the neighing of the Perſian horſes, that ſome greater power was at hand. Which ſo ſoone as it was noiſed in the Turkiſh campe, they began to rejoice exceedingly, and to conceiue the firſt hope both of their ſafetie and victorie; glad, that now meeting with their enemies, they ſhould either by victorie turne their labour, toile, famine, and extremities wherewith they had of long time ſtriuen, into eaſe and plentie of all things, or els by honourable death end all their miſeries at once: for many of the horſemen, eſpecially of them that came out of EVROPE, whoſe horſes were ſtarued for want of forrage, and the common footmen ſpent with long trauell, & greeuouſly troubled with the flix (who trauelling in the extreame heat of the Sunne, had for moſt part liued vpon crabs and other wild fruits, with a bad ſupping made of meale and vineger, and almoſt deſpairing to get the ſight of their enemies) began now to die in euery corner.

Hyſmaell as ſoone as he was come within ſight of his enemies, repoſing great confidence as well in the valour of his ſouldiors as in his owne rare fortune, the more to terrifie them, thought it good forthwith to giue them battaile: whereupon he ſent an herauld vnto *Selymus*, accompanied with certaine skilfull ſouldiors, which ſhould in beſt ſort they could take view of the number and force of their enemies, of their artillerie, and in what ſort they lay encamped: and to tell him, That for as much as hee had no title vnto ARMENIA, nor that the Turkes had at any time claimed any intereſt therein, he could not but maruell, why he had againſt all right entered with his armie into his dominion: but if hee happily vpon a vaine preſumption, to the imitation of *Alexander* of MACEDON, ſhould thinke ſo much of the world his owne as hee could by the ſword and his owne fortune win, hee ſhould then make himſelfe readie againſt the next day to make proofe of his owne fortune and the forces of others, not inferiour to his owne. *Hyſmael ſendeth an herauld to Selymus.*

Whereunto *Selymus* anſwered, That the freſh remembrance of the manifold injuries done to the Turkes by the Perſians, was ſuch, as might giue him juſt cauſe to take vp armes: for as much as long agoe both his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, and his vncle *Caſſumes*, and euen of late his father *Baiazet*, and he himſelfe alſo in his warres againſt his brother *Achomates*, had receiued great wrong and diſhonour from the Perſians. All which things, although they were of themſelues important, yet he eſteemed not of them as ſufficient cauſes of warre, but only ſought after his enemie *Amurath*, his brothers ſonne, who had of late ſpoiled CAPADOCIA: whom if he would quietly and friendly deliuer vnto him, as the mutuall lawes of amitie and friendſhip amongſt princes for the maintenance and preſeruation of their eſtates and kingdomes required, then hee would withdraw his forces, and peaceably returne into his kingdome: otherwiſe, hee threatened with fire and ſword to deſtroy, not the frontiers of ARMENIA, but euen the heart of PERSIA. And ſo diſmiſsing the herauld, both the armies for that day lay ſtill in their trenches, expecting the dreadfull euent of battaile. *Selymus his anſwere vnto Hyſmael.*

The next day *Selymus* by perſuaſion of his captaines brought his armie into the open field, and in order of battaile ſet forward againſt his enemies, which lay about two miles off, thinking that *Hyſmaell*, a prince of ſo great name, would without delay accept of battaile: yet what ſtrength the Perſian king was of, what number of men he had, what manner of horſemen, how armed, and with what weapons, hee could not certainely learne: for beſide that the Perſians are by nature ingenious and ſubtill, the ſouldiors generally ſo reuerenced and loued *Hyſmaell* their king, that no one was found to haue gone from him to the Turke; wheras many reuolted from *Selymus* to him, as it was afterwards learned of the Perſian captiues. *The order of Selymus his battell.*

Selymus, who had at that time foureſcore thouſand horſemen vnder his enſignes, placed *Caſan Baſſa* his lieutenant Generall of EVROPE, with his Europeian horſemen in the right wing; and *Sinan Baſſa* with his Aſian horſemen in the left: and before them both, the Acanzij (which are voluntarie horſemen, the forerunners of the Turkes armie) who in hope of ſpoyle follow the Turkes warres out of all countries: in the middle battaile hee placed the Aſapi or common ſouldiors; which baſe and halfe-naked people, as men of little worth or eſtimation, are commonly thruſt into the front of the Turkes battailes, to receiue the firſt furie of the enemie, and to blunt their ſwords, more than for any other good ſeruice: directly behind them he beſtowed his great artillerie, guarded with foure thouſand horſemen: laſt of all followed himſelfe with his

his choſen pentioners and Ianizaries compaſſed about with ſmall field-peeces and his carriages, G as with a double trench: for hee had (as their manner is) ſo enuironned himſelfe round with his ſadled cammels, made faſt one to another with long chaines, that they ſtood him in ſtead of a ſtrong trench, from whence he might ſpeedily relieue any part of his diſtreſſed armie; and in caſe of extremitie, being in the middle of his ſtrength, he might as out of a ſure fortreſſe repreſſe the furious aſſault of his enemies. Hee alſo commaunded his footmen in the vauward of his battaile, that vpon the approch of the enemies horſemen they ſhould ſpeedily withdraw themſelues aſide into two parts, leauing ſpace for the great ordinance which was placed behind them to play in the middle betweene them. On the contrarie part, *Hyſmaell*, who by the Turkes fugitiues vnderſtood all the deuiſes of his enemies, calling vnto him the cheefe commaunders of his armie, ſhewed vnto them, that there was no doubt of the victorie, ſo that they could ſhun the fu- H rie of the great artillerie: which he aſſured them would eaſily be done, if when they ſaw the Turkiſh footmen deuide themſelues, they would alſo in like manner withdraw themſelues into two parts, and giue place to the furie of the great ordinance: for which purpoſe hee cauſed two great enſignes to be diſplayed, whereunto they ſhould at the time appointed retire, the one for himſelfe and thoſe whom he conducted, the other for *Vſta-Ogli*, and the reſt of his armie.

Hyſmaell with thirtie thouſand Perſians giueth battell to Selymus with three hundred thouſand Turkes.

Hyſmaell (as *Iouius* reporteth) had in his armie about thirtie thouſand horſemen, without any footmen, amongſt whom were ten thouſand men at armes, reſolute gentlemen, of great experience, all gallantly mounted vpon courageous barbed horſes, and themſelues brauely armed both for the ſhew and the terrour of the enemie; their weapons were a good launce, a ſure ſcimitar, and a horſemans mace: the reſt were armed with ſtrong cuiraſſes and headpeeces, and I were either archers on horſebacke, or elſe vſed light horſemens ſtaues, made of Aſh after the Spaniſh faſhion, wherewith they ſerued at the halfe ſtaffe. As for gunnes they had none, in which thing onely, and number of men, they were inferiour to the Turkes. But ſuch was the inuincible courage and noble minds of the Perſians, that contemning the huge multitude of their enemies (who were in number about three hundred thouſand) & making no great reckoning of the great artillerie, they doubted not with ſo few to giue them battaile.

Hyſmaell hauing giuen the ſignall of battaile, came on with his armie, exhorting his ſouldiors then to remember the honour they had long before gotten in many battailes, and courageouſly to follow him their ſoueraigne, whom they by their worthie ſeruice and many victories, had made the greateſt monarch of the Eaſt, telling them, that they ſhould haue now to do K but with naked men, whoſe weapons were but weake ſtaues and light targuets, and their horſes little poore jades, almoſt dead with hunger, neuer able to abide the firſt charge of his valiant men at armes.

On the other ſide, *Selymus* perceiuing the comming of his enemies by the riſing of the duſt, cauſed knowledge to be giuen through his armie by his captaines and officers, that the time of battaile which they had ſo long wiſhed for, was now come; wherein if they would worthely acquite themſelues againſt thoſe their proud enemies, they ſhould to their immortall fame extend the Turkiſh empire from the Perſian ſea vnto the mountaine CAVCASVS: but if they cowardly forgetting their antient proweſſe, ſhould faint in the time of the battaile, they were not then to thinke by any meanes to eſcape by flight backe againe through thoſe great plaines and L deſolate countries; where they ſhould by the way either ſhamefully periſh, or elſe to their perpetuall infamie bee taken priſoners, and as baſe ſlaues, during their liues bee enforced to ſerue the Perſian women: for as much as beſide the great diſtance of the place, both the great riuer Euphrates, and the huge mountaine TAVRVS, and the faithleſſe king *Aladeules*, who had ſhut vp all the paſſages, did cut off all hope from them, if they ſhould be ouercome, by any meanes poſſible to eſcape backe againe into CAPADOCIA.

The great and mortall battaile betweene Selymus and Hyſmaell.

When *Hyſmaell* was come neere with his armie, and the Aſapi vpon ſigne giuen deuiding themſelues, made place for the great artillerie to play, as was before appointed; hee alſo preſently deuiding his horſemen, charged the right wing of the Turkes armie, with ſuch force, that after a M moſt terrible fight betwixt the halfe armed Turkes, and the valiant Perſian men at armes, *Caſan Baſſa* the great commaunder of the Europeian horſemen, with the formoſt of that wing, being ſlaine, and many moe after them, hee enforced all that wing to retire vnto that place where *Selymus* himſelfe with the Ianizaries ſtood. On the other ſide, *Vſta-Ogli* hauing receiued no little harme by the Turkes great ordinance, becauſe he had not ſo ſpeedily cleered himſelfe and his fol-

followers of that danger, as had *Hyſmaell*; charged the Aſian horſemen in the left wing, and there in bloudie battell made great ſlaughter of the enemie, but not with like good hap as did *Hyſmael*: for whiles he moſt couragiouſly in the formoſt rankes aſſailed his enemies, he was ſtrucke with a ſmall ſhot and ſlaine. With whoſe fall the Turkes were greatly encouraged, inſomuch as that they which but now were glad to giue ground, and had loſt the third part of that wing, began a freſh to renew the battell, and valiantly to withſtand the Perſians; and with their harquebuſiers (wherwith the Perſian horſemen were wonderfully terrified) draue them headlong vpon the Turkes common footmen. The Perſians whether it were forced by neceſsitie for that they had loſt ſo great a commaunder, and not well able to gouerne their horſes terrified with the thundring ſhot, or elſe for that the open ſide of the footmen preſented vnto them greater place of aduantage, ſerring themſelues togither brake through the middle of the battell of thoſe Turkiſh footmen, and bearing them downe before them with a mightie ſlaughter, came to the great ordinance and there ſlew the canoniers, who diſcharging their field pieces at all aduentures, in that great medly made a foule ſlaughter, as well of their owne men as of their enemies. And ſo without ſtop (as victorious conquerours) made way through the middeſt of their enemies, vntill they came to the right wing: where *Hyſmaell* was ſtill hardly charging the Europeian horſemen, who hauing before loſt *Caſan* their Generall, and being many of them ſlaine or wounded, were alreadie enforced to retire; but now charged afreſh vpon the ſide, had much adoe to endure the furie of their enemies, but as men in extreame danger, were glad to crie to *Selymus* for helpe. *Vſta-ogli ſlaine.*

In this hard diſtreſſe, *Selymus* in two places opened his carriages, wherewith he ſtood as it were entrenched, and preſently ſent out part of his horſemen. And by and by turning himſelfe vnto his Ianizaries, ſaid, *This daies victorie is reſerued (moſt worthie ſouldiours) vnto your valour and labour: wherfore now valiantly ſet forward, and as freſh and couragious men, aſſaile your wearied enemies; their horſes are all on a water with ſweat, and the men themſelues faint vnder the waight of their armour.* But yet for all that *Selymus* could ſay, the Ianizaries were not verie forward, but ſtood ſtill, as men willing in ſo great a danger to keepe themſelues within the ſafegard of their munition. Wherefore whileſt they at their leiſure ſet forward, the Perſians in the middeſt of the heat of this victorie, compaſsing in the Europeian horſemen, ſlew them downe right, *Selymus* looking on and wiſhing in vaine to helpe them. *Fabritius Carrectus* great maſter of the Rhodes, who of all theſe things had certaine intelligence, writ to *Leo* the Tenth then biſhop of Rome, that the Ianizaries refuſed to be commaunded by *Selymus*, and were not by any perſuaſion or entreatie to be enduced to relieue the diſtreſſed Europeian horſemen; but as men diſtruſting the euent of the battell, choſe rather in their ſtrength to expect the ſucceſſe thereof, than with moſt manifeſt danger to expoſe themſelues vnto the violence of the Perſian horſemen, which had as a tempeſt ouerborne the vantguard of the Turkiſh footmen. *The terrour of the battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael.*

The Perſians were now readie on euerie ſide to haue aſſailed *Selymus* in his greateſt ſtrength: when *Sinan Baſſa*, although the wing he led was ſore rent and weakned, yet following the Perſians through the middeſt of the heaps of the ſlaine footmen, came in, in good time for *Selymus*, and with certaine freſh troups which had eſcaped the furie of *Vſta-ogli*, reſtored the battell before almoſt loſt: but eſpecially by the inuincible courage of *Alis-beg* and *Mahomet* his brother, diſcended of the honourable familie of the *Molcozzij*, which for nobilitie amongſt the Turkes is accounted next vnto the *Othomans*; both of them for courage reſembling their warlike father *Malcozzius*, famous for that wofull expedition he made into Friuli againſt the Venetians in the raigne of *Baiazet*. *Selymus* alſo not yet diſcouraged but ſtill in hope, commaunded all the great ordinance wherewith he was enuironed, which he had reſerued as his laſt refuge, to be diſcharged: by the violence whereof, ſuch ſlaughter was made, as well of his owne men as of his enemies, mingled togither, that what for duſt, what for ſmoake, and thundring of the artillerie, hauing on both ſides almoſt loſt the vſe of ſight and hearing; and their horſes being ſo terrified with the thundring report of the great ordinance, that they were not now to be ruled, the battell was broken off, the victorie yet doubtfull. The Turkiſh hiſtories to expreſſe the terrour of this day, number it amongſt their diſmall daies, tearming it *The onely day of Doome.*

Hyſmaell in this furious battell, hauing receiued a wound vnder his left ſhoulder with a ſmall ſhot; by perſuaſion of his friends withdrew himſelfe to haue his wound ſearched: which thing vndoubtedly was the ſafegard both of *Selymus* and his army. For the Perſians by and by following

ing their king, left the victorie now in all mens opinion almost gotten. But after that *Hysmael* perceiued the wound was not deepe, for that the strength of his armour had so broken the force of the shot, that it pierced not farre into his bodie, he was about to haue charged the Turks afresh: but vnderstanding of the death of *Vsta-ogli*, in whom for his singular experience in martiall affaires, he had reposed his greatest confidence; and his captaines also persuading him not to make so light reckoning of his wound, the griefe whereof he yet felt not, being warme, but to haue regard to his owne health: he in seemly order softly marched away in such sort, that his departure had no resemblance of flight. And passing by the citie of TAVRIS, willed the chiefe of the citizens to open the gates of the citie to *Selymus* (if he should come thither) and to receiue his garrisons, rather than by vaine constancie to fall into vtter destruction: and so marched himselfe into the confines of MEDIA.

The Persian tents taken by the Turkes.

But the Turkes entangled with many difficulties, hauing no hearts for feare, nor strength for wearinesse to pursue their enemies; yet comming to the Persian tents, tooke them without resistance: where beside the rich pauilions wrought with needle worke of silke and gold, and much other pretious furniture, many noble ladies and gentlewomen were found, which after the manner of the Persians had followed their husbands in those warres; whom *Selymus* caused to be all freely set at libertie vntouched, excepting one of the wiues of *Hysmael* whom he detained and gaue her in mariage to one of his Bassaes. Some which were present at this battell, reported that amongst the heaps of them which were slaine, were found the dead bodies of diuers Persian women, which being armed, and following their husbands, died with them in the battell; whom *Selymus* caused to be honestly buried.

This was that notable battell fought in the CALDERAN fields neere vnto the citie of Coy, betwixt these two great princes, the seauenth day of August in the yeare of our Lord 1514. In which battell *Selymus* lost aboue thirtie thousand men, amongst whom was *Casan Bassa* his great lieutenant in EVROPE, seauen Sanzackes, in which were the two *Malcozian* brethren, who labouring the one to rescue the other were both togither slaine. Beside his common footmen of whom he made least reckoning, he lost most part of his Illirian, Macedonian, Seruian, Epirot, Thessalian, and Thracian horsemen, the vndoubted flower and strength of his army, which were in that mortall battell almost all slaine, or grieuously wounded.

Selymus for all this great losse, by the confession of his enemies hauing gotten the victorie, and receiuing embassadours from COY and the cities thereabout, and the great citie of TAVRIS promising to relieue him with whatsoeuer he needed, and to doe what else he should commaund: marched directly to TAVRIS, desiring both to see and possesse himselfe of that citie, as one of the chiefe pallaces of the Persian kings. This citie is two daies journey distant from Coy where the battell was fought, and is probably supposed to be the famous citie called in auntient time ECBATHANA, about an hundred and fiftie miles distant from the Caspian sea. The citizens were readie at the comming of the Turkes, and brought them great store of victuals out of the gates of the citie, where *Selymus* had lodged his armie in the suburbs, thinking it no safetie to lodge within that great and populous citie; contenting himselfe to haue the gates thereof deliuered vnto him, which he kept with strong guard. Some report that *Selymus* durst not trust the Persians, and therefore neuer went into the citie but disguised in the habit of a common souldiour. Yet some others say, that he did with great magnificence banquet in the stately pallace of the Persian king, and there had great discourse with them of TAVRIS concerning his late victorie. But whilest he thus staied at TAVRIS, and with himselfe purposed to spend that winter in ARMENIA; he called togither his great captaines and commaunders of his armie, to know how they liked thereof: who fearing his displeasure, wholy referred themselues to his owne resolution. Onely *Mustapha* his chiefe Bassa chanced to say, That it were good that the minds of the Ianizaries and the other souldiours of the court should therein be knowne. Which his speech, *Selymus* tooke in such euill part, that he presently commanded him out of his sight, and deprived him of his greatest honour: and the more to disgrace him, sent one of his jesters after him, who in great scorne and derision comming behind him, cut off part of his tulipant that hung downe as the fashion was. But the Ianizaries vnderstanding the matter, and much offended with the indignitie offered vnto the great Bassa whom they deerely loued, rise vp altogither in armes, and told *Selymus* flatly, That they would not in any case winter so far from home in the enemies countrey: and therefore that it were best for him betime to consider of the matter, for that they

The Ianizaries in mutinie against Selymus.

were

were reſolutely ſet downe to forſake him if he would needs ſtay, and not with ſpeed returne. *Selymus* much troubled with this inſolencie of the Ianizaries, and hearing dayly, that *Hyſmaell* with new ſupplies out of IBERIA, ALBANIA, and PARTHIA, was comming vpon him with greater power than before; and conſidering withall, with what difficultie and danger hee had eſcaped in the late battaile, preſerued rather by his good fortune and force of his great artillerie, than the valour and proweſſe of his ſouldiours; and withall ſuſpecting the multitude and ſtrength of the Taurisians, of whoſe fidelitie he could make no reckoning; he changed his former determination, and reſolued to returne againe into CAPADOCIA: whereupon hauing contrarie to his promiſe exacted a great maſſe of money from them of TAVRIS, hee departed thence, carrying away with him three thouſand families, the beſt artificers in that citie, eſpecially ſuch as were skilfull in making of armour and weapons, and ſo with ſpeed retired towards the riuer Euphrates, a longer way than that whereby he came: fearing to returne againe by the head of Araxis and the mountaines PERIADES, for meeting the Iberian and Albanian horſemen, who were reported to be then comming againſt him.

Hyſmaell vnderſtanding of his departure, followed after with as much ſpeed as he could, leauing behind him for haſt his carriages and ſuch of his ſouldiours as were not able to endure ſo long and ſpeedie a march: yet for all his haſt (for ſo much as *Selymus* was gone a great way before him) he could not ouertake any part of his armie, vntill he was come to the great riuer Euphrates; where *Selymus* ſtaying two dayes, and hauing made diuers little boats, was paſsing ouer his footmen: which becauſe they were not ſufficient for the ſpeedie tranſportation of ſo great a multitude, many for haſt ſwam ouer the riuer vpon bladders, and ſome aduentured to get ouer vpon the broken peeces of their carriages, which they had for that purpoſe burſt in ſunder. *Selymus* himſelfe got ouer to the farther banke in a little boat, hauing before cauſed all his horſemen with their horſes at once to take the riuer, of purpoſe to breake the violence of the ſtreame, whereby his footmen and cammels with their burdens got ouer with leſſe danger, and ſome of his field peeces were alſo with leſſe difficultie tranſported. Yet for all the ſpeed he could make, the Georgian horſemen, the forerunners of *Hyſmaell* his armie, being come within ſight before the Turkes were all got ouer, raiſed ſuch a feare and a ſtirre all alongſt that ſide of the riuer, that two thouſand of the Turkes were in their haſtie paſſage there drowned, diuers field peeces left ſticking in the mud, and much of their baggage carried away with the force of the riuer. The Georgians contenting themſelues with ſuch things as were left, purſued them no further: for the wheeles of the Turkes carriages entangled together with the violence of the ſtreame, had ſtaied a great part of the Turkiſh traſh, floating in the riuer: and much more was in diuers places driuen vpon the ſhore, all which the Georgian horſemen eaſily drew out. *Hyſmaell* in the meane time rejoycing at nothing more, than that hauing chaſed away his enemies, hee had alſo recouered much of the great ordinance whereby he had before receiued ſo great hurt.

Selymus in paſſing the riuer Euphrates, receiueth great loſſe.

Selymus by ſpeedie flight thus got out of the hands of the Perſians, found his paſsing much more dangerous at the mountaine ANTITAVRVS, than he had before thought of: For *Aladeules* the mountaine king hauing now his fortune in contempt, and diligently waiting for his prey, had with his ſauage people before taken all the ſtraight paſſages of that mountaine countrey; who euery night in theeuiſh manner aſſailed the Turks, as they with their weake and wearie companies paſſed through thoſe rough and broken wayes: and robbing their carriages, preſently fled into their haunts and places of refuge in the thicke woods and rockie mountaines. *Aladeules* himſelfe in the meane time, by whoſe fraud all this was done, euery day excuſing himſelfe, as if it had beene done againſt his will, by the rude mountaine people enured to ſuch deſperate robberies, whom neuertheleſſe he ſaid he would in ſhort time ſeuerely chaſtiſe ſo ſoon as he could find the authors thereof. In the meane while, for faſhion ſake ſending a little ſpare prouiſion for certaine dayes, did euery night rob and ſpoile the Turkes by his ſouldiours, as they could take them in places of aduauntage. Againſt which miſcheefes *Selymus* could neither by policie, neither his ſouldiors by induſtrie prouide any ſufficient remedie. Wherfore diſſembling the injuries he dayly receiued, purpoſing to be thereof in time reuenged, together with the foule and trecherous dealing of that faithleſſe king; holding on his way, he with much adoe came at length to TRAPEZOND, and from thence to AMASIA, where he ſpent that Winter in repairing his ſore weakened armie, purpoſing with the firſt of the Spring to make warre vpon *Aladeules* and the mountaine people, who in his returne had done him ſo great harme and injurie.

Selymus ecta-meth to Amaſia.

In

In this ſort *Iouius*, one of the great hiſtoriographers of that time, reporteth the aforeſaid wars betwixt *Hyſmael* and *Selymus*, whoſe credit in that matter other writers haue ſince for moſt part followed. Howbeit, *Io. Ant. Mænauinus*, a Genoway, who ſerued in theſe warres, doth in his booke concerning the Turkiſh affaires, dedicated to the French king, much otherwiſe report the ſame: which to ſatisfie the deſirous reader, I haue thought good here in few words to ſet down, as it is by himſelfe reported.

The former hiſtorie as it is reported by Io. Ant. Mænauinus a Genoway, preſent at the doing thereof.

Selymus (ſaith he) with his armie in number about three hundred thouſand men, being come to the riuer Euphrates, found the bridge broken downe by his nephew *Amurat*, and his enemies encamped in conuenient place on the farther ſide of the riuer, with their forces greatly encreaſed by new ſupplies lately ſent from the Perſian king: ſo that there was then in the Perſian armie about ninetie thouſand men horſe and foot, the horſemen for moſt part furniſhed with two horſes apeece for ſeruice: and though *Selymus* did what hee might, to know whether the Perſian king were in perſon himſelfe in the campe, or els (which hee moſt feared) was raiſing of greater forces in PERSIA, yet could he by no meanes learne the truth of that he deſired. Wherefore repairing againe the broken bridge, he firſt ſent ouer his two great lieutenants of GRÆCIA and NATOLIA, who paſsing ouer the riuer, encamped themſelues as they thought conuenient. The next morning, about two houres before the riſing of the Sunne, *Amurat* ſuddenly aſſailed the great commander of GRÆCIA, *Caſan Baſſa*, in his trenches, and by plaine force diſcomfited the Turkes, and by good fortune tooke from them their tents: whereupon ſuch a terrour and feare came vpon the other great commaunder of NATOLIA, that his ſouldiors thruſting themſelues for feare into the riuer, ſwam ouer with great danger, and againe joyned themſelues with the reſt of the armie. *Selymus* troubled with the great loſſe thus receiued, cauſed all his great artillerie to be placed all alongſt the hithermoſt banke of the riuer Euphrates; and becauſe the enemie ſhould not perceiue the ſame, raunged certaine companies of his ſouldiors before the ordinance, as if they ſhould preſently haue paſſed the riuer: who vpon ſignall giuen, ſhould forthwith withdraw themſelues and giue place to the great ordinance bent vpon the enemie. But when fire was giuen to theſe great pieces, many of them being ouercharged, burſt in ſunder, and ſlew diuers of the Turkes: many alſo of their horſes and mules being neere vnto the riuers ſide, and terrified with the thundering ſhot, leapt into the riuer, and were there drowned together with their riders. The Perſians alſo hauing receiued great loſſe, retired farther off for feare of the great artillerie. So *Selymus* without reſiſtance paſsing ouer the riuer, marched forthwith toward the enemie: whom the Perſians as men nothing diſmaied, notably encountered. The battell was of long time doubtfull, and much bloud ſhed on both ſides: and if the approch of the night had not broken off that mortall fight, the Perſian armie rather ouercharged with the multitude of the enemie, than vanquiſhed by valour, had vndoubtedly receiued a great ouerthrow; but through the benefit of the night, they without further loſſe eſcaped the purſute of the Turkes. Vpon this victorie, *Selymus* left his carriages and baggage with his footmen; and taking with him only his horſemen, ſet forward, with intention to haue vpon the ſuddaine ſurpriſed the regall citie of TAVRIS, before the fame of the late fought battaile could be carried thither: the Perſians in the meane time being no leſſe carefull of their affaires. The day before, ten thouſand freſh horſemen well appointed, which had not yet beene in the battaile, were comming to *Hyſmael*: theſe he craftely laied in the Turkes way, commaunding them vpon the approch of the enemie to flie, as if it had beene for feare. *Selymus* in the morning hauing deſcried theſe horſemen at hand, ſuppoſing them to be ſuch of his enemies as being ouertaken with the night were not able to follow the reſt of his armie, exhorted his ſouldiors couragiouſly to purſue their diſcouraged enemies.

The Perſians ſeeing the Turks, of purpoſe betooke themſelues to flight; and they ſuſpecting no deceit, followed faſt after them, vntill that about mid day being wearie of the purſute, and comming to a little riuer which was in their way, they there ſtayed to refreſh themſelues: and after they had taken a ſhort repaſt, againe purſued the Perſians, ſtill leauing behind them ſuch as were not able ſo faſt to follow, prickt forward with hope, that before night they ſhould ſurpriſe and ranſacke the rich citie of TAVRIS. The Turkiſh horſemen thus drawne farre from the footmen, the Perſian horſemen left in ambuſh, in the meane time ſet vpon the Turkes footmen, lying (as they ſuppoſed) in great ſecuritie, and with a great ſlaughter ouerthrew them: at which time they alſo tooke all *Selymus* his treaſure and great artillerie. Which ouerthrow was by

ſpeedie

ſpeedie poſts, about two a clocke in the night made knowne to *Selymus* (who now in his mind alreadie conceiued the ſacking of TAVRIS) and withall, that the fierce enemie was following him at the heeles. *Selymus* wonderfully abaſhed with this vnexpected newes and the loſſe of his footmen, forthwith began to retire: which the ten thouſand Perſians which had before of purpoſe fled, perceiuing, now turning themſelues vpon the retiring Turks, charged them hardly: ſo *Selymus* encloſed both before and behind by his enemies, receiued a great ouerthrow. And the Turks thus hardly beſet and almoſt deſpairing of their liues, and hauing loſt their enſignes, brake out ſidewaies betwixt their enemies and fled. *Selymus* ſeeing all deſperat and forlorne, betooke himſelfe to flight alſo with the reſt: and paſsing the riuer Euphrates, brake downe the bridge which he had but a little before repaired, for feare the Perſians ſhould further purſue him; and with much trouble and no leſſe danger comming at length to AMASIA, aſſembled thither the reliques of his diſcomfited armie. Such of the Turkes as remained behind, and were not able in flight to keepe way with the reſt, were all ſlaine by the Perſians.

The Genoway authour thus concludeth his hiſtorie, That the Perſian king did not more rejoyce at this victorie, than did he himſelfe for the ouerthrow of the Turkes; hoping in that their ſo great a confuſion, to free himſelfe of his long and miſerable thraldome, and to find a way vnto his natiue country and parents: as afterwards he did, for flying firſt to TRAPEZONDE and there taking paſſage into EVROPE, he came to HADRIANOPLE, from whence he trauelled by land on foot to SALONICA, & there chancing vpon certain ſhips of Chriſtian merchants which had brought corne thither, he was by them tranſported into the iſland of CHIOS; from whence he joyfully returned to GENVA his natiue countrey, after he had amongſt the Turks endured ten yeares captiuitie: moſt part wherof he liued as a page in old *Baiazet* his priuie chamber, and the reſt as a ſouldiour of the court in the raigne of *Selymus*; and therefore well acquainted with the faſhion of the Turkes court, and manners of that barbarous nation.

Now ſhall it not (as I hope) be much from our purpoſe, here with *Iouius* a little to digreſſe, in comparing theſe two great princes *Hyſmaell* and *Selymus* togither; who in that time had filled the world with the glorie of their fame: that wearied with bloudie broiles, and the wonderfull chances of warre, we may a little repoſe our ſelues with matter of a milder vaine, neither vnpleaſant nor vnprofitable.

Selymus and Hyſmaell compared togither.

Theſe two mightie princes, as they were for royall diſcent, ſtrength of bodie, courage of mind, riches, and power, equall, and had thereby obtained like fame and renowme: ſo in conditions and qualities of mind, and martiall diſcipline, they much differed. Firſt of all (beſide the mutuall hatred of the one nation againſt the other, deliuered as it were by ſucceſsion from their grandfathers and fathers) theſe two princes, and ſo likewiſe their ſubjects alſo, were at great ods about an idle queſtion of their vaine ſuperſtition, the one preferring and honoring *Ebubekir*, *Homaris*, and *Ottoman*, as the moſt true and rightfull ſucceſſours of their great prophet *Mahomet*: the other with no leſſe deuotion honouring *Haly*, and deteſting the three former; differing otherwiſe in few or no points of their moſt fond ſuperſtition: yet did they vnder the colour and zeale of their religion (as they would haue it) both pretend juſt cauſes of warre, although their euill diſſembled ambitious deſires, plainly declared vnto the world, that they both ſhot at one and the ſame marke, *viz.* By confirming their power and ſtrength to extend the bounds of their great empires. For *Hyſmaell* of purpoſe affected the fame and glorie of *Darius* and *Xerxes*, the auntient Perſian kings; who hauing ſubdued ASIA, with great boldneſſe paſſed ouer into EVROPE: and *Selymus*, the greatneſſe of *Alexander* of MACEDON, who ſubuerted the Perſian empire. Which their aſpiring thoughts, masking vnder the vaile of zeale towards their religion, ſeemed not altogither vaine; fortune with like indifferenceie immoderately fauouring their bold ambitious and endleſſe deſires. But in *Hyſmaell* appeared ſuch a wonderfull deuotion and grauitie, that his hautie thoughts were with the reuerend majeſtie therof couered: whereas in *Selymus*, his inhumane crueltie did blot and obſcure all his other princely vertues: for he with reward and puniſhment retained the majeſtie of his empire, but with greater fame of ſeueritie than bountie. Becauſe it was expedient in the exact diſcipline of that ſeruile gouernment, whereof the greateſt ſtrength of the *Othoman* empire conſiſteth, to vſe all rigor and ſeueritie: Otherwiſe then it ſtood with the ſtate of *Hyſmaell*, who leuied alwaies his armies of his nobilitie and men free borne, with whom temperat juſtice, ciuile courteſie, and popular clemencie, are of greateſt force, to win their fidelitie, faith, and loyaltie: for that there is no man well born, which feareth not more the

Hyſmaell maieſticall.

blemiſh

blemiſh of infamie than the heauineſſe of puniſhment: ſo that it was not to be maruelled, if *Hyſmaell* by ſuch honourable vertues did mightily defend the glorie of his majeſtie and renowme. Vnto theſe his rare vertues, was alſo joyned a comelineſſe of face (the faireſt gift of nature) well beſeeming ſo great a monarch: for he was well coloured, quicke eyed, yellow bearded, and that which amongſt the Perſians is accounted the ſigne of auntient nobilitie, hooked noſed; and was withall exceeding eloquent: By which good gifts, he wonderfully woon vnto himſelfe both the eyes and hearts of ſuch as beheld him. But in *Selymus* his ſterne countenance, his fierce and piercing eies, his Tartar-like pale colour, his long muſtachoes on his vpper lip, like briſtles, friſld back to his necke, with his beard cut cloſe to his chin, did ſo expreſſe his martiall diſpoſition and inexorable nature, that he ſeemed to the beholders, to haue nothing in him but miſchiefe and cruelty. Which diuerſitie of countenances was alſo accompanied with no leſſe diuerſitie of affections, and ſo conſequently with farre vnlike manner of gouernment. For *Hyſmaell* was of nature courteous and affable, eaſie to be ſeene and ſpoken withall, doing nothing that beſeemed his regall function, but in the ſight of all men: His manner was to dine openly in the companie of his nobilitie, delighting much in hauking and hunting, accompanied with his noble men, and the embaſſadours of forraine princes: He would oftentimes run, leape, and proue maſteries with his chiefe courtiers, being himſelfe a moſt excellent horſeman and cunning archer: In his exerciſes he was ſo popular, that he would not ſticke openly to bare himſelfe and ſwim in his princely bathes: His wiues, the beautifull daughters of his nobilitie or neighbour princes, ladies of great chaſtitie, he neither loathed nor diuorced; after the auntient manner of the Perſian kings, who alwaies vſed moſt tenderly to loue and cheriſh their wiues, doing them all the honour poſsible in court, as partakers of all their fortune; and carried them, their children, nurſes, and richeſt furniture into their fartheſt warres, to their great trouble and charge, by the preſence of ſo deere pledges the more to encourage their minds in time of battell. Whereas *Selymus* contrariwiſe did all things in ſecret, eating his meat alone without any company, attended vpon with his pages and eunuches onely, and ſatisfying natures want with ſome one ſimple diſh of meat: Hee ſeldome went abroad but to the church, vpon the friday the Turkes chiefe Saboth; and then ſo beſet with his pentioners and other ſouldiours of the court, that although he vſed to ride alone mounted vpon ſome couragious horſe, yet was it a hard matter by face to know him amongſt ſo many armed men, who with great pride and inſolencie kept backe the beholders: He was ſeldome ſeene abroad in the citie, chuſing rather for his recreation to paſſe ouer in his gallie into ASIA, and there alongſt the ſea coaſt to take the ayre: His wiues he would not ſuffer to come to court, neither vſed their companie but for procreation ſake, and that (as was thought) without any great good countenance or familiaritie; for that he being not greatly giuen to women, but more delighted with vnnaturall pleaſure, thought a mans bodie and mind to be not a little weakned with the allurements of women; wherefore hee ſeldome reſorted to the cloiſter of choiſe paragons in the middeſt of CONSTANTINOPLE, ſhut in on euerie ſide with high and blind wals. Thoſe daintie pieces, either taken from their Chriſtian parents, or by chance ſurpriſed by pirats, are there moſt curiouſly kept by auntient matrons and old eunuches, by whom they are with all diligence inſtructed in the principles of the Mahometane law, and to read the Arabian tongue, and withall, cunningly and comely to ſing, play, daunce, and ſow: But *Selymus* of all others vſed ſeldomeſt to ſee theſe allurements, as a man not greatly delighted with women, or deſirous of many (and oftentimes vnfortunat) children; hauing but one ſonne (*Solyman*) by the daughter of *Muhamet* a Tartar king, who afterwards by the ſufferance of God, prooued a great plague to the Chriſtian common weale. Such ſpare time as he had from his ſerious and waightie affaires, hee vſed to ſpend in walking in his gardens with ſome of his Baſſaes or other great courtiers; and in beholding & noting the noble mens children there ſporting themſelues, would diſcourſe and conſult of many things of great importance. Some houres he would ſpend in the bathes, and in reading the hiſtories of his auncеſtors and other forraine princes: imitating therin his grandfather *Mahomet* the Great, who cauſed almoſt all the hiſtories of the famous princes of the world to be tranſlated into the Turkiſh language, and their liuely counterfeits to be with cunning hand drawn, that by their worthy examples he might be the more enflamed to extend his fame and glorie. He would many times ſcoffe at the great buſineſſe of his father *Baiazet*, who (as he ſaid) was ſo drowned in the ſtudie of *Auerrois* (determining nothing certainly of the nature of the ſoule) and the motions of the heauens, that he deſired rather the name of a ſharpe diſputer

Selymus tyrannicall.

Hyſmaell courteous.

Selymus Churliſh.

diſputer amongſt the idle profeſſours of Philoſophie, than of a renowned cheefetaine amongſt his valiant ſouldiors and men of warre.

One of the Perſian embaſſadours finding him pleaſantly diſpoſed, demaunded of him why he did not weare his beard long, as his father *Baiazet* and other great princes of that age had done, thereby to ſeeme vnto their ſubiects of greater majeſtie: to whom he anſwered, That hee liked not to carrie about with him ſuch an vnneceſſarie handfull, whereby his Baſſaes might at their pleaſure lead him vp and downe the court, as they had done his father: Noting thereby, that *Baiazet* whileſt he yet liued, had beene too much ouerruled by the Baſſaes; which he could by no meanes endure, following no mans aduiſe but his owne in whatſoeuer he tooke in hand.

But to come vnto the Perſians themſelues, they in their warres had great diſaduantage of the Turkes: for as they were ſtrong in horſemen, ſo were they deſtitute of expert trained footmen, by whoſe onely meanes the Turkes haue atchieued their greateſt victories, and performed their greateſt warres. Beſide this, it was a great want in the Perſians, that they had not the vſe of guns, againſt whoſe furie no ſufficient reſiſtance can bee made, or force of man oppoſed: as appeared by the lamentable example of *Vſun-Caſſanes* at ARSENGA, and now of *Hyſmaell* in the Caldean fields; whoſe victorious armies of horſemen were in both places put to the woorſe by the terrour and violence of the Turkes artillerie. For the naked Turkiſh horſeman is not to be compared with the Perſian man at armes; who comes into the field armed with a ſtrong cuiras, a ſure headpeece, and a good targuet: whereas the Turkiſh Europeian horſemen, altogether naked, vſe onely a ſquare or crooked buckler, wherewith they doe ſcarcely couer themſelues: and the Aſian horſemen, bucklers made of ſoft reeds, wound round, and couered with ſome kind of ſilke. The Perſian horſemen alſo, wearing their pouldrons and gauntlets, and bearing ſtaues of good aſh, armed at both ends, fight with them as occaſion ſerueth at the halfe ſtaffe, after the manner of the Numidians, and with doubling and redoubling their often thruſts from on high, doe eaſily wound or kill the vnarmed Turkes, with their horſes: whereas the Turkiſh horſemen, after the manner of the Græcians, couching their ſtaues in their reſts, doe at the firſt courſe moſt commonly breake the ſame, being made of light and brittle firre, and ſo preſently come to their ſcimitars, or horſemens maces, being in all other things farre inferiour to the Perſian man at armes. As for the Turkiſh archers on horſebacke, they are in no reſpect to be compared with the Perſians; who well mounted and ſurely armed, and vſing both greater and ſtronger bowes, ſhoot more deadly arrowes, and ſo make ſmall account of the Turks. So that all things well conſidered, the Perſian armie, deuoted to their king as well for the great and firme opinion conceiued of his high courage and diuine ſpirit, as for that they were to him by faith obliged; although it was in number farre inferiour, yet had it beene of the Turkes inuincible, if it had not beene ouerwhelmed by the cruell, cowardly, and murthering artillerie and wonderfull multitude of men. The cauſe why *Hyſmaell* out of ſo many great and large prouinces then vnder his obeiſance (able in antient times with their multitude to couer the face of the earth, and to drinke the riuers drie) brought now ſo ſmall an armie againſt the Turkiſh emperour, breaking into the heart of ARMENIA, was for that *Hyſmaell* to win the hearts of the people by bountie, had remitted a great part of his cuſtomes and tributes, ſo as then ſtood beſt with his policie, hauing but lately aſpired vnto the kingdome, and thruſt downe his neere kinſmen, the poſteritie of *Vſun-Caſſan* and *Iacup*, the rightfull inheritours thereof: ſo that his cofers being emptie, and wanting money, the ſinews of warre, he was not able to raiſe ſo great an armie as otherwiſe he might out of thoſe populous kingdomes and countries, yeelding plentifully all things neceſſarie for the vſe of man. Whereas with *Selymus* it was farre otherwiſe: whoſe horſemen, footmen, captaines, canoniers, both at ſea and land, officers of peace and warres, receiued their dayly wages and monthly payes in readie money, of his treaſurers and paymaſters: for defraying of which charge hee neuer wanted coyne, hauing an ineſtimable maſſe of money alwayes in ſtore in the ſeuen towers at CONSTANTINOPLE: and his yearely tributes and reuenewes ſtill exceeding all his charges by a fourth part. The ſtrength of the Perſian king conſiſted in three kind of ſouldiours: the firſt were they which were accounted ſoldiors of the court: the ſecond ſuch as were by cuſtome and dutie bound to ſerue him in his warres: and the third ſuch as were ſent vnto him from the princes his neighbours and confederates. Thoſe which were accounted ſouldiors of his court, had their certaine ſtipends, and were altogether maintained of the kings charge; of whom according to the old cuſtome of the Perſian kings, they at certaine times receiue armour, horſes, apparrell, tents, and

The Perſians better horſemen than the Turkes.

The cauſe why Hyſmaell came with ſo ſmall an armie againſt Selymus.

and wages, euery one as he is in place and degree. And being attended vpon with a gallant and ſtrong garriſon of theſe, he maintaineth the majeſtie of his court, eſpecially when hee rideth in prograce. The nobilitie and antient gentlemen of his countrey, who hold lands and poſſeſſions diſcended vnto them from their anceſtors, or holden by the gift of the king, are ſent for in time of warres, and are of dutie bound to performe ſuch like ſeruice as the nobilitie and gentlemen of ITALIE, FRAVNCE, and SPAINE doe vnto their ſoueraigns: theſe hardly amount to the number of twentie thouſand, whereof it is well if the third part come well armed; the reſt content themſelues with headpieces and jackes, and vſe for their weapons either horſemens ſtaues or bowes, which they can moſt cunningly handle, diſcharging their arrowes very neere vnto that they aime at, either forward or backward. They which come vnto him from forraine princes, confederat or tributarie, are commonly ſent from the kings and princes of IBERIA, ALBANIA, and the countries bordering vpon MEDIA and ARMENIA; who being halfe Chriſtians, beare a mortall hatred againſt the Turkes. *Hyſmaell* the Perſian king had then vnder his dominion theſe great and famous countries, ARMENIA the greater, SVLTHANIA, PERSIA, ASSYRIA, MESOPOTAMIA, MEDIA, and PARTHIA: whereof ARMENIA is the chiefeſt, famous for the great citie TAVRIS, called in auntient time ECBATHANA: this countrey yeeldeth vnto the Perſian king his beſt footmen; but his choice horſemen come from out of PERSIA, and eſpecially from SCYRAS, called of old CYRIPOLIS: next vnto them are from ASSYRIA, the cheefe citie whereof is BAGADAT, called in auntient time BABYLON. The Medes and Parthians are of all others accounted the beſt archers next vnto the Scythians.

The countries ſubiect to Hyſmaell.

1515

Selymus with a new armie entreth into Armenia.

But now to returne againe from whence wee haue a little too farre ſtayed. *Selymus* after his great expedition againſt *Hyſmaell*, wintering at AMASIA, by his lieutenants and captaines in EVROPE and ASIA, raiſed ſuch a power, that with the firſt of the Spring he entred againe into the confines of the Perſian kingdome, with a greater armie than before, and that ſomewhat ſooner than the extreame cold of that part of ARMENIA (ſubiect to the ſnowie mountaine TAVRVS) would either well ſuffer, or that the enemie thought it had been poſsible for him to haue ſo done. There was vpon the further ſide of the riuer Euphrates a ſtrong towne called CIAMASSVM, ſituate a little aboue that place where the riuer Melas (much celebrated by the Grecian Poets) falleth into the riuer Euphrates: which towne for the commodious ſituation thereof, ſtanding vpon the firſt entrance of the paſſage into ARMENIA the great, the Perſians had furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon: this towne *Selymus* thought good in any caſe to be maſter of, by taking whereof, and of ſome other holds thereabout, he ſhould open a faire way for himſelfe into his enemies countrey. *Hyſmael* at the ſame time was gone with all his power againſt the Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and other ſauage people dwelling neere vnto the Caſpian ſea, then vp in armes againſt him: which wiſhed opportunitie *Selymus* taking, and making a bridge ouer the riuer Euphrates, paſſed ouer with his armie, came before the towne, and laied hard ſiege to the ſame before his enemies were well aware of his comming. The Turkes at their firſt approch compaſſing the citie round with their huge multitude of harquebuſiers and archers, draue the defendants from the wals; and ſtill without reſt or intermiſsion bringing on freſh men, as *Selymus* had before taken order, and others at the ſame time breaking open the gates, and in diuers places ſcaling the wals, enforced the defendants to forſake their ſtandings, and to retire themſelues into the market place; where although they were before ſore ſpent with labour and wounds, yet did they there with wonderfull courage a great while notably withſtand the multitude of their enemies ſtill ſwarming in, and in defence of their countrey, like reſolute men, fought it out vnto the laſt man.

Selymus hauing taken and ranſacked CIAMASSVM, with two other ſmall caſtles which the defendants had for feare before abandoned, although he was with a deadly hatred and ambitious deſire prickt forward againſt *Hyſmaell*, and thirſted after nothing more than the ſubuerſion of the Perſian kingdome: yet he thought it not good further to enter into ARMENIA, before he had out of thoſe forreſts and mountaines chaſed the mountaine king *Aladeules*, who but the yeare before had moſt trecherouſly done him and his armie ſo many injuries in his returne from the Perſian expedition. For *Aladeules* not without cauſe fearing his owne eſtate, as ſoone as he vnderſtood that *Selymus* had againe taken the field, and that he was come to the riuer Euphrates, and ſo to CIAMASSVM, ſpeedily aſſembling his forces, had in ſhort time raiſed a great armie for the defence of himſelfe and his kingdome: purpoſing that if *Selymus* ſhould goe farther

into

into ARMENIA, then after his wonted manner to looke on as a beholder, and by the euent of the warre to take occasion of prey, and by shutting vp the passages of his countrey, at his pleasure to rob and spoile the Turkes in their returne. Wherefore *Selymus* leauing a garrison at CAMASSVM, retired backe againe ouer the riuer Euphrates vnto the mountaine ANTITAVRVS, where it was reported that his enemies lay.

This *Aladeules* (as is aforesaid) ruled ouer the rude and sauage mountaine people, inhabiting the great mountaines TAVRVS and ANTITAVRVS: which mountaines as it were linked together one to another, run from the mountaines called SCODRISCI, and the borders of CAPADOCIA, with a perpetuall rising, through many large prouinces and countries vnto the great mountaine AMANVS, and vttermost bounds of CILICIA. The people of this countrey were by nature fierce and warlike, more famous for nothing, than for the want of all thing; who as men dwelling in a rough and bare countrey, could little or nothing profit by husbandrie: yet in such places as would beare any pasture, they had their breed of horses and cammels, and did with all diligence vse grasing; but the greatest part of their liuing consisted in hunting and stealing. These are supposed to haue had their beginning from the Galatians, Capadocians, Armenians, and the old inhabitants of ASIA the lesse, which by long and continuall wars in former ages, and especially by the lamentable irruption of the Scythians, were enforced to forsake their cities and dwellings, and for safegard of their liues to flie into those rough and desolate mountaines. These distressed people searching euery hill and euery dale, and following the opportunitie of the riuers and fountaines, but especially the mildest temperature of the aire, and fauourable aspect of the Sunne, built in many places poore countrey villages, and afterwards diuers faire townes: where in processe of time they growing to better estate, there rise vp some amongst them, which ouerruling the rest, ambitiously tooke vpon them the name of kings; desiring to be had in regard, and to bee feared of their neighbours, although they commaunded but ouer rough woods and ragged rockes. Neere vnto the confines of *Aladeules* kingdome is the citie ORPHA, which many suppose to haue been the famous citie EDESSA, because that as yet there remaineth certaine monuments of *Baldwin* in Latine letters; who after his brother *Godfrey* was possessed of HIERVSALEM, is reported to haue taken EDESSA, and there raigned. Not farre from thence is also the antient citie AMYDA, which at this day is called CARAMIDA, joyning vpon MESOPOTAMIA: which countrey lying betweene the two great riuers Euphrates and Tigris, is now called DIARBECHA. The cheefe citie of *Aladeules* kingdome was MARAS, so called as may bee thought of the faire riuer Marsias running through it out of the mountaine CÆLENE, taking the name of *Marsias*, ouercome by *Apollo*, and made famous by the verses of many learned Poets. But *Aladeules*, after he saw that *Selymus* with his armie was entered into the frontiers of his kingdome, and drawing neere vnto him, brought downe all his horsemen, in number about fifteene thousand, from the mountaines into a faire large valley; commaunding his footmen, whereof hee had great store, to keepe the mountaines on the right hand and the left: where hauing the high rockie mountains and strait passages, much for his aduantage, he determined in that place which he had long before chosen and fortified, to expect the comming of his enemies. *Selymus* considering the disaduantage of the place, although hee perceiued the victorie could not without great losse of his men be obtained; and before persuaded that his enemies would neuer haue willingly been drawne to battaile: yet made no doubt to aduenture his fortune, presuming vpon the multitude and strength of his armie. Wherefore he commaunded *Sinan Bassa* the Eunuch (whom hee had made generall of the Europeian horsemen in stead of *Casan Bassa* before slaine) with a square battaile to charge the enemie afront, for as much as the place would not suffer him to raunge his battaile in length, nor to vse any wings: and he himselfe with his Ianizaries and Asian horsemen followed after in the rereward. Neither were the souldiors of *Aladeules* vnmindfull of themselues or of their king, who valiantly fought in the head of the battaile: but hauing spent their arrowes, did couragiously receiue the furious assault of the Turkes: and standing close to them, still keeping the aduantage of the ground, did with such force repulse them, that the old beaten souldiors of the Turkes, seemed little or nothing to preuaile either with their multitude or valour: for the Turkes by reason of the straightnesse of the place, could not enclose them on either side, and were beside greeuously wounded by *Aladeules* footmen, who standing vpon the sides of the hils with their darts and arrowes from aboue, ouerwhelmed the Turkes in the valley. When *Selymus* saw that *Aladeules*, contrarie to his

Aladeules his kingdome.

Selymus assaileth Aladeules.

expectation made ſtrong reſiſtance, and valiantly withſtood his forces; he drew certaine companies of harquebuſiers out of his owne ſquadrons, and ſent them to rulieue their fellowes: and at the ſame inſtant commaunded the Ianizaries for all the danger to mount the hill. Then the mountaine people terrified with the ſtrangeneſſe of the ſhot, and not able to abide the force thereof, by and by turned their backes, and by knowne waies fled into their ſure haunts in the mountains and woods faſt by. Yet the greateſt ſlaughter fell amongſt theſe footmen, who when they ſaw the horſemen put to flight, and the Ianizaries comming vp the hils againſt them, did with much difficultie, by ſteepe and broken waies clamber vp the high mountaines: as oftentimes it falleth out, that both the ſtrength of mens legs and other their wonted forces faile them moſt, when ſurpriſed and ouercome with ſudden feare they deſire to run and flie faſteſt. The Turkes hauing them in chaſe, had the killing of them vntill the going downe of the Sunne. The horſemen with the king, vpon their ſwift horſes, well acquainted with thoſe rockes and rough waies, with little loſſe retired themſelues into the further and ſtronger places of the mountaines.

Aladeules flieth into the mountaines.

Aladeules after this diſcomfiture, finding himſelfe in all things farre inferiour to his enemie, thought it beſt by protracting the warre, to weatie him out: wherefore as the Turkes purſued him, and burnt the poore countrey cottages ſtanding in their way, he ſtill fled from mountaine to mountaine, neuer offering battell or ſhewing himſelfe, but in places of great aduantage. And therefore *Selymus* fearing leaſt in that barren rough and vnknowne countrey, he ſhould either want vittaile or by ſome other meanes be entrapped, if he ſhould ſtill with his whole armie follow after his ſtrong enemies; vpon the ſeauenth day left off to purſue them any farther. And encamping himſelfe in the moſt conuenient place of that countrey, ſent *Sinan Baſſa* with his light horſemen, who carrying with them certaine daies victuals, ſhould ſtill at the heeles follow the enemie, and with all ſpeed and pollicie poſsible, hunt after the king himſelfe. *Selymus* in the meane time curiouſly enquiring of the countrey captiues after the ſtrength of *Aladeules*, and what meanes hee had to maintaine the warre: found, that he had taken with him his beſt men both horſe and foot; and had commaunded the countrey people to forſake the villages, of purpoſe to leaue all deſolat to the enemie: and hauing ſurely entrenched himſelfe vpon a certaine ſtrong rocke (whither he had before conuaied great ſtore of prouiſion) was reſolued not to giue battell vnto his enemies, vntill he had drawne them into the impregnable ſtraits of the mountaines, where their hugie multitude ſhould little auaile them, but to increaſe their owne loſſe. An other cauſe there was alſo (as they ſaid) for that he feared to be betraied by *Alis Beg* his kinſman, Generall of his horſemen; who firſt fled in the late battell: whoſe vnfaithfulneſſe and hatred might ſeeme to proceed of a juſt ground, for that *Aladeules* had in former time treacherouſly murthered his father, vpon a jealous ſuſpition of his aſpiring to the kingdome.

Selymus vnderſtanding all this, cauſed the captiues to haue their irons ſtruck off, and in ſteed of their giues lading them with gifts and promiſes, ſent them to *Alis Beg* with ſecret letters and rewards, to perſuade him in ſo fit a time to reuenge his fathers death; which thing if he would performe by ſome notable exploit vpon *Aladeules*, he ſhould both purchaſe vnto himſelfe great credit with *Selymus*, and alſo the kingdome. Theſe homely meſſengers according as was giuen them in charge, hauing imparted the matter to *Sinan Baſſa*, within few daies had ſo wrought, that *Alis Beg* (whom the deſire of a kingdome togither with *Selymus* his rewards prickt forward to ſeeke reuenge) was eaſily drawne to joyne hands with *Selymus*. And when he could no other way hurt *Aladeules*, who miſtruſting all things, warily looked vnto himſelfe; he found the means to go ouer to *Sinan Baſſa*, carrying after him a great part of *Aladeules* his beſt horſemen: by whoſe meanes the reſt alſo which remained being with rewards corrupted, one companie after another came at laſt all ouer vnto the Baſſa. *Aladeules* circumuented with this vnexpected treacherie, which neuer before thought it poſsible that his men ſhould all ſo ſuddenly haue forſaken him and reuolted vnto the Turkes; was now glad to repoſe all his hope in ſecret flight. But *Sinan Baſſa* and *Alis Beg*, hardly purſuing him as he fled thorough the mountaines, hiding himſelfe in rockes and the thicke woods, at laſt drew him out of a caue, being betraied by the countrey peaſants. *Aladeules* being brought to *Selymus*, was within a few daies after put to death, and his head in great deriſion afterwards carried about through all ASIA the leſſe: and afterward by way of barbarous oſtentation, ſent by *Selymus* to the Senat of VENICE, as a loathſome teſtimonie of his victorie. *Aladeules* thus dead, *Selymus* reduced all his kingdome into the forme of a prouince, which he deuided into three parts; and after the manner of the Turkiſh gouernment, appointed

Aladeules taken and brought to Selymus, is put to death.

pointed to euerie part a Sanzacke: yet ſo, that *Alis Beg* ſhould be chiefe ouer the reſt, with ſuch ſoueraignetie as that he wanted nothing of a king but the name only. And for the better gouernment of all things in that new gained kingdome, he left *Sinan Baſſa* there all the reſt of that ſommer; with commaundement, that after he had ſet all things in good order, he ſhould winter at ICONIVM: and he himſelfe with a ſmall traine returned to CONSTANTINOPLE, for he had heard, that whileſt he was buſied in his wars againſt *Hyſmaell* and *Aladeules* in ARMENIA, that the Hungarians had made diuers incurſions into SERVIA, and ſpoiled that countrey. Wherefore for feare of loſing SAMANDRIA (which ſtanding neere to Danubius, for the conuenient ſituation thereof is reputed the bulwarke of SERVIA and THRACIA) he ſent *Ionuſes Baſſa* then gouernour of BOSNA with eight thouſand horſemen, who paſsing the riuer Sauus entred into CROATIA as farre as CETINVM: and at the ſame time tranſported an other armie ouer Danubius into HVNGARIE, to the intent that the Hungarians at one inſtant beſet with double danger, ſhould be enforced to feare their owne ſtate; and withall to ſhew vnto the world, of what ſtrength and power the *Othoman* emperours were. Deeming it to concerne much, both for the preſent, and the time to come, to the daunting of the Chriſtians; if hee ſhould by his happie attempts make it knowne, that he could at once eaſily and readily maintaine ſo many and ſo puiſſant armies, and wage ſo great warres in diuers parts of the world, and ſo farre diſtant one from an other. *Selymus inuadeth Hungarie.*

In the end of the yeare, when he had thus with double inuaſion repreſſed the Hungarians, he ſpent the Winter following at HADRIANOPLE & CONSTANTINOPLE, in making of greater preparation for warre thãn euer he had before from the beginning of his raigne. For he was aduertiſed, that the great monaches of the North his neighbours, namely *Maximilian* the emperour, *Vladiſlaus* king of HVNGARIE, and *Sigiſmundus* king of POLONIA, with the princes of GERMANIE, had combined themſelues togither to make warre vpon him. But after he had learned by his ſure intelligencers (whom he had with great charge ſent into all parts of EVROPE, diligently to obſerue what was done in the courts of thoſe great princes) that all the great meetings of the Chriſtian princes proued nothing but glorious words and ſumptuous banquets; he being rid of that vaine feare (God ſo appointing) turned himſelfe and all thoſe his wonderfull preparations againe toward the Eaſt, to the great quiet of Chriſtendome in generall.

Yet leaſt happily in the abſence of himſelfe and of his armies, the Chriſtian princes might take occaſion to inuade his dominions, he ſtrengthened the frontiers of his empire with moſt ſtrong garriſons: and left his ſonne *Solyman* (who afterward proued the great ſcourge of Chriſtendome) at HADRIANOPLE with a ſtrong power, and *Pyrrhus Baſſa* his tutor (a man of great wiſedome and gouernment) at CONSTANTINOPLE. This great Baſſa was of CILICIA, a native Turke borne, which was a thing accounted ſtrange, foraſmuch as the great Baſſaes were alwaies choſen of the Chriſtian bloud. After that, he ſent *Cherſeogles* (whom of all others he moſt truſted) with his armie into BYTHINIA, and made *Zafferus* an eunuch Admirall of his nauie, which he had but a little before built, and with a wonderfull labor and charge rigged forth. Then 1516
ſtaying a few daies at CONSTANTINOPLE to ſee the young ſouldiours, but then choſen Ianizaries; he departed thence and went to his old armie, lying with *Sinan Baſſa* at ICONIVM, purpoſing to haue againe inuaded the Perſian. *Selymus goeth to Iconium.*

When he was come thither, he vnderſtood that *Campſon Gaurus* Sultan of ÆGYPT (with a great armie leuied in ÆGYPT and IVDEA) was come into SYRIA, giuing it out that he would aid the Perſian king his confederat, and with all hoſtilitie enter into CILICIA, if *Selymus* ſhould farther proceed to inuade *Hyſmaell* the Sophi his friend and allie. *Selymus* perplexed with theſe newes, and fearing that if he ſhould once paſſe ouer the riuer Euphrates, *Campſon* lying ſo neere in readineſſe, ſhould forthwith breake in at his backe into ASIA by the mountaine AMANVS, and ſo endanger that part of his dominion; ſtaied at ICONIVM, and ſent his embaſſadours with great preſents to *Campſon* to pacifie him, if it might be. The chiefe men in this embaſſage were the Cadeleſcher, a man of great account amongſt the Turks, and of them exceedingly reuerenced for the opinion they had of his great Mahometane ſuperſtition, who afterwards wrote the Commentaries of this warre; and *Iachus* a great captaine. The ſcope of whoſe embaſſage was, to entreat *Campſon*, that he would not hinder or diſturbe *Selymus* from making warre vpon the Perſian king; who had ſo often and ſo forceably inuaded his dominions in ASIA, and by bringing in a new forme of ſuperſtition, had corrupted and altered the moſt certaine grounds of the

Mahometane religion. And if they found him resolutly set downe and not to be by any conditions remoued, then with all posible diligence to learne his strength and farther desiignes, so farre as by any means they could, and with all speed to make their returne.

The causes mooning Campson to fall out with Selymus.

But *Campson* now farre spent with age, and liuing in the height of worldly blisse, although he knew it fitter for him at those yeares to giue himselfe ease and quietnesse, than to thrust himselfe into warres and other princes quarrels; yet thought this expedition to be for many causes both good and necessarie. First, he deadly hated the man for his inhumane crueltie, and therefore could neuer be persuaded to renew the league with him which he had in former time made with his father *Baiazet*: Besides that, he desired to abate and represse his audacious insolencie, grown alreadie by his prosperous successe beyond the bounds of reason: for *Selymus* hauing taken TAVRIS, ouerthrowne the Persians, and slaine *Aladeules*, began now to seeme terrible to all the princes that bordered vpon him; and there were many which said he was another *Alexander*, who whilest other princes sate still as men a sleepe, did in the meane time plot in his victorious mind, the monarchie of the whole world. But aboue all things, the feare of the losing of SYRIA, and consequently the losse of all his kingdome (the quickest motiue for stirring vp of the suspitious minds of the greatest princes) most enforced *Campson* to take in hand this warre: For as much as the goodly kingdomes of ÆGYPT, IVDEA, and SYRIA, oppressed with the intollerable gouernment of the proud Mamalukes, and therefore lesse faithfull to the Ægyptian kings, were in danger to reuolt to the Turkes, if the Persians should by any mischance or fortune of warre be of the Turkes vanquished. For which cause *Campson* in the beginning of this warre, solicited by the Persian embassadours, had made a firme league and confederation with *Hysmael*: and also moued with the miserie of the wofull young prince *Aladin* the sonne of *Achomates*, was in mind persuaded, that the cruell Turkish tyrant might by his and the Persian kings forces, easily be thrust out of his empire in ASIA and EVROPE. For *Aladin*, who after the death of *Achomates* his father fled to *Campson* the Sultan of ÆGYPT (as is before declared) had liued three yeares as a forlorne and distressed prince in the Ægyptian court, and by all meanes he could deuise incited the Mamalukes to reuenge the injuries and crueltie of his vncle *Selymus*. The eldest sonne also of the late king *Aladeules*, a goodly young prince, hauing at once lost his father, his kingdome, and whatsoeuer he held else, was in good time fled to the Ægyptian king; and had so filled the minds of all men with the indignation and detestation of *Selymus* his exceeding crueltie, that the princes of the Mamalukes of their owne accord came to *Campson*, humbly beseeching him to take vpon him so just a warre: and if by reason of his great yeares hee should thinke himselfe vnable to endure the trauell thereof, it would then please him yet to giue them leaue of themselues to take the matter in hand, for the represing of the insolencie of that great and wicked tyrant.

The Order of the Mamalukes.

These Mamalukes farre excelled the Turkes, not onely in strength of bodie, skilfull riding, and goodly armour, but also in courage and wealth. Beside that, they had not forgotten with what small power they had vnder the leading of *Caitbeius* their great Sultan, ouerthrowne the Turkes great armies in CILICIA, first at ADENA, and afterward at TARSVS, where they tooke prisoners, *Mesites Palæologus* the great Bassa, and *Cherseogles*, *Baiazet* his sonne in law: by which victorie they grew into such a proud and vaine conceit of themselues, as if they had beene the onely souldiours of the world, able of themselues to vanquish and ouercome whomsoeuer they should set vpon. These so valiant souldiours, were for the most part of the poore people called in auntient time *Getæ*, *Zinchi*, and *Bastarnæ*, borne neere vnto the Euxine sea and the fens of Mæotis, especially on that side where the riuer Corax falleth into the Euxine: which countrie is of later time called CIRCASSIA, of the people called CERCITÆ neere vnto CHOLCHIS. These miserable and wretched people, the Valachians, Podolians, Polonians, Roxolanes and Tartars dwelling by TAVRICA (puld from their mothers breasts, or by other violent means surprised) sold vnto merchants; who culling out the best for strength of bodie, or aptnesse of wit, conuaied them by sea to ALEXANDRIA, from whence they were continually sent to the great Sultan of ÆGIPT: and by his appointment were at CAIRE (after the old manner of that people) deliuered to masters of fence and such other teachers, who carefully instructed them, being shut vp in their schooles, in all manner of feats of actiuitie: where after they were become able to bend a strong bow, and taught cunningly to shoot, leape, run, vault, ride, and skilfully to vse all manner of weapons, they were then taken into pay, and receiued into the number of the kings

kings horſemen or Mamalukes: and ſuch of them as proued cowardly or vnapt, were made ſlaues vnto the reſt. So that they ſeeing all honour, credit, and preferment, laied vp in martiall proweſſe, did with all diligence and courage employ themſelues to militarie affaires: and therein ſo well profited, that oftentimes they which at the firſt were but bare and baſe ſlaues, of the meaneſt of the Mamalukes, by many degrees of ſeruice riſe at length to the higheſt degrees of honour. All theſe Mamalukes were the children of Chriſtian parents, from the time of their captiuitie inſtructed in the Mahometane ſuperſtition: for no man borne of a Mahometane father, or of a Iew, could be admitted into the number of the Mamaluke horſemen: which was ſo ſtraightly obſerued, that the honour of a Mamaluke horſeman neuer deſcended vnto the ſons of the Mamalukes, yet might they by law inherit their fathers lands, poſſeſsions, and goods: by which reaſon the ſonnes of the Sultans themſelues neuer ſucceeded their fathers in the kingdome. Hereby alſo it came to paſſe, that many Chriſtians of looſe life, or condemned for their notorious offences, flying thither, and abjuring the Chriſtian religion, and ſuffering themſelues to be circumciſed, being men meet for the warres, grew by degrees to great honour: as did *Tangarihardinus* the ſonne of a Spaniſh mariner, who by his forwardneſſe and induſtrie grew into ſuch credit and authoritie with *Campſon* the great Sultan, that almoſt all things were done by his aduice and counſell; and was diuers times by him employed in moſt honorable ſeruice, being ſent embaſſadour both to *Baiazet* the Turkiſh emperour, and to the ſtate of VENICE, about matters of great importance. Yet his impietie eſcaped not the hand of God, for at length by the enuie of the court he was brought into diſgrace, thruſt out of his place, and caſt into priſon, where he loaded with cold yron, moſt miſerably died. Neither was it to be maruelled if the Mamalukes were growne to that exceſſe of wealth, for as much as the Ægyptians and Syrians being miſerably by them oppreſſed, were not ſuffered to haue the vſe either of horſe or armour, neither admitted to any matters of counſell; but being impoueriſhed and brought low with heauie impoſitions and dayly injuries of the Mamalukes, gaue themſelues wholly to the trade of marchandiſe, husbandrie, and other mechanicall occupations: ouer whom the Mamalukes had power and commaund, as imperious maſters ouer their ſeruants, and would with greater inſolencie than is to be beleeued abuſe the poore countrey people, beating and ſpoiling them at their pleaſure, and not ſo contented, rauiſhing their wiues and daughters without redreſſe. The Ægyptians (a people in auntient time much renowned for their valour and proweſſe) were by theſe maſterfull ſlaues kept in this miſerable thraldome and ſlauerie about the ſpace of three hundred yeares. For after the declination of the Romane empire, that rich countrey falling into the gouernment of the Conſtantinopolitane emperours, the Ægyptians ſoone wearie of the proud and auaritious ſoueraignetie of the Greekes, called in the Saraſins, by whoſe helpe they expulſed the Greekes, and after choſe the Generall of the Saraſins for their king, after whoſe name the Ægyptian kings were of long time called Caliphes, as they had of antient time beene called by the names of *Pharao* and *Ptolomey*.

The imperious gouernment of the Mamalukes in Ægypt, Iudea, and Syria.

The laſt of theſe Caliphes raigned at ſuch time as the Chriſtians vnder the leading of *Godfrey* and *Bohemund*, paſsing as conquerours through ASIA and SYRIA, erected the kingdome of HIERVSALEM. Hee being inuaded by *Americus* ſixt king of HIERVSALEM, and finding himſelfe too weake, prayed aid of the Sultan of SYRIA, who ſent him *Sarraco*, a valiant captain, with a ſtrong power to aid him: but *Sarraco* no leſſe vnfaithfull than courageous, trecherouſly ſlew the Caliphe, in whoſe aid he came, and tooke vpon himſelfe the kingdome. After *Sarraco* ſucceeded *Saladine* his brothers ſonne, who vtterly extinguiſhed the name and authoritie of the Caliphes in ÆGYPT, whom *Sarraco* had yet left as high prieſts. This *Saladine* oftentimes vanquiſhed the Chriſtian armies in SYRIA and IVDEA, and at length quite ouerthrew the kingdome of HIERVSALEM, as is in the former part of this hiſtorie to be ſeene. *Saladine* dying, left the kingdome of ÆGIPT to his brother, whoſe poſteritie ſucceſsiuely raigned of long time there, vntill the time of *Melechſala*. This *Melechſala* (laſt of the free borne kings, and of the poſteritie of *Saladine*) had great and mortall warres with the Chriſtians, wherein hauing loſt moſt of his beſt ſoldiors, and repoſing no great confidence in the Ægyptians, thought good to ſtrengthen himſelfe with a new kind of ſouldiors, meere ſlaues bought for money. For at that time the Tartars breaking into ARMENIA and CAPADOCIA, and ouerrunning the people called COMANI joyning vpon CAPADOCIA, made generall ſpoile of that people, as of priſoners taken by law of armes. Of this baſe people, *Melechſala* for a little money bought a great multitude,

which

which he transported into ÆGIPT, and furnished them with armes: by whose prowesse he not onely defended the frontiers of his kingdome, but also besieged *Lewes* the French king in his trenches not farre from DAMIATA, called in auntient time HELIOPOLIS, or PELVSIVM, and shortly after in plaine battaile tooke him prisoner, as is long before declared. But in the pride of this victorie, *Melechsala* was by the conspiracie of these his new souldiours slaine: in whose place they set vp one *Turqueminius*, a desperat fellow of their owne companie, honouring him with the title of the great Sultan of ÆGIPT. *Turqueminius* of a base slaue now become a great monarch (after the manner of men) forgetting his old companions which had so highly promoted him: and hauing them in great disdaine, was by one of them (called *Clotho*) suddainely slaine; for which fact he was by those base souldiors, his companions, chosen Sultan in his place: who for the short time of his raigne did much for the confirming of that seruile monarchie: yet was he at length slaine also by *Bandocader*, sometimes one of his fellow seruants, who also succeeded him in the kingdome. After him in long order succeeded many valiant men of the same seruile state & condition, whom for breuitie I wittingly passe ouer. Amongst the rest, *Caitbeus* (of whom we haue before spoken in the life of *Baiazet*) was for wealth and martiall prowesse most famous; who according to the manner of his predecessours, did with greater bountie and care maintaine that seruile gouernment, than any of them who had before him raigned in ÆGIPT: and was for his notable gouernment and noble acts justly accounted amongst the greatest princes of that age. After whose death great troubles arose in that seruile monarchie about the succession. Whereby the Mamalukes drawne into diuers factions, some seeking to prefer one, and some another, had in foure yeares space with ciuile warres sore weakened their estate, and slaine diuers of their greatest princes which had aspired vnto that kingdome. For appeasing of which mischeefes, tending to the vtter ruine of their kingdome, the great courtiers and cheefe men amongst the Mamalukes with one consent offered the kingdome to *Campson Gaurus* (or as the Turkes call him) *Cansaues Gauris*, of whom wee now speake, a man of great integritie and courage, and altogether free from ambition. He, terrified with the dreadfull example of so many kings whom hee had seene in short time miserably slaine by the ambitious aspiring of other proud competitors: when he was sore against his will hoist vp vpon the shoulders of the nobilitie and cheefe souldiors, and so carried into the court, as their manner was, began earnestly to refuse the kingdome and to withstand their choice, excusing himselfe as vnfit for so high a place; and with teares standing in his eyes, besought the other great lords his friends, that they would forbeare to thrust him, well contented with his priuat life, into that glorious place subject to so many dangers: and the rather, for that he neither had money to giue bountifully vnto the souldiors of the court, as other the Ægyptian Sultans had accustomed; neither held that sufficiencie and authoritie as was requisit for repressing of such violent and seditious tumults as were too rife in that troublesome time and confusion of all things.

The beginning of the Gouernment of the Mamalukes in Ægypt.

The nobilitie on the other side persuaded him, That he would not vpon a foolish obstinacie or vaine modestie refuse the offer of his present good fortune, but couragiously to take vpon him the gouernment of the state, now sore shaken with ciuile discord, together with the regall dignitie, which was with the generall good liking of all men so frankely offered vnto him. At last they all by solemne oath promised vnto him, That they would with all their power, policie, and wealth, maintaine and defend the majestie of his state; and that the men of war should not demaund their wonted largesse, before the same might by his receiuers and treasurers bee raised of his customes and other reuenewes of the crowne. By which persuasions *Campson* encouraged, suffered himselfe to be saluted Sultan, and so tooke vpon him the gouernment. Afterwards, when he had giuen vnto the men of warre ten millions of duckats, by the name of a largesse, and by his moderat gouernment had caused men generally to haue his prowesse and wisdome in admiration; he did with such policie and dexteritie reforme the shaken state of that kingdome, before rent in sunder with ciuile warres, taking away by poyson and other secret deuices some few, the cheefe authors of sedition, that for the space of sixteene yeares neither tumult nor noise of warre was at any time heard of in all SYRIA or ÆGIPT. Worthie vndoubtedly the name of a most excellent and fortunat prince, if when he had by singular wisedome and policie established the generall peace and prosperitie of his kingdome, he could haue there contented himselfe to haue liued in quiet, and in the winding vp of his life, not rashly haue thrust himselfe into the dangerous quarels of other princes.

The moderat and happie gouernment of Campson.

The

The Cadeleſcher and *Iachis* (*Selymus* his embaſſadours) departing from ICONIVM, came in few daies to *Campſon* the great Sultan, who then lay encamped neere vnto the riuer ORONTES, at this day called FARFAR. Theſe embaſſadours entertained by *Campſon* with greater bountie than courteſie, and ſhortly after their comming hauing audience in his pauilion; did with moſt temperat and calme ſpeech deliuer their embaſſage. To whom *Campſon* anſwered, That it was the auntient cuſtome of the Ægyptian Sultans (foraſmuch as they held the chiefe place in their religion) with all care and induſtrie to keepe the other Mahometane kings and people in peace and concord amongſt themſelues; whereof hee for his part had beene alwaies moſt deſirous: and was for no other purpoſe come with his armie into his prouince of SYRIA, than to perſuade *Selymus* to peace: Who if he would needs wilfully proceed in his intended warres againſt *Hyſmaell* the Perſian king, his friend and confederat, he would then doe what ſhould ſtand with his honour and place, and not longer ſuffer all to go to wracke, for the vaine pleaſure and furie of one inſolent and ambitious man. He ſaid alſo, That he had of long time before ſeene into *Selymus* his inſatiable, fierce and troubleſome diſpoſition; who hauing moſt vnnaturally procured the death of his good father the old emperour *Baiazet*, and ſlaine his brethren, princes of great valour; ſeauen of his nephewes, princes of no ſmall hope; with many other of his beſt friends and faithfull counſellors; could make no end of his ambitious tyrannie. Wherfore they ſhould tell *Selymus*, that one and all the conditions of peace ſhould be, if he would from thenceforth deſiſt from inuading of *Hyſmaell*, and reſtore to *Aladeules* his ſonne, his fathers kingdome, which had of long beene vnder the defence and protection of the Ægyptian Sultans, as of right and reaſon he ought to doe: he ſhould in ſo doing beſide his fauour and friendſhip which might greatly ſtand him in ſteed, reape greater fame and glorie by an aſſured and honourable peace, than by doubtfull and dangerous warre.

Campſon his anſwere to the embaſſadours of Selymus.

The embaſſadours, although they knew right well that *Selymus* would not for any threats giue ouer his enterpriſe or lay downe armes; yet to the intent they might the ſooner be diſpatched, and ſo in time aduertiſe *Selymus* of the Sultans ſudden comming, ſeemed wonderfully to like of his motion for peace, and to giue good hope by their reaſonable perſuaſions to induce *Selymus* to like thereof: Foraſmuch as they were of his ſecret counſell, and men able to doe much with him; whereby they truſted (as they would haue had the Sultan to beleeue) it would eaſily be brought to paſſe, that thoſe ſparkes might be quenched, which all things ſtanding vpright had not as yet kindled the fire of warre. So they being by *Campſon* rewarded, and hauing leaue to depart, trauelling day and night, returned to *Selymus*, who was then come to CÆSAREA.

Campſon alſo remouing from ORONTES, came into COMAGENA vnto the famous citie of ALEPPO, which citie is probably ſuppoſed to haue been built of the ruines of the auntient citie HIERAPOLIS, by *Alepius* the emperor *Iulianus* his lieutenant; who in that prouince did many notable matters, & called that new built citie after his own name. It is ſituat neere vnto the riuer Singa, which riſing out of the mountaine PIERIVS, with many turnings and windings runneth thorough Comagena, and being but a ſmall riuer, falleth at length into the citie Euphrates. This citie *Hyalon* king of the Tartars tooke and burnt, at ſuch time as the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt made warre with the Ægyptian kings, for the kingdomes of SYRIA and IERVSALEM. Which calamitie notwithſtanding, it was againe repeopled, and is at this day a famous citie, for the commodious ſituation thereof much frequented with merchants from the furtheſt parts of the world: It is ſcarce fiue daies journey from TRIPOLIS and BERYTVS the great ports of SYRIA, and is alſo neere vnto the Turkes and Perſians: ſo that the riches of the Eaſt are thither commodiouſly conuaied out of Turkie, ouer the mountaine AMANVS which parteth CILICIA from SYRIA: and ſo likewiſe out of PERSIA and MESOPOTAMIA ouer the riuer Euphrates, where the citie BYRTHA of late time bounded the kingdome of the Ægyptian Sultans, from the Perſian.

Selymus vnderſtanding by his embaſſadours (who had diligently noted all things in the Sultans campe) both of the comming, and of the number of his enemies; and alſo enformed of the Sultans proud anſwere, who had ſo peremptorily preſcribed vnto him ſuch vnreaſonable conditions as pleaſed himſelfe: thought good to alter his purpoſe, and now to conuert his forces an other way than he had before determined. For that to enter farther into ARMENIA, leauing ſo puiſſant an enemie as *Campſon* at his backe, ſeemed a thing too full of danger: and to giue ouer the

Selymus conuerteth his forces from the Perſians againſt Campſon.

the enterprise he had with so great care and charge vndertaken, at the appointment and pleasure of another man, stood neither with his honour or state. Wherefore in a matter so doubtfull, he resolued vpon a notable and necessarie point, well fitting the greatnesse of his mind. He made shew as if he would haue gone directly against the Persian, as he had before determined; and that the more certaine report of this his purpose might be carried to *Campson*, he sent before part of his armie with his carriages to the citie SVASSIA, in old time called SEBASTA (it standeth in the frontiers of the Persian kingdome, where the great riuer Euphrates pent vp with the rocks of the mountaine TAVRVS, breaketh againe violently forth into MESOPOTAMIA: but turning himselfe vpon the right hand, purposed to passe the mountaine TAVRVS, and breaking suddenly into COMAGENA to come vpon the Sultan before he were well aware of his comming. Wherefore calling vnto him his trustie Ianizaries, with the other souldiours of the court, hee openly with cheerfull countenance declared vnto them what he had resolued to doe, with the reasons of the alteration of his former determination: perswading them, that the victorie would easily be atchieued, if they as couragious souldiours would with all celeritie (before the Mamalukes could perceiue they were returned) get vp to the top of the mountaines, and recouer those difficult passages; not fearing the vaine names and titles of the Mamalukes. *For why* (said he) *the strength of those horsemen is long since decaied and gone: the old Mamalukes, who in the time of* Caitbeius *were of some fame and reputation, are all dead. You shall in battell meet but with a sort of gallant horsebreakers rather than souldiours, which can cunningly mannage their horses in sport, to the pleasure of the beholders, but know not how to encounter the enemie, or to endure to be wounded: who as carpet knights effeminat with long peace, and corrupted with excesse and delicacie of their great cities, neuer saw their foes entrenched, or armed enemies, neither euer heard the sound of a trumpet but at plaies or shewes. Wherefore you are to make but small account of them, being furnished with no store of ordinance or strength of footmen. But as the reuerend interpretours of our sacred lawes and religion, hauing orderly performed all their obseruances, doe diuine vnto vs all happinesse: so you as men full of hope, set forward cheerfully vnto most assured victorie ouer your proud enemies. For God no doubt fauoureth the quarrell of men iustly prouoked, and offereth means of victorie to such as take vp iust and necessarie armes. Yet to ouercome the enemie, and to enioy the victorie in deed, wholy consisteth in the courage and valour of them, which deeme nothing better or more honourable than to spend their liues for the honour of their prince and countrey.* Here the Ianizaries shaking their weapons, forthwith cried out with cheerfull voice, That he should lead and conduct them whither soeuer he would: saying, That they were readie as couragious men, to ouercome all the difficulties of those hard passages, and patiently to endure all the labours and dangers incident to that warre.

Selymus encouraged his souldiours to go against the Mamaukes.

Selymus, by the mountaine people hauing found out the easiest passages, resolued to passe ouer the mountaine with his armie in three places: and so appointing three great companies of the common souldiours and countrey people, for the opening of the straight passages; he commaunded the rough and vneuen waies to bee made plaine and smooth, for the transporting of his ordinance, and the broken passages to be cast euen, that so his baggage and carriages might the better passe: and the more to encourage his souldiours to take paines, he promised present reward to all such as in transporting of his ordinance, should take any extraordinarie pains. Whereby it came to passe, that the same being of the smaller sort bearing bullet of no great height, was in short time by the cheerfull labour of his souldiours, drawne ouer those great hils and dales: so that in fiue daies all his armie with his baggage and carriages were got ouer the mountaine TAVRVS, and come into the plaines of COMAGENA. For that mountaine where it taketh the name of AMANVS, which is almost in the middle where the riuer Euphrates parteth the mountaine TAVRVS, and the bay ISSICVS, is neither exceeding high, or yet impassable: for as it commeth neerer the sea, it is not so rough as elsewhere, but is in many places inhabited and tilled by the mountaine Cilicians, a fierce kind of people accustomed to labour and toile, who are now called Caramannians, which is to say, the inhabitants of the blacke mountaines; for that the burnt rocks of the mountaine seeme a farre off to be blacke.

Alis-beg which betraied *Aladeules*, whom *Selymus* had a little before sent for, as soon as the armie was come downe into the frontiers of the enemies country, with a strong power of his light horsemen, speedily ouerran all that countrey which is at the foot of AMANVS and TAVRVS: therby to vnderstand of the countrey people and such as they could take prisoners, where *Camp-*

son

ſon lay with his armie; and alſo by keeping the paſſages to doe what poſsibly might be done, that *Selymus* his comming might not be knowne to the enemie.

But *Campſon*, who with no leſſe vanitie than pride had fondly flattered himſelfe, onely by the authoritie & greatneſſe of his name to haue terrified *Selymus*, and ouetruled him at his pleaſure; could not be perſuaded that he was come ouer the mountaine AMANVS, vntill certaine newes was brought him, that he was encamped with a moſt puiſſant armie within two daies march of him. With which vnexpected newes being ſore troubled, and in the middeſt of that danger to ſeeke counſell, as one which began rightly to conſider of his owne ſtrength, and the ſtrength of his enemie; began then to doubt what were beſt for him to doe, and in great perplexitie ſometime hoped well, and by and by was as a man halfe diſcouraged and diſmaied. And now become exceeding carefull both of his honour and himſelfe, he began to doubt, whether it were better for him to giue place to ſo great a danger, and ſhunning battell to retire with his armie into places of more ſafetie; or els couragiouſly to abide the comming of his enemies, and to hazard the fortune of a battell, although it were vpon great diſaduantage: Foraſmuch as he reputed it farre more honourable after the example of his predeceſſors from whom he had receiued that great kingdome (both gotten and kept by martiall proweſſe) to die with honour in the field; than by ſhamefull and vnwoonted flight, either to blemiſh their militarie glorie continued aboue the ſpace of 300 yeares, or for loue of a ſmall remainder of life, being now 77 yeares old, to ſeeme willing to reſerue vnto obloquie and ſhame his laſt daies, depriued of all honour and reputation.

There were amongſt his cheefetaines many, which preferred wholeſome counſell before that which was in ſhew more glorious: but aboue all others one *Iamburd*, ſurnamed *Gazelles*, (ſometimes the follower of great *Caitbeius*) a valiant man of great honour, for his long experience in martiall affaires, and at that time gouernor of APAMIA. He, as he was of opinion, That to fight with the Turkes armie, conſiſting for moſt part of expert ſoldiors, with ſo ſmall a power, were a thing of deſperat danger; ſo was he alſo, that it were good ſpeedily to retire, and to chuſe the citie of DAMASCO, as the fitteſt place for thoſe warres: for as much as the Turkes armie could make no haſt after them, by reaſon of their footmen and carriages, ſo that they might at eaſe and with ſafetie retire; and there calling together all the Mamalukes which were in garriſon in IVDEA and ÆGIPT, and entertaining the Arabians their neighbours, to protract the warre vntill Winter, when as they might eaſily diſtreſſe the enemie for want of victuall. And that it was not to be feared, that ALEPPO, if it were furniſhed but with a reaſonable garriſon, could by and by be taken of the enemie, who had but ſmall field peeces not fit for batterie. Beſide that, in ſhort time aide would come from the Perſians out of MESOPOTAMIA; yea and *Hyſmaell* himſelfe hearing of the Turkes expedition into SYRIA, was like ynough to breake into ASIA the leſſe: neither would the Chriſtians refuſe to furniſh them with great artillerie from the Iſlands of the RHODES and CYPRVS againſt that common enemie, if they were thereto in time requeſted. All which things being laied together, hee ſaid the Sultan might afterward vpon euen hand, goe into the field, if he ſhould thinke it ſo much to concerne his honour, to giue his enemies battaile. But for as much as the greateſt warres, which at the firſt had moſt violent and moſt furious motions, by the politicke enemies delay did moſt commonly in time grow calme, hee ſhould not therefore make too much haſt to aduenture the fortune of battaile: for that the errours of warre, which many times chanced through the ouerſight or raſhneſſe of the cheeftains, might well of good men be lamented and deteſted, but hardly or neuer recouered or amended.

The wholſome counſell of Gazelles for protracting the warre.

Gazelles his graue and conſiderat ſpeech had much moued both the Sultan and others: yet the cheerefulneſſe of the ſouldiors, and fooliſh hardineſſe of the Mamalukes did ſo fill *Campſons* eares, that he could not hearken to ſo good and wholeſome counſell: for as ſoone as they heard certainely of the comming of the Turkes, they began to leape and daunce, and to rejoice among themſelues, that the time was come wherein they might make proofe of their valour, and win to themſelues honour. For now (as they ſaid) was come that time they had long wiſhed for, wherein they would by notable ſlaughter of their enemies, aduance the honour and majeſtie of *Campſon* their Sultan far aboue the fame of *Caitbeius*. And ſome euen of the cheefe men about *Campſon*, vpon flatterie and vaine oſtentation, alledging how honourably and with what ſmall labour they had before ouerthrowne the Turkes great armie at TARSVS, perſuaded him, that the victorie would eaſily and without any great danger be gotten. But eſpecially *Cayerbeius* gouernor

of

of ALEPPO and of the prouince of COMAGENA (who after his warre ended, was in reward of his foule treason by *Selymus* vnworthily preferred to the greatest honours of ÆGYPT) extolling with glorious words the faithfulnesse, courage and valour of the Mamalukes, and extenuating the strength and power of the enemie, forced his wits to the vttermost to ouerthrow the wholsome counsell of *Gazelles*.

A secret grudge betweene Campson and Cayerbeius gouernour of Comagena.

For this *Cayerbeius* for all his faire face bare a grudge in heart against *Campson*, because he had some few yeares before poysoned his brother, whom he had in jealousie, being a man next to himselfe of greatest power, wealth, and authoritie amongst the Mamalukes, and withall of an aspiring mind. Whereupon *Cayerbeius* afterwards thinking it good to looke to himselfe, and doubting the like practise to be intended against himselfe; being, as the manner of that kingdome was, summoned to a parliament at CAIRE, faigned himselfe sicke, and would not come: wherewith *Campson* was not a little offended, yet for a time he thought it best to dissemble the matter and to await some fitter oportunitie for the taking away of that proud man, so forgetfull of his dutie, and bearing himselfe against his soueraigne, as if he had been an absolute king in his owne prouince. This he thought might most couertly be brought to passe, if he should vpon the occasion of the present warre (as it then fell out) or els vnder the colour of going in person himselfe to the riuer Euphrates, come to ALEPPO: for it was the manner of the antient Ægyptian Sultans, not to account themselues worthie of the name of a Sultan or great Generall, before they had as *Caitbeius* had of late done, encamped their armie vpon the side of the riuer Euphrates at the citie BYRTHA (which standing vpon the banke of the riuer, retaineth at this day both the antient name and fame) and there with solemne pompe had in the sight of the armie forced their horses into the riuer to drinke: giuing to vnderstand by that ceremonie, the greatnesse of their empire, and that they were readie by force of armes to proue, that all those countries were theirs which lay alongst the riuer Euphrates, from the mountaine TAVRVS vnto the deserts of ARABIA. But the consideration of this war letted that hee did not at his first comming oppresse him, because he deemed it to stand best with his present affaires: and not yet knowing the purpose of *Selymus*, to expect the motions of the Turkes and Persians, and to deferre the execution of his wrath against *Cayerbeius*, vntill the end of the warre: for feare least the other Mamalukes, dismayed with the hainousnesse of the suddaine fact, should either reuolt from him, or els raise some mutinie or rebellion in that populous citie. For *Cayerbeius* had by his courtesie and bountie many strong companies in the armie fast bound vnto him: and beside that, was of greatest credit and authoritie with them of ALEPPO, hauing in his keeping a strong citadell, built vpon the rising of an hill in the middest of the citie, which he kept with a strong and sure garrison.

But whiles *Campson* doth thus slowly and considerately purpose his destruction, many of the Sultans secret friends, to him more officious than faithfull, secretly aduised *Cayerbeius* to beware of the Sultan, and by some good meanes in time to prouide for his owne safetie. He vnderstanding of the danger, and thinking all delay deadly, sent secret messengers vnto *Selymus*, discouering vnto him the cause of his greefe, and promising as occasion should serue to come ouer vnto him, and to deliuer into his power the castle with the hearts of the citizens, and all the strength of his owne horsemen; thereby to prouide for his owne safetie, to reuenge his brothers death, and to further his victorie against *Campson*: and for performance of promises on both sides, required secret hostages to be giuen. By the same messengers he also aduertised him, what strength the Sultan was of, perswading him in any case to make hast to giue him battaile before hee had gathered any greater power. *Selymus* nothing doubted to condiscend to all that the traitor had requested, promising of himselfe farre greater things than euer he had required: assuring himselfe of the victorie, if his enemie should lose so much of his strength by the reuolt of so great a commaunder.

Campson enforced by the generall consent of his souldiors, and the violence of his inevitable destinie, then at hand, rejecting the good and faithfull counsell of *Gazelles*, at such time as *Selymus* was reported to be at hand; resolued according to the counsell of the traitour *Cayerbeius*, to dare him battell. He lay conueniently encamped vpon the riuer Singa, almost ten miles from the citie, in such sort as that his souldiors might vse the benefit of the riuer, and remoued from the houses and pleasures of the citie, might yet neuertheless be easily relceued with the store and plentie thereof.

The Mamalukes notable souldiors.

The Mamalukes were scarce in number twelue thousand, but euery one of them, according

as he was of greater place or calling, ſo had he attending vpon him moe ſeruants, well furniſhed with horſe and armour. A goodly and inuincible armie, if the battaile might haue been tried by true valour. The Mamalukes wearing their beards long and rough, with graue and ſterne countenance, hauing ſtrong and able bodies, vſed ſuch cunning in all their fights and battailes, that after they had giuen the firſt charge with their launces, they would by and by with wonderfull actiuitie vſe their bowes and arrowes, caſting their targuets behind them; and forthwith the horſemans mace or crooked ſcimitar, as the manner of the battaile or place required. Their horſes were ſtrong and courageous, in making and ſwiftneſſe much like vnto the Spaniſh Iennets; and that which is of many hardly beleeued, ſo docible, that at certaine ſignes or ſpeeches of the rider, they would with their teeth reach him vp from the ground a launce, an arrow, or ſuch like thing; and as if they had knowne the enemie, run vpon him with open mouth, and laſh at him with their heeles, and had by nature and cuſtome learned, not to be afraid of any thing. Theſe couragious horſes were commonly furniſhed with ſiluer bridles, guilt trapping, rich ſaddles, their neckes and breaſts armed with plates of yron: the horſeman himſelfe was commonly content with a coat of maile or a breaſtplate of yron. The cheefe and wealthieſt of them vſed headpieces; the reſt a linnen couering of the head, curiouſly foulded into many wreathes, wherewith they thought themſelues ſafe ynough againſt any handie ſtrokes: the common ſouldiours vſed thrumd caps, but ſo thicke, as that no ſword could pierce them.

Campſon of all his armie made fiue battailes: The firſt was committed to *Cayerbeius*, becauſe it was in his owne prouince where the battaile was to be fought. The ſecond was led by *Sybeius*, who for his wonderfull actiuitie was of them called *Baluano*, which in their language ſignifieth a tumbler, or one that ſheweth feats of actiuitie; he was gouernour of DAMASCO, a man of ſingular faith and valour. Theſe two great commaunders were appointed at once to charge both the wings of the Turkes armie. After them followed *Gazelles* with the third battaile, to ſecond either the one or the other of the two formoſt, as need ſhould require. *Campſon* himſelfe led the fourth, all gliſtering in guilt armour, behind the reſt almoſt a mile and a halfe. The laſt was left for defence of the campe. *The order of Campſons battell.*

But *Selymus* according to his wonted manner ſo ordered his battaile, that his Aſian horſemen were in the tight wing, his Europeian horſemen in the left, his Ianizaries and artillerie in the maine battaile: before whom, in the middle betweene the two wings he had placed his moſt valiant and gallant pentioners, amongſt whom, contrarie to his wonted cuſtome, he choſe to ſerue that day. *The order of Selymus his battell.*

Cayerbeius as ſoone as he was come neere the enemie (in token of his braue courage) gaue a hote charge vpon the Europeian horſemen; and by and by, as if hee would haue compaſſed in that wing, wheeled a great way about behind them: where chauncing vpon a great companie of ſcullions, drudges, and other baſe people that followed the campe, with an infinit number of cammels and carriages, hee made there a great ſtirre, with little ſlaughter, that as a valiant and cunning traitour he might in the ſelfeſame time ſatisfie the expectation of his valour and of his treaſon together. In the other wing, the gouernour of DAMASCO to enter vpon the open ſide of the enemie, forbearing to charge him affront, and turning about his troupes on the left hand, entred ouerthwart their rankes; where the Mamalukes fought with ſuch furie, that hauing made great ſlaughter of the Aſian horſemen, they brake in amongſt them, as if it had beene a raging flood, bearing all downe before them, vntill they came to the enſignes in the middeſt of that wing: neither could *Muſtapha* the Beglerbeg (who was by birth an Hungarian, and *Selymus* his brother in law) neither the Imbrahor-Baſſa (or maſter of the houſe) although they did what they might to withſtand him, after the firſt were ouerthrowne, ſtay the reſt, but that they would needs turne their backes and flie. So *Sybeius* as a valiant conquerour hauing cut in two peeces the right wing of the enemies battaile, and thruſting in betwixt the battaile of the footmen and the backes of the pentioners, brought a great terrour and feare vpon the whole maine battaile. The matter was now brought to extreame danger: for *Selymus* by the breaking in of *Sybeius* was almoſt cut off from his footmen, in whom he had repoſed his greateſt confidence. And now the Ianizaries were hardly charged by *Gazelles*, who following the fortune of *Sybeius*, had ſet vpon the head of the enemies battaile. The Aſian horſemen alſo being put to the worſe, and cut in peeces, found no meanes how to reſtore againe their diſordered battaile.

In this extremitie *Sinan Baſſa* in good time came in with his horſemen: by his comming, for that

that he had beene but lightly charged by *Cayerbeius* the traitour, and had brought with him many freſh troupes of horſemen, the furie of the Mamalukes was repreſſed, the Turkes againe encouraged, and the victorie ſhortly after wrung out of the Mamalukes hands; the great artillerie being by the commaundement of *Selymus* at the ſame time diſcharged amongſt them, by the terrible thundring whereof, the Mamalukes horſes ſomewhat troubled, could not ſo well as before be ruled: neither could the men themſelues, although they were of wonderfull courage, much preuaile, being on euerie ſide oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies. Yet in that diſtreſſe being nothing diſmaied, although they were by *Cayerbeius* and their good fortune forſaken, they were not to ſeeke either of courage or direction; but ſerring themſelues cloſe togither, they brake through the middeſt of their enemies, with great ſlaughter of the Europeian horſemen, and hurt of the pentioners; and ſo with ſpeed fled towards the campe and citie. After whom followed *Sinan Baſſa* with the readieſt and freſheſt troups of his horſemen: for *Selymus*, (who that day in the extreame heat, for his wonderfull paines, courage, and direction, ſeemed vndoubtedly greater than himſelfe) riding vp and downe, called earneſtly vpon his ſouldiours to vrge the victorie, and with all ſpeed to purſue their flying enemies.

Campſon had now (his deſtinie ſo leading him) ſet forward, of purpoſe to come to the relief of his men ſent before; or if the Turks ſhould be ouercome, to be partaker of the victorie; when vpon the way, he vnderſtood by them that fled, that *Cayerbeius* was reuolted, his armie ouerthrowne, and the terrour ſo great, as that the flight of his ſouldiours was not now poſsibly to be ſtaied: beſide that to augment the feare, it was reported, that the multitude of his enemies, and force of their artillerie was ſo great, that they were not then to bee encountred. With which heauie newes, the proud old man, who in the perpetuall courſe of his good fortune had neuer taſted of euill hap, was readie for ſorrow and griefe of mind to haue ſunke downe to the ground. And forthwith, his owne men, and the enemie purſuing them, comming vpon him, who in their headlong courſe without regard ouerthrew whomſoeuer they met, euerie man making ſhift for himſelfe without reſpect of others harmes: he being a corpulent man of great yeares, and beſide the heauineſſe of his armour troubled alſo with a rupture, ouercome with heat and griefe of mind, fainted in that great preſſe; and ſo falling downe, was without regard troden to death, after he had with great majeſtie gouerned the kingdomes of Æ GYPT, IVDEA, and SYRIA many yeares. The valiant Tetrarchs of DAMASCO and TRIPOLIS, whileſt others fled for life, either to the campe or to the citie of ALEPPO, labouring in the hindermoſt of their flying troups to repreſſe the force of their purſuing enemies, were both fighting honorably, ſlaine. *Selymus* erecting a few tents in the ſame field wherin the battell was fought, & keeping moſt part of his armie in armes, ſlept not all that night, but ſtood faſt as a man not yet aſſured of his victorie or good fortune; fearing leaſt men of ſo great valour as were the Mamalukes, ſhould in the couert of the night returne and ſet vpon him in his campe: for hee knew right well, that they were ouercome and put to flight, rather by the treacherie of *Cayerbeius* and furie of his great ordinance, than by the valour of his ſouldiours. But *Gazelles* and the other Mamalukes, after they certainly vnderſtood of the death of *Campſon*, hauing giuen their horſes a ſhort bait, departed in haſt from ALEPPO to DAMASCO. The next day *Selymus* remouing with his armie, took the rich tents of his enemies full of all princely ſtore, which he gaue vnto his ſoldiors for a prey: and marching from thence to ALEPPO, had the citie peaceably deliuered vnto him by *Cayerbeius*, where he fauourably tooke the citiſens into his protection; and the more to win their hearts, granted vnto them greater priuiledges than they had in former time enjoyed.

The death of Campſon.

Aleppo deliuered to Selymus by Cayerbeius the traitor.

In this battell were ſlaine not aboue a thouſand Mamalukes, but of their ſeruants and followers a greater number; mo being ſlaine in the flight than in the fight, when as their horſes fainting for heat, and dying vnder them for thirſt, many of them were enforced to betake themſelues to their feet, and ſo were eaſily ſlaine of euerie baſe horſeman. For a great number of goodly horſes died there, which being foggie fat, and delicatly brought vp in cold ſtables, could not endure the vehemencie of the heat and that vnacquainted trauell: for that day all things were burnt with the ſcorching heat of the Sunne.

This famous battell was fought the ſeauenth of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord 1516, the verie ſame day (which is ſtrange to tell) whereon but two yeares before, he had obtained the victorie againſt *Hyſmaell* the great Sophi in the CALDERAN fields. *Selymus* loſt in this battell three thouſand horſemen: whereby it may eaſily be gathered, that he had there receiued a notable

ble ouerthrow of his horſemen; if *Sinan Baſſa* in the left wing, which by the treaſon of *Cayerbeius* eſcaped with ſmall loſſe, had alſo happened vpon his *Sybeius*, as the other Generall did.

The dead bodie of *Campſon* found two daies after without any wound appearing therupon, was by the commaundement of *Selymus* laied forth in open place for all men to behold; that ſuch as beleeued him yet to liue, and to be gone to repaire his armie at CAIRE, might be out of all hope of his returne; and others that were alreadie reuolted, might thereby be the more confirmed, as now out of all feare of him. Not long after, when the dead bodie began to putrifie and grow noiſome, and to conuince the fame of his eſcape, had lien openly to the view of all men by the ſpace of three daies, it was without any funerall pompe or ſolemnitie ſimply buried in the moſt auntient temple of ALEPPO. Of the riſing and fall of this great man, *Ianus Vitalis* hath written this elogium or epitaph.

The dead bodie of Campſon laid out for all men to view.

CAMPSON GAVRVS
Sultan of Ægypt.

Paulus Iouius lib. 4 Elog. virorum, Illuſt.

Fortuna cæca, & ſurda, verè diceris,
Et mente vana prædita.
Ad alta tollis ſcamna in imo conditos,
Vt mox cadant profundius.

that he had beene but lightly charged by *Cayerbeius* the traitour, and had brought with him many freſh troupes of horſemen, the furie of the Mamalukes was repreſſed, the Turkes againe encouraged, and the victorie ſhortly after wrung out of the Mamalukes hands; the great artillerie being by the commaundement of *Selymus* at the ſame time diſcharged amongſt them, by the terrible thundring whereof, the Mamalukes horſes ſomewhat troubled, could not ſo well as before be ruled: neither could the men themſelues, although they were of wonderfull courage, much preuaile, being on euerie ſide oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies. Yet in that diſtreſſe being nothing diſmaied, although they were by *Cayerbeius* and their good fortune forſaken, they were not to ſeeke either of courage or direction; but ſerring themſelues cloſe together, they brake through the middeſt of their enemies, with great ſlaughter of the Europeian horſemen, and hurt of the pentioners; and ſo with ſpeed fled towards the campe and citie. After whom followed *Sinan Baſſa* with the readieſt and freſheſt troups of his horſemen: for *Selymus*, (who that day in the extreame heat, for his wonderfull paines, courage, and direction, ſeemed vndoubtedly greater than himſelfe) riding vp and downe, called earneſtly vpon his ſouldiours to vrge the victorie, and with all ſpeed to purſue their flying enemies.

Campſon had now (his deſtinie ſo leading him) ſet forward, of purpoſe to come to the reliefe of his men ſent before; or if the Turks ſhould be ouercome, to be partaker of the victorie: when vpon the way, he vnderſtood by them that fled, that *Cayerbeius* was reuolted, his armie ouerthrowne, and the terrour ſo great, as that the flight of his ſouldiours was not now poſsibly to be ſtaied: beſide that to augment the feare, it was reported, that the multitude of his enemies, and force of their artillerie was ſo great, that they were not then to bee encountred. With which heauie newes, the proud old man, who in the perpetuall courſe of his good fortune had neuer taſted of euill hap, was readie for ſorrow and griefe of mind to haue ſunke downe to the ground. And forthwith, his owne men, and the enemie purſuing them, comming vpon him, who in their headlong courſe without regard ouerthrew whomſoeuer they met, euerie man making ſhift for himſelfe without reſpect of others harmes: he being a corpulent man of great yeares, and beſide the heauineſſe of his armour troubled alſo with a rupture, ouercome with heat and griefe of mind, fainted in that great preſſe; and ſo falling downe, was without regard troden to death, after he had with great majeſtie gouerned the kingdomes of Æ GYPT, IVDEA, and SYRIA many yeares. The valiant Tetrarchs of DAMASCO and TRIPOLIS, whileſt others fled for life, either to the campe or to the citie of ALEPPO, labouring in the hindermoſt of their flying troups to repreſſe the force of their purſuing enemies, were both fighting honorably, ſlaine. *Selymus* erecting a few tents in the ſame field wherin the battell was fought, & keeping moſt part of his armie in armes, ſlept not all that night, but ſtood faſt as a man not yet aſſured of his victorie or good fortune; fearing leaſt men of ſo great valour as were the Mamalukes, ſhould in the couert of the night returne and ſet vpon him in his campe: for hee knew right well, that they were ouercome and put to flight, rather by the treacherie of *Cayerbeius* and furie of his great ordinance, than by the valour of his ſouldiours. But *Gazelles* and the other Mamalukes, after they certainly vnderſtood of the death of *Campſon*, hauing giuen their horſes a ſhort bait, departed in haſt from ALEPPO to DAMASCO. The next day *Selymus* remouing with his armie, took the rich tents of his enemies full of all princely ſtore, which he gaue vnto his ſoldiors for a prey: and marching from thence to ALEPPO, had the citie peaceably deliuered vnto him by *Cayerbeius*, where he fauourably tooke the citiſens into his protection; and the more to win their hearts, granted vnto them greater priuiledges than they had in former time enjoyed.

The death of Campſon.

Aleppo deliuered to Selymus by Cayerbeius the traitor.

In this battell were ſlaine not aboue a thouſand Mamalukes, but of their ſeruants and followers a greater number; mo being ſlaine in the flight than in the fight, when as their horſes fainting for heat, and dying vnder them for thirſt, many of them were enforced to betake themſelues to their feet, and ſo were eaſily ſlaine of euerie baſe horſeman. For a great number of goodly horſes died there, which being foggie fat, and delicatly brought vp in cold ſtables, could not endure the vehemencie of the heat and that vnacquainted trauell: for that day all things were burnt with the ſcorching heat of the Sunne.

This famous battell was fought the ſeauenth of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord 1516, the verie ſame day (which is ſtrange to tell) whereon but two yeares before, he had obtained the victorie againſt *Hyſmaell* the great Sophi in the CALDERAN fields. *Selymus* loſt in this battell three thouſand horſemen: whereby it may eaſily be gathered, that he had there receiued a notable

ble ouerthrow of his horſemen; if *Sinan Baſſa* in the left wing, which by the treaſon of *Cayerbeius* eſcaped with ſmall loſſe, had alſo happened vpon his *Sybeius*, as the other Generall did.

The dead bodie of *Campſon* found two daies after without any wound appearing therupon, was by the commaundement of *Selymus* laied forth in open place for all men to behold; that ſuch as beleeued him yet to liue, and to be gone to repaire his armie at CAIRE, might be out of all hope of his returne; and others that were alreadie reuolted, might thereby be the more confirmed, as now out of all feare of him. Not long after, when the dead bodie began to putrifie and grow noiſome, and to conuince the fame of his eſcape, had lien openly to the view of all men by the ſpace of three daies, it was without any funerall pompe or ſolemnitie ſimply buried in the moſt auntient temple of ALEPPO. Of the riſing and fall of this great man, *Ianus Vitalis* hath written this elogium or epitaph.

The dead bodie of Campſon laid out for all men to view.

CAMPSON GAVRVS
Sultan of Ægypt.

Laur. Iahnsen. ſculp. 1601

Paulus Iouius li. 4 Elog. virorum, Illuſt.

Fortuna cæca, & ſurda, verè diceris,
Et mente vana prædita.
Ad alta tollis ſcamna in imo conditos,
Vt mox cadant profundius.

Morosa tu mortalium appetentium
Votum, omne fulmine ocyus
Fugas, deinde te nihil petentibus
Benignitate prodigis.
Campson vt ille Gaurius, nil ambiens,
Nil te proterua flagitans,
Inuitus imperator orae Ægiptiae
Tumultuosa militum
Ex fece plebis factus insolentia,
Supra volabat nubila,
Inter receptus altiora sydera
Mox excidens altissimus,
Absumptus armis hinc & hinc rebellibus,
Grauis senectae pondere
Fit ludus atrox impotentis aleae
Tuaq; peruicaciae,
Amisit & cum vita, opes quas maximo
Cum regno habebat maximas.

In English thus.

Fortune, well cal'd both deafe, and blind,
And thereto fond with all,
Thou setst the beggar vp aloft,
To worke his greater fall.
Thou peeuish dame, more sudden than
The thunder clap from hie,
Rejects the sutes of greedie wights,
Which to thee call and crie.
And lauishly consumes thy selfe,
And whatsoelse thou hast,
On such as craue nothing of thee,
Nor wish not to be grac't.
As *Campson Gaurus* seeking nought,
Ne crauing ought of thee:
Against his will by souldiours rage,
was raisd from base degree.
And soaring vp aboue the clouds,
Made king of Ægypt land,
Receiu'd amongst the highest starres,
Did there in glorie stand.
But forthwith falling thence, oppresst
With rebels, warre, and age:
Became the scorne of thine ouerthwart
Most fierce and fickle rage.
And so with life, togither lost
A world of wealth also:
Which with his stately kingdome great,
He greatest did forgo.

Selymus commeth to Damasco.

Selymus hauing receiued the citie of ALEPPO into his obeisance, sent *Ionuses Bassa* before him with a great part of his light horsemen, to pursue his flying enemies to DAMASCO, whither he himselfe in few daies after came also with the rest of his armie, when he vnderstood that his enemies were departed thence and fled to CAIRE. They of DAMASCO, thinking it not to stand with their good to stay the course of his victorie, and with their liues to hazard the

the great wealth of that rich citie; without delay presently opened vnto him the gates at his comming. By whose example other cities alongst the sea coast moued, especially TRIPOLIS, BERYTVS, SYDON, and PTOLEMAIS, sending their embassadors, and receiuing in the Turks garrisons, yeelded themselues in like manner.

Not long after *Selymus* held a great counsell in his campe, which then lay vnder the wals of DAMASCO: for he would not bring his souldiours into the citie for troubling the quiet and populous state thereof, togither with the great trade of merchandise, which at that time was with wonderfull securitie kept there by merchants of diuers countries, comming from far, euen from the remotest parts of the world. And in the campe such was the militarie discipline of that most seuere commaunder, that the souldiours (knowing the victorie to giue them no whit the more libertie) suffered the fruitfull orchards and gardens of the citisens, in the most plentifull time of Autumne, to rest in safetie vntouched, without any keeper. By which seuere and strait gouernment he so politikely prouided against all wants, that his campe was in all parts furnished with plentie of all things necessarie, and that at prises reasonable. There taking vnto him men skilfull in the lawes and customes of the countrey, and calling before him the embassadours of all the cities of the countrey; he heard and decided the greatest controuersies of the Syrians, appointed gouernours ouer the prouinces and cities, tooke view of the tributes and customes, and abrogated many customes and tributes due vnto the old Sultans, which seemed either vnreasonable or grieuous to the people; thereby to gaine the fame of a just and bountifull conqueror.

Notable discipline in Selymus his armie.

When he had thus set all things in order in SYRIA, and sufficiently rested and refreshed his armie, and especially his horses which with long and continuall trauell were growne maigre and leane: he of nothing more desirous than of the conquest of ÆGYPT, and the vtter subuersion of the Sultans state and Mamalukes gouernment; sent before *Sinan Bassa* into IVDEA with fifteene thousand horsemen, and a strong regiment of harquebusiers selected out of the Ianizaries and other souldiors, to trie the passage of that countrey, and to open the way for him to GAZA: which was thought would be vnto him verie troublesome, by reason of the wilde Arabians roaming vp and downe that countrey. The citie of GAZA standeth neere the sea towards ÆGYPT, not farre from the sandie desarts, whereby men with much difficultie and dangerous trauell passe out of SYRIA and so to CAIRE.

In the meane time, the Mamalukes who vnder the conduct of *Gazelles* were come to CAIRE, with all the rest of their order which were thither assembled from all parts of the kingdome, entring into counsell togither (as it often falleth out in time of danger and distresse) without all contention or enuie, chose *Tomombeius* (of the Turkes called *Tuman-bai*) a Circassian borne, to be their king. He was then the great Diadare, and by his office next in honour and power vnto the Sultan; whose prowesse & pollicie was such, that he only in the opinion of all the Mamalukes was thought able and sufficient to stay and vphold the afflicted and declining state of their kingdome. He by their generall consent and good liking promoted to the state of the great Sultan, thinking (as truth was) his owne majestie, and the remainder of the Mamalukes hopes, to bee wholy reposed in armes and the fortune of battell: began with great carefulnesse and singular industrie to prouide armour, weapons, and horses from all places; hee also caused great store of ordinance to be cast, and mustered great companies of such of his slaues as seemed meet for the warres: beside that, he entertained for pay many of the Moores and Arabians his neighbours. He also for great reward hired men skilfull of the countries, to go through the desarts of the Palmyrens into MESOPOTAMIA, and so to *Hysmaell* the Persian king with letters: earnestly requesting him to inuade the Turkes dominions in ASIA the lesse, or with all speed to breake into COMAGENA, being by the departure of the enemie left bare and destitute of sufficient garrisons: and farther to aduertise him, That *Selymus* who then lay in the borders of IVDEA, might easily be enclosed with their two armies, and so be vanquished, or for want of victuals distressed: and the rather, for that there was no fleet of the Turkes vpon that coast; able from sea to relieue their armie by land, or yet to transport them thence in case they should by chance of warre be distressed, and so thinke to returne. In which doing, he should both relieue the Ægyptian Sultan his friend and confederat, for his sake brought into so great danger; and also without any great trouble or perill notably reuenge himselfe of so many shamefull injuries as he had before receiued from that his most capitall enemie. Whilest *Tomombeius* doth these things, *Sinan Bassa* the forerunner of *Selymus*, hauing easily repulsed diuers companies of the wild Arabians, who in

Tomombeius by the generall consent of the Mamalukes chosen Sultan of Ægypt.

manner of theeues and robbers lay vpon the paſſages, had now opened the way and was come to GAZA: where the citiſens, although they were in heart faithfull vnto the Mamalukes, yet for that to ſhut their gates againſt the Baſſa, & to ſtand vpon their guard without a ſufficient gariſon, ſeemed a matter both perillous and vnreaſonable, forthwith yeelded their citie vpon reaſonable compoſition: and with the plentie thereof relieued the Turkes Baſſa, giuing him great (but diſſembled) thankes, that by his means and the good fortune of *Selymus*, they were deliuered from the cruell bondage of the Mamalukes: promiſing for the remembrance of ſo great a benefit, for euer to remaine his faithfull ſeruants. *Sinan* commending their readie good will, required of them all ſuch things as he wanted, or had occaſion to vſe, which they ſeemed willingly to deliuer: and ſo lodged his armie neere vnto the wals of the citie, within the defence of the gardens, purpoſing in that place to expect the comming of *Selymus*.

Gaza yeelded to Sinan.

In the meane time (as he was a man of great experience, and moſt skilfull in martiall affaires) he ſought by all meanes to get knowledge of that deſart and vnpeopled countrey, not inhabited for lacke of water; and eſpecially of the nature of the great ſands whereby *Selymus* was with his armie to paſſe; he alſo woon by rewards the inhabitants of the countrey thereabout, by large offers to procure vnto him the fauour of the cheefetaines and leaders of the Arabians, neere vnto thoſe places, and alſo to eſpie what the Mamalukes did at CAIRE, and wherein they repoſed their cheefe confidence, and forthwith to giue him knowledge thereof.

On the other ſide, the citiſens of GAZA, in heart enemies vnto the Turkes, as dayly feeling the grieuances of the preſent armie, aduertiſed *Tomombeius* of the comming of *Sinan Baſſa*: and that that part of the Turkes armie might eaſily bee oppreſſed before the comming of *Selymus*, if a ſtrong power of Mamalukes were ſent thither vnder the conduct of skilfull leaders: promiſing, that if the Mamalukes would at an appointed time vpon the ſudden in the night ſet vpon the ſleepie Turkes, they would at the ſame inſtant ſallie out of the citie vpon the campe, and there with fire and ſword doe what harme they could for the ouerthrow of the enemie.

Of this deuiſe, *Tomombeius* and the Mamalukes liked well, and ſo without delay ſent *Gazelles* with ſix thouſand choſen horſemen, and a great number of the Arabians to performe the exploit vpon *Sinan*: for *Gazelles*, in that his wholeſome counſell had been by *Campſon* & others rejected (who being ſtraight way deſirous of battell, had raſhly caſt themſelues and the whole ſtate into ſo great calamitie) and afterwards in the greateſt danger of the battell hauing performed all the parts of a politicke and valiant cheefetaine, was growne into ſuch credit, that all men held a great opinion both of his valour and direction.

Sinan aduertiſed of the comming of Gazelles, goeth ſecretly to meet him.

But he was ſcarcely well ſet forth, when aduertiſement was giuen vnto *Sinan* by his Syrian intelligencers, That the Mamalukes with the Arabians were comming through the ſandie deſerts vpon the ſudden to oppreſſe him; and that they would be with him before two dayes were expired, for as much as they had ſet forward vpon the ſpurre without any carriages or baggage to let them. Which ouerture in good time giuen, as it was the ſafegard of *Sinans* armie, ſo was it of greateſt importance and moment for the obtaining of the full conqueſt of ÆGIPT afterward. But *Sinan Baſſa*, although he knew nothing of the trecherie of them of *Gaza*; yet as a man of a prouident and ſubtill wit, ſuſpecting that ſuch a thing might happen, becauſe he would not at once haue to do with a double enemie, reſolued to go and meet the Mamalukes vpon the way, and to giue them battell. Wherefore with great ſilence diſlodging his armie betwixt ten and twelue a clocke in the night, he ſet forward and marched out of ſight of the citie, about fifteene miles toward ÆGIPT. There was neere vnto that place a little low village, wherein trauellours vſed commonly to lodge, for the commodiouſneſſe of a liuely and plenteous ſpring which there riſeth: there by chance both *Sinan Baſſa* had purpoſed to ſtay, and *Gazelles* in like manner had alſo determined to reſt a few houres to refreſh his armie, that he might by night, after he had well refreſhed his horſes, come vnlooked for vpon his enemies at GAZA; when newes was brought to both the Generals almoſt at one inſtant, by the forerunners of both the armies, That the enemie was at hand.

Gazelles not a little troubled with that vnexpected newes, for that he perceiued himſelfe diſappointed of his purpoſe; and vnable to fight with his enemie in plaine battaile, eſpecially his horſes being ſore wearied with trauell, was enforced vpon the ſuddaine for the ſafegard of himſelfe and of his followers, to reſolue vpon a new reſolution: yet nothing diſcouraged, with cheerefull countenance and liuely ſpeech exhorted his ſouldiors, to make themſelues readie for

battaile,

battaile, and that which they could not by policie bring to paſſe, they ſhould now by plain force performe. *Sinan* on the other ſide hauing ſomewhat ſooner ſet his men in order of battell than had *Gazelles*, for as much as hee had before at good leiſure taken order what hee would haue done, if it ſhould come to the point of battell: with conſtant looke and long perſuaſions full of hope, encouraged his ſouldiors to fight. But the concluſion of all his ſpeech was, That they ſhould play the men, and not once thinke of flight, for as much as all places about them would be ſhut vp and become impaſſable, if they obtained not the victorie: and that aboue all things they ſhould perſuade themſelues, that no one of them could that day periſh, but ſuch as the immortall God had by the ineuitable law of fatall deſtinie appointed to die: and that with like hazard valiant men found life in the middeſt of their enemies weapons, that cowards by immutable deſtinie found death in their ſafeſt flight.

The battell betweene Sinah Baſſa and Gazelles.

The Baſſa had placed his harquebuſiers in the wings of his battell, which were raunged of a great length in thin rankes, thereby to vſe their peeces at more libertie, and with more eaſe to enclоſe the enemie: in the middle were placed the horſemen, to receiue the firſt charge of the Mamalukes. *Gazelles* approching the enemie, ſent before the troupes of the Arabian light horſemen to trouble the wings of the enemies battell, and with a ſquare battell of his Mamalukes charged the middle battell of the Turks. The battell was a great while moſt terrible, and the victorie doubtfull: for although the Turkes in number farre exceeded, yet were they not able to endure the armed and courageous Mamalukes, but were glad to giue ground; and quite diſordered by the breaking in of the Mamalukes, as men diſcouraged, began to looke about them which way they might flie: when by the commaundement of *Sinan*, the harquebuſiers, who with the firſt volley of their ſhot had repulſed the Arabians, wheeling about, encloſed all the enemies battell. By which meanes both men and horſe were a farre off ſlaine, with the multitude of the deadly ſhot: where true valour helped not them, ſo on euery ſide encloſed. For where any troupe of the Mamalukes preſſed forward vpon the Turkes, they quickly retired, and in all places of the battell as much as they could ſhunned to encounter their enemies with their horſemen, labouring onely to gaule them with ſhot. *Gazelles* ſeeing his horſes ſpent with extreame wearineſſe, and that he was not to expect any further helpe, his Arabians now beginning to fall from him; and alſo conſidering that many of his moſt valiant ſouldiours were either ſlaine or wounded, and hauing alſo himſelfe receiued a great wound in his necke; he with the reſt of his armie made way through the middeſt of his enemies, and hauing loſt diuers of his enſignes, fled backe againe to CAIRE through the ſame ſandie deſerts whereby he came. In this battell was loſt the gouernour of ALEXANDRIA, and *Orchamus* gouernour of CAIRE (both men of great account amongſt the Mamalukes) and beſide them a great number of Arabians, with a thouſand or more of the Mamaluke horſemen. Neither got *Sinan* a joyfull or vnbloudie victorie, hauing loſt aboue two thouſand of his beſt horſemen, and amongſt them certaine commaunders, men of great marke.

The Turkes wearie of this battell, which had endured from noone till night, and many of their horſes fainting vnder them, were not able to purſue their enemies, and therefore encamped themſelues in the ſame place where the battell was fought, neere vnto the fountaine. The day following they at leiſure gathered the ſpoile, and cutting off the heads of their enemies, which were eaſily knowne by their long and rough beards, faſtened them vp vpon the Date trees growing thereby, as well in witneſſe of their worthie labour, as by that ſtrange and horrible ſpectacle to feed the eyes of their fierce emperour, who was ſhortly after to paſſe that way, and ſo to manifeſt vnto him the victorie of that day.

In the meane time, they of GAZA vpon the riſing of the Sunne, perceiuing the Turks campe left emptie, as men not able longer to diſſemble their couert trecherie; and vainely ſuppoſing that *Sinan Baſſa* vpon ſome knowledge of the comming of the Mamalukes, had for feare retired backe into places of more ſafetie, ſuddenly ſet vpon ſuch as were left in the campe, which were for moſt part ſicke and weake men (yet in number many) whom they moſt cruelly ſlew: & preſently after ſet vpon two thouſand of the Turkes horſemen, ſent from *Selymus* to *Sinan*, which by chance were come thither the ſame day, enquiring with great carefulneſſe what was become of the Baſſa and his armie; and ſpoiling them of their carriages, put them to flight. Who after that diſcomfiture, ſuppoſing the Baſſa (whom they had thought to haue found at GAZA, tarrying for the comming of *Selymus*) by ſome miſhap or policie of the enemie to haue been loſt with all

all his armie, and therefore fearefully retiring, were vpon the way miserably slaine by the Arabians: neither had any one of them escaped, if they had not met with *Iuleb* the gouernour of ACHAIA at the citie of RAMA: for he was also sent from *Selymus* to *Sinan Bassa* with a strong companie of Græcian horsemen, by whose comming the furie of the Arabians was well represed. Yet these pilfering people still calling forth to the prey more and more of their leaders which dwelt in the mountaines adjoyning, and being growne to a great armie, ouertooke the Turkes at a village called CARASBARA, where they enforced them to fight in a place of great disaduantage. For the Arabians hauing before taken certaine straits, which closed in the passage at the further end of a large valley, shewed themselues at once, before, behind, and on both sides of the Turkes: their weapons were bow and arrowes, and long speares armed at both ends, which they nimbly handled, after the manner of the Moores. These weapons they most skilfully vsed vpon their swift horses, and both in their charge and retreat wounded their enemies deadly. So that the Turkes in number few, and for their horsemens staues inferiour to their enemies, durst not offer to charge them; but keeping close together, hardly defended themselues, still making way as they might: and had vndoubtedly beene brought into extreame danger to haue beene vtterly lost, had not *Iuleb* with foure peeces of artillerie which he brought with him for his defence, drawne them which kept the straits from their high places, and so opening the way, with all speed brought thorow his men: which straits once passed, and comming into the open fields, he with more safetie marched forward, skirmishing a farre off with the enemie with his archers and harquebusiers, and discharging his fieldpeeces where he saw the greatest and thickest troups of those wild people.

On the other part, the Arabians dispersedly houering about them in troupes, were still in the taile of the armie, and such as were wounded or weake and could not follow the rest, they slew; and sought by all meanes to hinder their journey, not suffering them (circumuented with so many dangers) either to refresh themselues, or to take any rest. This was vnto the Turks a most dismall day, for many of them tormented with thirst, and weakened with wounds and extreame labour, gaue vp the ghost; and now no helpe remained in this desperate estate, being still beset and hardly laied to with the multitude of those fierce and desperat enemies: when suddainely a great number of other Turks came to them in the mid way vnlooked for, being now in despaire and euen at the last cast. For *Selymus* hauing left the Imbrahor-Bassa with a strong armie vpon the borders of PERSIA, for the defence of SYRIA and ASIA, and hauing sent for new supplies of souldiors to CONSTANTINOPLE, which should with a great fleet be transported into SYRIA, had now remoued from DAMASCO: and the better to prouide for victuals and forrage, which began now to grow scant in that wasted countrey, euery day sent before great troupes and companies of his armie, as it were at certaine appointed times.

Selymus doubting Sinan Bassa to haue been lost, becommeth melancholie.

So *Iuleb* deliuered of the present danger by the comming in of these fresh souldiors, met with *Selymus* the next day, and in order told him all that had happened vnto him and his first troupes at GAZA and RAMA, and all the way after: and also what they supposed by conjectures to haue chanced to *Sinan Bassa* with his armie, for the manifold wyles of so dangerous enemies. With which newes *Selymus* became exceeding melancholie: and thereupon thought it not good to goe any further, before he perfectly knew how all stood with *Sinan*, in whose fortune he had reposed all the hope of his good successe in that so great an enterprise. But whilest hee was in this dumpe, suddenly came the Syrian spies, who declaring vnto him all that *Sinan Bassa* had done, conuerted that melancholie passion into no lesse joy and gladnesse: for he saw that by that victorie, ÆGIPT was laid open vnto him, and his desires as good as halfe accomplished in lesse time than euer he expected.

Newes of Sinans successe comforteth Selymus.

The next day after, he remoued with his armie to RAMA, and by the way as he went (to the terrour of others) burnt the dwellings together with the wiues and children of those Arabians, who but a little before had done so much harme to his men in their passage. And from thence sending before his footmen to *Sinan Bassa* at GAZA, hee himselfe with his horsemen turned out of the way vpon the left hand to HIERVSALEM, to visit that most antient and famous citie, so much renowned both for the antiquitie thereof, and the fame of the religion of the Iewes. That vnpeopled and desolate citie lay then defaced with the hugie ruines of the old sacred and stately buildings; not inhabited by the Iewes, the antient inhabitants thereof (who for their inexpiable guilt, as men exiled out of the world, haue neither country or resting place) but for most part by a few

A a few poore Christians, who to the great shame and scorne of the Christian name, paied yearely a wonderfull tribute vnto the Sultan of ÆGYPT for the possession of the sacred sepulchre: when as the Christian princes flourishing at that time with glorie, power and wealth, could not by any motiue of immortall glorie or fame, be incited to reuenge so great an injurie; but deeming it (as should seeme) better agreeing with their state, to spend their time in idle vanities or mortall war one against an other, than in the quarrell of the most true and Christian religion.

Selymus hauing reuerently worshipped the auntient monuments of the old prophets, and done especiall sacrifice vnto his great prophet *Mahomet*; gaue vnto the Christian priests keepers of the place (as vnto good and deuout men) money to maintaine them for six moneths: and staying at HIERVSALEM but one night, marched in foure daies to the rest of his army at GAZA. Where by the way, he had continuall skirmishes both day and night with the Arabians: for they according to their wonted manner, were desperatly at hand in euerie place; and where the straightnesse of the waies enforced the Turkes to extenuat their rankes, there would they be readie to skirmish with them, and suddenly vnlooked for come to handie blowes: and when they came into the vallies, they tumbled downe the mountaines vpon them great stones which they had for that purpose before prouided. At which time the Turkes harquebusiers in whom they had greatest confidence, serued them to little purpose: for the weather was so tempestuous and extreame moist with continuall raine, that the pouder in their flaskes became wet and vnseruiceable, and hardly could they keepe fire in their matches. Yet by the valiantnesse of the Ianizaries the matter was so vsed, that neere vnto the person of the emperour no great harme was done by those naked robbers: for climbing vp the hils with pikes in their hands, they driue them from their standings, and enforced them to abandon the straights and high places.

But *Sinan Bassa* who after his victorie returning to GAZA, had put to death the authors of the late reuolt, confiscated their goods, and exacted of the people in generall a great sum of money, as the just punishment of their false treacherie: hearing now of the comming of *Selymus*, went to meet him with his victorious souldiours, furnished with the spoiles of their enemies. Whom *Selymus* most honourably receiued, and gaue generally to the captaines, and particularly to the most valiant of the common souldiours, garments of silke, with a great sum of money in reward of their good seruice. 1517 *Sinan Bassa goeth to meet Selymus as he was comming to Gaza.*

After that, he staied but foure daies at GAZA, for that he thought it not good to giue any long time of breathing vnto his discouraged enemies, now twise ouerthrowne, or to suffer the new Sultan (not yet well setled in his kingdome) to grow stronger by new preparations and supplies raised in the most populous and plentifull countrie of ÆGYPT. Which to let, although it required great hast in setting forward, and serued as spurs vnto him naturally hasting to glorie and renowme; yet was his armie to be refreshed after so long and painfull trauell, and great prouision to be made for the carriage of water vpon camels all the way through the drie solitarie and sandie desarts. For betweene GAZA and CAIRE lie vast vnpeopled and barren sands, which moued by the wind, rise vp in billowes in manner of a wrought sea so troublesome, that oftentimes it is not possible to see for dust: and the light sands in many places gauled deepe with the wind, wonderfully troubleth the wearie passengers. But such a sudden calme ensued the great raine which fell but a few daies before, that *Selymus* vnto his great good fortune wanted nothing that he could wish, for the happie conducting of his armie: for the ayre was become so calme, that there was no blast of wind to raise the sand to trouble their sight; and withall such plentie of water was found almost in euerie place by reason of the aboundant raine, which being not yet sunke farre into the sand, afforded them water in such plentie if they digged but two foot deepe, that the souldiors commonly thought it needlesse to carrie any bottle of water for feare of thirst. Yet for all that, the wild Arabians failed not in all that passage, on euerie side to houer about the Turkes armie (as haukes ouer their prey) and suffered none of them to straggle out of order, or stay behind the armie, but they were straightway snatcht vp and slaine. Against whom *Selymus* prouided an easie remedie, by placing his field pieces in diuers parts of his armie, which by the direction of the leaders (as euerie man happened to be neerest vnto the danger) were forthwith discharged vpon the roaming enemie. And in the rearward of his armie were placed strong companies of harquebusiers, for defence of the weake and feeble souldiours, who could but softly follow the armie, and were therefore most subject to danger.

By this meanes *Selymus* with some small losse receiued from the Arabians, in eight daies march

march drew neere to CAIRE, *Sinan Bassa* going before him, who with his Europeian souldiors still kept one daies journey before. There is a village about six miles distant from the citie of CAIRE called MATHAREA, famous for the plentie of most excellent baulme: which liquor of all others most fragrant and soueraigne, distilled out of low trees there planted, whose vttermost rind the people cut with yuorie kniues to giue the liquor passage: which baulme, for the notable vertues thereof, being not elsewhere to be had, mens diseases and wanton desires haue made of a wonderfull price. Into that place neere vnto a village called RHODANTA, had *Tomombeius* conuaied all his new and old prouision of artillerie; and had drawne deepe ditches ouerthwart all the field, and crosse the high way, which he had closely couered ouer with weake hurdles and earth, as if it had beene firme ground. And he with his Mamalukes (in number about twelue thousand) and a great multitude of Arabian horsemen lay in places conuenient, of purpose that when the Turkish battels should approach, they should first feele the force of his great ordinance before they came within the shot of their arrowes, and forthwith vpon great aduantage, with all his forces suddenly to set vpon them disordered and entrapped. All which things were so cunningly and so politikely dispatched and done, that there was none in the Sultans armie which doubted of the good successe of that day: and a great mischiefe had vndoubtedly befallen the Turkes, had not fortune which fauoured *Selymus* and frowned vpon *Tomombeius* (or more truely to say, the fatall period of that kingdome so requiring) by the false treacherie of a few, frustrated the great endeuors of the Mamalukes.

Tomombeius seeketh to entrap the Turkes.

There was in the Sultans armie amongst the souldiors of the court, foure Epirot Mamalukes, who grieued to see *Tomombeius* contrarie to their desires, preferred vnto the kingdome by others of a contrarie faction: whether it were vpon a malicious disposition, or vpon hope of reward and better entertainment; or for that in so great a declination of their kingdome, they thought it good to seeke for new friends of more assurance, fled secretly to *Sinan Bassa*, as to a most famous captaine and one of their owne nation. For this great commaunder *Sinan*, *Selymus* his right hand, was borne in a poore countrey village of EPIRVS, in the mountaine countrey of AMERACIA, whom a wonderfull mischance preferred to that height of credit and wealth: for it is reported, that a sow kept in the house wherein he was borne, bit off his genitories, being then but a child, as he lay by chance sleeping in the shadow; and being made of greater esteeme by that mishap, was by them which tooke vp delicat minions for the Turkish emperour, brought to CONSTANTINOPLE, and presented to the great emperour *Mahomet*, *Selymus* his grandfather: where fortune by the fatall direction of his good hap, aduanced him to his appointed honours, whom she had long before dismembred. By these fugitiue Mamalukes, *Selymus* and *Sinan* were instructed of all the deuises of the enemie, and especially what stratagems *Tomombeius* had with great cunning and pollicie deuised: whereinto they must needs fall, if they should go directly on, and not forsake the hie way. Wherfore guided by the same fugitiues, they fetcht a great compasse on the left hand, and by an vnused way, before it was day hauing escaped the front of their enemies campe, with all the dangers prepared for them; they came and shewed themselues at their backs in order of battell, with their great artillerie readie bent, because they were desirous without delay to joyne battell.

Tomombeius now too late perceiuing that his plot was discouered by the treason of some of his owne people, although he was therewith aboue measure grieued; for that all which he had with so great industrie and the labour of so many men brought to passe, was through spightfull fortune made frustrat, and in a moment brought to nought: yet for all that (as he was a man of an inuincible courage) presently entred into his wonted and deepe deuises, and calling vnto him his chiefe commaunders, quickly told them what he would haue done. Now in this short moment of time, he was to doe many things at once; the signall was to be giuen for the souldiours to mount their horses, and to make themselues readie; the order of his campe was to bee changed; his battell to be ordered; his souldiours to be encouraged; and all his great ordinance, as the case required, quite contrarie way to be turned: all which things, as they could but hardly and troublesomely by one commaunder be directed, so were they hastily and disorderedly at once done by many. But aboue all other things, the great concourse of people for turning and remouing the great artillerie most troubled the well ordering of the rest: for many of them were hugie yron pieces of great waight, made fast in stocks of wood, with rings and yron clasps, after the old and rude manner of ship ordinance; which for their exceeding & ponderous waight, could

The comming of Selymus by an vnexpected way, maketh great confusion in Tomombeius camp.

could not be out of their places remoued, but by the ſtrength of many horſes, and the great labour of men, with leauers and roules put vnder them: and ſuch as were mounted vpon carriages, when they were drawne through all parts of the campe, with the great clamor of the diſordered and haſtie people, ſome drawing, ſome thruſting forward the ſame, with their tumultuous ſtirre and doings, wonderfully troubled the other ſouldiors as they were mounting to horſe and repairing toward their enſignes. But two things maruellouſly helped theſe difficulties, the ſoldiors cheerefulneſſe, and conſtancie; which was ſuch as paſſeth credit: For they did not vpon any apprehenſion of feare faile either in hope or courage, as oftentimes it happeneth in ſuddaine accidents, wherein euen the old approued ſouldiors doe many times faile of their wonted valor. And although they were twice ouercome in battell, yet ſtill they were of greater ſpirit & confidence, as men deſtitute neither of courage or skill, but onely of fortune.

Wherefore *Tomombeius* hauing with much adoe ordered his battell, and his ſouldiors with great cheerefulneſſe deſiring the ſignall to be giuen, commaunded all the multitude of his Arabians to compaſſe in the wings of the enemies battell behind, and ſo to skirmiſh with them: that ſo (if it were poſsible) the Turkes horſemen might with the danger of the doubtfull fight with ſuch an vncertaine enemie, be diſordered before he ſet forward to charge them with his troupes: and withall commaunded his great ordinance (which was now turned vpon the enemie) to be preſently diſcharged. So did the Turks likewiſe, diſcharging at once from a conuenient diſtance both their greater and ſmaller ordinance, and ſpeedily recharging them, brought them within an arrow ſhot; ſo that for a good ſpace they lay beating the one the other on both ſides with their great artillerie onely: in which manner of fight the Ægyptian canoniers were almoſt all ſlaine, and many of their fieldpieces broken by force of the enemies ſhot. For *Selymus* had in his camp many excellent and skilfull canoniers, whom he had with great entertainement allured out of Italie and Germanie: and eſpecially of thoſe refuce Iewes, which by the zeale of king *Ferdinand* being driuen out of Spaine, afterwards to the ſhame of the Chriſtians, diſpetſed thoſe rare and deadly deuices through the Eaſt. The cheefe of theſe canoniers was one *Iacobus è Regio Lepidi*, a cunning enginer, who but a little before ouercome by the Turks rewards, abiuring the Chriſtian religion, reuolted vnto the Mahometane ſuperſtition.

Chriſtian canoniers ſerue the Turkes againſt the Ægyptians.

But after that the Mamalukes had brought the matter to battell on both ſides, they gaue out a moſt hideous and dreadfull crie, and with exceeding furie aſſailed the Turkes in three places: for *Selymus* ſtill keeping his wonted order, approched his enemies with his battell in forme of an halfe Moone. *Muſtapha Baſſa* had the leading of the Aſian horſemen in the right wing: and *Ionuſes Baſſa* of the Europeians in the left: he himſelfe ſtood in the maine battell with the ſquadron of his truſtie Ianizaries, and great ſtore of artillerie: but *Sinan* the Eunuch Baſſa, generall of the field, led after him a great number of moſt valiant horſemen, drawne out of euery troupe to be readie againſt all the vncertaine euents that might happen in the battell; vnto whom hee joyned fiue hundred harquebuſiers, Ianizaries, men of wonderfull courage and actiuitie, ſelected out of *Selymus* his owne ſquadron, to relieue ſuch part of the armie as ſhould chance to be moſt preſſed by the enemie.

The order of Selymus his armie.

Sinan Baſſa Generall of the field

So almoſt at one time, whileſt *Tomombeius* ſtood in the maine battell againſt *Selymus*, and the wings of the Mamalukes with equall battell encountred the wings of the Turkes, and the Arabians alſo valiantly charging them in the rereward as they had in charge, foure ſharpe battels were at once made in diuers places. It is reported by ſome that were preſent in that battell, that what for the clamour and crie of ſouldiors, what for the noiſe of drums and trumpets and ſuch like inſtruments of warre, what for the thundering of ordinance, clattering of armour, and riſing of the duſt, all mens minds were ſo confounded and abaſhed, that running on headlong as men furious and deſperat, when neither their ſpeeches could be heard, their tokens knowne, their enſignes ſeene, or captaines vnderſtood, miſtaking one another in that hurly burly, they ſlew many of their friends in ſteed of their enemies: for neuer battels met together with greater hatred, neither did euer two great kings with leſſe care of their perſons and ſafetie more reſolutely or deſperatly make ſhew of their ſtrength and courage. For both of them with like danger both of themſelues and of their armies, ſeeing plainly that they had put both their liues and kingdomes to the hazard of a battell, promiſed vnto themſelues no other hope of ſafetie, but what they ſhould obtaine by victorie. *Gazelles* deſirous both of honour and of reuenge, to requite the Europeian horſemen with like ſlaughter as he had before receiued from them not far from Gaza,

with

with wonderfull furie aſſailed *Ionuſes Baſſa*, and at the firſt encounter brake his firſt rankes, and ouerthrew certain of his guidons: at which time the Arabians preſsing couragiouſly in at their backes, enforced thoſe victorious troupes, which in all battels had hitherto carried away the priſe (the very flower of THRACIA, THESSALIA, EPIRVS, MACEDONIA, and GRÆCIA) to flie and ſhew their backes, which neuer enemie had before that time ſeene. At which time *Sinan Baſſa* carefully attending euery accident, came ſpeedily in with his moſt valiant troupes of freſh men vpon the ſide of the enemie, and reſtored againe the battell, now declining and foulely diſordered. But whiles *Sinan*, who in this his laſt worthie labour had interrupted the manifeſt victorie of *Gazelles*, was with an inuincible courage valiantly fighting in the head of his battell, he was by the comming in of the courageous captain *Bidon* with his Mamalukes, ouercharged and ſlaine. His moſt valiant followers alſo labouring to reſcue and carrie away his dead bodie, were by *Gazelles* vnfolding his troupes (that ſtanding thin, they might at more libertie vſe their ſwords, in which manner of fight the Mamalukes farre excelled the Turks) for moſt part ſlaine, and the reſt put to flight: and that choſen companie of fiue hundred of the moſt valiant Ianizaries, now deſtitute of their horſemen, when they had moſt courageouſly done what was poſſible for men to doe, being compaſſed round with the Mamaluke horſemen, were all in a trice cut in peeces and troden vnderfoot. Thus reſteth this Eunuch Baſſa in the bed of fame, who liuing, had the leading of this moſt warlike emperour *Selymus* his greateſt armies in his moſt dangerous warres.

Sinan Baſſa with moſt of his followers ſlaine by Bidon.

Muſtapha in the other wing of the Turkes battell comming on courageouſly with his Aſian horſemen, did ſore preſſe the left wing of the Ægyptians (whereof *Heylmis* the Diadare, and *Gupal*, two valiant captaines had the leading) who but a little before had receiued great harme by the great ordinance which was diſcharged out of the middeſt of *Selymus* his battell ouerthwart the field: Which *Muſtapha* perceiuing, and deſiring to blot out the old infamie hee had before receiued, did fiercely preſſe vpon them, ſo diſordered, and with his whole troupes ouerthrew their broken rankes; and gliſtering in his bright armour, with a loud voice encouraged his Aſian ſouldiors, exhorting them that day with valiant proweſſe or honourable death, to recouer their antient honour of late loſt in the fields of ALEPPO.

Muſtapha with his Aſian ſouldiors ouerthroweth the left wing of the Sultans armie.

At the ſame time alſo *Tomombeius* breaking through the middle battell of the Turkes horſemen, was entred into the ſquadron of the footmen, with his crooked ſcimitar giuing many a deadly wound, himſelfe being a valiant big made man, and of great ſtrength. The Arabians had alſo in a ring encloſed the vttermoſt parts of the Turks armie, and in many places enforced them to turne their battell vpon them, being ſore charged with a doubtfull fight both before and behind: when *Selymus* ſet forward with his battell of footmen, and his ſquadron of Ianizaries, his laſt and moſt aſſured refuge in that his hard diſtreſſe, whoſe inuincible force, neither the courageous barbed horſes, nor their victorious riders were able to abide: for part of them with their harquebuſiers, and the reſt with their pikes, had ſo ſtrongly ſet the front of their battell, that nothing was able to ſtand whereſoeuer that firme battell, linked together as if it had been but one whole entire bodie, ſwayed. Yet was this cruell battell continued with diuers fortune on both ſides, from foure of the clocke vntill the going downe of the Sunne; neither was there any part of their armies, which had not with diuers ſucceſſe and change of fortune, endured the furie of that battell: for both the victors and the vanquiſhed being enraged with an implacable hatred one againſt another, fought deſperately as men prodigall of their liues: The Mamalukes diſdaining to haue the victorie wrong out of their hands by them whom they had in ſo many places diſcomfited, and the Turkes taking it in no leſſe ſcorne, that they, whom but of late they had ouercome and vanquiſhed in two great battels, ſhould now the third time make ſo ſtrong reſiſtance. So that on both ſides their fainting hands and bodies both wearied and weakened with wounds, ſupported only with anger and obſtinacie of mind, ſeemed yet ſufficient to haue maintained that bloudie battell vntill the next day, if the darkeneſſe of the night now comming on, had not made an end of that dayes ſlaughter.

Tomombeius vndoubtedly vanquiſhed, and fearing to be vtterly ouerthrowne, firſt cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, that his Mamalukes which were indeed not able to withſtand the Ianizaries, might not ſeeme to be put to flight, but rather as men commaunded, to retire. Which hee thought to concerne much both for the encouraging of his ſouldiors, and for the keeping of his owne credit and eſtimation with his ſubjects. For now the ſelfeſame fortune which had deceiued his

his first hopes, seemed vnto him (as it fareth with men in distresse, yet still hoping for better) to promise him more prosperous successe, if he were not discouraged: but reseruing such remainders of his forces as were left, he should againe courageously renew the warre.

The battell thus broken off by the approch of the night, the Turkes as victors enjoying the tents and great artillerie of their enemies, pursued the Mamalukes vntill midnight, who held on their way to CAIRE, in manner as if they had fled. This great battell was fought vpon a thursday the foure and twentieth day of Ianuarie, in the yeare 1517. The Diadare was taken in the flight mortally wounded, and with him the valiant captaine *Bidon*, hauing in the battell one of his legs broken in the knee with a faulshion shot, wherewith his horse was also slaine vnder him. *Selymus* commaunded them both the next day to bee slaine, either for that their wounds were supposed to be incurable, or els for that it was his pleasure, with the death of those two honourable personages to appease the angrie ghost of *Sinan Bassa*, whose death he wonderfully lamented.

Selymus causeth the Diadare and the valiant captaine Bidon to be slaine.

The Turkes although they still preuailed, yet was their armie greatly impaired euen in their prosperous successe and fortunat battels: the fourth part of their armie was consumed with sicknesse and the sword, and that dayes labour had tyred a great number of their horses, beside the long journey they had before endured. For which causes *Selymus* was enforced to slacke somewhat of his accustomed hast: for as yet he had no experience of the disposition of the Ægyptians which dwelt at CAIRE; neither could he vnderstand by any certaine report, where *Tomombeius* staied, or vpon what resolution he rested. Which things not throughly known, he thought it not good to commit himselfe and his armie into that most populous and spacious citie: but staying foure dayes at the village of MATHAREA and RHODANIA, carefully prouided for his wounded souldiors, and caused the bodies of such as were slaine to be buried; but the dead carkasses of his enemies he left to the birds of the aire and beasts of the field. And afterward remouing his campe thence, that he might more commodiously water, he came into the plaines betweene old CAIRE and BVLACH.

In the meane while *Tomombeius* nothing discouraged with so many mishaps, gathering together the Mamalukes from all places, encamped his armie commodiously betweene the new citie of CAIRE and the riuer Nylus, hee also armed eight thousand Æthyopian slaues (which kind of men he had not before vsed, for the remembrance of their old rebellion,) beside that hee opening the old armourie, put armes into the hands of Mamalukes sonnes, and Moores (his vassales) into the hands of the Iewes and Arabians also, and courageously prepared for a greater and more mortall warre than before. But for as much as there were many difficulties in the managing thereof, hauing almost lost all his great artillerie, with many of his most valiant horsemen slaine in the former battels; he in his troubled mind did so cast the doubtfull hopes of his last deuice, which cruell necessitie wrung from him, that for as much as he had by manly force nothing preuailed in open field, he would now altogether vse policie: as hee which of late hauing vnfortunately made proofe of his strength, his forces yet all whole, thought it not good againe to aduenture the fortune of a battell: neither was hee in hope if he should so doe, to be able with his small power and desperat supplies to protract the warre vntill the heat of Summer, as he desired. Wherefore he resolued by night to assaile the Turkes campe, and if possibly he could, to set it on fire. For which his deuice hee seemed to haue two reasons: whereof the one consisted in the speedie execution, that he might desperatly attempt to doe some notable exploit in the night, before the enemie should perceiue the weakenesse of his power, which was not great, and scambled vp vpon the sudden; as also before hee himselfe should grow into contempt with the naturall Ægyptians, who desiring nothing more than to cast off the seruile yoke of the Mamaluke gouernment, with wauering minds expected but some fit occasion to rebell: the other was, that by the benefit of the night hee might auoid the danger of the great ordinance; which in sudden accidents, and especially in the darknesse of the night, serueth to little or no purpose; in which kind of strength he had before to his great losse learned, that his enemies were farre too good for him. But these his reasonable policies, when all things were in readinesse to haue put the same in execution, were in like manner as the first ouerthrowne by the treason of such as secretly reuolted from him to the enemie.

The purpose of Tomombeius discouered to Selymus.

For *Selymus* vnderstanding the whole plot, by certain Mamalukes, (which hauing the kings euill fortune in contempt, as it commonly falleth out with men in miserie, daily forsooke him) commaunded his armie to be alwaies in readinesse, and making great fires in diuers places of his

campe, kept moſt carefull and vigilant watch. By which his diligence it came fitly to paſſe, that the night following *Tomombeius* approching his campe, was repulſed, with no ſmall loſſe of his firſt troups which vnaduiſedly were gone on too far: and had no doubt that night thereby receiued his laſt ouerthrow, but that he wiſely miſdoubting the vnwonted light of the fires ſhining in all parts of the campe, in time called backe his haſting troups, which were themſelues with more haſt than good ſpeed marching into the verie mouth of the Turks great artillerie, bent of purpoſe vpon them.

Tomombeius diſappointed of his purpoſe, by perſuaſion of his chieftaines retired to CAIRE: for the Mamalukes ſtill put to the worſe in plaine field, thought it beſt to proceed in another manner; perſuading him, with the whole ſtrength of his armie to man all the conuenient places of that great citie, otherwiſe expoſed to the enemies pleaſure, and ſo to keepe the Turkes from entring. For they as men brought to this extremitie, that they muſt now fight for their dwellings, liues, wiues, and children; thought it more honourable and better agreeing with their antient glorie, ſo to doe in their ſight, and in the entrance of their houſes, than elſewhere farther off. Wherefore the Mamalukes comming home to CAIRE, furniſhed all their families and flat rooſes of their houſes with all manner of weapons: euerie one of them now humbly requeſting the Ægyptians their neighbours, to take vp armes againſt the Turks their antient and mortall enemies, and not to ſuffer themſelues to be cowardly ſlaine, their goods ſpoiled, and their wiues and children carried away into moſt miſerable captiuitie; foraſmuch as the mercileſſe and greedie enemie, if he ſhould once get the victorie, would no whit ſpare them, although they ſhould as neuters ſtand looking on, and helpe neither partie: for victorie (as they ſaid) alwaies full of inſolent pride, would know no friend but ſuch as with reſolute hand did their vttermoſt deuoire in time of danger, for the obtaining thereof.

The Ægyptians diuerſly affected towards the Mamalukes.

There were many of the wealthieſt of the Ægyptians, who as they thought the change of the ſtate would be hurtfull to their trades and wealth, ſo were they readie in all they could to helpe the Mamalukes their old lords: So on the other ſide there were many of the middle ſort of the citiſens, and a farre greater multitude of the baſeſt ſort of the vulgar people, who hauing little or nothing to loſe, liued in hope now to make a gaine of other mens loſſes; and withall, remembring what miſerie and ſlauerie they had endured about the ſpace of three hundred years, vnder the proud gouernment of the Mamalukes, kept themſelues cloſe in their houſes, expecting the laſt euent of warres; and ſecretly rejoycing in their hearts, that the time was come (God ſo appointing) wherein their outragious and cruell maſters ſhould be juſtly and worthely puniſhed for their oppreſsion and hard dealing; and that which gladded them the more, that the reuenge ſhould be taken by the hazard of other mens liues, with which wiſhed ſpectacle they well hoped ſhortly to fill their deſirous eies.

Tomombeius with much labour and greater care, fortified all the gates and entrances of the citie, appointed vnto euerie ſtreet a particular captaine, in euerie publike place encouraged the people, omitting nothing that could poſsibly be done or deuiſed; and that which in ſo great a calamitie and danger was of all other things the hardeſt, with cheerfull countenance and vndaunted courage, made ſhew of greateſt hope. The Mamalukes alſo, beſide the neceſsitie (which in caſes of extremitie is of power to encourage and make deſperat the faint hearted coward) prouoked with emulation, ſtraue amongſt themſelues who ſhould beſt performe all the dueties of worthie captaines and ſouldiours: for euerie one of them according to his conceit and deuiſe, cauſed deepe ditches, or great timber logs to be caſt ouerthwart the ſtreets; ſome in couert trenches ſet vp ſharpe ſtakes, whereupon the enemie falling vnawares might be gaged; otherſome according to their ſtore, furniſhed the windowes and fronts of their houſes in the greateſt and moſt open ſtreets, with harquebuſiers: all which things with many mo were done with ſuch celeritie, that none of the beſt or moſt honourable of the Mamalukes refuſed to handle a ſpade or a mattocke, or to put his hand to any other baſe labour; ſo that nothing could be ſooner deuiſed, but it was forthwith performed.

The deſcription of the great citie of Caire.

This great and auntient citie of CAIRE was not compaſſed with any wals, yet were there diuers gates and entrances which led into it: whereof one broad ſtraight ſtreet came directly from the Eaſt gate vnto the caſtle and middle of the citie; the reſt were ſo narrow and crooked, that by them no great artillerie could poſsibly be brought, or ſouldiours enter without great danger. Into this place eſpecially, had *Tomombeius* conuaied his chiefeſt ſtrength: for that he knew his

enemies

enemies muſt of neceſsitie come in that way for the largeneſſe of the ſtreets; the other parts of the citie he kept with leſſe garriſons. But the innermoſt part where the caſtle ſtood, was kept with a verie great and ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſoldiors: that whither ſoeuer the clamour of the enemie or danger of the battell ſhould call, they might ſpeedily from thence come with reliefe. For why, that citie of all others the greateſt, could not with ſo ſmall power as *Tomombeius* then had, be in euerie place and entrance ſufficiently defended: for within the circuit of MEMPHIS (now called CAIRE) are contained three great cities, which joyned one to an other with ſtragling bridges, make one citie; whereof the greateſt and moſt populous, is at this day called New CAIRE. It lieth in length ſix miles, alongſt the riuer Nilus, from which it is equally diſtant a mile: the breadth thereof, exceedeth not a mile and a quarter. In the middeſt thereof is a caſtle ſtanding vpon a little riſing ground, ſomewhat higher than the reſt of the citie; more notable for the greatneſſe and beautie thereof, than for the manner of the fortification: for in it were many princely gardens, a faire ſtreet with many large galleries, diuers faire tilt-yardes and courts, with ſtately chambers opening euerie way: the vtter part thereof was garniſhed round about with towers, fortreſſes, and beautifull battlements; from whence all parts of the citie, the riuer Nilus running by, and the high Pyramides were moſt pleaſantly to be ſeene. Not far from this princely pallace, is a lake made by the hand of man, the water wherein deriued from the riuer Nilus, is on euerie ſide encloſed with moſt ſtately buildings: and is a place of wonderfull pleaſure, when as a man ſtanding at a window may take both fiſh and foule, whereof there is in the lake great ſtore. Another lake there is farre greater and fairer than this, in forme of a triangle, in the vttermoſt part of this New citie of CAIRE toward BVLACH: it is filled at the riſing of Nilus by a great ſluce made of ſtone with yron floudgates; and being joyned to the great riuer by a broad channell, is able to beare ſmall boats and barges: wherin gentlemen for their diſport vſed to ſolace themſelues both by day and night in courting their miſtreſſes. The houſes were all gallantly built afront all about the lake, with porches garniſhed with open galleries, and paued with ſmooth marble euen to the brim of the lake: there the citiſens in their more proſperous times vſed to row vp and down in boats, and with pleaſant muſicke to delight the liſtening eares of the hearers. On the Eaſt ſide of this lake ſtood a moſt ſumptuous and ſtately pallace, the late worke of queene *Dultibe* wife of the great Sultan *Caitbeius*, for manner of the building and inward beautie farre exceeding the other proud buildings of this pleaſant place: for the wals gliſtered with red marble, and pargeting of diuers colours, yea all the houſe was paued with checker and teſſeled worke; the windowes and gates were made of alablaſter, white marble, and much other ſpotted marble; the poſts and wickets of maſsie yuorie, checkered with gliſtering blacke ebonie; ſo curiouſly wrought in winding knots, as might eaſilier ſtay than ſatisfie the eies of the wondering beholder: neither was the furniture in it inferiour to the magnificence of the building, but ſuch as might fitly anſwere both a princes ſtate, and a womans queint deſire. All which things ſhortly after (*Selymus* hauing obtained the victorie) carried to CONSTANTINOPLE; not ſparing the verie wals, but plucking them downe, ſo to take out the curious ſtones whole. Beſide the goodly buildings about that lake, in euerie place of New CAIRE was to be ſeene the faire houſes of the chiefe Mamalukes; more commended for their commodiouſneſſe, than for the manner of their building. The reſt of the buildings of the citie was but low, repleniſhed with the common ſort of baſe people. There are yet extant in diuers places of the citie, three churches of the Chriſtians; whereof one is holden in greater reuerence than the reſt, for the fame of a low vault in the ground, where it is reported the virgin *Marie* flying the furie of *Herod*, to haue repoſed her ſelfe with her child *Chriſt Ieſus* the Sauiour of the world: another dedicated to the virgin *Barbara*: and the third to S. *George*, which amongſt thoſe nations are of great fame. Vnto the citie of New CAIRE, the citie of BVLACH is joyned almoſt with continuall buildings. It is of an high and ſtately building, lying cloſe vnto the riuer Nilus, and was in Sommer time frequented by the Mamalukes and other noble men, that they might at their pleaſure from their high places behold the inundation of that famous riuer: There land all the ſhips which come vp the riuer; yet the great meeting of the merchants is at New CAIRE. On the other ſide of the riuer ouer againſt BVLACH, are many cottages made of hurdles and leaues of date trees, the dwellings of poore fiſhermen and watermen. A little aboue BVLACH is old CAIRE, which is alſo joyned vnto the new citie with continuall buildings; yet diſtant from it about two miles and an halfe, and ſtandeth alſo faſt by the riuer of Nilus. Ouer againſt it in the middeſt

middest of the riuer is an iſland, notable for the pleaſantneſſe of the gardens and banqueting houſes therein: In it is an antient temple, famous for the loue of king *Pharaos* daughter, and the danger of *Moſes* (a moſt auntient hiſtorie, yet euerie where there ſtill freſh in memorie.) But moſt part of the buildings of old CAIRE, are now growne into gardens and rude ruines. It is ſuppoſed by many probable conjectures, that there ſometime ſtood the auntient citie of MEMPHIS. Vpon the banke of the riuer, the late Sultan *Campſon* built a ſumptuous tower, ouertopping the caſtle in new CAIRE, to conuay water thither out of Nilus; which being by many wheeles and ingenious deuiſes forced into the top thereof, and there receiued into great ceſterns, was from thence by pipes of ſtone and lead, conuaied into all places of the kings great pallace at new CAIRE. About fiue miles diſtant from old CAIRE on AFRICKE ſide, ſtand the Pyramides, monuments of the barbarous Ægyptian kings vanitie; whoſe proud names and titles Time hath worne out of thoſe huge and wonderfull buildings, of purpoſe made for the vaine eterniſing of their fame and endleſſe wealth: ſo that of them it may now well be ſaid,

The pyramides of Ægypt.

Miramur perijſſe homines? monumenta fatiſcunt:
Interitus ſaxis nominibuſq; venit.

What wonder we that men doe die? the ſtately tombes doe weare:
The verie ſtones conſume to naught, with titles they did beare.

Within them are the ſepulchers of the old Ægyptian kings, deuided into chappels, garniſhed with ſtone of great price curiouſly wrought. Yet are thoſe places loathſome of ſmell, and for darkneſſe thereof, dreadfull to behold: for as men go downe to come into them by a narrow way, almoſt ſwarued vp with rubbidge, their lights are oftentimes put out with the dampe of the earth, and ſwarmes of reremiſe flying about their eares. Some hauing got to the tops of them report, that the watch tower of ALEXANDRIA, and the mouths of the riuer Nilus where it falleth into the ſea, is from thence well to be ſeene: and that for the great height of them, a man cannot ſhoot an arrow ſo high as the middeſt of the lower tower whereon the ſpire ſtandeth. Of theſe outragious buildings, are written many ſtrange and almoſt incredible things, as that an hundred thouſand men ſhould be occupied continually by the ſpace of twentie yeares, in building of one of them: during which time, the charges for roots, garlike and oinions only, amounted to 1600 talents of ſiluer. Theſe wonderfull Pyramides only excepted, nothing is in the three cities more to be wondered at than the multitude of the people, who in number almoſt incredible go vp and downe euerie ſtreet: but for moſt part ragged and torne, for that they which held any wealth, durſt not make any ſhew thereof for feare of the Mamalukes. The common people did then generally liue with mutton, hens, and riſe, whereof the countrey yeeldeth plentie: neither had they as yet the knowledge of the curious but vnwholſome forced diſhes, and prouocations of gluttonie, which other nations had to their great coſt and hurt inuented. But againe to our purpoſe.

Selymus encourageth his ſouldiors to the winning of Caire.

When *Selymus* vnderſtood aſſuredly that *Tomombeius* was retired into CAIRE, and that the Mamalukes hauing thither aſſembled all their ſtrength, were reſolued there to proue the vttermoſt of their fortune: he with his armie drew neerer vnto the citie, exhorting his ſouldiours to ſet downe themſelues that day for euer to vanquiſh and ſubdue their enemies, whom they had ſo many times before ouerthrowne; and now a little to force themſelues for the gaining of the rewards due to their former labours and victories: which (as he ſaid) would be ſo many and ſo great, as they had not the full thereof before in their immoderat deſires imagined. Telling them moreouer, that there was but a few good ſouldiours left with the deſolat Sultan, who alreadie wounded and terrified, and not able longer to keepe the field, had made choice to end their daies in the ſight and armes of their wiues and children. Beſide that, he made them beleeue, that hee was voluntarily ſent for by the Ægyptians, deadly enemies vnto the verie name of the Mamalukes, whoſe vtter deſtruction they earneſtly expected: and had therefore promiſed him for the rooting vp of that wicked and cruell kind of men, to aſſaile them as occaſion ſerued out of their houſes, and ſo to further his victorie: yet neuertheleſſe he ſaid, That the accompliſhment of the whole matter, and to make a full conqueſt, conſiſted in the ſubduing of thoſe weake remainders of the vanquiſhed and ſcattered armie; for as much as they were not to be accounted as men

quite

quite ouercome, which did yet liue in hope, with weapons in their hands, poſſeſſed of the chiefe citie and ſeat of their empire. Wherefore that they ſhould thinke, that in the fortune of that day reſted the good or bad eſtate and condition of all their liues, honours and fortunes. Aſſuring them, that it would be a matter but of ſmall labour and trauell to bring it to a wiſhed end, if they would in that new kind of fight (as they had alwaies valiantly in other battels vnder his conduct) but reſolue with themſelues that they would ouercome.

This his ſpeech much enflamed the minds of his ſouldiours, but the hope of ſo great a prey much more: ſo that being in good order and readie, they expected but the ſigne of the aſſault. When *Selymus* entring by the gate called Baſuela, did at one inſtant thruſt in his horſemen at diuers places of the great citie; but his Ianizaries he brought in by the greateſt and largeſt ſtreet. At the firſt entrance of the citie, horſemen encountred with horſemen, and made a bloudie fight in the narrow ſtreets and lanes: but the footmen placing their culuerings & falcons before them, and ſuddenly diſcharging them where they ſaw the thickeſt troupes of their enemies, cleered the ſtreet directly before them. But when they came to the baricadoes and trenches, and were by force to remoue the timber logs and other like things lying croſſe the ſtreets, and ſo to paſſe the trenches, the Mamalukes on the other ſide valiantly withſtanding them; they fought with ſuch force and obſtinacie on both parts, that in the memorie of man was neuer a more fierce or cruell battell ſeene. For both the Mamalukes and the Turkes in that fight ſhewed the vttermoſt of their ſtrength and power; not ignorant that in that as in the laſt, they were to fight not for honour onely, but euen for their liues and empire: when as greateſt rewards, or elſe extreame miſerie, were by dallying fortune on both ſides propounded both to the vanquiſhed and vanquiſher. At theſe baricadoes the Turkes receiued great loſſe, as alſo at the trenches: for they vnaduiſedly running on, the hindermoſt ſtill bearing forward the formoſt, tumbled by heapes one vpon an other into the couert trenches, and were there miſerably empailed vpon the ſharpe ſtakes, for that purpoſe before ſet vp by the Mamalukes. The women alſo and children, with manly courage threw downe ſtones and tiles, and ſuch other things from the tops of their houſes, and out at their windowes vpon the Turks: and they on the other ſide as they could eſpie them, fetcht them off from thoſe high places with their harquebuſies, or elſe violently brake into the houſes from whence they were aſſailed, & there fought with diuers ſucceſſe. But moſt part of the Ægyptians, diligently obſeruing the fortune both of the one and of the other (accounting them both for enemies) with diuers affection aſſailed ſometimes the Turks, and ſometime the Mamalukes, ſeeming ſtill notably to helpe that part whom they ſaw for the time to haue the better. Many cruell and moſt terrible encounters were at once made in diuers places of the citie: for as they croſſed from ſtreet to ſtreet, ſometime the one, and ſometime the other hapned vpon new troupes of enemies: and they which as victors purſued their enemies a front, were by others following them at the heeles, ſlaine downeright; ſo that in the victorie no man could aſſure himſelfe of ſafetie. The lanes and ſtreets (a moſt horrible thing to behold) did ſo flow with the bloud of them which lay by heapes ſlaine, that the duſt which at the firſt riſe wonderfull thicke, was quite laid as with a plentifull ſhower of raine: the ayre was darkened with the ſmoke of ſhot, and ſhowers of arrowes: and ſuch was the clamour of the people and ſouldiours, the clattering of armour, and report of the artillerie, that the earth ſeemed to tremble, and the houſes to fall downe.

A moſt mortall battell fought in Caire.

This dreadfull and doubtfull battell endured two whole daies & nights without intermiſsion: yet ſo, that the Mamalukes in number few, and vnable to endure ſo long labour and watching, giuing ground by little and little, and forſaking their firſt munitions, retired themſelues farther into the citie. The third day, beſet with the greateſt dangers that could be, as to loſe themſelues with all that they had (which commonly enforceth mens courages in their laſt attempts) they renewed the battell with ſuch reſolution, that they conſtrained the Turks to retire a great way, and for haſt to leaue behind them certaine of their field pieces. With which repulſe it is reported, that *Selymus* diſpairing of victorie, commaunded to ſet fire vpon the houſes; moued thereunto with juſt diſpleaſure againſt the Ægyptians, for that *Ionuſes Baſſa*, now his greateſt man of warre, had euen then before his face receiued a dangerous wound in his head, by a ſtone caſt out at a window.

A long and terrible battell.

Now were the houſes pittifully burning, and the Ægyptians weeping and wailing cried for mercie. The Turkes themſelues fought but faintly, expecting the ſound of the retrait: when

newes was ſuddenly brought by many at once, that the enemies in the other ſide of the citie, were G
by *Muſtapha Baſſa* enforced to retire, and afterward had betaken themſelues to flight, as to their
laſt refuge. For *Muſtapha* by the ouerture of the Ægyptians and fugitiue Mamalukes, was dire-
cted to a faire broad ſtreet, where the Mamalukes had left their horſes readie ſadled & brideled;
that if the worſt ſhould chaunce, they might thither retire, and taking horſe, ſpeed themſelues to
ſuch places of refuge as they had before thought vpon. All theſe horſes, reſerued by the Mama-
lukes as their laſt refuge, *Muſtapha* tooke away, hauing before put to flight the garriſon which
kept them, which was but weake, conſiſting for moſt part of horſeboies and muletours; as ſafe
ynough in ſuch a place of the citie as was leaſt to be ſuſpected or feared.

This accident (as it oftentimes falleth out in great and vnexpected miſchances) did not a little
daunt the courage of the Mamalukes: who now ſeeing themſelues hardly beſet, and that dread- H
full battell by no other hope or helpe maintained, but onely by courage; being in their owne
judgement ouercome, betooke themſelues to flight. Moſt part of them haſting to the riuer of
Nilus with *Tomombeius* (who in that battell had all in vaine proued the vttermoſt of his prow-
eſſe and policie) being tranſported ouer the riuer in boats, fled into the countrey of Sagista:
others of them hid themſelues in the houſes of the Ægyptians, and in the loathſome corners of
the citie. A thouſand fiue hundred of the better ſort of the Mamalukes fled vnto the greateſt
temple of their vaine prophet: where after they had a great while valiantly defended themſelues
as out of a ſtrong caſtle, becauſe they would not yeeld themſelues but vpon honourable condi-
ons, at laſt ouercome with thirſt, wearineſſe, and wounds, together with the furie of the great
artillerie, they yeelded themſelues to the pleaſure of the conquerour: part of whom the furious I
ſouldiors ſlew in the porch of the ſame temple, and the reſt within a few dayes after were ſent
downe the riuer to Alexandria, there to be afterwards murthered.

Caire taken by Selymus.

Selymus hauing thus gained the victorie, forthwith ſent part of his armie to quench the fire
then raging, and cauſed proclamation to be made through all the citie, That all the Mamalukes
which would yeeld themſelues within twelue houres, ſhould be taken to mercie; but vnto ſuch
as yeelded not within the appointed time, ſhould remaine no hope of life. Vnto the Ægyptians
alſo that ſhould reueale the hidden Mamalukes, he propoſed rewards: but vnto ſuch as ſhould
conceale them, he threatened to empaile them vpon ſtakes, and hauing ſold their wiues & chil-
dren to burne their houſes: vpon which proclamation, many of the Mamalukes before crept
into corners, came forth and yeelded themſelues, and were forthwith caſt into yrons. All which K
were ſhortly after, contrarie to his promiſe, moſt diſhonourably murthered in priſon, becauſe (as
it was giuen out) they ſought meanes to haue eſcaped. Many of the Ægyptians which would
not breake the bonds of faith and fidelitie with the Mamalukes their old lords, being appeached
by their malicious neighbours, moſt conſtantly died for their friends, for whoſe ſake they had
vowed themſelues to death.

With this victorie the Turkes growing inſolent, ranſackt euery place of the citie, drew out
the Mamalukes that had hid themſelues, and ſlew them, rifled the houſes of the Ægyptians, as
well friends as foes, and left nothing ſhut vp or in ſecret. And ſome there were, which at one time
in the ſame houſe raged with couetouſneſſe, crueltie, and luſt: euery man fitting his owne hu-
mour, whereunto he was by nature or cuſtome enclined: for that in time and place of ſo great L
libertie, moſt men, but eſpecially the common ſouldior, flattereth himſelfe to the full, making
conſcience of nothing, but meaſuring all thing according to his inſolent and diſordered appe-
tite. The ſame day that *Selymus* tooke Caire, *Gazelles* (who but a little before by the comman-
dement of *Tomombeius* was gone to Thebais, to aſſemble the Arabians and to entertaine new
ſupplies) came to Caire; but finding all loſt, and ſeeing no poſsibilitie either by force or poli-
cie to preuaile, and therefore thinking it not good againe to proue the fortune of warre, which
had ſo often with contrarie courſe fruſtrated the endeuours both of himſelfe and his partakers;
he came to *Selymus*, vpon his faith before giuen for the ſafetie of himſelfe & his followers (which
were three Arabian captaines, and a number of good horſemen) and being admitted to his pre-
ſence, in the middeſt of his greateſt captaines boldly ſpake vnto him as followeth. M

Gazelles his ſpeech to Selymus.

*If fortune, whom by thy great valour thou haſt woon to be thy friend, had not enuied our felici-
tie, thou ſhouldeſt not haue (moſt noble* Selymus, *at this time, after that all things haue giuen place
vnto thy valour) matter whereby thou mighteſt excell others in worthineſſe of mind alſo. Whileſt*

we

we were in armes againſt thee for our liues and kingdome, our wealth and ſtate yet ſtanding whole, we alwaies as men proudly preſuming vpon their owne vaine ſtrength, made little account of thee or the name of the Turkes; yea to ſay the truth, we hated thee as became enemies: But now that we haue to the vttermoſt of our power made proofe of thy force, and haue in all battels beene put to the worſe; admiring both thy wonderfull and diuine proweſſe, and moſt proſperous victories, not giuen thee without the prouidence of the immortall God, we humbly come vnto thee by thy goodneſſe to better our hard and aduerſe fortune: that thou by ſparing and pardoning thy vanquiſhed and yeelding enemies (by which onely vertue men come neereſt vnto the gods) maieſt extend thy name and fame aboue the bounds of the reſt of thine immortall glorie. We haue faithfully ſerued Tomombeius, *ſo long as he held the ſtrength and maieſtie, yea but the name of a king, or liued in any countenance: but ſeeing he is (his deſtinie ſo requiring) driuen out of his countrey, and wandereth the deſerts, with vncertaine report whether he liue or not; we come vnto thee, rather as men of him forſaken, than ſuch as haue forſaken their prince; readie to ſhew vnto thee our loyaltie and valour in our better condition and ſtate: if we may by thy goodneſſe, changing our hard fortune, liue and ſerue vnder thy worthie conduct.*

Selymus, for that he right well knew *Gazelles* both for his vertue and valour, (wherewith valiant men win credit euen with their greateſt enemies) and alſo deſiring to joyne in league and friendſhip with the Arabians (or rather Alarbes) whom he knew of all others to be moſt to be feared, receiued them all courteouſly: appointing vnto euery one of them an honourable pention, and perſuading them to forget their old eſtate, willed them to looke for farre greater things of his bountie. Not long after, when as the Moores and wild Arabians, with certain Mamalukes that were fled to the citie of Achasia, made incurſions into the countrey about Caire, and oftentimes did cut off the Turkes which went any thing farre from the citie to ſeeke abroad for forrage, he ſent *Gazelles* with part of his armie to repreſſe them: who hauing quickly woon and ſackt Achasia, and ſlaine moſt part of thoſe aduenturers, to his own great praiſe, and the wonderfull contentation of *Selymus*, honourably returned in leſſe time than was expected.

In the meane time, *Tomombeius* in the countrey of Segesta (which is on the other ſide of Nilus towards Cyrenaica) miſerably beſet with ſo many miſcheefes, began to make head againe. There were come vnto him a ſtrong companie of Mamalukes from Alexandria, which he had by letters ſent for out of the garriſon of that citie, and many others had followed him in his flight from Caire. And there were not wanting many great men amongſt the Arabians and Moores (the inhabitants of that countrey) which promiſed him their helpe and furtherance. Beſide that, many of the Ægyptians, whoſe houſes and families were become a prey and bootie vnto the inſolent Turkes, promiſed him, That if he would by night come to Caire, they would raiſe ſuch a tumult in the citie, as ſhould eaſily worke the confuſion of the Turkes; for as much as they all hauing endured moſt horrible indignities and villanies, could no longer abide thoſe moſt inſolent men to rage and raigne ouer them. They ſent him word alſo, that the Turkes huge armie was now brought to a contemptible number, moſt part of them being ſlaine in the battell at Caire: and the reſt being for the greateſt part brought to extreame weakneſſe with wounds and ſickneſſe. For which cauſes, as *Tomombeius* his forces encreaſed dayly, ſo hope alſo, which neuer failed the poore vanquiſhed and diſtreſſed king, began now alſo to reuiue in his inuincible heart, aboue the condition of his miſerable eſtate. So that fawning fortune, which euen then moſt cruelly & deſpightfully went about vtterly to ſupplant him (of all other diſtreſſed princes moſt miſerable) ſeemed but then firſt to change her frowning countenance, and to promiſe vnto him more happie and proſperous ſucceſſe.

Albuchomar diſcouereth to Selymus the power of Tomombeius, and the trecherie of them of Caire.

Whileſt *Tomombeius* was making this preparation, one *Albuchomar*, an Ægyptian, for authoritie and wealth the greateſt man by farre in all the countrey of Segesta, whether it were to auert the miſerie of the preſent warre out of his countrey; or els by the pleaſure of his reuolt to gaine the good liking of *Selymus*, vpon whom all things ſeemed to fawne, came and certified him both of *Tomombeius* his ſtrength, & of the new practiſes of the citiſens of Caire. Whereupon *Selymus* cauſed ſtrong watch and ward to be kept in all places of that great citie: and ſuch citiſens as hee ſuſpected to fauour *Tomombeius*, hee ſhut vp into the caſtle; which being before abandoned by *Tomombeius*, was then together with the citie in his poſſeſſion: and placed all alongſt the riuer boats furniſhed with men and artillerie, to keepe and defend the farther banke

of Nilus, and to impeach *Tomombeius* his passage ouer. Yet considering with himselfe, with how great danger he had so many times fought with those desperat enemies, and what a difficultie it would be to intercept *Tomombeius* (protracting the warre in those vast and vnknowne countries, and still preparing greater forces, without whom he could nothing assure himselfe of all his former victories) to proue if he might be woon by clemencie and bountie, he resolued to send embassadours vnto him, to perswade him to lay downe armes, and after so many ouerthrowes, at length to acknowledge the fortune of the victor: and withall to promise him vpon the faith of a prince, That if he would come in and submit himselfe, he should of the courtesie and bountie of the conquetor vpon conditions reasonable repossesse that his late kingdome which he should neuer be able by force to regaine: But if he would needs desperatly proceed to make head againe, forgetting this offered grace, together with his owne disabilitie, he should afterward when the matter was againe tried by battell, by his owne just desert neuer more find at the hands of his angrie enemie any regard of his princely state or dignitie.

The causes moning Selymus to send embassadors to Tomombeius.

For *Selymus* seeing himselfe by the course of his victories drawne into a farre countrey; and not without cause fearing with so small a power as hee had left, to bee oppressed in that so great and populous a citie, euen with the very multitude, men of doubtfull faith; thought it better by some honourable composition to assure himselfe of some great part of that he had woon, than by going on to thrust himselfe with his armie into new dangers, with the hazard of all. Besides that, he was certainely aduertised, That the Mamalukes before fled into diuers countries, were in euery place leuying new supplies of horsemen; and that the fleet which was gone into the Arabian gulfe against the Portingales, was dayly expected at the port SVEZZIA, wherin were three thousand Mamalukes, vnder the leading of *Amyrases* and *Ray Salomon*, two expert captaines, with great store of good brasse ordinance: by which good helpes *Tomombeius* stood in faire posibilitie to recouer his former losses, and to returne againe to CAIRE, whether he was by his secret friends most earnestly inuited. But aboue all things, the care he had of the Persians most induced him to thinke of peace: for feare, that if the Bassa, whom he had left at the mountaine TAVRVS, should not be able to withstand the forces of the Persian king, he should so be excluded out of ASIA the lesser, and SYRIA also, before his fleet could from CONSTANTINOPLI arriue with new supplies of men and victuall at ALEXANDRIA.

Selymus his embassadours slaine by the Mamalukes.

Wherefore hee sent certaine of the most reuerend of his Turkish religious, and with them some of the most honourable Ægyptians, embassadours to *Tomombeius*: who passing ouer Nilus into the countrey SEGESTA, were without further hearing, with more than barbarous cruelties, slaine by certaine Mamalukes which chaunced vpon them: thinking thereby to gratifie *Tomombeius*, as yet not knowing of any such matter, & to manifest their affection towards him, as also that they were not desirous of any peace with the Turkes.

This proud and insolent fact vtterly brake *Selymus* his patience, and shortly after made an end of that mortall warre, together with the honour of the Mamalukes. For he being a man of an hot and cruell nature, euen when we was nothing at all moued, could by no meanes brooke that his enemies, so often vanquished and put to flight, should so lightly reject his offers vnto them as the case stood, both honourable and profitable: and that worse was, violate his embassadours against the law of nations, most religiously kept euen amongst the most barbarous and sauage people. Wherefore prouoked by so great an injurie, he carefully prouided all things necessarie for his expedition into SEGESTA against *Tomombeius*. And because it stood not with his honour (as he tooke it) nor with the good of the present seruice, to passe the riuer by boats, he gathering together all the small vessels and lighters he could possibly, made thereof a large and strong bridge ouer Nilus.

Tomombeius vnderstanding by his espials and from his friends at CAIRE of the preparations of *Selymus*, and of the bridge he had made; fearing also the reuolt of the country people, whom he probably suspected to be alienated from him by the reuolt of *Albuchomar*, a man of so great power and authoritie amongst them; determined once againe to proue the fortune of battell, which had so often deceiued his expectation. For hee justly measuring his owne strength, and finding himselfe in all things inferiour to his mightie enemie, well saw, that hee was neither able to protract the warres, neither in open field to abide his comming with all his forces; and to flie further into the deserts, was as he deemed it, nothing els but to make shipwracke of that small remainder that was left of his honour and credit. Wherefore by the aduice of his best captaines

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(which was the laſt endeuour both of himſelfe and of the Mamalukes) he departed betime out of the prouince of SEGESTA with foure thouſand Mamalukes, and twice as many Moores and Arabians, and trauelled day and night without intermiſsion to come to the riuer Nilus. By that deſperat attempt to deceiue the Turks, ſuſpecting no ſuch thing from their vanquiſhed and weak enemie: as alſo by celeritie to preuent the fame of his comming; hoping ſo by his ſuddaine and vnexpected approch to ouerthrow that part of the Turkes armie which ſhould firſt paſſe the riuer, before they could poſsibly be relieued from the other ſide. Neither was hee deceiued in the computation of the time, which hee hauing beſt exactly caſt, with the manner of his trauell, fell out ſo fitly, that he came to the place he deſired, euen at ſuch time as the Aſian horſemen were come ouer the bridge, as he had before gueſſed. The harbengers and pages of *Selymus* his chamber, which were gone ſomething further than the reſt, to make choice of the moſt commodious place for the erecting of the emperours pauilion, by the riſing of the duſt firſt perceiued the comming of the enemie. And *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa aduertiſed thereof, ſuddainly raiſed an alarum: which ſo vnexpected a matter brought a great feare both on them which were alreadie paſſed ouer, and alſo on them that were on the further ſide of the riuer.

Tomombeius preſently aſſailing his enemies, as yet but putting themſelues in order, and repairing to their enſignes, at the firſt onſet ſlew ſuch as made reſiſtance, and the reſt hee diſcomfited and put to flight. Neither was *Muſtapha* the great commaunder (although he did what poſsibly he could, by his owne example to haue encouraged them) able either by his owne inuincible courage, or other perſuaſion, after his firſt rankes were ouerthrowne, to repaire his diſordered battell, or ſtay the flight of his men: for in that ſo hot and ſuddaine a skirmiſh all was full of tumult, ſlaughter, doubtfulneſſe, and feare: and all alongſt the banke of the riuer, both aboue and beneath the bridge, were to be ſeene fearefull companies of the Turkes, ruthfully looking vpon the riuer, and crying vnto their fellowes on the other ſide for helpe. Many forced by the furious enemie, tooke the riuer, and there periſhed: others ſtriuing at the end of the bridge to returne that way, and ouerborne by their fellowes or others continually ſent from the further ſide, or els amaſed with feare, fell into the riuer, and there drowned. The bridge was ſo broad, that foure horſemen abreſt might eaſily paſſe ouer at once, and ſo great numbers of them in ſhort ſpace be conueyed ouer. But when their great ordinance (the Turkes cheefe ſtrength) was alſo to be tranſported, fewer troupes of horſemen were ſent ouer, than either the greatneſſe of the preſent danger or ſuddenneſſe of the ſeruice required. Neither did their great artillerie as then ſtand them in any ſtead, for that it could neither ſo ſpeedily be conueyed ouer, nor without great hurt be diſcharged from the hither ſide to the further, by reaſon of their owne men ſtanding betweene them and the enemie.

Tomombeius diſtreſſeth the Turks in paſſing the bridge made ouer Nilus.

In the meane time *Selymus*, who in the beginning of the skirmiſh came downe to the riuers ſide, filled a great number of boats and other ſmall veſſels with his Ianizaries with their harquebuſies, and withall haſted his horſemen ouer the bridge to relieue their fellowes diſtreſſed on the further ſide: in which boats the nimble watermen vſed ſuch diligence in landing of ſome, and preſently in fetching ouer of others, that in ſhort time they had tranſported diuers bands of thoſe moſt readie and valiant ſouldiors: whoſe comming wonderfully comforted the Aſian ſoldiors, euen now at the laſt caſt, and readie to haue giuen ouer. *Canoglis* alſo, the Tartar kings ſonne and *Selymus* his brother in law, encouraging his horſemen to take the riuer, with loſſe of ſome few of his men recouered the further ſide, to the great admiration of the beholders: which in that action was not ſo much to be maruelled at, as they which by troupes with their horſes had oftentimes ſwam ouer the great riuers Tanais and Volga, no leſſe dangerous than was the riuer Nilus.

Tomombeius at the ſame time, for that he ſaw ſpeedie victorie to conſiſt in one thing eſpecially, ſetring his troupes cloſe together, ſtrained himſelfe with might and maine to haue gained the head of the bridge, that by plucking away ſome few of the firſt boats, he might ſhut in his enemies alreadie come ouer; and by cutting the cables wherby the boats were faſtened to the banke, all the bridge with the Turkes vpon it, might be borne away with the force and violence of that great riuer: whereupon riſe a moſt cruell and deadly fight; for the reſolute Mamalukes in the front of their battell fought valiantly: and *Muſtapha* well conſidering the danger, had drawne vnto that place both his enſignes and his beſt ſouldiors: ſo that there was fought ſuch a fight, as a matter of ſo great conſequence required: The Mamalukes plainely ſeeing, that if they could

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obtaine the place, they ſhould ſhortly after with little adoe, ouerthrow all the former victories of their enemies. And the Turks no leſſe ignorant, that except they kept the bridge whole, they were all but loſt men that were alreadie come ouer; and that the reſt of the armie together with their emperour ſo farre from home, and in the middeſt of his enemies, muſt of neceſsitie ſhortly after run the ſame fortune. But *Muſtapha* well relieued by the Ianizaries and the Europeian horſemen, which were now come ouer in great number, not onely receiued the enemies charge, but preſsing vpon them, gained ground, and by little and little enforced them to retire. This is that *Muſtapha* the Hungarian, and *Baiazet* his ſonne in law, which for his owne glorie and perpetuall fame, built that notable, ſtately, and ſumptuous ſtone (bridge of the ſpoiles of this victorie) ouer the riuer Stremon, which at this day men paſsing ouer into THRACIA wonder at, as at a worke beſeeming the greatneſſe of the Roman empire.

Tomombeius, to giue a time of breathing to his Mamalukes, who, their horſes for wearineſſe now fainting vnder thē, were not able longer to ſhew their wonted courage; & deſirous by them againe to proue the vttermoſt fortune of the battell, exhorted the Moores and Arabians a while to charge the enemie, which thing they after the manner of their fight valiantly performed. And ſhortly after, the Mamalukes hauing a little breathed themſelues and their horſes, came in afreſh and renewed the battell; with ſuch furie, that *Selymus* doubting the victorie (although he was by his moſt faithfull counſellors perſuaded to the contrarie) yet doubted not to aduenture the bridge, and in perſon himſelfe to go and relieue his diſtreſſed ſouldiours: who by his comming in, encouraged, and in the ſight of their emperour deſiring euerie man for his part by ſome notable ſeruice to deſerue both credit and preferment, repreſſed the furie of the enemie; who in ſhort time after, by the comming on of certaine freſh companies of Ianizaries, were notably repulſed, and ſo at length put to flight: whom the horſemen which were not in the battell, purſued all the fields ouer. At length alſo the Tartarians (who carried away with the force of the ſtreame, were ſomewhat long before they could recouer the farther banke and come to their enemies) were now come in alſo, and with their ſwift horſes following the chaſe, augmented the ſlaughter.

The Mamalukes giue a freſh charge vpon the Turkes.

The Mamalukes put to flight.

But *Selymus* aboue all things deſirous of *Tomombeius*, preſently commaunded *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa, *Gazelles*, and *Cayerbeius*, with certaine freſh troupes of light horſemen, to purſue him at the heeles, and if it were poſsible not to ſuffer him to eſcape: for ſo long as he liued, hee could not aſſure himſelfe of any thing he had yet gotten. Theſe vigilant captaines not vnmindfull of their charge, following faſt after him, ouertooke him the next day at the ſluce of a great deepe fen, where he had a little reſted himſelfe and his followers, being then about to cut off a wodden bridge, ſo to haue hindered the enemies purſuit. Some of his followers being there ſlaine, and ſome taken, he was againe enforced to flie. The third day when he had almoſt loſt all his men, and was come with ſome few into the territorie of the Secuſſane prince: theſe great captaines ſtill eagerly purſuing him, and denouncing vnto the poore countrey people which dwelt in villages thereabout, all extreamities and tortures, if they did not with moſt diligent watch and ward ſo keepe the paſſages of thoſe mariſhes, as that he ſhould not poſsibly eſcape; he was ſo beſet on euerie ſide, that for ſafegard of his life he was glad to hide himſelfe all alone in a foule deepe mariſh: Where ſhortly after he the poore Sultan was by the diligent ſearch of the countrey peaſants found out, hidden amongſt the flags and bulruſhes, ſtanding in the water vp to the ſhoulders, who deliuered him miſerably bound vnto the Turkes. Shortly after hee with certaine captaines and other of his cheefe friends taken in that flight, was brought to CAIRA. *Selymus* before reſolued to put him to death, and the rather for the injurie done to his Ambaſſadours, would not ſuffer him to come into his preſence, but commaunded him to be tortured, ſo to haue cauſed him to haue reuealed the great treaſures of *Campſon* his predeceſſor, which were thought to haue been by him hidden: in which moſt horrible and exquiſit torments, it is reported, that hee with great conſtancie and ſterne countenance vttered nothing but certaine deepe ſighes and grones, ouercomming with patience the tyrannie of the proud conquerour: who after that, commaunded him in baſe and ragged apparrell, with his hands bound behind him as a theefe or murtherer condemned to die, to be ſet vpon a foule leane cammell, and ſo to be carried in deriſion through all the publicke and notable places of the citie; that the Ægyptians might ſee him whom they but a little before had adored for their king, by chaunge of fortune caſt into extreame miſerie, by moſt ſhamefull death to end both his life and empire together. When they had thus deſpightfully led him as it were in triumph, and brought him to the cheefe gate of the

Tomombeius taken and brought to Selymus.

Tomombeius tortured.

citie

citie called BASVELA, they there openly ſtrangled him with a rope: and that he might be the better ſeene, and become more contemptible to all that paſſed that way, they hanged him vp by the necke vpon an yron hooke in an arch of the ſame gate, and ſo left him to the worlds wonder. *Paleirius* propounding him as a mirrour both of the better and worſe fortune, for all men to looke vpon, aptly deſcribeth both his happineſſe and miſerie in theſe few verſes following:

The miſerable end of Tomombeius, laſt Sultan of Ægypt.

TOMOMBEIVS, THE LAST Sultan of Ægypt.

Paulus Iouius Illuſt. virorum, Elog. lib. 4.

Non fuit in toto, rex æquè oriente beatus:
Nec magis in toto rex oriente miſer.
Quam dolor Ægipti, olim Tomombeius, auro
Ingenti, at ij armis, & ditione potens.
Captus ab hoſte fero, miſerum ſimul at q beatum,
Exemplo potis eſt, commonuiſſe ſuo.
Quid rides temere? quid fles? vis te cohibere?
Et natum poſthac te meminiſſe hominem?
Mi trabeam induto, gemmis auro q corona
Cingebat, fulgens & diadema caput.

Mi quondam ornabant pretiosa monilia collum,
Nunc, fractam vili respice func gulam.

In English thus.

In all the East a king more blest was no where to be found,
Nor in the East one more accurst liv'd not vpon the ground,
Than *Tomombeius*, Æ GYPTS greefe, sometime for store of gold,
Of power great for martiall force, and kingdomes he did hold.
But taken by his cruell foe, may good example be
Both to the happie and distrest, of mans vncertainetie.
Why doest thou fondly laugh? why doest thou vainely crie?
Canst thou from henceforth stay thy selfe? and thinke th'art borne to die?
My garments were the royall robes, I wore the crowne of gold,
With richest stones most richly set, most glorious to behold:
My necke adornd with richest gems which I did sometimes weare:
But now trust vp in shamefull rope, behold me hanging here.

The Ægyptians in doubt of their estate bewaile the death of Tomombeius.

This miserie befell *Tomombeius* the 13 of Aprill, in the yeare 1517, vpon the Monday in Easter weeke. There were many which shed teares to behold that so cruell and lamentable a spectacle, who by their wofull countenance and pitifull lamentation seemed to detest that foule and vnworthie death of their late Sultan; notwithstanding that the Ianizaries reproued them therefore, and threatened them with death, who like giddie brained fooles (as they tearmed them) enured to the slauerie of the Mamalukes, joyfully and thankefully accepted not of their deliuerance: for the Ægyptians were as yet vncertaine of their estate, and therefore as men in suspence (not without cause) stood in doubt what should become of themselues; fearing least the Turkes, a warlike nation, and a terrour to all the princes of EVROPE and ASIA, nothing more courteous than the Mamalukes, should with no lesse insolencie rage and tyrannize ouer them, vnder their warlike and cruell emperour. Besides that, the wofull sight of *Tomombeius* hanging in the gate, as the vnworthie scorne of fortune, wonderfully wounded their hearts: for why, it was yet fresh in their remembrance, that he with the good liking of all men, and generall fauour of the nobilitie, with good fame rise by all the degrees of honour both in field and court, vnto the height of regall dignitie; and therefore greeued the more to see him by ineuitable destinie cast downe headlong, so shamefully to end his life and empire together. A notable spectacle vndoubtedly amongst the rarest examples of worldly fragilitie both to the happie and vnfortunate: the one, not to be too proud, or too much to flatter themselues in their greatest blisse; and the other, to learne thereby with patience to endure the heauie and vnworthie changes and chances of this wretched and miserable world. And so much the more did *Tomombeius* so hanging, moue men to compassion, for that the majestie of his tall and strong bodie, and reuerend countenance, with his long and hoarie beard, well agreed with his imperiall dignitie and martiall disposition. The same fortune with *Tomombeius* ran also diuers of the princes of the Mamalukes, with some others of the common sort also.

Tomombeius thus taken out of the way, and all the Mamalukes almost slaine, and no power of the enemie to be heard of in all Æ GIPT to renew the warre: *Selymus* deuiding his forces, sent them forth with his captaines, to take in the countries and prouinces of Æ GIPT lying further off. They of ALEXANDRIA after the battell of CAIRE hauing thrust out the garrison, and easily surprised the castle of PHARVS (which the weake defendants chose rather vpon hope of present reward to deliuer, than with doubtfull euent to defend) yeelded themselues many dayes before vnto the Turkes. DAMIATA also, called in auntient time PELVSIVM, opened their gates, and submitted themselues to the victors. There was no citie betwixt the riuer of Nilus and the borders of IVDEA and ARABIA, which yeelded not to the obedience of *Selymus*. The kings also of AFRICKE bordering vpon CYRENAICA, tributaries or confederats of the Ægyptian Sultans, sent their embassadours with presents to *Selymus*.

There remained now none but the wild Arabians (a people neuer to be tamed) and especially they of AFRICKE, who hauing lost many of their friends and kinsmen in aiding *Tomombeius*, would

would not (as it was thought) ſubmit themſelues vnto the Turkiſh obedience. This wandering kind of people, liuing for moſt part by theft, had filled the countries from Euphrates, where it runneth by the Palmyrens, with all the inner parts of ÆGIPT and AFRICKE vnto the Atlanticke ſea, with huge multitudes of men: and being deuided into many companies vnder diuers leaders, haue no certaine dwelling places, but liue an hard and frugall kind of life in tents and waggons, after the manner of the Tartars: their greateſt wealth is a good ſeruiceable horſe, with a launce, or a bundell of darts: they were alway at diſcord & variance amongſt themſelues, by reaſon whereof, they could neuer agree for the expulſing of the Mamalukes, who otherwiſe had not been able to haue ſtood againſt them, if they ſhould haue joyned their forces together. So that the late Ægyptian Sultans ſeemed to hold their ſtate and empire amongſt ſo populous a nation, rather by their diſcord than their owne ſtrength. Wherefore *Selymus* hauing now by fit men vpon his faith before giuen allured many of their cheefetaines and greateſt commaunders to CAIRE, honourably both entertained and rewarded them. By whoſe example others moued, came alſo in dayly: and hauing receiued their rewards, gaue the oath of their allegeance to *Selymus*. Others which could by no faire promiſes or words be woon, being cunningly intercepted by other captaines, and deliuered to *Selymus*, endured the paines of their vaine obſtinacie and mallice. The other remote nations toward ÆTHIOPIA, as they had in former time rather acknowledged the friendſhip than the command of the Ægyptian Sultans, ſo now induced with the fame of the victorie, eaſily joyned in like amitie with the Turke.

Selymus cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience.

About the ſame time *Selymus* ſent certaine troupes of horſemen to SVEZZIA, a port of the red ſea (of old called ARSINOE) about three dayes journey from CAIRE: in which port *Campſon* the great Sultan (a little before the comming of the Turks) had with infinit charge and foure yeares trauell built a ſtrong fleet againſt the Portingals, who by their conqueſts in INDIA had taken away all the rich trade of the Indian marchandiſe into the gulfe of ARABIA, to the great hinderance of the Aegyptian kings cuſtomes: ouer which fleet (a little before the beginning of the Turkiſh warres) *Campſon* had appointed one *Amyraſes* and *Ray Salomon* Generals, with a ſtrong power of Mamalukes and great ſtore of ordinance, againſt the Portingals. Theſe valiant captaines hauing yet done nothing in the ſeruice they were appointed vnto, as they lay at GIDDA (the port of the famous citie of MECHA, wherein is the temple of their great prophet *Mahomet*) vnderſtanding of the death of *Campſon*, & of the comming of *Selymus* into ÆGIPT, fell at variance betwixt themſelues; one of them being willing to continue his obedience towards the new Sultan, and the other no leſſe deſirous to follow the good fortune of the victor. Whereupon a mutinie ariſing among the ſouldiors, *Amyraſes*, who fauoured *Tomombeius*, was enforced to flie to MECHA. But ſhortly after, *Ray Salomon* requiring to haue him, and threatening all hoſtilitie except he were forthwith deliuered, he was apprehended by them of MECHA, fearing to haue GIDDA their port ſpoiled, and ſo ſent backe againe to the fleet. *Ray Salomon*, that he might be Admirall alone, his aſſociat being taken out of the way, and by ſome notable fact to inſinuate himſelfe into the fauour of the conquerour, cauſed *Amyraſes* in the night to be caſt ouer boord: and giuing to the ſouldiors two moneths pay, and ſwearing them to the obedience of *Selymus*, in few dayes ſayling came backe againe to ARSINOE, where leauing the fleet, hee came directly himſelfe to *Selymus* at CAIRE, of whom he was gratiouſly receiued. After that, all the princes which were before tributaries or confederates to the late Sultans of AEGIPT, euen vnto the confines of *Dauid* the moſt mightie king of ETHIOPIA (whom ſome call *Presbiter Iohn*) without delay entred into the like ſubjection or confederation with the Turkes.

AEGIPT, with all the prouinces thereunto belonging, thus brought into ſubjection, *Selymus* about the beginning of Iuly ſayled downe the riuer of Nilus to ALEXANDRIA (*Certug-Ogli*, a famous pyrat of HALICARNASVS, ſitting at the helme of his gallie) there to take view of his fleet, but lately come from CONSTANTINOPLE with new ſupplies both of men and victuals, ſent from *Pyrrhus Baſſa* and his ſonne *Solyman*: which after he had well ſurueyed, and diligently viewed the wals of the citie, and of the caſtle of PHAROS, hee returned againe to CAIRE. In the meane time, the Mamalukes in durance at ALEXANDRIA, were by his commaundement murthered euery mothers ſonne, in the entrance of the priſon. At which time alſo aboue fiue hundred families of the nobleſt and richeſt of the Ægyptians were commaunded to remoue from CAIRE to CONSTANTINOPLE, and a great number of women and children, of the race of the Mamalukes, were tranſported thither alſo in ſhips hired for that purpoſe.

Of this Certug-Ogli ſee more in the life of Solyman.

Into this fleet beſide the kings treaſures and riches, he conueyed all the publicke and priuat ornaments of that moſt rich and famous citie; with ſuch a couetous and greedie deſire of ſpoyle, that the very marble ſtones, commended either for the excellencie of the workmanſhip, or beautie of the ſtone, were violently rent out of the maine wals, to his great reproch and infamie. Lying at CAIRE, he with great pleaſure beheld the riſing of the riuer Nilus, which had then ouerflowed the countrey next vnto it; and that with ſuch a deſire, that he moſt curiouſly enquired of the old countrey men the meaſure and nature of the riuer: for by the diuerſitie of the riſing thereof (which they by certaine markes and meaſures well find out) they prognoſticate ſometime abundant plentie, ſometime extreame dearth, and ſometime reaſonable ſtore: when as the violent riuer moderately or furiouſly breaking out, ſomewhile ſo drowneth the greateſt part of the countrey, that all the ſeed ſeaſon it lieth vnder water, and at another time floweth ſo ſparingly, that in many places it ſcarce layeth the duſt, thereby foreſhewing an vndoubted dearth: ſo that the Ægyptians then aſſure themſelues of plentie, when as Nilus keeping a meane, pleaſantly riſeth neither to the higheſt or loweſt markes of his inundation.

The Mamaluke kingdome, together with the name of the Mamalukes, thus ouerthrowne, and the conqueſt of ÆGIPT ſo happely atchieued: *Selymus* reſolued to make his returne into SYRIA, and the rather, for that it was reported, That *Hyſmaell* the Perſian king was comming with his armie into MESOPOTAMIA, & ſo like ynough to breake into COMAGENA. Wherefore hauing as he thought good, diſpoſed of all things, he left a ſtrong garriſon of his beſt ſouldiors in CAIRE, and appointed *Cayerbeius* that notable traitour, his deputie and great commander ouer all that great and new gotten kingdome of ÆGIPT, now conuerted into the forme of a prouince, as it remaineth at this day. Which honourable preferment ſo vnworthely beſtowed, exceedingly both greeued and troubled *Ionuſes* the great Baſſa, before enflamed with the hope and juſt deſire thereof: For now that *Sinan Baſſa* was dead, he puffed vp with the eſtimation of his owne worth and valour, and proud of the wound hee had of late receiued in the preſence of *Selymus* at the entring of CAIRE, and to the vttermoſt of his power ſuffering no man to grow neere him in credit and eſtimation; thought himſelfe the onely man now left, to whom of all others, that eſpeciall and honourable charge ſhould in the judgement of *Selymus* and of the whole armie of right be committed. Neither wanted he the generall good liking of the men of warre, for immediately after he was recouered of his wound, when he in the moſt magnificent houſe of the Diadare at CAIRE (which he in the victorie had rather of himſelfe vſurped, than by the gift of *Selymus* obtained) dayly kept princely cheare for all commers (no ſmall meanes to gaine the loue of the common ſouldiors) and gaue frankely to them all, to ſome horſes, to ſome beautifull ſlaues, to ſome money, plate, jewels, rich garments, faire armour, and ſuch like; he woon vnto himſelfe ſuch fauour and credit, that whenſoeuer he ſhould (as the manner was) goe to the caſtle vnto the emperour, he was brought thither with a great and goodly traine of his fauourites and followers, as the man in all mens judgement deſigned to the gouernment of that great and rich kingdome. All which things highly offended the mind of *Selymus*, who as he was apt to ſuſpect, and cruell where he feared, ſo did he alſo (in ſecret) enuie great vertues, accompanied with too much honour and power.

Cayerbeius the traitour made gouernour of Caire & Ægypt.

Ionuſes enuieth at the preferment of Cayerbeius.

Ionuſes ſeeing *Cayerbeius* the traitour thus vnworthely promoted, ouercome with greefe and indignation (who as a man of a proud and haughtie mind, tooke it as done to his owne diſgrace) yet colouring his inward diſcontentment by counterfeiting himſelfe ſicke, for certaine dayes came not abroad; neuertheleſſe ſtill more and more tormented both with the injurie (as hee tooke it) done to himſelfe, and the vnworthie preferment of the traitour, he could not ſo well containe himſelfe, but that in his choler ſome words fell from him, whereby his diſcontentment was perceiued. It happened, that *Cayerbeius* comming of courteſie to viſit him, and in the heat of the day familiarly calling for drinke (which was water and ſugar, after the manner of the Ægyptians) immediately after he had drunke, felt ſuch grieuous and vnwonted gripings and tormentings in his ſtomacke and bellie, that many ſuppoſed him to haue beene poyſoned by the Baſſa: yet was he by the power and vertue of a more ſoueraigne and effectuall remedie preſerued. Which report, whether it were true or no, was vncertaine: but certaine it is, that it ſanke further into the mind of *Selymus*, than any man would haue thought. He had now alſo a little before heard, that many of thoſe rich Ægyptian families, which he had before commaunded to be remooued to CONSTANTINOPLE, had for great ſummes of money obtained of *Ionuſes* (who

(who had the whole ordering of that matter) that they might quietly and in safetie remaine still in their owne countrey. Of which his couert dealing, great probabilitie was alledged by such as repined at his honour, and secretly accused him, That those princelike and excessiue charges and expences, which he was not able possibly to maintaine of his ordinatie pension, were roially supported with the embeseled spoyle and reuenewes of that new gotten kingdome. Which malicious suggestions, as they tended to the lightening of his credit, so also another crime (whether it were of fraudulent dealing or negligence, or other further respect, is vncertaine) comming in the necke of the other, wrought his vtter disgrace, and finall confusion: For *Selymus* after the manner of great princes (who more seuerely to punish the former offences, notably dissembling their present anger, expect but the occasion of some new crime) with vigilant eye waiting vpon his words and deeds, prosecuted him with a mortall and deadly hatred, with a full purpose to destroy him.

Selymus commaundeth the wages of his souldiors to be left in garrison at Caire to be augmented.

A few daies before it was certainly reported that *Selymus* would againe returne into SYRIA, the souldiors appointed to be left in garrison at CAIRE, alleaging the great distance of the place, and the greater dangers they were to expect, with the labours by them alreadie endured, requested of the bountie of their most fortunate emperor, that they might haue their wages augmented. Which thing *Selymus* (neuer spare handed to his men of warre) easily graunted, commaunding *Ionuses* the stately Bassa, that the summe they required, might be added to their accustomed wages, and so entered into his accounts for the warres. But he carried headlong with discontentment, made neither the treasurers nor paymasters acquainted with any such matter as *Selymus* had before commaunded: of purpose, that the garrison souldiors deceiued of their greater wages promised them by the emperour, might euen at the first begin to hate and contemne *Cayerbeius*, as author of so great an injurie; that so the state of CAIRE, and of that new gotten kingdome, disquieted by the mutinie of the garrison souldiours, *Selymus* enforced to change his former purpose, should in stead of that strange gouernor (hated of the Aegyptians for his late treason, and not beloued of the garrison souldiors, because he was to them a stranger) of necessitie send some of his owne Bassaes, a Turke, for the better stay and assurance of that wauering and mightie prouince. But all these things (as commonly wicked purposes haue their foule euents) fell out in fine farre otherwise than he had in his troubled mind before conceiued. For *Selymus* being departed out of ÆGIPT, and now on his way almost as farre as HIERVSALEM, the garrison souldiors at CAIRE, the pay day being now come, and receiuing no more but their old accustomed wages, moued with that euill dealing (as contrarie to the emperours promise and their generall expectation) began with more furie and rage than euer *Ionuses* had before imagined, openly and insolently to insult and threaten the treasurer and paymasters, and with open mouth to raile vpon *Cayerbeius* their gouernour. With which so insolent and opprobrious speeches he astonied (as one not yet acquainted with the fashions of the Turkish gatrisons) together with the paymasters, in best manner they could excused themselues vnto the souldiors, requesting them not to thinke so hardly of them who were altogether innocent in the matter, and with patience to vnderstand the truth of the cause; wherein if they should on their part find any fraudulent or euill dealing, they craued no fauour, either refused any punishment. Thus *Cayerbeius* and the paymasters seeking by all meanes to auoid both the suspition and the present danger: and the mutinous souldiors no lesse hasting to find out by whom they were so abused, and to be thereof reuenged, it was at last with much adoe agreed, That trustie messengers should forthwith bee sent to *Selymus*, who was not yet gone out of IVDEA, to vnderstand of him the truth of the matter.

Selymus calleth for Ionuses Bassa to answere the matter.

These speedie messengers hauing with wonderfull celeritie dispatched their journey, ouertooke *Selymus* with his armie a little from LARISSA in IVDEA: and admitted to his presence, orderly declared vnto him both the complaints of the souldiors, and the carefulnesse of *Cayerbeius* and the paymasters to excuse the matter, together with the danger they were in, with all the other accidents whatsoeuer which had happened sithence the time of his departure from CAIRE. Which complaint so incensed the mind of *Selymus* with new passions of anger and choller, being alreadie sore alienated with former displeasures, that hee without further delay commaunded *Ionuses Bassa* to be brought before him to answere the matter: who although he were inwardly strucken with the guilt of his owne conscience, and surprised with a deadly feare, which appeared in his colour as pale as ashes, seeing in the angrie face and countenance of his

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The answere of Ionuses Bassa.

ſoueraigne the moſt certaine tokens of his heauie diſpleaſure: yet as he was a man of a great ſpirit, anſwered boldly, That he had forbidden the ſouldiors wages to be augmented, contrarie to his majeſties commaund, not vpon any euill meaning to haue inuerted that money to his owne vſe, neither thereby to haue drawne any man of purpoſe into diſgrace, as was by ſome his malicious enemies ſuggeſted, but vpon great reaſon, thereby to prouide for his majeſties cofers, wonderfully emptied with thoſe late warres: beſide that, the conſtant report of new troubles like to ariſe out of PERSIA, gaue good occaſion for him to ſpare vnneceſſarie charges: Whereas on the other ſide, as he ſaid, the garriſon ſouldiors were alreadie enriched with the plentifull ſpoiles of ÆGIPT, and in a moſt goodly citie poſſeſſed the ſumptuous houſes and lands of the Mamalukes, feeding vpon the goods of the Ægyptians, and had alreadie receiued both greater pay and more bountifull rewards from him, than euer any ſouldiors had from any his predeceſſours the *Othoman* kings: in which caſe, if they were not paſt all modeſtie, they might well enough take it in good part, if they were ſomething reſtrained in their vnreaſonable requeſts. He alleadged moreouer, that great princes which retaine their ſouldiours in reaſonable pay in time of peace and warre, ought ſometime for warlike diſcipline, to require of them a moderation of their deſires; leaſt whileſt they all ſtriue with greedineſſe for their priuat gaine, there want money afterwards in the common treaſurie to maintaine a greater and more neceſſarie charge, wars ſtill riſing vpon wars; ſeeing that no commaunder were he neuer ſo valiant or fortunat, euer did any great matter in wars, if he wanted coine, the moſt proper inſtrument and verie ſinues of warre, anſwering vnto his other moſt heroicall parts and ſufficiencie. But as he was yet thus ſpeaking, *Selymus* full of wrath and indignation interrupted him, for if he ſhould haue ſuffered him in longer diſcourſe to haue recounted his former deſerts and worthy ſeruice done, as well in the time of his father *Baiazet*, as of late euen in his owne preſence, he was like enough to haue had of them that were able to doe moſt with him, interceſſors for him: and ſo without farther delay, cauſed him euen there in his owne preſence to be executed; ſaying moreouer, That others which would arrogantly preſume to preſcribe vnto their ſoueraignes what they had to doe, ſhould for euer after by the example of that moſt inſolent ſeruant, be admoniſhed of their duetie and condition. It is reported, that the ſouldiours in deſpight of *Selymus* wonderfully lamented the vnworthie death of this ſo worthie a man: For he, beſide his notable and rare valour, ſo many times to his great honor in ſundrie battels approued, had by the dexteritie of his Græcian wit, comelineſſe of perſonage, militarie eloquence, and gallant maner of liuing, ſo woon the loue and fauor of all men, that there was few or none in all the armie which did not acknowledge himſelfe ſome way endebted and beholden vnto him; and did therefore condemne the emperours crueltie. They then began to tell how *Muſtapha* ſurnamed *Caloger*, a man of wonderfull credit and authoritie both with *Baiazet* and himſelfe, was in the heat of his furie ſlaine without hearing: And that in like manner of rage, old *Chendemus* a man of greateſt honour and integritie of life, and of all the chieftaines which came out of the great emperour *Mahomet* his nurſerie, the moſt skilfull, had been for his graue and wholſome counſell onely without cauſe murthered: Neither was then *Boſtanges* his ſonne in law forgotten: neither *Cherſeogles* (the one moſt honorable for the great place he held in court and the marriage of *Baiazet* his daughter, and the other a man of no leſſe marke being his great Admirall, and bearing himſelfe high vpon his infinit wealth, but more vpon his wife one of the daughters of *Selymus*) both which two noble gentlemen about two years before had their heads ſtucke off, no man well knowing wherefore, and their dead bodies caſt out at the court gate to the terrour of the beholders, as a miſerable ſpectacle of their owne miſerie and the emperors crueltie. Yea the remembrance of his old tyrannie (renewed as it were with this late outrage) preſented afreſh vnto all mens eies the reuerend old emperour *Baiazet* his father, with his two brethren, *Acomates* and *Corcutus*, by right both called vnto the empire before himſelfe; with many other young princes of the bloud, of great hope and expectation, who as all men knew, periſhed through the vnnaturall and execrable crueltie of this moſt mercileſſe man. So that men generally did both feare him and hate him. For as much as he without all feare of God or regard of worldly ſhame, accounted no practiſe wicked or deuiſe deteſtable, that might ſerue for the better eſtabliſhing of his kingdome; and had ſet downe in his mind, (long before corrupted with ambition and tyrannie) That it was farre better for the aſſurance of his eſtate, to be feared of all than beloued of many: and therefore ſpared no mans life, of whom he had but the leaſt ſuſpition. Howbeit that the ſeueritie by him vſed againſt this ſo great a man

The death of Ionuses the great Bassa.

and

and ſo gratious with the people, may in ſome ſort be excuſed, as juſtly moued thereunto by the preſumptuous and malitious dealing of the proud Baſſa vnderhand, contrarie to the charge giuen him by his lord, to the perill of thoſe his great but late conqueſts both in ÆGYPT and SYRIA.

This great Baſſa, whileſt he yet liued and flouriſhed in the court, in nothing ſo much offended the minds of the people (who generally both loued and honoured him) as by the crueltie by him ſhewed vpon the perſon of the faire ladie *Manto* his beſt beloued wife. Who being a Greek borne, and adorned with all the good gifts of nature, wherunto her lyuely conditions were alſo anſwerable, was by *Zebalia* her firſt husband (a man of great honour) carried with him into the wars, as his greateſt treaſure and chiefe delight. But he ſlaine, and ſhe by misfortune falling into the hands of the Turks (her enemies) remained ſo priſoner with them for a time; vntill that this great Baſſa *Ionuſes* ſhortly after (ſeeing her amongſt the other captiues there taken, ſo farre to exceed the reſt as doth the Sunne the leſſer ſtars) ſurpriſed with her incomparable beautie, became of her amorous: and in too curious viewing of the captiue ladie, was by her himſelfe taken priſoner. Where finding her outward perfections graced with no leſſe inward vertues, and her honourable mind anſwerable vnto her rare feature, tooke her vnto his wife; honouring her farre aboue all the reſt of his wiues and concubines: and ſhe againe in all dutifull loyaltie ſeeking to pleaſe him, for a ſpace liued in all worldly felicitie and bliſſe, not much inferiour vnto one of the great Sultaneſſes. But long laſteth not the ſommer fruit of wanton loue, blaſted moſt times in the bloſſome, and rotten before it be well gathered: For in ſhort time, the Baſſa more amorous of her perſon than ſecured in her vertues, and after the manner of ſenſuall men ſtill fearing leaſt that which ſo much pleaſed himſelfe, gaue no leſſe contentment to others alſo; began to haue her in diſtruſt, although he ſaw no great cauſe why, more than his owne conceit, not grounded vpon any her euill demeanor, but vpon the exceſſe of his owne liking. Which mad humour (hardly to be euer purged) of it ſelfe ſtill more and more in him encreaſing, he became ſo froward and imperious, that nothing ſhe could ſay or doe could now ſo pleaſe or content him, but that he ſtill thought ſome one or other, although he wiſt not who, to be therein partakers with him. So fearfull was the jealous man of his owne conceits. Yet could he not chuſe but loue thoſe great perfections, whereat he could not enough wonder; although he found no contentment therein, tormenting ſtill both himſelfe and her whom he ſo deerely loued with his owne paſsionat diſtruſt: vntill at length, the faire ladie grieued to ſee her ſelfe thus without cauſe to be ſuſpected, & wearied with the inſolent pride of her peeuiſh husband, togither with his imperious commands; determined ſecretly to depart from him, and ſo to returne againe into her own country. Which her purpoſe ſhe diſcouered vnto one of her eunuchs, to whom ſhe had alſo deliuered certaine letters to be by him conuaied vnto ſuch of her friends, as whoſe helpe ſhe was to vſe in her intended flight: which letters the falſe eunuch opened, and ſo for the more manifeſting of the matter deliuered them vnto the Baſſa his maſter. Who therewith enraged, and calling her vnto him, forthwith in his furie, with a dagger ſtabd her to the heart and ſlew her: ſo togither with the death of his loue, hauing cured his tormenting jealouſie. The liuely counterfeits of theſe two ſo notable perſonages thus vnworthily ſlaine, the one by the imperious commaund of his ſoueraigne, and the other by the cruell hand of her husband, thou maieſt in the pages following behold, as they are by *Boiſardus* expreſſed.

Ionuſes Baſſa iealous of his faire wife Manto.

The faire ladie Manto cruelly ſlaine by her iealous husband.

Reÿce Sultani titulos, Nilotica Memphis
Quos confert: erit hic inuidioſus honos.
Regna Tomombeo, Campſon, cum rege reliquit:
Virtutis Selymus dicit id eſſe tuæ.

Reject the Sultans titles, which proud *Memphis* doth thee ſhow:
From ſuch great honours oftentimes doth greateſt danger grow.
That *Campſon* with king *Tomombey* loſt both their ſtate and fame:
Vnto thy valour, *Selymus* doth yet aſcribe the ſame.

Formam si spectes, nihil est formosius ista:
Pectoris & casti gratia rara fuit.
Sed dum dissimili vixit malè iuncta marito:
Infelix misera morte perempta iacet.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

If feature braue thou doest respect, thou canst none fairer see,
Nor in whose chast and constant brest could greater graces lie.
But whilst mismatcht she liu'd to mourne, enthrald to jealous braine,
Vnhappie she, with cruell hand was by her husband slaine.

But leauing this great Bassa with faire *Manto* vnto their rest, his course thus run, to returne againe vnto *Selymus*; who now come into SYRIA, was by letters from the Himbracor-Bassa or master of his horse (whom he had left vpon the frontiers of his kingdome to attend the motions of the Persians) aduertised, That the Persian preparations which had raised such a hoat rumour of wars in the beginning of Winter, was growne cold in the heat of Sommer: and that he had seene in all the time of his aboad in those quarters, none but certaine stragling companies, making shew as if some greater power had beene comming, which had many times made sudden roads into the countrey, with whom he had sundrie times prosperously encountred: and that

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Selymus lying thus ſicke to death, and rotting aboue the ground in his tent, as he was vpon the way going to HADRIANOPLE, ſent before *Pyrrhus* and *Achmetes*, two of his greateſt Baſſaes, to prouide for the ſolemniſing of the great feaſt, which the Turkes call *Bairam* (and is as it were their Eaſter) purpoſing to come after himſelfe at leiſure, as his weake bodie would giue him leaue: and kept with him onely *Ferhates*, the third of his greateſt Baſſaes and priuie counſellours. But ſuch was the furie of his foule diſeaſe, continually attainting him with intollerable paines, that ſhortly after the departure of the other two Baſſaes, he breathed out his cruell ghoſt, in the moneth of September, in the yeare 1520: neere vnto the citie CHIVRLI, in the ſelfeſame place where he had ſometime moſt vnnaturally aſſayled his aged father *Baiazet*, with purpoſe to haue ſlaine him, had not the fortune of the old emperour in a great battell preuailed both againſt his force and the treaſon of his own people. Thus intending the miſcheefe he could not performe, cut off by a loathſome and vntimely death, hee to the great joy of all Chriſtendome ended his dayes, when hee had liued ſix and fortie yeares, and thereof raigned eight: which time of his raigne was nothing els but a moſt horrible and dreadfull time of bloudſhed. His dead bodie was afterwards ſolemnly by his ſonne *Solyman* buried in a new temple at CONSTANTINOPLE, which he to the imitation of his father and grandfather had for that purpoſe before built. Vpon his tombe is engrauen in the Greeke, Turkiſh, and Sclauonian tongues, this ſhort Epitaph. 1520

The death of Selymus.

The iuſt iudgements of God.

Hic maximus adſum Selym, qui orbem domui.
Non bella relinquo, ſed pergo inquirere.
Non vlla me fortuna potuit euertere:
Licet oſſa iacent, animus bella quærit.

Phi. Lonicerus Turcicæ Hiſtoriæ, Tomo primo, lib. primo.

In Engliſh thus.

Lo here I lie great *Selymus*, which held the world in feare:
The world I leaue, but not the wars, which I ſeeke though not here.
No fortunes force, or victors hand, could take from me the ſpoiles:
And though my bones lie buried here, my ghoſt ſeekes bloudie broiles.

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Selymus purpoſing to inuade the Chriſtians, is ſtrucke in the reynes of his backe with a canker.

As he lay thus languiſhing, his incurable diſeaſe ſtill encreaſing, leaning his head in the lap of *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa, whom of all others he moſt loued, ſaid: *O Pyrrhus, I ſee I muſt ſhortly die without remedie.* Whereupon the graue Baſſa tooke occaſion to diſcourſe with him of many matters: and amongſt others, that it would pleaſe him to giue order for the well beſtowing of the great wealth taken from the Perſian marchants in diuers places of his empire: perſuading him to beſtow the ſame vpon ſome notable hoſpitall for releefe of the poore. To whom *Selymus* replied, Wouldſt thou *Pyrrhus*, that I ſhould beſtow other mens goods, wrongfully taken from them, vpon workes of charitie and deuotion, for mine owne vaine glorie and praiſe? aſſuredly I will neuer doe it: nay, rather ſee they bee againe reſtored vnto the right owners. Which was forthwith done accordingly: to the great ſhame of many Chriſtians, who minding nothing leſſe than reſtitution, but making *ex rapina holocauſtum*, do out of a world of euill gotten goods cull out ſome ſmall fragments, to build ſome poore hoſpitall, or mend ſome blind way: a poore teſtimonie of their hote charitie.

Selymus lying thus ſicke to death, and rotting aboue the ground in his tent, as he was vpon the way going to HADRIANOPLE, ſent before *Pyrrhus* and *Achmetes*, two of his greateſt Baſſaes, to prouide for the ſolemniſing of the great feaſt, which the Turkes call *Bairam* (and is as it were their Eaſter) purpoſing to come after himſelfe at leiſure, as his weake bodie would giue him leaue: and kept with him onely *Ferhates*, the third of his greateſt Baſſaes and priuie counſellours. But ſuch was the furie of his foule diſeaſe, continually attainting him with intollerable paines, that ſhortly after the departure of the other two Baſſaes, he breathed out his cruell ghoſt, in the moneth of September, in the yeare 1520: neere vnto the citie CHIVRLI, in the ſelfeſame place where he had ſometime moſt vnnaturally aſſayled his aged father *Baiazet*, with purpoſe to haue ſlaine him, had not the fortune of the old emperour in a great battell preuailed both againſt his force and the treaſon of his own people. Thus intending the miſcheefe he could not performe, cut off by a loathſome and vntimely death, hee to the great joy of all Chriſtendome ended his dayes, when hee had liued ſix and fortie yeares, and thereof raigned eight: which time of his raigne was nothing els but a moſt horrible and dreadfull time of bloudſhed. His dead bodie was afterwards ſolemnly by his ſonne *Solyman* buried in a new temple at CONSTANTINOPLE, which he to the imitation of his father and grandfather had for that purpoſe before built. Vpon his tombe is engrauen in the Greeke, Turkiſh, and Sclauonian tongues, this ſhort Epitaph. 1520

The death of Selymus.

The iuſt iudgements of God.

Hic maximus adſum Selym, qui orbem domui.
Non bella relinquo, ſed pergo inquirere.
Non vlla me fortuna potuit euertere:
Licet oſſa iacent, animus bella quærit.

Phi. Lonicerus Turcicæ Hiſtoriæ, Tomo primo, lib. primo.

In Engliſh thus.

Lo here I lie great *Selymus*, which held the world in feare:
The world I leaue, but not the wars, which I ſeeke though not here.
No fortunes force, or victors hand, could take from me the ſpoiles:
And though my bones lie buried here, my ghoſt ſeekes bloudie broiles.

He

Selymus before his death cõmendeth the tuition of his ſonne Solyman to Pyrrhus Baſſa.

He vſed commonly to ſay, That nothing was ſweeter than to raigne without feare or ſuſpition of his kindred. A little before his death he commended his ſonne *Solyman* to *Pyrrhus Baſſa*, ſtraightly charging him, that after his death he ſhould leaue the Perſian, and turne his forces altogither vpon the Chriſtians. And the more to incenſe him to the effuſion of bloud, he left him the liuely counterfeit of himſelfe hanging at his bed ſide, with ſundrie bloudie precepts breathing forth his cruell and vnmercifull diſpoſition.

Tabulæ Epigraphe.

Soldanus Selymus Othomannus, Rex Regum, Dominus omnium Dominorum, Princeps omnium Principum, filius & Nepos Dei. S.S.S.

Ad dextram, verſus Græca lingua ad ſcripti in hunc ſenſum.

Tutus vt imperij princeps ſibi ſceptra capeſſat,
Anxia ne dubio corda pauore premat.
Ne putet eſſe nefas cognatum haurire cruorem:
Et nece fraterna, conſtabilire domum.
Iura, fides, pietas, regni dum nemo ſuperſit
Æmulus, haud turbent relligione animum.
Hæc ratio eſt, quæ ſola queat regale tueri
Nomen, & expertem te ſinit eſſe metus.

Ad Siniſtram lingua Sclauonica.

Te ſemel aduerſus peccantem, mitis haberi
Ne ſtudeas, pœna vindice tutus eris.
Protinus enſe reſcindendum, putreſcere ſi quid
Incipiet, clemens rex male ſceptra gerit.
Ad veniam facilis, peccanti porigit anſam
Qua ſe ſuſtentans, ad noua damna ruat.

Ad Calcem tabulæ lingua Turcica.

Qui non ipſe ſua princeps haſtilia dextra,
Agmen in aduerſum marte fauente iacet.
Sed refugit ſæuis caput obiectare periclis
Dum grauia impauido, prælia corde ſubit:
Iſte ſciat vanis belli ſeſe artibus vti:
Et votis nunquam fata fauere ſuis.
Nulle ſibi ſperet, ſuſcepti commoda belli,
Hoſtiles acies quiſquis adire timet.

The Inſcription of the Table.

Sultan *Selymus Othoman* King of Kings, Lord of all Lords, Prince of all Princes, the ſonne and nephew of God.

On the right hand of the Table were written Greeke verſes to this ſence.

The prince that ſafely ſeekes to raigne, and hold his ſtate in quiet reſt,
Muſt neuer ſuffer troubled care to harbour in his princely breſt:
Nor thinke it ſinne to ſpill the bloud of his moſt neere and deareſt kin,
Not of his brother, ſo thereby aſſured ſafetie he may win.
Law, faith, deuotion, and ſuch like, to breake them all he muſt not ſpare,
Nor conſcience make of any thing, to rid him from aſpiring care.
This is the way and onely meane that may protect a princes ſtate,
And ſet him ſafe without all feare, whileſt none may liue whom he doth hate.

The bloudie and tirannicall precepts left by Selymus to his ſon Solyman, which he afterwards moſt aſſuredly kept, as is to be ſeene in his life following.

On the left hand of the Table was written in the Sclauonian tongue.

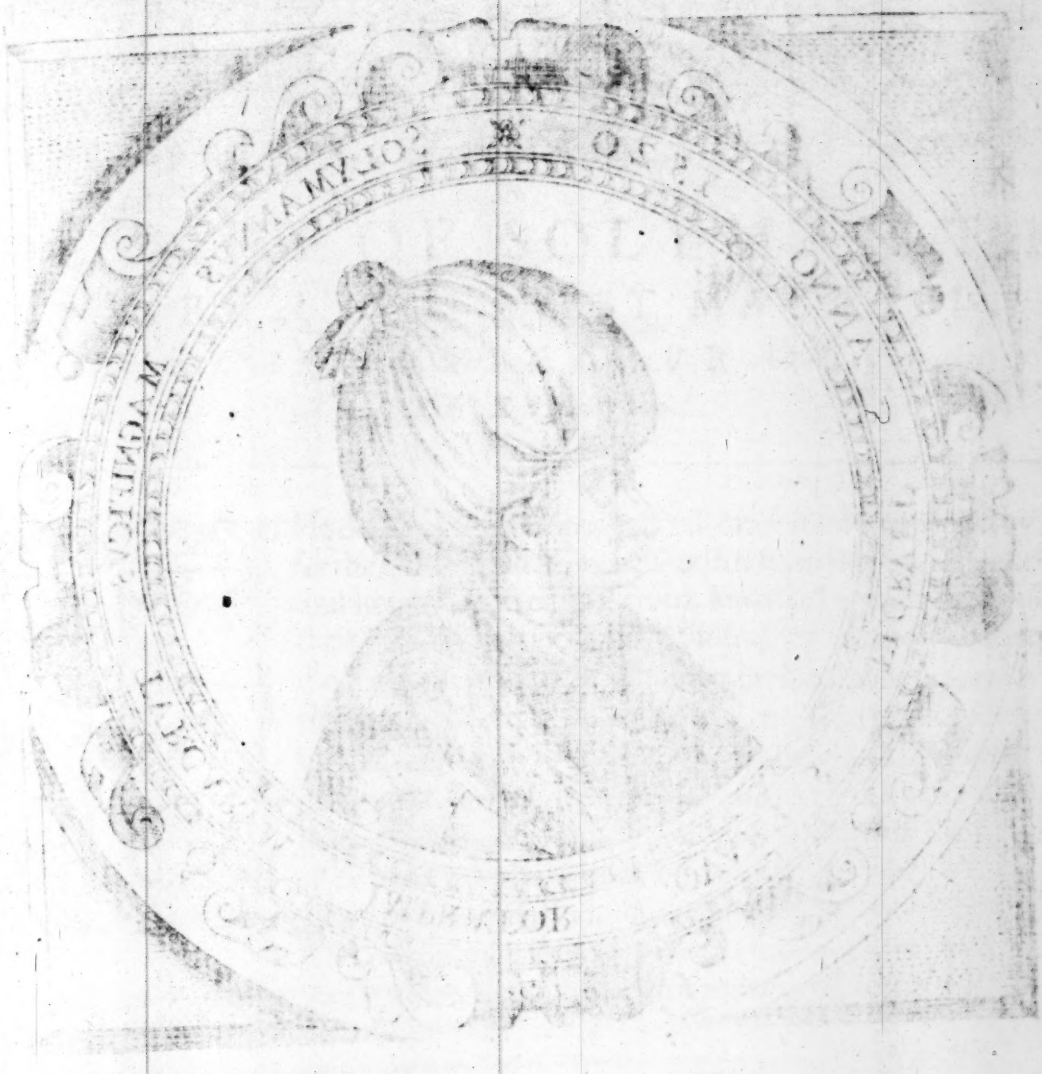
Of him that ſeekes to worke thy woe, deſerue not to be counted kind:
But take him for thy mortall foe, and plague him with reuenging mind.
The rotten lym is cut away for feare of doing further harme:
The gentle prince doth beare ſmall ſway, if no abuſe can make him warme.
Forbearance makes men more offend, and to preſume of further grace,
It doth but ſtrength to rebels lend, to thruſt their ſoueraigne out of place.

At the lower end of the ſame Table was written in Turkiſh verſe.

What prince in perſon dareth not in open field to meet his foe,
And there with vnappauled heart, his deadly darts himſelfe to throw:
But hides his head for feare of harme, and ſhuns the danger of the field,
When martiall minds with courage bold withſtand their foes with ſpeare and ſhield:
Let him well know, how that in vaine he beareth armes but for a ſhow,
And that the honour of the field will neuer ſuch a coward know.
Ne let him hope to gaine the ſpoyle by any warres he takes in hand,
That feareth with courageous mind his enemies forces to withſtand.

FINIS.

Christian princes of the same time with Selymus the first.	Emperors of Germanie		Maximilian the first.	1494. 25.
			Charles the fift.	1509. 39.
	Kings	Of England	Henrie the eight.	1509. 38.
		Of Fraunce	Lewis the twelfth.	1497. 17.
			Francis the first.	1514. 32.
		Of Scotland	Iames the fourth.	1489. 25.
			Iames the fifth.	1513. 32.
	Bishops of Rome		Iulius the II.	1503. 9.
			Leo the X.	1513. 8.



Phil. Lonicer. Hiſt. Turc. lib. 1.

Imperij Soliman patrij moderatur habenas,
Regnaq; Chriſtiadum cladibus vſq; metit.
Antiquam capit ille Rhodon, Naxumq; Parumq;
Tyrrheni infeſtat Littora curua maris.
Pannonios multo populatur milite fines,
Et cingit muros clara Vienna tuos.
Inclyta Sigethi dum mœnia concutit armis,
Cogitur, hinc Stygiam nudus adire domum.

His fathers empire *Solyman* doth rule with mightie power,
And Chriſtian kingdomes ceaſeth not with ſlaughter to deuour.
The antient RHODES, with NAXOS Iſle, and PAROS he did take,
And on the coaſts of ITALIE did woſull hauocke make:
Faire HVNGARIE with armies great he often did annoy,
And with a world of men had thought VIENNA to deſtroy.
But whileſt to SIGETH he laied ſiege, in hope the ſame to haue,
Cut off by death in his great pride, went naked to his graue.

THE LIFE OF SOLYMAN, THE FOVRTH AND MOST MAGNIFICENT EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

THe death of *Selymus* was with all carefulneſſe concealed by *Ferhates* the onely Baſſa then preſent, for feare leaſt the Ianizaries and ſouldiours of the court getting knowledge thereof, ſhould after their wonted manner in the time of the vacancie of the empire, ſpoile the merchants and ſtrangers in places where they lay in gatriſon, and eſpecially in the imperiall citie: and not ſo contented after their accuſtomed inſolencie preſcribe vnto the greateſt Baſſaes at their pleaſure. For preuenting whereof, *Ferhates* diſpatched a truſtie meſſenger with letters in poſt to *Solyman* the onely ſonne of *Selymus*, then lying at MAGNESIA, certifying him of the death of his father; and that he ſhould deſerue well of his peaceable ſubjects by haſtening his comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, whileſt all things were yet in good order, in time to repreſſe with his preſence the feared diſordered proceedings of his men of warre.

Solyman hauing to his great content peruſed the Baſſaes letters, as one deſirous enough of the empire; yet conſidering the cruell diſpoſition of his father (who vpon a meere jealous conceit of his aſpiring mind, and for certaine words by him let fall in diſlike of his fathers extreame dealing, had practiſed moſt vnnaturally to haue taken him away by poiſon: which danger he eſcaped onely by the carefulneſſe of his mother, who miſdoubting the worſt, cauſed the poiſoned rich ſhirt ſent to him from his father to be firſt worne by one of his chamber, whereof he in ſhort time after died) and alſo that the letters were ſigned onely by *Ferhates*, and the newes not ſeconded from any of the other Baſſaes: fearing ſome hidden & ſecret plot of his father tending to his diſtruction, durſt not aduenture to remoue from his charge, but returned the meſſenger as one to whom he gaue little or no credit. Ten daies thus ſpent, and the death of *Selymus* nothing as yet ſuſpected; *Ferhates* vnderſtanding by his meſſenger the warineſſe of *Solyman*, and that he expected more aſſured aduertiſement, ſent preſently vnto the other great Baſſaes *Pyrrhus* and *Muſtapha* at HADRIANOPLE, that they ſhould without delay repaire vnto the court: vnto whom at their comming he declared the death of the emperour. Which after they had ſeene to be true, they by an other ſecret and ſpeedie meſſenger aduertiſed *Solyman* againe thereof, firming thoſe letters with all their hands and ſeales: whereby *Solyman* now aſſured of his fathers death, preſently put himſelfe vpon the way, and by long and painfull journies in few daies came to SCVTARIVM, called in auntient time CRISOPOLIS, ouer againſt CONSTANTINOPLE. Where he was met with the Aga or captaine of the Ianizaries, and by him tranſported in a gallie ouer that ſtraight paſſage to CONSTANTINOPLE; where at his landing the Ianizaries by the appointment of their captaine were readie to receiue him, knowing as yet nothing of the death of *Selymus*, vntill that *Solyman* being now in the middeſt of them, the captaine with a loud voice ſaid vnto them, *Behold your emperour*. Whereupon they all with great acclamation cried out, *Long liue the great emperour Solyman*: which conſent of the men of warre, is vnto the Turkiſh emperours the greateſt aſſurance of their eſtate. And ſo with much triumph he was by them

Solyman hardly perſuaded that his father was dead.

brought into the royall pallace, and placed in his fathers seat in the yeare 1520: in which yeare G
also *Charles* the fift was chosen emperour of GERMANIE. The Ianizaries disappointed by the Bassaes of the spoile of the merchants, especially Christians and Iewes, receiued of the bountie of *Solyman* a great largious; and in the beginning of his raigne had their accustomed wages somewhat augmented also, to their wonderfull contentment.

Solyman was about twentie eight years old when he began to raigne, and was at the first supposed to haue been of a mild and peaceable disposition: so that the princes to whom the name of *Selymus* was before dreadfull, were now in hope that a quiet lambe was come in place of a raging lyon. But in short time they found themselues in that their expectation farre deceiued; and especially the Christian princes bordering vpon him, vnto whom he became a farre more dangerous enemie than was his father before him; conuerting his forces most part of his long raigne H
vpon them, which *Selymus* had almost altogither emploied against the kings of PERSIA and ÆGYPT, the greatest princes of the Mahometane superstition.

The first that felt his heauie hand was *Gazelles* Gouernour of SYRIA: who presently vpon the death of *Selymus*, thinking himselfe now discharged of the oath of obedience which he had giuen to *Selymus*, but not to his successours; and earnestly desiring to restore againe the kingdome of the Mamalukes lately ouerthrowne, gathered togither the remainder of the dispersed Mamalukes, which speedily resorted vnto him out of all parts of ASIA and AFRICKE: and alluring with rewards the leaders of the wild Arabians, with great numbers of the countrey people of SYRIA discontented with the Turkish gouernment, entred into open rebellion, and by force of armes draue the Turkes garrisons out of BIRTHA, TRIPOLIS, and diuers other cities I
of SYRIA, taking them into his owne possession. And the better to effect that he had taken in hand, he sent embassadours to CAIRE, vnto *Cayerbeius*, who had of *Selymus* receiued the gouernment of Aegypt, the vnworthie reward of his horrible treason; persuading him by any meanes to take reuenge of the injurie and wrong before done to the Mamalukes, and by killing of the Turkes garrisons to make himselfe Sultan of Aegypt, and restore againe the kingdome of the Mamalukes, offering him therein the vttermost of his deuoire and seruice. But *Cayerbeius*, either not trusting *Gazelles* his old enemie, or ashamed by new treason to augment his former dishonour, or els (which was most like) misdoubting his own strength in performance of so great an enterprise: after he had attentiuely heard what the embassadours had to say, caused them presently in his owne sight to be put to death as traitors, and with all speed certified *Solyman* therof; K
who without delay sent *Ferhates bassa* with a strong armie into SYRIA. Which thing *Gazelles* hearing, and hauing in his power most of the cities of SYRIA, retired himselfe with all his armie into the strong citie of DAMASCO; whither at length, *Ferhates* the great Bassa by long march came also. *Gazelles* (resolued to trie the fortune of the field, and so either by speedie victorie or honourable death to end the matter, rather than to suffer himselfe to bee shut vp within the wals of the citie) vpon the comming of the Bassa valiantly issued forth with all his power, and gaue him battell; which for the space of six houres was most cruelly fought, and many slaine on both sides. At length *Gazelles* being oppressed with the multitude of his enemies (being eight times more in number) and hardly assailed on euerie side, was enforced to fight in a ring, and there performing all the parts of a worthie Generall and valiant souldiour, honourably died to- L
gither with his Mamalukes in the middest of his enemies, leauing vnto them a bloudie victorie. *Gazelles* thus slaine, the citie of DAMASCO with all the countrey of SYRIA without any more adoe yeelded againe vnto the Turkes obedience, which the Bassa tooke in so good part, that he would not suffer his souldiours to enter into the citie, then richly stored with commodities of all sorts, brought thither by merchants out of diuers parts of the world.

Gazelles gouernour of Syria rebelleth against Solyman.

Gazelles slaine.

SYRIA thus pacified, the Bassa went to CAIRE in AEGYPT, and there commending *Cayerbeius* for his fidelitie, confirmed him in his gouernment; and enuying against the crueltie of *Selymus* (so to please the Aegyptians) wished them to hope for all happinesse vnder the peaceable gouernment of the new Sultan *Solyman*. And so when he had set all things in order in both the M
prouinces of SYRIA and AEGYPT, returned againe to *Solyman*.

The yeare next following, *Solyman* by the counsell of *Pyrrhus Bassa* his old tutor (a mortall enemie vnto the Christians) and by the persuasion of the Ianizaries resolued to besiege the strong citie of BELGRADE, otherwise called TAVRVNVM, scituat vpon the borders of HVNGARIE, where the riuer Sauus falleth into Danubius. Which citie his great grandfather *Mahomet* (surnamed

named the Great, and before him the warlike *Amurath*) had with all their power, long time before to their great losse and dishonour, vainely attempted. Wherein vntill that time were reserued the ensignes, then taken from the Turkes, to their no small griefe, with other trophies of the glorious victories of the worthie captaine *Huniades*, and the great king *Mathius Coruinus* his sonne. Wherefore *Solyman* sending his armie before, was come as farre as SOPHIA a citie in SERVIA (the place where the Turks great lieutenant in EVROPE is alwaies resiant) before that the Hungarians were aware of his comming: for they liuing at ease all the time that *Vladislaus* raigned, and now sleeping in securitie vnder the young king *Lodouicus* his sonne, a man of no experience; who contenting himselfe with the title of a king, suffered himselfe to be pilled and polled by his nobilitie and great cleargiemen (inuerting all the wealth of the land to their owne priuat gaine) that he was not able to raise any sufficient power to go against his puissant enemie; especially his nobilitie, in whose hands rested the wealth of his kingdome, promising him much, but performing indeed nothing. *Huniades* with his hardie souldiours, the scourge and terror of the Turks, was dead long before; so was also *Mathias* that fortunat warriour: after whom succeeded others giuen all to pleasure & ease; to whose example the people fashioning themselues, forgot their wonted valour, and gaue themselues ouer to sensualitie and voluptuous pleasure. So that *Solyman* without let, presented his armie before the citie of BELGRADE, and with batterie and vndermining in short time became lord thereof, hauing lost few of his people in that siege. How much the losse of that strong citie concerned the Christian common weale, the manifold and lamentable miseries which afterwards ensued by the opening of that gap, not vnto the kingdome of HVNGARIE onely, but to all that side of Christendome, did, and yet doth most manifestly declare. It was woon by the Turkes the nine and twentith day of August in the yeare 1521.

Belgrade woon by Solyman.

After the taking of the strong citie of BELGRADE, *Solyman* returning to CONSTANTINOPLE, brake vp his armie and there lay still almost all the yeare following. During which time, he caused great preparation to be made at CALIPOLIS and other his ports, for rigging vp of a great fleet: which caused the Italians, Venetians, and them of the RHODES, to looke about them, as men carefull of their estates, fearing that those forces would eare long be imploied against some or all of them. 1522

About the same time *Philippus Villerius* a man of great wisedome and courage, then following the French court, was in his absence by the knights of the RHODES chosen Great master of that honourable companie: who embarking himselfe at MARCEILLES, after a long and dangerous journey (being not without the knowledge of *Solyman* hatdly laid for at sea by *Cortug-ogli* a famous pirat of the Turkes, whose two brethren the knights of the RHODES had but a little before surprised at sea and slaine, and then held the third in prison) arriued in safetie at the RHODES, where he was with great joy and triumph receiued.

Philippus Villerius chosen Great master of the Rhodes.

The great Bassa, by whose graue aduise *Solyman* was contented in all his waightie affaires to be directed, consulting with the other Bassaes of diuers great exploits which was first to be taken in hand, for the honour of their emperour and enlarging of his empire, were of diuers opinions concerning the besieging of the RHODES. *Pyrrhus* the Bassa of greatest account, dissuaded the taking in hand of that action, as too full of difficultie and danger: producing for proofe thereof the example of the great emperour *Mahomet*, *Solymans* great grandfather; by whom it was vnfortunatly attempted, and in fine shamefully abandoned. But *Mustapha* next in place and reputation to *Pyrrhus*, extolling the power and fortune of *Solyman*, said, That the greatnesse of their emperor was not to be concluded within the attempts of his predecessors, as well appeared by the late taking of BELGRADE; from whence first *Amurat*, and after him *Mahomet*, two of the most warlike princes of the Turkes, had with great dishonour beene repulsed: and should no doubt with like good fortune preuaile against the RHODES also, being able (if need were) to bring more men before it than were stones in the wals thereof. Which he so confidently affirmed, with extenuating the power of the Rhodians, that he seemed to make no doubt of the good successe of that warre: presumptuously affirming, that vpon the first landing of *Solymans* great armie, they of the RHODES would without delay yeeld themselues and their citie into his hands.

Amongst others of great experience, whose opinions *Solyman* was desirous to haue, before he would take so great a matter in hand, was the famous pyrat *Cortug-Ogli*, a man of a mischie-

uous and cruell nature, but of great experience in sea matters. Who presented to *Solyman* by *Mustapha* and *Ferhates*, two of the greatest Bassaes, going before him, after due reuerence done, and commaunded to deliuer his opinion, spake vnto *Solyman* as followeth:

Cortug-Ogli the pirat perswadeth Solyman to besiege the Rhodes.

The greatnesse of your deserts (most mightie and puissant emperour) maketh me (being by you so commaunded) at this time frankely to speake what I thinke may be for the glorie and honour both of your maiestie and empire. I dayly heare the pitifull lamentation of the miserable people of Mitylene, Eubœa, Peloponesvs, Achaia, Caria, Lycia, *and all alongst the sea coast of* Syria *and* Ægipt, *bewayling the spoile of their countries, the ransacking of their cities, the taking away of their cattell and people, with other infinit and incredible calamities, which they dayly suffer of the crossed Rhodian pirats, no man withstanding them: many a time haue these wretched people holden vp their hands to me for helpe, most instantly requesting me to be a meane for them to your imperiall Maiestie, whereby they might be protected from the iniurie, rapine, and slaughter of these cruell rouers. Wherefore in their behalfe I beseech your sacred Maiestie, by the most reuerend name of the holy prophet* Mahomet, *and by your owne most heroicall disposition, to deliuer your afflicted subiects from these their most cruell enemies, and at length to set them free from the furie, captiuitie, and feare of these pyrates, more greeuous vnto them than death it selfe: and consider with your selfe, that this iniurie and insolencie tendeth not so much to the hurt of your poore subiects and oppressed people in priuat, as to the dishonour and disgrace of your imperiall name and dignitie; which if any other Christian king or prince should offer, your Maiestie I know would not suffer vnreuenged: and will you then suffer these robbers, cut-throats, base people gathered out of all the corners of Christendome, to wast your countries, spoile your cities, murder your people, and trouble all your seas? for who can passe by sea to* Tripolis, Damasco, Alexandria, Caire, Chalcide, Lesbos, Chios, *nay vnto this your imperiall citie of* Constantinople, *without most certain and manifest danger of these rouers? What haue we heard euerie Spring this manie yeares, but that the Rhodians had taken some one or other of your ports, led away your people into miserable captiuitie, and carried away with them the rich spoiles of your countries? And that which is of all other things most dishonourable, this they doe vnder your nose, and in your sight, in the middest and heart of your empire. Pardon me I beseech you most mightie emperour, if I too plainely speake what I thinke: For whatsoeuer I say, I say it to no other end, but that you should now at length doe that which should manie yeares agoe haue been done. We your most loiall subiects may not, nor ought not, for the encrease of our Mahometane religion, and for the enlarging of your empire and honour, to refuse to aduenture our goods, our bodies, our liues to all hazard and danger without exception. If you likewise be caried with loue of glorie and renowne, or rauished with the desire of neuer dying fame; in what wars can you more easily gaine the same, or better imploy vs your seruants, than in vanquishing and subduing the* Rhodes, *the reputed bulwarke of Christendome, which onely keepeth vs from their countries? But some will perhaps say, your aunce*stors *haue in former times vnfortunately attempted that citie: so did they also* Belgrade *in* Hvngarie: *yet hath your happie fortune to your immortall fame brought the same vnder your subiection, being far more strongly fortified than it was in times past: and doe you then despaire of the* Rhodes? *Cast off such vaine and needlesse misdoubt, the Turkish empire hath alwaies growne by aduentures and honourable attempts: therefore make hast to besiege it both by sea and land. If your subiects mourning vnder the heauie burthen of the Christian captiuitie, built it with their owne hands for the Christians; cannot they now at libertie, desirous of reuenge, and fitted with oportunitie, with like hands destroy the same? If it please you to vouchsafe but to looke into the matter (most dread Soueraigne) you shall see that there is a diuine occasion by the procurement of our great prophet* Mahomet *presented vnto your most sacred Maiestie, now that the Christians of the West are at discord and mortall warre amongst themselues. Your Maiestie is not ignorant, that in managing of warres, the oportunitie of time is especially to be followed; and that when occasion serueth, all remissenesse and delay is to be carefully auoided: the changes of times are most tickle, and if you suffer your good hap now to passe ouer, you shall perhaps in vaine afterwards pursue the same when it is fled and gone.*

Solyman by nature an ambitious young prince, prickt forward thus also by the perswasions of *Cortug-Ogli* and others, seeking their further credit and preferment by fitting his ambitious humour: but most of all by the instigation of the Bassa *Mustapha*, resolued to goe in person himselfe

ſelfe againſt the RHODES. And firſt to make ſome proofe of what ſpirit and courage *Villerius* the new choſen Great Maſter was of, in whoſe ſufficiencie the greateſt part of the defence of the citie was ſuppoſed to conſiſt: to him by way of a little cold friendſhip, he ſent a meſſenger with this ſhort letter thus directed.

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, greateſt Emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE and TRAPEZOND, moſt mightie king of PERSIA, ARABIA, SIRIA, and ÆGIPT, lord of ASIA and EVROPE, prince of MECHA and ALEPPO, ruler of HIERVSALEM, and Maſter of the Vniuerſall ſea: to the reuerend Father *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Maſter of the RHODES, and Legat of ASIA, greeting.

Solymans letter to Villerius, Great Maſter of the Rhodes.

I am glad of thy comming and new promotion, which I wiſh thou maieſt long and happely enioy, for that I hope thou wilt in honour and fidelitie exceed all them which haue before thee ruled in the RHODES: *from whom as my anceſtors haue withdrawne their hand, ſo I after their example ioine with thee in amitie and friendſhip. Ioy thou therefore my friend, and in my behalfe reioice of my victorie and triumph alſo: for this laſt Summer paſſing ouer Danubius with enſignes diſplaied, I there expected the Hungarian king, who I thought would haue giuen me battell, I tooke from him by ſtrong hand* BELGRADE, *the ſtrongeſt citie of his kingdome, with other ſtrong holds thereabouts: and hauing with fire and ſword deſtroied much people, and carried away many moe into captiuitie, as a triumphant couquerour, breaking vp mine armie, am returned to my imperiall citie of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *from whence farewell.*

The Great Maſter hauing read theſe letters, and well conſidered of the ſame, perceiued forthwith *Solymans* meaning, and that peace was offered him in words and ſhew, but war in deed and meaning. Which becauſe he was readie by force to repulſe, he rewarded the Turks meſſenger, and ſent backe with him another of his owne, a priuat perſon. For the Rhodians did ſeldome vouchſafe to ſend any honourable embaſſadours to the Turkiſh emperours (with whom they for moſt part liued in hoſtilitie) either the Turkes to them. By this meſſenger he anſwered *Solymans* letters with other of like vaine, as followeth.

Philippus Villerius Lilladamus, Great Maſter of the Rhodes, to the Turke.

The anſwere of Villerius to Solymans letters.

I right well vnderſtand your letters which your meſſenger brought vnto me. The friendſhip you write of, is as pleaſing to me as diſpleaſing to Cottug-Ogli *your ſeruant, who went about to haue intercepted me vpon the ſuddaine, as I came out of* FRAVNCE: *but failing of his purpoſe, ſtealing by night into the Rhodian ſea, he attempted to haue robbed certaine merchants ſhips bound from* IOPPE *to* VENICE: *but ſending my fleet out of my hauen, I ſtaied his furie, conſtrained the pirat to flie, and for haſt to leaue behind him the priſes he had before taken from the marchants of* CRETE. *Farewell from the* RHODES.

By this anſwere *Solyman* perceiued, that he was well met withall in his owne fineneſſe, and that he ſhould not ſo eaſily carrie the RHODES, as he had before done BELGRADE. Yet being fully in himſelfe reſolued to trie his fortune therein, hee called vnto him certaine of the cheefe commaunders of his warres, to whom he opened his whole determination in this ſort.

Solymans Oration to his men of warre declaring his purpoſe of beſieging the Rhodes.

Although I doubt not worthie cheefetaines, but that you are of the ſame mind now that you haue been alwaies of, in the inuading of other nations: yet I haue thought it good in matters tending to the common glorie and good of vs all, to vſe your generall aduice and counſell. Since the time that my father left this world, we haue made warre with diuers nations and people: The Sirians by nature vnconſtant, and prone to rebellion, we haue by force reduced to their former obedience: The Sophi, that mightie king, nephew vnto the great king Vſun-Caſſanes *by his daughter the ſiſter of king* Iacup, *in heart and deed our mortall enemie, not contented with the kingdomes of* ASSIRIA, MEDIA, ARMENIA *the greater,* PERSIA, *and* MESOPOTAMIA, *we haue by our forces ſhut vp within the compaſſe of his owne dominions: The laſt yeare running through* HVNGARIE, *both on this ſide and beyond Danubius, we tooke* BELGRADE *the ſtrongeſt fortreſſe of that kingdome: and whatſoeuer els we attempted, we ſubdued. Yet for all that (to ſpeake plainely of my ſelfe) my mind greater*

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in conceit than mine empire, and the blood of Othoman, *findeth no contentment in these victories. For whatsoeuer you haue yet done, although it be great, yet I deeme it all but little, in regard of your worth: my desire tarrieth me further. This haue I alwaies aboue all things most earnestly desired, to set vpon the* Rhodes, *and vtterly to root out all the strength and forces, yea the very name of those Rhodian souldiours. And haue not you also no lesse than my selfe desired the same? How often haue I heard you crying out, The* Rhodes, *The* Rhodes? *I haue expected the time, that being discharged of other warres I might here employ my whole strength and power. That we so long desired, is now come: there was neuer greater oportunitie of good successe offered, a great part of the walls of the citie of the* Rhodes *now lying euen with the ground; which cannot in short time be repaired, especially in their want of coine. Beside this, the garrison in the castle is but small, and their aid from* France *farre off, which will either come too late when the citie is lost, or that which I rather beleeue, neuer. For neither will the French king (being at mortall warres with the Germane emperour, and lord of* Italie) *suffer his storehouses to be disfurnished, or his ports bared of the necessarie defence of his shipping; neither doe you beleeue that the Spaniards (distressed at home with famine, warre, and ciuile dissention) will easily come hither out of* Sicilia *and* Campania *with supplies of men and victuall. But you may perhaps thinke, that great danger is to be feared from the Venetian fleet, and the Isle of* Crete, *which I assure you is not so: for I know (although I will not now manifest the same) how I haue preuented that mischeefe. Wherefore courageous souldiors (borne to the subduing of all Christendome, much more of the* Rhodes) *with cheerefull hearts follow me your Souereigne against these your most perfidious and cruell enemies. How long I pray you will you suffer that staine and disgrace to sticke vpon the* Othoman *familie, and generally vpon all the name of the Turkes, which these Rhodians cast vpon vs the last time they were besieged? Which was not so much done by their valour, as by the vnfortunat counsell of my great grandfather* Mahomet, *calling home* Mesithes Paleologus *his Generall in that warre, for one vnluckie assault. But admit that their valour gained them the victorie, will you therefore alwaies suffer these piraticall excursions vpon our maine and Islands? the ransacking of our cities and countries? the carrying away of your cattell and richest substance? the captiuitie and slaughter of your wiues and children? the slauerie of your neerest friends and kinsmen? So helpe me great* Mahomet, *it shall not so bee: I vow, in despight of Christ and* Iohn, *in short time to set vp mine ensignes with the Moone in the middle of the market place of the* Rhodes. *Neither doe I seeke any thing vnto my selfe, more than the honour of the enterprise; the profit I giue vnto you my fellow souldiors, their coine, plate, iewels (which is reported to be great) their riches and wealth is all yours, to carrie home with you vnto your wiues and children. Wherefore let vs now with all our forces and courage set forward to the besieging of the* Rhodes.

Solymans purpose thus made knowne, and the same with one accord of all his captaines well liked: *Pirrhus* the eldest Bassa and of greatest authoritie, who at the first dissuaded the warre, standing vp in the middest of the rest, said:

I cannot but much admire the great wisedome and rare vertues of our young emperour, who so wisely and aduisedly hath declared all the deepe counsels of a worthie cheefetaine in taking of warre in hand. Blessed be Mahomet, *thrice and foure times blessed is this empire, blessed is our estate, and blessed are we with such a prince, which carrieth with him in his warres not onely men and habiliments of warre, but most deepe wisedome and policie. Which wholsome manner of proceeding, if we had alwaies before our eies, and would follow, we should in short time bring vnder our subiection not the* Rhodes *onely, but all the kingdomes of the Christians. Yet beside that which our emperour hath most carefully and considerately deuised, mine age and experience would exhort you, by gifts, promises, rewards, and all other meanes whatsoeuer, to corrupt if it were possible the very cheefe and principall citizens of the* Rhodes, *thereby to enter into their most secret deuices and counsels: which how it may be wrought, I will in few words giue you to vnderstand. I as a man indifferent, desirous of peace and quietnesse, will by messengers and letters induce the Great Master to send some honourable embassage to our dread Souereigne, which if I can once bring him vnto, then let me alone with the rest.*

Solyman maketh preparation against the Rhodes.

This counsell of the old Fox pleased all the hearers well, but aboue others the emperor himselfe, who gaue him in charge with all diligence and speed, to proue what he could doe: the other captaines he commaunded to prepare the greatest forces they could, both for land and sea

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ſeruice. Which preparation was ſo great both at CONSTANTINOPLE and other places, that it could not long be kept ſo ſecret, but that newes therof was brought to the RHODES the fourth day of Februarie: which newes daily increaſing and ſtill confirmed by more certaine reports, *Villerius* the Great maſter for more certaine intelligence, ſent a Chriſtian of EPIDAVRVS, who could perfectly ſpeake the Turkiſh language, as a ſpie to CONSTANTINOPLE; who by ſecret letters from thence gaue him knowledge, that the Turkes were preparing a great fleet, and raiſing a mightie armie, aduertiſing him alſo of a wonderfull proportion of artilletie prepared for batterie; but againſt whom was not commonly knowne, ſome deeming it to be for the inuaſion of ITALIE, ſome for the RHODES, others ſuppoſing it to be for CIPRVS or CORCIRA: which diuerſitie of conjectures, made many (whoſe conceits auerted from themſelues the fortune of that warre) to be more careleſſe and ſecure. But whileſt euerie man was of opinion, that it was made againſt any man rather than himſelfe; certaine aduertiſement was giuen to the Rhodians from diuers places by letters from their friends and confederats, That the Turks did with extraordinarie diligence keepe ſtraight watch and ward in all their ports therabouts alongſt the ſea coaſt, otherwiſe than they were before accuſtomed: which ſeemed to prognoſticat ſome farther matter than the defence of their frontiers. *Villerius* carefull of his charge, as the marke whereat the enemie aimed, prouided with all poſsible diligence great ſtore of victuall, armour, weapons, ſhot, pouder, and whatſoeuer els neceſſarie for the defence of the citie.

Villerius prepareth to make reſiſtance againſt the Turks.

The new wals of the citie, and AVERGNE fortreſſe, by *Baſilius* enginer to the emperour *Charles* the fift (a worke begun in the time of *Fabritius Carectus* late Graund maſter, but not yet finiſhed) was now with all diligent labour ſet vpon, euerie man putting his helping hand vnto ſo neceſſarie a worke. Whileſt theſe things are with ſo great endeuour and labour a doing, a meſſenger came from CONSTANTINOPLE, ſent from the old Baſſa *Pyrrhus*, a ſharpe witted and cunning fellow; who with much filed ſpeech in moſt ample manner doing his meſſage, by the way, painted forth the great towardlineſſe and courteous nature of the Turkiſh emperour *Solyman*, with the great commendation of *Pyrrhus* Baſſa his maſter: deliuering from both of them letters vnto the Great maſter of this purport.

Solyman by the grace of God King of Kings, Lord of Lords, &c. to the reuerend father *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great maſter of the RHODES and legat of ASIA, greeting.

Solymans letter to Villericus.

I am certainly enformed that my letters are deliuered vnto thee; which for that thou vnderſtoodeſt them aright, I cannot expreſſe how much it pleaſed me. Truſt to it, that I am not contented with the victoric I got at BELGRADE; *I hope for another, nay I aſſure my ſelfe thereof, which I will not hide from thee, whom I am alwaies mindfull of. Farewell from* CONSTANTINOPLE.

Pyrrhus great counſellor to the mightie emperour *Solyman*, to *Philippus Villerius Liladamus*, Great maſter of the RHODES and legat of ASIA, greeting.

Pyrrhus Baſſa his letters to Villerius.

Your letters, greater in meaning than character, I haue deliuered vnto our moſt mightie emperour: but the bearer thereof I would not ſuffer to come to his preſence, leaſt he ſhould be too much offended with ſo baſe a meſſenger. Vnto whom from henceforth ſend men of worth, commendable for their yeares and diſcretion, with whom his Maieſtie may (if he ſo pleaſe) conferre and conclude of matters concerning the common good: which thing if you ſhall doe, it ſhall neither repent you of the doing thereof, nor me of my counſell. The meſſenger I ſend, bringeth letters vnto you alſo from our great emperour; to whoſe diuine excellencie how you are to anſwere, you are alreadie admoniſhed. Farewell from CONSTANTINOPLE.

Theſe letters being openly read, drew the minds of the Rhodians diuerſlly. Such as altogether wiſhed for peace, meaſuring others after their owne plaine meaning and integritie, commended the counſell of *Pyrrhus*, ſaying, That he being an old man of great experience, was not ſo deſirous of our quiet, as of the quiet of his prince and countrey: and therefore wiſhed by wiſdome to order that which the young prince ſought for by war, fearing the vncertaintie of mans fragillitie,

fragillitie, the common chance of warre, the violence of fortune, which hath oftentimes in a moment with a handfull of men ouerthrowne moſt mightie kings with their ſtrong armies. The perſuaſion of theſe men tooke ſuch effect, that one of the knights of the order called *Raymund March*, a Spaniard, a noble gentleman of great courage and verie eloquent, skilfull alſo in the Turkiſh tongue, and then moſter maſter, was appointed to haue beene ſent embaſſadour vnto the Turkiſh emperour. Many there were of a contrarie opinion, which ſuſpecting fraud and deceit, ſaid it were good to beware of the enemies counſell: asking, to what end this embaſſage were? for ſhould we proclaime warre (ſay they) againſt the moſt mightie tyrant, not yet our profeſſed enemie, who writeth all peace? or ſhould we intreat for peace, no warre as yet proclaimed? that he which as yet is afraid himſelfe, may now vnderſtand that he is of vs feared. Beſides that, with what ſecuritie, with what face can our embaſſadours go, vnrequeſted of the Turkiſh emperour, without his ſafe conduct thorow thoſe countries which we daily burne and ſpoile? But they ſhall ſhew *Pyrrhus* the great Baſſaes letters forſooth, his protection, his credit and authoritie ſhall defend them from all injurie and wrong; as though the ſeruant ſhould preſcribe lawes vnto his maſter, and ſuch a ſeruant as is moſt like vnto his maſter (that is) cruell, falſe of faith, a hater of all Chriſtians, but eſpecially of vs Rhodians: whom the mercileſſe tyrant hauing in his power, with his nauie and armie in readineſſe, ſhall with cruell torture enforce to diſcouer vnto him our prouiſion, the ſecrets of our citie and Order. This opinion of the wiſer ſort, was greatly confirmed by the too much curioſitie of the meſſenger which was ſent, who with all diligence enquired of the ſtate and ſituation of the citie, of the number and ſtrength of the Order. Wherfore in concluſion he was ſent backe againe, accompanied but with one priuat ſouldiour to carrie the Great maſters letters vnto the Turkiſh tyrant: the tenure whereof was thus.

Philippus Villerius Great maſter of the Rhodes, vnto the Turke greeting.

Villerius his anſwere to Solymans letters.

That you are mindfull of me, grieueth me nothing: and I am alſo mindfull of you. You repeat your victorie in HVNGARIE, *wherewith not being contented you hope for another: naie you promiſe and aſſure your ſelfe thereof, before you haue attempted the warre. Beware you deceiue not your ſelfe; mens expectations neuer deceiue them more than in warres. Farewell from the* RHODES.

The other letters written to *Pyrrhus*, were to this effect.

Philippus Villerius Liladamus Great maſter of the Rhodes, to *Pyrrhus* the Baſſa.

Villerius his anſwere to Pyrrhus the Baſſa his letters.

I haue aduiſedly conſidered thy letters, with the behauiour and diſpoſition of thy meſſenger. As I contemne not thy counſell, ſo will I not follow the ſame, whileſt my men of warre doe ſpoile the countries and ports of thy lord and maſter; which I beare withall, by reaſon of the iniuries they haue ſuſtained of the Turkiſh pirats. But I will call them home, and will ſend embaſſadours vnto thy great lord: ſo that thou before ſend me ſafe conduct vnder thy maſters great ſeale, for their ſafe comming and returne. Farewell from the RHODES.

But theſe letters were neuer deliuered vnto the great Turke, or the Baſſa: for as ſoone as the Turkiſh meſſenger was come ouer into the maine, he preſently tooke horſe, which was there in readineſſe for him, and poſted towards CONSTANTINOPLE with as much ſpeed as he could, leauing the Chriſtian meſſenger his companion behind him; who returning backe againe to the RHODES, and telling what he had heard and ſeene, gaue them all great occaſion to diſpaire of peace: whereupon *Villerius* ſent into CRETE to hire certaine companies of Cretenſian archers. In the meane time aduertiſement was giuen vnto the Great maſter by letters from the iſland of NAXOS, That the Turkes were readie to put their fleet to ſea with the firſt appearance of the new Moone: which thing they moſt ſuperſtitiouſly obſerue in the beginning of all their great actions. The ſame newes was brought alſo by certaine merchants of the iſland of PATHMOS, who came to the RHODES with a great ſhip laded with corne from EVBŒA; vnder the colour of the ſale whereof, they (by the commaundement of the Turkes, to whom they were tributa-

Villerius aduertiſed of the comming of the Turkiſh fleet.

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ries) diligently noted all that was done in the citie, shortly to be besieged. The Great master with no lesse diligence, sent diuers of his small gallies amongst the ilands and alongst the maine, to learne what might be of the enemies doings. *Ioannes Lupus* one of the knights of the order, and captaine of one of these gallies, meeting with a great ship of the Turkes laded with corne, tooke her and brought her home to the RHODES. But *Alphonsus* captaine of another of the gallies, lying in harbour in one of the ilands, and suffering his men to straggle too farre into the land, was set vpon by a Turkish pirat and taken.

About the same time the Turks by often fires made vpon the maine in the night season, gaue signe vnto the Rhodians, that they were desirous to haue some parley with them, as their manner was. Whereupon one *Meneton* a French man, one of the knights, by commandement of the rest of the order, was sent with a gallie well appointed to the maine to see what the matter might be; and with him was joyned *Iacobus Xaycus* paymaster for the gallies, that he might of the inhabitants of the place, and his friends there dwelling, diligently enquire of all things concerning the intended warre: for this *Xaycus*, besides that he was a skilfull sea man and one that knew the coast well, had also good experience in ciuile affairs, and was wonderfully beloued and made of by the Turkish merchants, whose language hee had perfectly learned. Drawing neere the shoare, he found the Turkish merchants making merrie vpon the maine, with their carpets, cotten wooll, and such like merchandise about them as they vsed to exchange with the Rhodian merchants for woollen cloathes: vnto these merchants he gaue due salutations, gaging his faith for their safetie, and they likewise to him. But being requested to come ashoare to make merrie vntill one of his familiar and old acquaintance might be sent for, who as they said was not farre off; he answered, that he could not so doe, except they would first deliuer a pledge for him a shipboord. The perfidious Turkes laughing as it were at his needlesse feare, willingly sent their merchandise, and a pledge aboord the gallies. *Xaycus* then going ashoare, and embracing the Turkish merchants which met him: vpon a signe giuen, was forthwith beset on euerie side and taken prisoner, and by post horses conuaied with all speed to CONSTANTINOPLE; where he was with most exquisit torments that could be deuised for any man to endure, enforced to confesse whatsoeuer his cruell enemies could desire. After *Xaycus* was by treacherie thus lost, then began their prouident wisedome to be highly commended, which were the occasion, that the decree made for sending embassadours vnto the Turke, was againe reuoked. The hostage giuen for *Xaycus*, being brought to the RHODES and examined, was found to be a simple countrey fellow whom the Turkes had of purpose well apparelled to deceiue the Rhodians: who frankly and plainly according to his simple knowledge, answered to all things that were of him demaunded; as that the Turkes were making great preparation for sea vpon the coasts of CARIA and LYCIA, and had taken vp many souldiours in the countries thereabouts to send vnto the frontiers of his dominions towards SYRIA, for defence of the same against the Persians. All which was true: For *Solyman* to put the Rhodians out of all suspition of inuasion (whom hee knew carefully to obserue his doings) sent those souldiours whom he had leuied in the countries neerest vnto the RHODES, farre away against the Persian, as if he had meant nothing against the RHODES, and so vpon the sudden to set vpon them with his armie brought out of EVROPE, before they were aware. But this his deuise serued to small purpose, for the Great Master perceiuing by many circumstances, but especially by that late calamitie of *Xaycus*, that the RHODES was the place the Turkish tyrant longed after; and fearing that delay might bring farther danger, caused a cessation from all other businesse to be proclaimed, vntill all things necessarie for defence of the citie were accomplished: watch and ward was kept in euerie street, the great artillerie planted vpon the wals and bulwarks, companies appointed for the defence of euerie place, the publike armorie full of all warlike prouision was open, all the streets were full of men carrying weapons, some to one place, some to another. At which time a generall muster was taken by the chiefe men of the Order, where were found about 5000 free men able to beare armes, amongst whom were 600 knights of the Order, and 500 souldiours of CRETE; the rest were for most part marriners, able bodies, who in the time of the siege did great seruice, encouraged by their sea captaines: the iland people which repaired into the citie, serued to little other purpose but to dig and carrie earth vnto the rampiers: and the citizens (except it were some few of the better sort) were for the most part weake and of small courage, not able to endure any labour or paines, and yet hardly to be kept in order and gouerned, great speakers, but small doers, greater

The carefulnesse of the Graund master.

greater in shew than in deed. The Great Master hauing carefully prouided and ordered all things needfull for defence of the citie, and fearing nothing more than the faint hearts of the citizens, caused them all to bee called together; for encouragement of whom, hee spake vnto them as followeth:

Villerius his Oration vnto the Rhodians.

Valiant gentlemen and worthie citizens, we heare that the Turke our mortall enemie is comming against vs, with a huge armie raised of diuers nations: from whose naturall crueltie and womted periurie except we defend our selues by force, one and the selfesame danger is like to befall me, my knights, and you all. For wee haue with common consent and hand greeuously spoiled him both by sea and land, and you are by booties taken by strong hand out of his dominions, enriched: and at this day we keepe his people in greeuous seruitude, and he ours; but he iniuriously, and we most iustly: For his ancestors (wearie of the darke dennes and caues of the mountaine CAVCASVS, *their naturall dwelling) without right, title, or cause, incited onely with couetousnesse, ambition, and the hatred of our most sacred religion, haue driuen the Christians out of* SYRIA: *and afterwards, oppressed the Grecians in* GRECIA; *where not contented to haue destroied the people, with one simple kind of death (as barbarisme is euer cruell and mercilesse) they haue with most exquisit and horrible torments butchered many thousands of that nation. All whom, this wicked proud youth (whose mischeefe exceedeth his yeares) an euill neighbour to all men, not contented with the dominions of* ARABIA, SYRIA, ÆGIPT, *the greatest part of* ASIA, *and of many other places moe, seeketh in tyrannie, murther, spoile, periurie, and hatred against Christ and Christians, farre to excell: and forceth himselfe to the vttermost of his power, to take from vs our Islands, and to subdue the Christian countries; that so at length being lord of all, and commaunder of the World, he may at his pleasure ouerthrow the Christian cities, kill the Christians, and vtterly root out the Christian name, which he so much hateth. For the repulsing of which intollerable iniurie, we haue especially chosen this Island of the* RHODES *for our dwelling place, because the same seemed more commodious than any other for the annoying of this barbarous nation. We haue done what in vs lay, holpen by you: we know by proofe your great valor and fidelitie, which we now haue not in any distrust. Wherefore I will not vse many words to persuade you to continue in your fidelitie and loyaltie, neither long circumstance to encourage you to play the men: sithence worthie minds are not with words either encouraged or dismaied. But concerning my selfe and my knights of the Order, I will speake a few words. I with them, with whom (as I hope) the Christian princes and other my knights of the West will in good time ioine their forces, are most readie and prest to defend your selues, your children, your wiues, your goods, the monuments of your ancestours, and sacred temples dedicated to the seruice of our God. Which opinion that it may remaine firme and fix in your minds, if nothing els, my faithfulnesse in your warres, my bodie not yet altogether spent, but able enough to endure paines and trauell, the nobilitie of these worthie knights of the Order, their loue towards you, and their hatred towards your enemies, were sufficient to confirme: but beside this, the strength of this citie, which this noble Order hath with infinit charges so notably fortified with ditches, wals, towers, and bulwarkes against all the force and furie of artillerie, is such, that no citie may worthely be compared, much lesse preferred before the same. It is wonderfully stored with all kind of weapons and warlike prouision: we haue laid vp plentie of wine, flesh, and corne, in vaults, so that neither wet weather nor wormes can attaint the same: of wood and wholesome water not to be taken from vs, things necessarie for men besieged, we haue plentie: and able men ynow for the defence of the citie. All which things promise vnto vs assured victorie, and such end of the warre as we wish for. Besides this, Necessitie, which giueth courage euen vnto cowards, will enforce vs to fight. Yet standeth on our side true religion, faith, conscience, deuotion, constancie, the loue of our countrey, the loue of our libertie, the loue of our parents, wiues, children, and whatsoeuer els we hold deare: Whereas they bring with them the proud commaund of their captaines, infidelitie, impietie, vnconstancie, a wicked desire of your bondage, of your bloud, and the bloud of your parents, wiues, and children. Out of doubt (beloued citizens) our good God will not suffer so many good vertues to be ouercome by their foule vices. Wherefore be you in minds quiet and secure, and trouble not your selues with forboding feare of your enemies; onely continue in the fidelitie and loyaltie which you haue alwaies kept inuiolat and vnspotted toward this sacred and honourable fellowship, in most dangerous wars, and hardest chances of fortune: and if need shall so require, with courageous hand shew your valour against your enemies, and make it knowne vnto the Spaniards, French, Italians, Hungarians, and English, That the Rhodians are of power to daunt the Turkish pride, and to auert their fleets and armies from* ITALIE, *which they haue*

so

ſo many yeares threatened with fire and ſword: and will no doubt thither with all ſpeed haſten and come, if (that which my mind abhorreth to ſpeake) they ſhould here preuaile. Neither will this ambitious youth, in courage, falſhood, and crueltie exceeding Hannibal, *imitate him in that, that hauing ouerthrowne the Romanes in the great battell at* Cannas, *knew not to vſe his victorie: but he will preſently with more than* Cæſars *celeritie bring forth the treaſures his father got in* Ægipt, *and with great fleets and huge armies inuade* Apvlia, Calabria, *and* Sicilia: *from whence he will forthwith breake into* France, *and afterwards into* Spaine, *and other Chriſtian countries, raging through them with all kind of crueltie. But I am caried away further than I purpoſed, and than need is: For your fidelitie and valor (moſt worthie citiſens) to endure the ſiege and repulſe the enemie, is ſuch, as needeth not my perſuaſion; and of greater reſolution, than that it can be ſhaken with the dangers incident to men beſieged. Yet the greateſt and moſt forcible miſeries of all, which is hunger and thirſt, I aſſure you you ſhall neuer feele; which pinching calamities for all that, ſome people (in faithfulneſſe, courage, and valour nothing comparable to you) haue neuertheleſſe moſt conſtantly endured. For they of* Petelinvm, *beſieged by the Carthaginenſians, for want of victuall, thruſt their parents and children out of the citie, the longer to hold out the ſiege, and liued themſelues with hides and leather ſod or broiled, and leaues of trees, and manie other homely things, by the ſpace of eleuen months: and could not be ouercome vntill they wanted ſtrength longer to ſtand vpon the wals, and to hold their weapons in their hands. They of* Cassilinvm *beſieged by* Hannibal, *held out vntill a poore mouſe was ſold for much monie. You muſt of neceſsitie keepe watch and ward in your Stations: if your houſes chance to be beaten downe with the enemies artillerie, you muſt haue patience: for why, they ſhall bee repaired againe, and it is not a matter of ſuch importance, that we ſhould therfore yeeld vnto our enemies, in whoſe courteſie and fidelitie no aſſurance is to be repoſed. For beſides that he is by nature cruell and vnfaithfull, he can by no meanes be gentle and faithfull towards vs, which haue done him ſo much harme: who onely (as he himſelfe ſaith) haue oftentimes to his greefe interrupted the courſe of the victories of him the conquerour both of ſea and land; whom he hath ſo manie times aſſailed by open force with all his ſtrength, wit, craft, deceit, and policie: yet alwaies hetherto in vaine, almightie God ſtill protecting vs, whom aboue all things (moſt deare citiſens) I wiſh you to ſerue and call vpon: For except he keepe and defend the citie, the watchmen doe but watch in vaine.*

This cheerefull ſpeech wonderfully encouraged the hearers, eſpecially the vulgar ſort, eaſily caried away with pleaſing words. But whileſt they in their jolitie dreame of nothing but of triumph and victorie, the wiſer ſort poſſeſſed with care, ceaſed not to doe what in them lay, to procure, That the good commonly forewiſhed, might in fine come to effect. Amongſt others, *Clement* biſhop of the Greekes, a man both for his place and deuout manner of liuing had in great reputation amongſt them, laboured earneſtly by dayly exhortations to perſuade the Greekes his countreymen in that great and common danger with heart and hand to joine with the Latines in defence of the citie: for although the gouernment was altogether in the Great Maſter and his Knights, which were Latines; yet the people both of the Iſland and citie were for moſt part Greekes, who liked not altogether ſo well of the Latine gouernment, but that they did many times repine thereat. Howbeit the matter was at that time ſo ordered by the good perſuaſion of the biſhop, and good gouernment of the Great Maſter, that they all agreed as one man to ſpend their liues in defence of the citie; and were ſo farre from feare of the comming of the barbarous enemie, that many of the vulgar people, in whom appeareth commonly more heat than wit, wiſhed rather for his comming than otherwiſe. But looke what they had fondly wiſhed, proued afterwards to their coſts ouer true. For within a few nights after, the Turkes by fire made in the night time vpon the maine, gaue ſigne of parley vnto the Rhodians. Whereupon a gallie well appointed, with a long boat, was preſently ſet forth to ſee what the matter was: which drawing neere vnto the ſhore, was hailed by a Turke, accompanied with a troupe of horſemen, deſiring the captaine of the gallie to ſend ſome on ſhore, with whom they might more conueniently parley: which thing the captaine refuſing, What, ſaid the Turke, art thou afraid of *Xayeus* fortune? To whom the captaine in threatening manner anſwered againe, *Xayeus* whom you haue contrarie to your faith and oath taken, troubleth me not; neither am I afraid of you, whom I truſt not: but if you haue any thing to ſay, let me heare it, or els get you further off, otherwiſe I will ſpeake to you by the mouth of the cannon. Then one of the Turks comming to the water ſide, laid downe letters vpon a ſtone, ſaying, that in them was contained that they had in charge

which said, he presently set spurs to his horse, and departed with the rest of his companie. The captaine sending out his long boat for these letters, found them directed in this sort:

Solyman by the grace of God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, most mightie Emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE and TRAPEZONDE, &c. vnto the reuerend father *Philippus Villerius Lilladamus*, Great Master of the RHODES, to his knights, and all his people in generall:

The purport of which letter was as followeth:

Solymans threatening letters to the Rhodians.

The compassion I haue of my distressed subiects, and the great iniurie you doe me, hath moued me to wrath. Wherefore I commaund you without delay to yeeld vnto mee the Island and citie of the RHODES, *willingly and charitably graunting you leaue safely to depart with all your riches, or to tarrie if you forplease vnder my obeisance, your libertie and religion in no part infringed with anie tribute or imposition. If you be wise, preferre friendship and peace before bloudie warre: for vnto them which are by force subdued, are reserued all extremities which the miserable vanquished vse to suffer of the angrie conquerour: from which neither your owne force, nor forraine aid, nor huge wals, which I will vtterly ouerthrow, shall be able to defend you, fare you well. All which shall assuredly be performed, if you shall make choice rather of my friendship than of my force: wherein you shall neither be deceiued nor circumuented; I take to witnesse God the creator of heauen and earth, the foure writers of the Euangelicall historie, the fourscore thousand prophets descended from heauen, & amongst them our highest prophet* Mahomet, *the reuerend ghosts of my father and grandfather, and this my sacred and imperiall head. From our pallace at* CONSTANTINOPLE.

When these letters were openly read in the Counsell chamber at the RHODES, some were of opinion, That it was good to answere the Turkish tyrant roundly, thereby to giue him to vnderstand that they were not afraid of his threats: othersome thought it no wisedome with hard words to prouoke so great an enemie to further displeasure. Thus whilest euery man would haue framed an answere according to his owne disposition, in conclusion it was agreed vpon, to giue him no answere at all.

The same day these letters came to the RHODES, which was the foureteenth day of Iune, one of the Turkes great commaunders at sea with thirtie gallies, the forerunners of the Turkish fleet, arriued at the Island of CHOS, famous in antient time for the birth of *Hippocrates* the great physition, and the wonderfull picture of *Venus* left there vnperfited by *Apelles*, which for the excellencie thereof neuer man durst afterward take in hand to perfect: which fruitfull and pleasant Island was then at the arriuall of the Turkes, part of the dominion of the RHODES. The Admirall of this fleet here landing his Turkes, began to burne the corne which was then almost ripe, with the countrey villages round about. With which injurie, *Preianes* gouernour of the Island (a man of great courage and valour) moued, with a chosen companie of footmen, and certaine troupes of horsemen, suddainely set vpon the Turkes, in diuers places dispersed abroad far into the countrey, with such a terrible crie of the countrey people, and instruments of warre, that the Turkes being therewith amazed, ran away as if they had been mad, and were many of them slaine without resistance; and had not the gallies lien neare the shore, to receiue them that were able to flie thither, there had not one of them which landed escaped the hands of the Island people. The Turkes hauing receiued this losse, left the Island, and put to sea againe.

The Rhodians for feare of the Turks destroy their suburbs & places of pleasure without the citie.

The Rhodians for the most part now assured and out of doubt of the comming of the Turks, by the persuasion of *Gabriell Pomerolus* vicemaster, and other men of great experience, pluckt downe the suburbes of the citie, and laid them euen with the ground, their pleasant orchards also and gardens neere vnto the citie, they vtterly destroyed; the Great Master for example sake beginning first with his owne, beeing a place of great delicacie, lying vnder the wals neere vnto the French bulwarke: and taking into the citie all such things as they thought needfull for the enduring of the siege, they vtterly destroyed all the rest, were it neuer so pleasant or commodious, within a mile of the towne, leauing all that space as euen and bare as they could possibly make it; to the intent, that the enemie at his comming should find nothing neere the citie whereof to make vse. But whilest the pleasures and delights of the suburbes are thus in defacing, another

more

more heauie and wofull ſight preſented vnto the eies of the citiſens, filled the citie with greater mourning and penſiueneſſe than did the comming of the enemie. The miſerable multitude of the poore countrey people, ſome bringing wood, ſome corne, ſome cattell, ſome foules, and other ſuch neceſſaries as they had, out of the countrie into the citie (for ſo the Great maſter had commaunded) after whom followed great numbers of women and children weeping, with diſchiueled haire, ſcratching their faces and tearing themſelues after the manner of the countrie, wringing their hands and caſting vp their eies to heauen, beſeeching God with heauie countenance and flouds of teares to defend the noble citie of the RHODES and themſelues from the furie of their enemies. Which multitude of countrie people with their prouiſion, being packt vp into narrow roomes in the houſes of the citiſens, and their cattell ſtaruing for want of fodder, afterwards corrupted the aire; whereof enſued rotten agues and the flix, during the time of the ſiege. But after the citie was giuen vp, ſuch a plague and mortalitie followed, as deſtroied great numbers of the Turkes and poore Chriſtians; which knowing not whither to go, choſe rather there to die than to forſake their natiue countrey.

The feare of the countrey people.

The Generall of the Turkiſh fleet which landed in the iſland of CHOS, and was of purpoſe ſent by *Solyman* to prouoke the Rhodians to battell at ſea; before he with his whole power came to beſiege the iſland, came daily with twentie gallies halfe thoſe narrow ſeas ouer, betwixt LYCIA and the RHODES, leauing the reſt of his fleet riding at anchor at the promontorie called GNIDVM (not farre from the citie of the RHODES) readie to aid him as need ſhould require: this manner of brauerie he vſed many daies togither, hoping thereby to allure the Rhodians out of their hauen to giue him battell; knowing, that if he ſhould therein obtaine the victorie, it were at that time little leſſe than the taking of the citie, or if he could by cruell fight but weaken the forces of the Rhodians, he ſhould therein doe his maſter good ſeruice, and greatly further his victorie by diminiſhing the number of the defendants. When he had many daies without intermiſsion in this proud manner come halfe ſeas ouer, and ſometimes paſsing further came and lay at the mouth of the hauen, as it were daring them to fight: the Rhodians not wont to be ſo braued at their owne doores, moued with the intollerable inſolencie of this proud Turke, by their continuall importunitie cauſed the Great Maſter to call a counſell, to conſider whether they ſhould fight with this fleet of the Turkes or not. The counſellors by the appointment of the Great Maſter aſſembled: the Chancelor, a man of great authoritie and ſpirit, famous for his noble acts both at home and abroad, and chiefe of them which were of opinion this fleet of the Turkes was to be fought withall, ſaid:

The Chancellor his ſpeech, perſuading the Rhodians to fight with the Turkes gallies.

So great diſgrace was not longer to be ſuffered, but preſently reuenged: For (ſaid he) *the hugie fleet of the Turks, I do not ſate at whoſe force & ſight, but at whoſe verie name many men do tremble and quake (which for all that is vnto vs no great noueltie, for euerie yeare we heare of the like) is as a head to be ioined vnto theſe piraticall gallies, as members; and then will it be moſt expedient (which will be a moſt eaſie thing for vs to doe, hauing the better both for ſtrength of ſhipping and number and valour of men) to giue that great head ſuch a blow and wound, by cutting off theſe limbes, that it ſhall euer after ſtagger and faint for want of ſtrength: or elſe there is no other fleet at all prepared againſt vs to follow this, and then this diſcomfited we ſhall be at quiet. Which thing in my iudgement (though others which feare their owne ſhadowes and the falling of heauen, ſay otherwiſe) is moſt like to be true: for the great Turke is not ſo ſottiſh to come hither, the fitteſt time of the yeare being ſo far ſpent, in the latter end of Iune, to beſiege this citie, and ſuch a citie as he knoweth to be moſt ſtrong, wanting nothing that is needfull, and thorowly manned with valiant ſouldiours, from whence his aunceſtors haue been with loſſe and ſhame repulſed: when as the remainder of the Sommer will be ſpent, before he can encampe himſelfe and place his batteries; and Winter time as you know is vnfit for anie ſiege, eſpecially in this iſland, wherein they can find no hauen or harbour to reſt in. Wherefore on Gods name let vs ſet vpon our proud enemies: and let vs not for a few threatning words ſent vnto vs from a fearfull youth, vpon a fineneſſe and pollicie leaſt we ſhould follow the taile of his fleet bound for ſome other place, ſit ſtill like cowards within our wals with our hands in our boſomes, as men which for feare and dread durſt not ſhew their heads. Which our cowardiſe and want of courage we (forſooth) call* Fabius *his pollicie: but I would to God we were like* Fabius, *but I feare we ſhall prooue more like* Antiochus, *the Ætholians, the Vitellians, all whoſe courage conſiſted in words, vainly hoping to gaine the victorie by ſitting ſtill and wiſhing well. But the helpe of God is not to be gotten by womens praiers and ſupplications*

cations or theſe faint-hearted pollicies, which cowards call adaiſed counſell: but victorie is gained by aduenturing and expoſing our ſelues to danger and perill.

With theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches he ſo moued the multitude, which commonly conceiueth moſt courage vpon the greateſt vncertainties, that they deſired that they might fight, ſaying, That they would waſh away that foule diſgrace with the bloud and ſlaughter of their enemies; for why, they wanted not weapons, courage, or hands (as they ſaid) to doe it withall.

For all this, the grauer ſort of the counſell (without whoſe conſent the maſter might in ſuch caſes doe nothing) thought it not good in ſo dangerous a time to aduenture any great part of their forces, which they ſhould afterwards want for the defence of their citie. The Turkiſh generall deceiued of his expectation, and perceiuing that the Rhodians would not be drawne forth to battell at ſea, withdrew his fleet twelue miles off, vnto a place called VILLANOVA; where caſting anchor and landing his men, he burnt the corne all thereabouts which was now almoſt ripe, but forſaken of the people as a thing deſperat: as for the people themſelues, they were all fled, and had retired themſelues either into the citie of the RHODES, or els into ſtrong caſtles in other places of the iſland.

At the ſame time, certaine troupes of horſemen ſent forth to haue skirmiſhed with the Turks that were burning of the corne, were by a meſſenger ſent from the Great maſter, commanded to retire: For the prouident Generall ſought by all meanes to reſerue his ſoldiors for greater dangers, which he juſtly feared in the expected ſiege: during which time he ſhewed himſelfe a moſt politike captaine and braue ſoldiour, he would many times by day eat his meat with his ſoldiors as one of them, and moſt part of the night keepe watch himſelfe walking vp and downe, reſting himſelfe when he was wearie vpon ſome ſtone or piece of timber or other homly ſeat, as it chanced. In time of aſſault he was alwaies more forward and aduenturous than the graue counſellors wiſhed, fearing neither ſhot nor enemie: yet did he alwaies more commend diſcreet counſell grounded vpon reaſon, than proſperous actions commended but by their euents. And that which a man would wonder at, amongſt ſo many cares in middeſt of ſuch diuers and dangerous chances, he carried alwaies ſuch a grace and majeſtie in his cheerfull countenance, as made him to be of the beholders both reuerenced and loued. All the time he could ſpare from the neceſſarie cares of his waightie charge, from aſſaults, and the naturall refreſhing of his bodie, he beſtowed in prayer and ſeruing of God; he did oftentimes ſpend the greateſt part of the night in the church alone praying, his headpiece, gorget and gauntlets lying by him: ſo that it was commonly ſaid, that his deuout praiers and carefulneſſe would make the citie inuincible.

The worthie cõmendation of the Great maſter.

The Turks fleet deſcried at ſea troubleth the Rhodians.

The ſix and twentith day of Iune early in the morning, newes was brought into the citie from the watch-tower ſtanding vpon S. *Stephens* hill about a mile from the citie, That a moſt hugie fleet was deſcried at ſea, making thitherwards all alongſt the Weſterne coaſt of LYCIA. This bad newes much troubled the citie, although it was not of moſt men vnexpected; all places was filled with tumult and hurly burly, euerie man meaſured the greatneſſe of the danger by the meaſure of his owne feare, and ſuch a pitifull crie was in euerie place as is vſually in cities preſently to be beſieged. Hereupon publike praiers were made through all the citie, and euerie man with great deuotion beſought the God of heauen, That as it was his pleaſure that the Rhodians ſhould at that time be the champions of the Chriſtian religion; ſo he would giue them ſtrength and victorie againſt their enemies, and to turne the calamities of warre vpon the enemies of his name. Their deuotion ended, the gates of the citie were ſhut vp, and people from all places ran vnto the wals, great flocks of women, children, and aged men not able to ſtand without a ſtaffe, going forth of their houſes to gaze vpon that dreadfull fleet (wherein was aboue 200 ſailes as is reported) filled the ſtreets, the tops of the high towers and houſes. The formoſt of the fleet was the Admirall of CALIPOLIS, to whom *Solyman* had committed the charge of all his nauie, and to aſſaile the citie by ſea: The rearadmirall was *Cara Mahometes* an arch pirat, who was afterwards ſlaine with a great ſhot out of the citie. The viceadmirall in the middle of the fleet with a great ſquadron of gallies, hauing a faire Weſternly wind, ſtrucke ſaile directly before the mouth of the hauen (which was on both ſides defended with two ſtrong towers well furniſhed with great artillerie) and began to row towards the citie: whereupon an alarum was raiſed, the trumpets ſounded, and many haſted vnto the bulwarke which defended the left ſide of the hauen, which the enemie ſeemed to direct his courſe vnto; and was indeed more ſubject to danger than

The order of the Turkes fleet.

than the other. But the Turke seeing himselfe in danger to be sunke with shot from the bulwark, was glad to get himselfe farther off vnto the rest of the fleet: the Rhodians from the wals with lowd outcries scornfully deriding him for his fooliſh attempt. This great fleet in exceeding brauerie and triumph passing by the citie in sight of the Rhodians (standing vpon their wals with ensignes displaied) did not more terrifie them, than they were themselues terrified to behold the strength of the citie and cheerfulnesse of the defendants. But passing on, they came to the promontorie which the inhabitants call Bo, about three miles distant from the citie, Eastward: which small harbour being not able to receiue so great a fleet, many of the gallies were enforced to ride it out at sea, where they were by shot out of the citie oftentimes endangered and enforced to get them farther off. Whilest the enemie was there landing his great ordinance and other instruments of warre prepared for the siege, chusing a place for his campe, transporting his land souldiours from the maine into the iland, viewing the strength and situation of the citie, and in what place he might with most ease assault the same: the Rhodians in the meane time were not idle, but sunke diuers deepe sounds in many places of the citie neere vnto the wals, to discouer the enemies mines; and fortified their bulwarks with greater rampiers; in which worke euerie man put to his helping hand without respect of age or calling. The Graund master about that time sent *Lodouicus Andugus* one of the knights of the Order, into SPAINE to *Charles* the emperour; and *Claudius Ducenuillius* another of the Order also, to ROME to the Cardinals, and Italian knights of the Order; and from thence into FRANCE vnto the French king with letters: crauing the aid of these Christian princes, for reliefe of the citie by sea and land besieged. But all in vaine, for they carried away with the endlesse grudge of one against another, or respecting only their owne estates, returned the embassadors with good words, without reliefe.

The Great master by his embassadours craueth aid of the Christian princes.

At this time *Preianes* Gouernour of CHIOS (of whom we haue before spoken) a man comparable with any of the captaines of that age, an excellent souldiour both by sea and land, valiant and thereto fortunat, of an inuincible courage, brought vp in the wars from his childhood; when he had by the space of two or three daies hid himselfe in the rocks at sea, for feare of the Turkes great fleet, came by night in a small pinnesse to the RHODES, hauing deceiued the Turks watch: at whose comming the Rhodians wonderfully rejoyced, for the souldiours reposed greater confidence in no man than in him: And if any great exploit were to be done, him the Master trusted aboue any other: he alwaies in armes during the siege, encouraged the souldiours, searched the watch, suruaied the bulwarks, repaired the breaches; and such labours as others accounted extreame miseries, he cheerfully endured, as if they had been but his pleasures and recreation. At the same time also *Gabriell Martiningus* of BRIXIA, a most skilful enginer, came to the Rhodes out of CRETA; by whose industrie and cunning, 55 mines which the Turks did with infinit labor and charge make (by reason of the springing of the water, and hardnesse of the rockes (during the siege, were all by counterminés disappointed and defeated.

The commendation of Preianes.

The citie of the RHODES is scituat on a plaine ground, on euerie side to be besieged, onely Northward it is defended with a goodly hauen, from whence it lieth all Westward: betwixt it and the hils round about it, lieth a stonie plaine ground, not verie broad but of greater length; these hils are full of springs, and orchards planted with Oliues, Figtrees, Vines, and such other fruits as such drie and sandie ground will beare. But what by nature wanted, was by the hand and industrie of man supplied; for it was compassed about with a most strong double wall, and deepe trenches, threatning the enemie with thirteene stately towers: and sure against all assaults, with fiue mightie bulwarks: with diuers goodly faire gates: and that which was the greatest defence of all, within the citie was alwaies kept a most exact and straight forme of warlike discipline. The defence of the whole citie was thus proportioned: From the French tower (which with the greatnesse and height thereof seemed to mate the skie) stood the Frenchmen with the French Lillies in their ensignes, vnder their Commander *Ioannes Abbinus* a noble knight of the Order: from thence to S. *Georges* gate lay the stout Germains, with the Eagle in their ensignes: in the third station were placed the French Auergnois, with the Spaniards, for that the ditches in that place were neither so deepe nor broad as elsewhere: in the fift place lay the English garrison, ouer whom the Graund master himselfe commaunded: after them succeeded they of NARBONA: and last of all the Italians, in valour nor inferiour to any of the rest, vnder the leading of *Petrus Ballinus* and *Gregorius Morgutas*. In euerie one of these stations were diuers valiant knights of the Order, whose names (worthie of eternall memorie) for breuitie we passe ouer, all men

The description of the Rhodes.

of themselues sufficient to haue taken vpon them the whole charge. G

A Turkish woman slaue, conspireth to fire the citie.

The enemie was not busier without the citie in placing his batterie, but traiterous minds were as busie within to haue betrayed the same. A Turkish woman, slaue to one of the rich citizens, had conspired with certaine other her complices, at such time as the Turkes should giue assault vnto the towne, at one instant to set on fire the houses wherein they dwelt in diuers places of the citie, that the defendants drawne from the wals to quench the fire, the Turks in the meane time might the more easily enter. But this treason was in good time reuealed, and the offenders worthily executed.

The Turkes had not as yet placed their batterie, when as they tooke a certaine hill, whereon stood the church dedicated to *Cosmus* and *Damianus*, directly oueragainst the English station: from thence (as it seemed, rather for exercising of their souldiors than for any great harme they H could doe so farre off) they began with small battering peeces to shoot into the citie: and afterwards they began to dig mines, and to cast vp trenches: for the performance of which kind of worke, and for the filling vp of the towne ditches, they had brought with them fiftie thousand pioners, men better acquainted with countrey labour and keeping of cattell, than with warres; which being enforced vnto their labour day and night, sometime with stripes, and somtime with death, did with incredible celeritie bring that to passe, which was before thought impossible.

The painfulnesse of the Turkes pioners.

They cut wayes through the most hard stonie rockes, raising the plaines as high as mountaines, with earth brought two miles off, and laying the mountaines euen with the plaines, and yet they neuer wrought in safetie, but were miserably rent in sunder with the great ordinance out of the towne: and that which most of all troubled them, the Rhodians sallying out vpon these ouer- I laboured people, hauing neither courage nor skill to defend themselues, but trusting onely to their heeles, slew great numbers of them, and not of them only, but of others also appointed for their defence, whom the Rhodians (taking courage of their feare) fiercely pursued & slew downright. And when many others issuing out of the campe in great companies, thought to haue releeued their fellowes, the great ordinance before of purpose placed to most aduantage, so thundered from the wals amongst the thickest of them, that the ground lay couered with the bodies and weapons of the dead Turks. With which manner of fight, after the Rhodians had twice or thrice troubled the enemie, the Turkes for their more safetie wrought most vpon their mounts by night, keeping most strong watch for defence of their pioners, which for more assurance they doubled in the day time, and bent their artillerie against the places which the Rhodians K vsed to sallie out at: which did not so much keepe them in, as the feare of weakening themselues by often sallies, knowing that one man was vnto them a greater losse, than vnto the enemie an hundred. Amongst others which in the beginning of this great siege forced the vttermost of their deuices to the destruction of the Turkes, were certaine marriners, who hauing the Turkish language perfectly, by leaue of the Grand Master (disguising themselues in the habit of Turks) departed by night out of the hauen in a small boat, loaded with apples, plums, peares, mellons, grapes, and such other fruits as the time of the yeare affoorded; and in the darkenesse came alongst the coast, vnto that part of the Island whereunto the passage was out of the maine. There as if they had been Turkes come from the maine, they landed their commodities, which the Turkish souldiors bought greedily. When they had thus sold their fruits, and in selling thereof diligently L noted the speech and talke of the souldiors concerning the siege, and were now ready to depart: certaine Turks which greatly disliked the hard beginning of this siege, seeing themselues if they did but stir, in danger to be set off with shot out of the towne, earnestly requested the marriners to take them with them into the maine: which to doe, at the first the marriners dissembling, refused, as a thing dangerous: & besides that, their boat was too little to receiue so many as would willingly haue gone with them. Yet with much adoe they suffered themselues to be intreated to take in seuen or eight, such a number as they knew they could well master: who in hope of passing ouer into the maine, were (contrarie to their expectation) brought prisoners to the RHODES, where they were by *Preianes* brought vp to the top of the highest tower of *S. Iohns* church, from whence they might see all about the countrey, and well descrie all the manner of M the Turks campe, which they simply discouered vnto the captaine; and whatsoeuer els they were demaunded: and amongst other things confessed, that the souldiours were greatly discontented with the siege, hauing in the beginning thereof lost so many men; and that they were readie to rise in mutinie against their captaines, and would hardly by them be commaunded out of their trenches

The Turkes deceiued by the Christian marriners.

trenches and cabbins, saying, that all they did was but lost labour: and that they should find it another peoce of worke to win the RHODES, than they had at BELGRADE: wherefore if they were wise, they should in time depart before they had receiued further harme both from the enemie, and for want of necessaries, wherewith the souldiors began alreadie to be pinched. All which was then supposed to haue been spoken by the captiues to please them in whose power they now were: yet it appeared afterwards to bee all true. For *Pyrrhus Bassa* considering the troubled state of the campe, and the generall discontentment of the souldiors, whom he was at that time gladder to please than to punish, writ vnto *Solyman* at CONSTANTINOPLE, That if he would the siege should goe forward, he should without delay come in person himselfe to the campe, for that the souldiors without regard of shame were readie to rise in mutinie and to abandon the siege, refusing to be commaunded by their captaines.

In the meane time whilest *Solyman* prepareth himselfe to set forward, the Turkish captaines vnderstood by certaine fugitiues (whereof in all warres some are to be found) that the high steeple of S. *Iohns* church serued them of the towne for a watch tower: for which cause, and for despight of the Crosse standing vpon the top thereof, they laboured nothing more, than with continuall shot to beat downe that tower; which whilest they were doing with great diligence, *Solyman* himselfe came into the campe the 28 day of August in the afternoone: where finding in his armie all the signes of cowardise and feare that could be spoken of or deuised, and nothing done according to the commaund of such as he had appointed for that charge, but all things out of order; he tooke more greefe to see that great disorder, than he did pleasure and good hope of two hundred thousand souldiors which were in his armie. Yet for all that hee was inwardly chafed with the heat of youth and indignation, against his own people as well as the Rhodians, he moderated himselfe betwixt his owne rage and the offence of his souldiors, and calling them together, caused them to be disarmed, not leauing among them so much as a sword: and compassing them in with fifteene thousand harquebusiers whom he had brought with him well appointed, he stept vp into his royall seat, there set on high for the purpose; where sitting downe, he pansed a good while without any word speaking; as if hee had considered with himselfe, whether he should onely punish the authors of the mutinie, or els with the punishment of many to reuenge so foule a sedition, little differing from open rebellion. But following in himselfe the milder resolution, he thought it sufficient to correct the multitude and common sort of souldiours with sharpe and bitter words: and after generall silence made, brake out into this cholleticke speech.

Selymus cometh into the campe.

Slaues (quoth he) *for I cannot find in my heart to call you souldiors, What kind of men are you now become? are you Turkes? men wont both to fight and ouercome? verely I see the bodies, countenances, attire, and habit of my souldiors; but the deeds, speeches, counsels and deuises of cowardly and vile traitors. Alas how hath my opinion deceiued me? that Turkish force and courage is gone, the valour and strength both of bodies and minds, wherewith the Arabians, Persians, Sirians, Ægyptians, Seruians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Epirotes, Macedonians and Thracians were subdued, is lost: forgetting your countrey, your oath, the commaund of your captaines, your obedience, and all other warlike discipline, you haue against the maiestie of my empire refused to fight, like cowards betaken your selues to flight, for vaine feare of death and danger, not beseeming men of warre. If any man should at home but haue named the* RHODES *in your feasts, amongst your pots, in your assemblies or great meetings, you could then with your tongues brag to pull it downe, you had much adoe to hold your hands: here when I would make proofe of your force and courage, it is nothing. But you thought perhaps, that the Rhodians so soone as they saw your ensignes before their gates, would straightway yeeld themselues and their citie into your power: Let all men cease so to say or thinke, and beleeue me that know the truth, This base and infamous denne (which you see) is full of most cruell beasts, whose madnesse you shall neuer tame without much labour and bloudshed. Yet shall we tame them; for why nothing is so wild but it may at length be tamed: which except I bring to passe, I am fully resolued and haue vowed vnto my selfe, Either here to die or spend my daies: and if euer I doe or say otherwise, let this my head, my fleet, mine armie, and empire, be for euer accursed and vnfortunate.*

Solymans cholleticke Oration to his souldiors.

And so without further speech, desiring rather to be accounted of his souldiours gentle than

seuere,

ſeuere, he pardoned them all their former offences, and ſwore them all againe to his obedience. This mutinie ſo appeaſed, all things were afterwards done with better ſucceſſe and greater care both of the ſouldious and commaunders. Firſt they planted in diuers places twelue great bombards, wherewith they threw vp ſtones of hugie waight into the ayre, which falling downe into the citie, might breake downe the houſes and whatſoeuer elſe they lighted vpon: with the fall of one of theſe, the Great maſter was like to haue been ſlaine. Howbeit this proued a deuiſe of more terror than danger, for with 200 ſuch ſhot were but ten men ſlaine; which thing amongſt others, *Apella* a traiterous fugitiue declared vnto the enemie, with whom he had intelligence, as he himſelfe confeſſed being taken vpon ſuſpition and examined: for which his treaſon he was juſtly executed.

Apella, a traitor.

The force of the batterie was more feated, wherein the Turkes had planted fortie great pieces of batterie, and amongſt them twelue Baſilisks (ſo aptly named of the ſerpent *Baſiliſcus*, who as *Plinie* writeth, killeth man or beaſt with his ſight) with theſe pieces the Turkes battered the wals continually; but lying ſomewhat farre off, did no great harme.

The Turkes batterie.

At the ſame time alſo *Solyman* cauſed batterie to be laid againſt the tower of Saint *Nicholas*, ſtanding vpon a narrow piece of ground pointing farre into the ſea, defending the hauen vpon the right hand, where ſometime ſtood the great Coloſſus of the Sunne, accounted the greateſt amongſt the ſeauen wonders of the world. Which caſtle was both ſtrongly and ſumptuouſly built at the charges of the Dukes of BVRGVNDIE, as appeared by their armes there engrauen in many places in marble. This tower was valiantly defended by *Guido* a French man, who had the charge thereof, with 300 ſouldiours, amongſt whom were 30 knights of the Order.

The Turks artillerie planted againſt that tower, was by the skilfulneſſe of the Chriſtian canoniers in ſhort time diſmounted with ſhot from the tower, and many of the gunners ſlaine: ſo that they were glad to ſurceaſe any more to batter the tower by day, but lying ſtill all the day they began to batter the ſame by night, wherein they preuailed no more than they had before done in the day time; for the defendants warily obſeruing ſuch places as were likeſt for the enemie to place his batterie in, did ſo aptly place their ordinance againſt the ſame, and to ſo good purpoſe, that the Turkes ſwore, their doings were by ſome meanes diſcouered vnto the enemies. So when they had in vaine beſtowed 500 great ſhot, and made a ſmall breach which they durſt not once attempt to enter, they ſhamefully abandoned that place alſo.

All this while *Pyrrhus* was buſie in working of mines to vndermine the citie, two and thirtie of which mines the defendants fruſtrated with countermines; in which kind of worke many were loſt on both ſides: yet for all the carefulneſſe of the Chriſtians, the Engliſh bulwarke was vnderminded by the enemie, and vpon the fourth day of September part therof blowne vp, with ſuch violence, that vnto them in the citie it ſeemed at the firſt to be a generall earthquake; and therewith diuers Engliſh men were there ouerwhelmed. The Turks attempting preſently to enter, were by the Graund maſter and his followers with great ſlaughter repulſed.

The Engliſh bulwarke blowne vp.

But *Muſtapha* the Baſſa comming on with freſh ſupplies, and crying out of the cowardiſe of them which retired, renewed the aſſault: where for a while was fought a moſt ſharpe and cruell fight, the leaders cheerfully encouraging their ſouldiours, and they likewiſe doing what was poſſible for men to doe. All mens eares were filled with the thundring of the ſhot, noiſe of trumpets and drums, and crying of men. And vnto the Turkes it ſeemed that ouer their heads it rained deadly ſhot, ſtones, and fire: for the towneſmen and women mingled with the ſouldiours caſt downe vpon the Turkes, fire, ſtones, timber, and whatſoeuer elſe came to hand: ſo that they vnable longer to endure the courage and force of the Chriſtians, turned their backs and ran away by heapes, not expecting any ſigne of retrait, euerie man ſeeking to ſaue one: amongſt whom as they fled, the great ordinance ſhot off from the wals made a wonderfull ſlaughter. At this aſſault of the Turkes were ſlaine (as ſome write) almoſt 2000, and amongſt them the maſter of the Turkes ordinance, a man whom *Solyman* greatly loued: which victorie the Chriſtians gained not without ſome loſſe; for beſides ſome few others that were ſlaine, fiftie knights of the Order (men worthie of eternall memorie) there ended their daies alſo.

The Turkes aſſault the Engliſh bulwarke the ſecond time, and are againe repulſed.

The fift day after (which was the ninth day of September) *Solyman* by the perſuaſion of *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa, commaunded a freſh aſſault to be giuen to the Engliſh bulwarke, which was attempted by the Turkes with greater reſolution than the firſt. Seauen enſignes of the Turks were broken in by the ruines of the bulwarke, and had enforced the defendants, oppreſſed with

number

number to giue ground, when the Graund maſter comming in with the enſigne of the Order, guarded with a companie of moſt valiant knights, draue them out againe by force, and made good the place. *Muſtapha* ſeeing his men retire, couragiouſly reſtored the battell by bringing on of new ſupplie, and other captaines with threats, ſtrokes, and terror of death, enforced the ſouldiours (who had before turned their backs) now againe to fight. So that there began a more cruell fight than had before beene from the beginning of the ſiege; which was vnto the Chriſtians more dangerous, for that they were ouerwhelmed with the multitude of the Turkiſh ſhot. But in that extremitie no man regarded either danger, or life, onely this they remembred, That thoſe were their barbarous enemies, whom they muſt either victoriouſly ouercome or die therefore: with which furie the aſſault was continued by the ſpace of three houres, vntill at length *Muſtapha* with his Turks diſcouraged, with the loſſe of 2000 of their fellowes, and of three great noble men whom *Solyman* eſpecially fauoured, and ſore beaten by the Spaniards out of their flankers, were enforced to retire. Few of the Chriſtians in reſpect of ſo many enemies were ſlaine: yet had the enſigne of the Order been then loſt, *Ioachimus Cluys* the enſigne bearer hauing both his eies ſhot out, had not *Emericus Ruiaulx* an Auernois and one of the knights of the Order, with incredible courage reſcued the ſame.

After this ſecond aſſault, falling out ſo vnluckily to the Turkes, *Muſtapha* the great Baſſa began to grow in contempt with *Solyman*: and *Pyrrhus* to keepe his credit by doing ſomething, with continuall batterie of 17 great pieces did batter the mount neere vnto the Italian bulwarke. At which time alſo *Caſtus*, Gouernour of BITHYNIA, another of the Turkes great commaunders, laboured by vndermining to haue ouerthrowne the French bulwarke: ſo glad they were to attempt any thing to content their imperious great lord and maſter. But the endeuours of *Caſtus* was by countermines through the carefull diligence of *Gabriell Chierus*, hauing charge of thoſe works, fruſtrated: and *Pyrrhus* in the other place after he had by hoat aſſault ſlaine them which were appointed for the defence thereof, and gained the mount, and brought a great feare vpon the citie, was againe with great loſſe ſhamefully repulſed, and by the commaundement of *Solyman* cauſed to retire. At this aſſault the Gouernour of EVBŒA, *Solyman* his lieutenant generall, a man of great honor (if any of the Turks ſlaues are ſo to be accounted) was ſlaine, for whoſe death *Solyman* was exceeding penſiue and heauie.

Muſtapha falleth into diſgrace with Soliman.

Muſtapha the Baſſa finding himſelfe in diſgrace with *Solyman* for the two vnfortunat aſſaults by him giuen at the Engliſh ſtation, determined if it were poſsible by a third to recouer his loſt credit: and for his better ſucceſſe therin, agreed with *Achimetes* another great Commander, at the ſame time to aſſault the Spaniſh bulwarke: according to this reſolution *Achimetes* hauing with a mine ſuddenly blowne vp a great part of the wall of the Spaniſh ſtation, in the thicke of the duſt and ſmoke, preſently entred his men, who by the ruines of the wall recouered the top of the rampiers. *Muſtapha* alſo at the ſame inſtant hardly charged the Engliſh, ſo that in both places was made a hard and doubtfull fight. *Muſtapha* deſiring nothing more than with better ſucceſſe now to redeeme his former diſhonour, did what he might to encourage his ſouldiours, calling vpon them by name, and putting them in remembrance of their former victories. The Rhodians on the other ſide mindfull of their former honour, with the greatneſſe of the preſent danger, valiantly repulſed the enemie, and forced him with ſhame to retire. In this aſſault many Engliſh men were ſlaine, and *Preianes* alſo ſore hurt, hauing before ſlaine many of the Turks. *Muſtapha* beſide the loſſe of his men, had alſo two of his enſignes taken by *Chriſtophorus Vualderick* Comendatour of the Germain knights. *Achimetes* hauing woon the top of the wals, had there ſet vp the Turkiſh enſignes; but by the valiantneſſe of the defendants, and by meanes of certaine ſmal pieces of ordinãce, by *Martiningus* aptly placed in the houſes before the new made breach, and by force of ſhot out of the flankers on both ſides of the breach; whereof none fell in vaine, he was againe enforced to forſake the wals and to retire.

The Engliſh bulwarke aſſaulted the third time by Muſtapha.

The Turkes enſignes aduanced to the top of the wals are againe caſt downe.

The three and twentith day of September the Turkiſh captaines hoping by meanes of a mine which they had made againſt the Auergne bulwarke, to enter and win the cittie; approaching the wals with great multitudes of ſouldiours, readie to haue entred vpon the blowing vp of the mine, which being met with a countermine out of the citie, wrought not ſuch effect as was by them expected: ſo that hauing receiued ſome harme, ſtanding in a place of great diſaduantage, and done nothing, they returned againe into the campe. Yet the expert captaines probably conjecturing that the wall might be inwardly ſhaken by the mine, although it were not by them

them outwardly perceiued, cauſed that part of the wall to be moſt violently battered all the reſt of that day and night following: and by the furie of their artillerie, made a faire and large breach. All that night was heard in the Turkes campe an vnwonted clattering of weapons, and of men running too and fro, as if there had been ſome great matter a doing; which the Rhodians conjectured (as the truth was) to be a ſigne of ſome great aſſault to be ſhortly giuen.

Another breach made in the wals.

Solyman reſolued the next day with all his force to aſſault the new made breach, after he had by himſelfe in a melancholy mood walked vp and downe in his tent a great part of the night, ſent for the chiefe commanders of his armie, to whom he declared his mind as followeth:

Your valour and wiſedome (worthie captaines) needeth not any exhortation, yet the deſperat madneſſe of our enemies maketh me to ſpeake vnto you theſe few words. Who whileſt they yet doe, as from the beginning, as men without reaſon deſperatly defend their citie rent with our artillerie, ſhaken with our mines, their churches and houſes beaten downe about their eares, wearied and worne out with ſlaughter, labour, and wounds, which muſt needs befall men ſo often times aſſaulted: they worthely ſeeme vnto our ſouldiours men of inuincible force and courage; which opinion to haue remoued, much concerneth the happie and wiſhed ſucceſſe of our aſſault. Wherefore I would haue you with effectuall perſuaſion & bountifull promiſes to harten on our men to the winning of this citie. Beſides this, you ſhall open vnto them my purpoſe and intent, and that they ſhould not thinke that they are brought hither to beſiege one citie: but that in taking this one, they ſhall vpon the matter make a way into all the dominions of the Chriſtians. Here be the kinſmen, aliance, and friends of all the kings, princes and potentats of Chriſtendome: here is all our enemies treaſure, the ſpoile whereof promiſed vnto our ſouldiors may ſerue to great purpoſe to encourage them forward: here is ſtore of ordinance, armour, and other warlike prouiſion, which ſhall both furniſh vs, and in time to come miſerably confound the reſt of the Chriſtians. We ſhall beſide this, enioy a moſt goodly and rich citie, with a hauen of all other moſt commodious, from whence all things neceſſarie for warre may at all times as occaſion ſhall require, by land and ſea be ſupplied: which as they ſhall be to vs things of great importance, ſo ſhall we deſpoile our enemies of farre greater. This is their caſtle, ſtorehouſe, treaſurie and armorie: this is the verie receptacle & place of refuge for all ſuch as trouble the Turkes by ſea: from hence ſhal we haue free ſcope and paſſage into Apvlia, Calabria, Sicilia, *and many other Chriſtian countries. But as for your ſelues valiant captaines, when as I conſider how that you haue within theſe few moneths by your valour and wiſedome ſubdued vnto my empire the ſtrong citie of* Belgrade, *which my great grandfather* Mahomet *that mightie emperour could not with all his power get; I reſt in great hope that theſe fierce and obſtinat Chriſtians ſhall not long be able to defend themſelues in theſe their dens and lurking places.*

Hauing ended this ſpeech, the captaines euerie one vnto his companie, made knowne what the great emperours will and pleaſure was; and open proclamation made thorow all the campe, wherein the ſpoile of that rich citie was all granted vnto the ſouldiours as a prey and reward for the paines they were to take.

Solyman heauie with ſleepe and care, laid himſelfe downe vpon his pallet to take his reſt. But the Great maſter (to whom the vnaccuſtomed ſtirre of the enemie portended ſome great matter) all that night in armes painfully viewed euerie part of the citie, cheerefully encouraging his ſouldiours to remember, That they did watch for the ſafetie of their countrey, their liues and libertie. It fortuned the ſame night, that a poore Chriſtian ſeruing a Turke in the campe, calling ſecretly vnto the watchmen vpon the wals, gaue them warning that the Turkes prepared the next day to giue a generall aſſault vnto the citie. Which thing when the Great maſter vnderſtood, becauſe he would haue nothing done raſhly or fearfully (as it commonly happeneth in things done vpon the ſudden) called togither his knights, and ſpake vnto them as followeth.

The Great maſter his oration vnto his knights.

I am glad ſacred companions and fellowes in armes, that the time is come when in one battell getting vnto your ſelues great honour, and defending your countrey, you may be iuſtly accounted the worthie defenders and reuengers of the Chriſtian commonweale and name. The people againſt whom we are to fight to morrow, aſſaileth vs onely preſuming vpon their multitude: But if wee meaſure valour, not by number, but by courage and proweſſe, vndoubtedly a few reſolute men will eaſily ouercome a multitude of cowards. You know your enemie, and the manner of his fight: you are to fight

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(most worthie knights) with them whom you haue alwaies vanquished at sea, and in iust battell sometimes ouercome by land, at such time as with their whole power they assaulted your wals: omitting in the meane time manie hot skirmishes, wherein you euer put them to the worst: Wherefore you and they in the assault to morrow shall haue such courage, as conquerours and men conquered vse to haue. Neither will they fight because they dare fight, but because the great tirant and violent commaund of their captaines enforceth them thereunto. Wherefore remembring what you are by birth, what opinion the Christian commonwealth hath conceiued of you, where you are, and what you haue taken vpon you; take vp your armes with iust furie and indignation, and fight against them, following one franticke youth, as if you saw your slaues bearing armes against you: whereunto you are enforced, not onely by the indignitie of the wrong by them offered, but also by necessitie, which of it selfe is of power to make cowards valiant and hardie. For here we are in an Island from whence we cannot escape, and in a citie, whose rent and battered wals doe not so much protect and defend vs, as our weapons: wherfore to morrow we must here either vanquish them, or die therefore: to morrow shall giue vnto vs either ioyfull victorie, or a most honourable death.

As he was yet thus speaking, news of the approch of the enemie caused him to make an end: and euery man hasted with speed vnto the place of his charge. The enemie comming fast on, with a most horrible crie (as their manner is) fiercely assailed the citie in fiue places, where the English, Spanish, Italians, Narbonenses, and Auergnoys had their stations. To the assault of euery of which places, *Solyman* had appointed ten thousand Turkes. *Mustapha* the Bassa calling vpon the name of his great prophet *Mahomet*, and promising vnto the souldiours the rich spoile of the citie, fiercely assailed the English station, from whence he had been three times before shamefully repulsed. *Pirrhus* the other great Bassa with like furie assaulted the Italian station. In both places was maintained a cruell and deadly fight; the Turkes fighting for the prey, and the Rhodians for their liues and libertie. Neither was there any, of what degree or order soeuer, which did not that day fight for defence of the citie. The priests and religious were not then exempted, but fought among the other souldiours; women, children, and with them the aged fathers, beyond the strength of their bodies and courage of their minds, brought weapons vnto the defendants, some stones, which they had digged out of the streets, some burning pitch-barrels, some hoopes with wild fire, some scalding oyle, some boyling pitch: which being cast downe vpon the enemies, troubled them so, as nothing was more feared; for vpon whomsoeuer it fell, it stucke fast, and so scalded their bodies, that they were glad to cast downe their weapons to teare off their clothes, wherewith many of them rent off the skin and flesh also. All which things fell so thicke vpon the Turkes, as if it had rained fire and stones: besides the deadly shot, which amongst such a multitude of enemies neuer fell in vaine. The Great Master hauing a carefull eye ouer euery part of the citie, after he had well relieued the Italian station, which was at the first hardly distressed by *Pyrrhus*, left there *Antonius Monterollus*, one of the knights of the Order, with such companie as he thought conuenient for the safetie of that place, and went himselfe with the rest vnto the English station, which was then hardly laied to by the Bassa *Mustapha*. But whilest hee was there busied in repulsing the enemie, and had now well relieued the place, a suddaine crie ran alongst the wals, That the Spanish bulwarke was alreadie possessed by the enemie. With which heauie newes he was not a little troubled, but leauing there *Emericus Gombaulus*, one of the knights of the Order, with a chosen companie of souldiors for defence of that place; he with his guard hasted vnto the Spanish station, which hee found by a wonderfull chance alreadie taken by the enemie. In the beginning of the assault, certaine Turkes to shun the danger of the shot, had for feare hidden themselues at the foot of this bulwarke amongst the stones, which had before been beaten downe with the batterie: in the meane time, other Turks of the same regiment, vnder the leading of the valiant captaine *Achimetes*, hotly charged the Spaniards on the right hand of the bulwarke, not medling with the bulwarke it selfe, as a thing of greatest strength: the valiant soldiors appointed for the defence of the bulwarke, seeing their fellowes and countreymen distressed fast by them on the right hand, could not endure to stand still as lookers on, but left the bulwarke, and went to the place so hardly assaulted. Where whilst they were valiantly encountering the enemie, the cowardly Turkes who had before hid themselues for feare, hearing all silent ouer their heads, and thereby guessing (as the truth was) that the defendants were drawne thence vnto some other place more distressed; to colour their feare, and proue

The Turkes assaults the citie in fiue places at once.

The Rhodians valiantly defend the citie.

The Spanish bulwarke taken by the Turkes.

proue their good fortune, like tall fellowes, crept out of the holes wherein they had before for feare hidden themselues, and secretly crawling vp the battered wals of the bulwarke, got into it before they were discouered: where finding none but a few souldiors (who busied in remouing of a great piece vnto a place more conuenient for the annoying of the enemie, had laied downe their weapons) they suddainely set vpon them, slew them, ouerthrew the Christian ensignes, and so became masters of that strong fort. The Turks without seeing that, wonderfully commended the valour of those men, and blaming themselues of cowardise, made great hast through the middest of the towne ditch to get vp into the bulwarke to helpe their fellowes. But in going through the ditch, they were so cut off with shot on both sides out of the flankiers, that few of them could get vp into the desired bulwarke. And the Great Master with a crew of valiant souldiors, nothing fearing the armed enemie, now in possession of the bulwarke ouer their heads, with great resolution scaled the same. In the meane time *Hugo Caponius*, a Spaniard, and *Memtius* a Frenchman, both knights of the Order, with a companie of Cretensian souldiours brake into the bulwarke by a gate which the Turks had not as yet boulted, and being once got in, they made of the Turkes a quicke dispatch; for whom they slew not with the sword, they enforced to mischeese themselues for hast backe againe ouer the wals. The bulwarke thus againe recouered, which had been two houres in possession of the enemie, and the citie deliuered of a wonderfull feare, the Great Master (well worthie of that name) leauing a sufficient number of souldiors for the keeping of that fort, went with the rest of his companie vnto the place where the Spaniards with the rest of the defendants sore charged by *Achimetes*, and now wearied and almost spent, had much adoe to hold out: who encouraged with the sight of the Great Master, as if victorie had attended vpon him, with great cries and signes of joy valiantly and with great slaughter repulsed their enemies, as if they had been fresh men. Long it were to recount the deadly fight and hard aduentures which befell at the assault of the other two stations of the Auergnoys and Nabornenses: but the Turkes were in euery place put to the worst, and lay by heapes slaine in the ditches and breaches of the towne. *Solyman* from his standing (for that purpose made of high masts) beholding the miserable slaughter of his men, and no hope of gaining the citie, caused a retreat to be sounded, a thing welcome both to the Rhodians and the Turkes. In this terrible assault, which endured by the space of six houres, diuers of the knights of the Order were slaine, especially of the French and Spanish nation, with a hundred and fiftie common souldiours, all worthie of eternall fame: and of the Turks (as they which write most modestly report) twentie thousand. The yong tyrant was so much offended with the shamefull repulse he had receiued at this last assault, that he fell into a rage against all them who had perswaded him to enter into that action, but especially against the great Bassa *Mustapha*, whom he accused as an vnfaithfull counsellour, and cheefe perswader of that vnluckie warre; who flattering him in his vaine humour, by extolling his forces aboue measure, & falsely extenuating the power of the enemie, assuring him that vpon the first approch of his armie they would yeeld themselues without resistance, had drawne him into that dangerous expedition, like to sort to the great dishonour of himselfe and all the *Othoman* familie: for which doing he adjudged him worthie of death, and in a great furie commanded the executioner without further delay to put him to death in his presence. Which dreadfull doome so suddenly and vpon so light an occasion giuen vpon a man of so great marke and qualitie, strucke such a terrour into the minds of all there present, that none of them durst speake one word against the rigour of that sentence, or so much as fet a sigh in pitying of his case. The executioner now readie to giue the fatall stroke, *Pirrhus* the most antient of all the Bassaes, moued with compasion, and presuming of his great fauour with the tyrant, whom he had from his childhood had the charge and gouernment of, stept foorth, and appealing vnto his mercie, earnestly requested him to spare his life. Wherewith *Solyman* was so filled with wrath and indignation, that for his presumption, and for sending for him to CONSTANTINOPLE, to come to that dangerous siege, he commaunded him to be executed also. All the rest of the counsellors seeing the danger of these two great men, fell downe at the feet of the fuming tyrant, craning pardon, saying, That the enemies ground had alreadie drunke too much of the Turkish bloud, and was not to be further moistened with the bloud of such two noble personages and worthie counsellors. *Solyman* moued with this generall intercession of his great men, pausing a little vpon the matter, the heat of his furie being something ouer, suffered himselfe to bee intreated, and graunted them their liues: vnto *Pyrrhus* for his great age and wisdome, and to *Mustapha* for his

The Spanish bulwarke againe recouered.

The Turks giue ouer the assault.

Solyman in his furie commaundeth the two great Bassaes, Mustapha and Pyrrhus to be put to death.

The Bassaes spared at the intercession of the other counsellors.

wiues

wiues ſake, who was the tyrants naturall ſiſter, ſometime the wife of *Boſtanges*.

All the time of this ſiege, the Turkes great fleet, furniſhed with men and all manner of warlike prouiſion, lay before the entrance of the hauen without doing any thing at all: for the Admirall being no man of warre, ſeeing the mouth of the hauen chained, and the caſtles vpon the entrance full of ordinance, and ſtrongly manned, durſt not attempt either to enter the hauen, or beſiege the caſtles: for which his cowardiſe, and for that he had negligently ſuffered prouiſion both of victuall and munition to be conueyed into the citie during the time of the ſiege, to the great releeſe of the beſieged, he was by *Solyman* adjudged to die a moſt cruell death: but by the mediation of *Achimetes*, one of his beſt men of warre, the ſeueritie of that ſentence was changed into a puniſhment, vnto any noble mind more grieuous than death it ſelfe: For he was by *Solymans* commaundement openly ſet vpon the poupe of the admirall gallie, and there as a ſlaue receiued at the hands of the executioner a hundred ſtripes with a cudgell, and ſo with ſhame was thruſt out of his office.

Solyman diſplaceth his Admirall, & puniſheth him as a ſlaue.

After that *Solyman* had in ſo many places with all his power ſo long time in vaine beſieged the RHODES, his haughtie courage began to quaile, ſo that he was vpon point to haue raiſed his ſiege, and left the Iſland, yea the greefe he had conceiued, went ſo neere him, that he many times fainted and lay ſpeechleſſe, as if he had been a dead man. The remembrance of ſo many vnfortunat aſſaults, the death of ſo many worthie captaines, the loſſe of ſo many valiant ſouldiors (ſufficient to haue ſubdued a great kingdome) ſo much grieued him, that a great while after he ſhunned the companie of men, and would not ſuffer himſelfe to be ſpoken withall: vntill at length he was againe by *Abraham* his minion, a man in whom he tooke ſingular pleaſure, recomforted, and perſuaded to continue the ſiege; for that Time (as he ſaid) which worketh all things, would at length tame the fierceneſſe of his enemies, whom the ſword could not vpon the ſuddaine ſubdue. In the meane time *Solyman* for his pleaſure, and to ſhew vnto the Rhodians, that he purpoſed not to depart, began to build a ſumptuous caſtle vpon the top of the mount PHILERMVS in the eye of the citie. During which time diuers letters were ſhot into the citie with Turkiſh arrowes out of the campe, wherein many of *Solymans* moſt ſecret counſels were reuealed, and the reuolt of a great man promiſed, which the Rhodians by many circumſtances gathered to haue been *Muſtapha*, who could not eaſily forget the injurie ſo lately offered vnto him by *Solyman*: needs it muſt be ſome one of *Solymans* ſecret counſell, otherwiſe he could not haue reuealed ſo great ſecrets as it were out of the boſome of *Solyman*. But ſee the chance, at the very ſame time tidings came vnto *Solyman*, That *Cayerbeius* the gouernour of ÆGIPT was dead: in whoſe place *Solyman* ſent *Muſtapha* to CAIRE, as gouernour of ÆGIPT, by that honourable preferment again to pleaſe his diſcontented miud: after which time no more letters came into the citie.

Solyman exceedingly greeued with the repulſe and loſſe receiued at the ſiege of the Rhodes, was vpō point to haue left the ſame.

Now the Turkes began to make faire warres, their terrible batteries began to grow calme, and for certaine daies it ſeemed by the manner of their proceeding, that they purpoſed rather by long ſiege than by aſſault to take the towne. Neuertheleſſe the enemies watching day and night in their trenches, vſed all the policie they could, ſometimes offering vnto the ſouldiors vpon the wals great rewards, if they would yeeld vp the citie, and ſometimes threatening them as faſt: and to breed a diſlike amongſt the defendants, they would oftentimes ſay, that *Solyman* deſired only to be reuenged vpon the Latines, without meaning any harme vnto the Greekes.

It was now the beginning of October, and Winter began to grow faſt on, great raine, with terrible thunder and lightening, and mightie tempeſts, heauens threats, then fell ſo abundantly, that the Turks before wearied in bodie with labour and wounds, were now alſo in mind diſcouraged. And that more encreaſed their feare, the ſea was growne ſo rough, that the admirall was not able in that open and dangerous ſea longer to ride it out with his gallies: but was enforced to ſlip his ankers, and as he might to run his gallies on ground. In theſe troubles wherewith both *Solyman* himſelfe and all his armie were at furtheſt of their wits, and almoſt quite diſcouraged, *Achimetes* one of his moſt valiant and expert captaines, came to comfort him, and promiſed if he would continue the ſiege, in ſhort time to make him an open way into the citie: Vpon confidence whereof, *Solyman* to encourage his fainting ſouldiours, now ſcarce able for cold and lacke of courage to hold their weapons in their hands, cauſed them to be aſſembled before his pauillion, where from a high place he comforted them in this ſort:

Achimetes promiſeth to make a way for Solyman into the citie.

Solyman comforteth his ſouldiors and perſuadeth them with patience to endure the ſiege.

I am not ignorant (moſt valiant ſouldiours) what great things you endure for mine honour, and the

the glorie of mine empire. This continuall threatnings of the heauens, this immoderat raine, this terrible thunder and lightning, the coldnesse of the weather, the want of necessaries, with the manifold miseries of this long siege, doe much persuade me, to giue you leaue to lay downe armes and to take your rest. But first let vs consider if vnto men of courage it be not a dishonour, for the tediousnesse of raine and tempest, to leaue vnto our enemies the victorie alreadie in our hands, and shamefully to forsake our trenches, forts, mounts, ouertopping not onely the wals of the citie but mating the heauens, with such other like worke made with my infinit charge and your great trauell, all for the taking of this citie. Truly this warre either should not haue beene taken in hand at all; or being once begun, is to be ended for the honour of the Othoman *empire. Which for so much as it could not be accomplished in Sommer; the reputation of mine empire in common, and the regard of the commoditie of euerie one of you in priuat, enforceth me to performe it in Winter. For if we shall from hence depart with our armie, who doubts but the enemie, not onely for desire of reuenge, but also strained by necessitie, hauing lost all he had of his owne, will prey vpon your countries, houses, and goods, and will bring you, your wiues, and children, into a farre more miserable slauerie and bondage than that wherein he himselfe now is? Wherefore I aduise you to continue the siege, and neuer to depart before you haue attained vnto the end of your desires. And admit there were no necessitie in the matter, yet the honour and fame of the action ought to impose vpon you a resolution both of bodie and mind to endure the siege: For the eies and countenances of all nations, especially the Christians, are fixed vpon you; whom when they shall vnderstand not to be able to endure the field one Winter, they will of right call you Sommer birds, which so soone as any storme ariseth looke after your houses and places of repose. It is reported, that the Græcians for a strumpet besieged* Troy *ten yeares; and shall not the Turkes, vexed and oppressed with slaughter, robberies, inuasions both by sea and land, and that more is with the seruitude of 214 yeares, endure one Winters siege? They will say, that the terror of your name is but vaine, and that fame hath encreased the same (as many other things mo) which not seene, are more feared in farre countries amongst men of small experience: And that now euerie man may safely enough abide your force, which make your inuasions rather vpon a furie and braueriе than vpon any good resolution, which in all kind of warre (but especially in besieging of cities) is most necessarie: whereof many being by naturall situation and fortification impregnable, time hath with her handmaides, Famine and Thirst, ouercome and vanquished, as it shall doe this citie of the* Rhodes: *against which beloued in armes there is a secret mischiefe prepared, which may not in this open audience be published; for it is as necessarie that the vulgar sort should be ignorant of some things, as to know the same.*

Many thought, that this was spoken rather of pollicie than vpon any good ground: and although his hoat persuasion had little moued the cold courage of his despairing souldiours, yet the regard of duetie in that most loyall nation, with the greedie expectation of so great a secret, ouercame all other difficulties; so that they departed (at leastwise in shew) contented to endure whatsoeuer should befall.

Achimetes winneth the Vaumures of the Auergne bulwarke, raiseth a strong penthouse against the wall, and so vndermineth the same.

Achimetes author of this great expectation, and the onely hope of *Solymans* successe, came oftentimes and assailed the Vaumures of the Auergne station, which although they were not verie high, yet were they alwaies valiantly defended by the Rhodians. It fortuned, that this warlike captaine daily attempting the Vaumures, in the end by force obtained the same: and so possessed of the place he so much desired, desperatly kept it vntill greater helpe came running in, who with wonderfull expedition (with matter for that purpose before prepared) clapt vp a strong and defensible couering in manner of a penthouse against the towne wall, betwixt the wall and the vaumure, vnder which they shrowded themselues from the defendants; which was an easie matter for such a multitude to doe, the ditches of the towne in that place being now filled vp so high, that the defendants could not out of their flankers scoure the ditch, nor yet without manifest danger come to cast any thing downe vpon them from the top of the wals: for the Turkes harquebusiers which lying vpon their mounts, higher than the battered wals of the citie, suffered none to appeare vpon them without danger. So that the Rhodians who erst thought themselues at great quiet, were now ouertaken with a sudden and vnexpected mischiefe: which at the first filled the citie with feare and heauie silence, which straightwaies after brake out into pitifull outcries and lamentations. The Turkes lurking vnder their penthouse, laboured with mattocks and pickaxes to dig vp the foundation of the wall; and *Preianes* forward and courageous to doe what

what might be done, threw downe vpon the Turkes, fire, ſcalding oyle, burning pitch, wilde-fire and ſuch things. But when the miſerable men which ſhruncke from the worke for feare of the fire, were againe beaten forward by their imperious commanders, and preſently ſlaine if they made any delay, and freſh men ſtill thruſt on in ſteed of ſuch as wete hurt or ſlaine: the fatall work begun the ſeuenth day of October, went apace forward, with the great & continuall labor of theſe wretched ſlaues. A great number of the common ſouldiors whom the Turks call Aſapi was imployed in this worke: of whom *Solyman* in this ſiege of the RHODES, and other his expeditions, made not much more account but as of pioners to worke in mines and to caſt vp trenches, and oftentimes with their bodies to fill towne ditches to make a way for the Ianizaries to paſſe ouer vpon: they by the conſtraint of *Achimetes* vndermined the wal, and as they wrought, ſhoared vp the ſame againe with timber, whereunto they afterwards ſet fire, hoping by that meanes to ouerthrow the wall: which falling not out according to their expectation, for that they had not farre enough vndermined it, they aſſaied with great hooks and ſtrong ropes to haue pulled it downe. But the Rhodians with their great ordinance from the Auergne bulwarke, quickly put them from that mad worke with great ſlaughter, and fruſtrated all their long labour. *Achimetes* thus diſappointed of his purpoſe, ſtood in great doubt whether he ſhould giue ouer the enterpriſe, for that he ſaw he laboured in vaine, or elſe in that dangerous place to expect ſome better hap, the onely meane to ſaue him from the tyrants heauie diſpleaſure; who as hee knew meaſured all things by the euent. *Solyman* vnderſtanding by *Achimetes* that the wall (although it was not ouerthrowne as was expected) was yet ſore ſhaken and weakned with vndermining, cauſed his batterie to be planted againſt that part of the wall ſo vndermined: which ſo many waies weakned, and now ſore battered, fell downe daily more and more. For remedie whereof, the Rhodians laboured day and night to raiſe a new wall, in ſteed of that which was beaten downe.

The miſerable ſtate of the common ſouldiors of the Turkes, and the ſmall account is made of them.

At the ſame time *Solyman* perſuaded by the generall opinion of all his great captaines, that the citie was that day or neuer to be taken, determining to giue another generall aſſault, cauſed proclamation to be made thorow his campe: wherein he gaue the ſpoile of the citie vnto his ſouldiours, and the more to encourage them, ſpake vnto them in few words as followeth.

Fortune at length valiant ſouldiours, hauing notably proued your courage and patience, now offereth vnto you the worthie rewards of your labour and paines. The victorie and wealth of your enemies which you haue ſo much deſired, is now in your hands. Now is it the time to make an end of this mungrell people, of whom more are ſlaine than left aliue; and they not men, but the ſhadowes and ghoſts of men, feeble and ſpent with hunger, wounds, wants, and labour: who will I know reſiſt you, not becauſe they ſo dare, but becauſe of neceſſitie they ſo muſt, enforced thereunto with all extremities. Wherfore now reuenge your ſelues of the falſhood, crueltie, & villanies of theſe Chriſtians, and make them a wofull example to all poſteritie, that neuer man hereafter preſume to offer iniurie to a Turke, in whatſoeuer ſtate he be. The way is alreadie open into the citie, there is a faire breach made, whereby thirtie horſemen may at once enter: nothing wanteth but courage in you to aſſaile the ſame.

Solyman encouraged his ſouldiours to a freſh aſſault.

The ſouldiours encouraged with this ſpeech of their emperour, made great ſhew of cheerfulneſſe, and promiſed to doe their vttermoſt deuoire, threatning vnto the Chriſtians moſt horrible death and miſerable captiuitie.

In the meane time the great ſhot flying continually thorow the breach, did beat downe many houſes in the citie; but the countermure new built againſt the breach ſtanding vpon a lowet ground, it ſeldome toucht, to the great good of the Rhodians. The ratling of the falling houſes, the horrible noiſe of the enemie, with the thundring of the great artillerie, wonderfully terrified the miſerable citiſens: in euerie place was heard the lamentation of women and children, euerie thing ſhewed the heauineſſe of the time, and ſeemed as altogither loſt and forlorne. The day thus troubleſomely ſpent, the night followed much more troubleſome; and after the night, the day of the aſſault of all other moſt dreadfull: for with the dawning therof, the gliſtering enſignes of the enemie were ſeene flying in the wind, and the Turkes cheerfull with the hope of ſpoile and victorie, haſted towards the breach with great outcries and ſongs, after their countrey manner: and there before one of the gates of the citie called S. *Ambroſe* gate, ſet downe a great number of their enſignes deckt with garlands, in token of victorie. The Turks great fleet alſo at the ſame

time sayling too and fro before the hauen, made shew as if it would haue assailed the citie on that G
side: who had seene the citie so beset, would haue said that it would at one instant haue been be-
The distressed estate of the Rhodians, and their courageous resolution therein. sieged both by sea and land; and to most mens judgements, it seemed that the Rhodian state
should that day haue taken end and been destroied. Yet for all these extremities, the Rhodians
were nothing discouraged, but looking vpon their weapons as the onely remainders of their
hopes, not regarding any danger, vpon the alarum giuen came running out of their houses by
heaps vnto the wals, like desperat men opposing their bodies in steed of the battered wals against
their enemies in defence of their countrey. There needed neither exhortation nor commaund
of captaine, euerie man was vnto himselfe a persuader to fight valiantly in defence of the citie;
and one of them propounded vnto another the cruell death, the miserable seruitude, the mocks
and taunts they should endure, if they should chance to come into the proud enemies hand: all H
which was to be auoided either by honourable victorie or death. The Turkes conducted by
Achimetes, fiercely assailed the breach, which was by the Rhodians (standing vpon the ruines of
their wals) valiantly defended. In the meane time, the dismaied matrons and maidens, some in
their houses with heauie hearts expected the woful destruction of the citie and themselues, other-
some in the churches with flouds of teares and lamentable cries, poured forth their prayers to
the Almightie, crauing his helpe in that their hard distresse, and to protect them against their
barbarous enemies. The deadly fight at the breach, was on both sides with great courage and
force maintained. The Turks were in good hope forthwith to win the citie, if they did but a
little more straine themselues: and therefore to terrifie the Rhodians the more, oftentimes in
their fighting gaue out most terrible outcries: and the Rhodians accounted the Turkes as good I
as vanquished, for that they being so many in number, and in a place of such indifferencie, had
not yet preuailed: beside that, they were greatly encouraged with the greatnesse of the common
danger, and the sight one of anothers valour: so that by their inuincible courage the Turks were
enforced shamefully to retire. The Rhodians seeing their enemies turne their backs, gaue a great
shout in derision of them: the Turks disdaining that they in number many (and now victors, if
they should with a little resolution maintaine the assault they had begun) should be so derided of
a handfull of men as good as alreadie vanquished; with great indignation returned againe to the
breach, and more furiously assailed the Rhodians than at the first. At which time the citie had
vndoubtedly been taken, had not they which defended the ends of the wall, yet standing on both
sides of the breach, out of their baricadoes with their shot ouerwhelmed the Turks thronging in K
at the breach; and others with murthering shot out of the flankiers of the new built wall so ore
them in sunder, that a greater slaughter for the time was hardly in any place seene. *Achimetes*
beholding the wonderfull slaughter of his souldiours, and that he fought with great disaduan-
tage and losse, against desperat men, who resoluing to die feared no danger, gaue ouer the as-
sault, and againe retired: leauing behind him in the breach and towne ditch the carkases of
fiue thousand of his dead Turkes, besides many more which afterwards died vpon the hurts
there receiued.

This assault was giuen vnto the towne the last day of Nouember, a day dedicated to S. *Andrew:* after which time the captaines of the Turkish armie, although they dispaired not of the vi-
The Turks trouble the Rhodians with continuall alarums, and by casting vp of trenches get into the citie. ctorie, yet terrified with so great slaughter of their men, resolued with one accord no more to at- L
tempt the citie with any notable assault; but by sundrie great trenches to be made thorow the
middest of the ruines of the wals, to get into the citie; and with mattocks and pickaxes to ouer-
throw the new made wall and another baricadoe which the defendants had made within the
same: and in the meane time whilest this was in doing, to keepe the Rhodians still busied with
continuall skirmishes and alarums. This deuise put in execution by the wonderfull labour of such
a multitude of people, serued the enemie to greater purpose than all that he had before done:
who daily ouerthrowing or destroying the new fortificatiõs which the Rhodians made in steed
of them which were before ouerthrowne, and by little and little creeping on further, draue the
defendants to that extremitie, that they were glad to pull downe many of their houses, therwith
to make new fortifications, and to make their citie lesse, by casting vp of new trenches: so that in M
short time they were brought to that point, that they could not well tell which place to fortifie
first, the enemie was now so farre crept within them: for the ground which the enemie had thus
gained within the citie, was almost 200 paces in breadth, and 150 paces in length.

Solyman, although he did now assure himselfe of the victorie, and was by nature cruell and
desirous

desirous of reuenge; yet perſuaded by *Achimetes* and *Caſſius* (two of his moſt valiant captaines) that for the enlarging of his empire, nothing was better than the fame of clemencie: commaunded *Pyrrhus* the old Baſſa to proue if the Rhodians might by parley be drawne to yeeld their citie vpon reaſonable conditions. Whereupon the Baſſa ſent one *Hieronimus Monilia* a Genoway, vnto the wals, who crauing of the defendants ſafe conduct, ſaid hee had ſomething to ſay tending to the common good of the diſtreſſed citie. All mens minds were preſently filled with expectation of ſome great matter, and he commaunded to ſpeake. Who anſwered, That hee might not deliuer his meſſage openly, but would either by ſpeech in ſecret, or by letters deliuer the ſame vnto one *Matthias de Via* his countrieman, one of the citiſens of the RHODES. When *Fra. Fornouius* one of the knights of the Order, a French man of a cholericke diſpoſition, whoſe great courage was well ſeene in all that ſiege (hauing as is reported, with ſhot out of S. *Georges* tower himſelfe ſlaine 500 Turks during the time of that ſiege) being now preſent, and mooued with indignation to heare a motion made of priuat conference with the enemie; bent his piece vpon the meſſenger, and cauſed him forthwith to depart without doing his meſſage. Many who in time of the aſſault feared not any danger, but were become altogither deſperat and careleſſe of themſelues, after that they vnderſtood that the enemie had offered parley, and that they began to conceiue ſome hope of life: reſorted vnto the Great maſter, requeſting him, that hee would prouide for the ſafetie of his louing people; whoſe warlike forces was with many aſſaults ſore weakened, the citie beaten downe about their eares, and moſt of them which were left, either wounded or ſicke. They had (as they ſaid) now ſufficiently proued both their force and fortune: wherefore he ſhould doe well, to beware leaſt while he were too long in conſulting, the enemie ſhould conceiue a further indignation in ſeeing his offers refuſed. With theſe and ſuch ſpeeches they enforced the Great maſter to ſend embaſſadours to *Solyman*. The men that were ſent, were *Anthonius Groleus* a French man, enſigne bearer for the Order, a man of great reputation for his wiſedome and experience; and with him *Robertus Baruſius*, a man of great grauitie and skill in the Greeke tongue: for whom were receiued as pledges, a kinſman of the great captaine *Achimetes*, and a certaine Epyrot which fled out of the citie vnto the Turks, becauſe one of the Græcian captains had ſtruck him with his open hand; a man of a ſharpe wit, and one that could perfectly ſpeake the Greek, Turkiſh, and Italian tongues, as appeared to his great credit amongſt the enemies, being had of them in great regard, although he was not knowne whileſt he dwelt in the citie, that he was any ſuch man. After that came alſo *Solymans* interpreter, for he himſelfe could ſpeake no other language more than his owne, accounting it a great diſgrace, and againſt the *Othoman* empire to vſe any other language. The embaſſadours admitted vnto *Solymans* preſence, told him, That they were ſent to know, for what cauſe he had ſent to require parley? Who in a flaming heat, as if he had knowne nothing thereof, ſaid there was no ſuch matter: and commaunding them preſently to void his campe, ſent them away with letters to the Great maſter and the citiſens to this effect.

Parley offered by the Turkes vnto the Rhodians.

Secret Parley reiected.

The Great maſter at the inſtance of his people ſendeth embaſſadours to Solyman.

Solymans letters ſent to the Great maſter and the Rhodians by their embaſſadours.

If I had not compaſsion of humane infirmitie, which oftentimes tumbleth headlong mens ambitious and hautie minds, into moſt dangerous and vnneceſſarie miſchiefes, truely I would not haue directed vnto you theſe letters at this time; but as you haue well deſerued, perſecute you with death and moſt miſerable ſeruitude: which how eaſie a thing it were for me to doe, you your ſelues know. But hauing now ſufficiently tried my force, if you be wiſe make proofe of my clemencie. You haue alreadie ſatisfied your owne furie, your owne mad humor: and now aduiſe your ſelues, lay your hand vpon your heart, and without delay yeeld your ſelues as I command; your liues I giue, I giue you your wealth; and more than that, your choiſe to tarrie there ſtill, or to depart: Refuſe not the grace frankly offered, which was of you to haue beene moſt heartily deſired. It ſhall not alwaies be lawfull for you (as at this preſent) to make choiſe of both. From our campe.

Vpon the returne of the embaſſadors, the poore of all ſorts flocke togither to the Great maſter his houſe not farre from the breach: where after the multitude of the common people was diſmiſſed, and the chiefe of the Burgers ſent for, the imperious letter of the Turkiſh tyrant was openly read before the knights of the Order, and the better ſort of the citiſens. Whereunto the Great maſter accounting it both honour enough, and ſufficient tearme of life honourably to die, anſwered in this ſort.

The Great Master his opinion concerning that Solyman demanded by his letters.

You heard (sacred fellowes in armes, and valiant citizens of the RHODES*) these imperious and sorrowfull letters: whereunto how we are to answere, requireth no great deliberation: we must aresolute men either yeeld or die; all hope of victorie is gone, except forraine aid come. Wherefore if you will follow my counsell, let vs with weapons in our hands, vntill the last gaspe and the spending of the last drop of our blood, like valiant men defend our faith and nobilitie receiued from our auncestours, and the honour which we haue so long time gotten both at home and abroad: and let it neuer be said, that our honour died but with our selues.*

This speech of the Great Master seemed vnto many, heauier than the imperious commaundement of the Turkish tyrant: and a great while men stood silent, heauily looking one vpon another, many with changing of their countenance and outward gesture, more than by words, expressing what they thought in heart. At length a certaine Greeke priest, with great compasion of mind (as it seemed) and teares trickling downe his cheekes, brake forth into these words:

A notable speech of a Greek priest, perswading the Great Master to yeeld.

And I would also hold my peace, if I were a priuat man; and not first of all in so great and troubled an assemblie, broach mine owne opinion. But for as much as the regard of our common preseruation, can wring a word out of no mans mouth; and all men know, that now is the time to speake and say what euery man thinketh best, which shall neither alwaies nor long be graunted vnto vs, I will not let it now ouerpasse and slip away: Wherefore let vs suppose, that no commaund of a most mightie prince besieging vs, were come vnto vs, but that I were reasoning as a priuat man with his neighbor, or one friend with another by the fire side, or in our cups without care, without any great affection to either partie, as men indifferent, not liking or hating (as men oftentimes doe of princes affairs which concerne them nothing) and then (as I hope) my speech shall be vnto you neither vnpleasant nor vnprofitable. We Greekes and Latines, with ioined armes haue now this six moneths withstood our deadly enemies, not onely abroad before our wals, but also in the very bowels of our citie, without any forraine helpe: which as we haue of long time all vainely looked for, so are we now euery one of vs out of hope thereof. And yet our enemie either moued with the secret goodnesse of God, or els ignorant of our strength and forces, spent with wounds, slaughter, sickenesse, and perpetuall labour, doth voluntarily offer that vnto vs, which was of vs to be most of all desired and earnestly sued for. Your publicke and priuat treasures, the bodies of your selues, your wiues and children he keepeth vnuiolated; he taketh from vs only the citie, which he hath for most part alreadie beaten downe and taken. Worthie Great Master, and you most valiant Knights, I haue knowne your prowesse and valour in many battailes at sea, but especially in this siege; whereof seeing there is no more vse in this our desperat estate, I doe appeale vnto your wisdome and discretion. Sithence all is now the conquerors, in that he leaueth vnto vs our liues and goods, is to be accounted gaines, and the yeelding vp of the citie and Island no losse, which the victorious enemie alreadie commaundeth: which although it be a heauie matter and grieuous vnto the nobilitie, yet your fortune perswadeth you thereunto. Wherefore if you be to be moued with any compassion, I account it better to yeeld, than to be slaine your selues, or to see your wiues and children by law of armes to be led away before your faces into miserable captiuitie and seruitude. If any Christian compassion remaine in your warlike minds, I beseech you seeke not the vtter destruction of this innocent people, who (I may with modestie say) hath not euill deserued of you, whom Christ Iesus, whom the enemie himselfe would haue preserued. That I say this which I speak vnto you for Christian charitie, and for no other cause, let this be a sufficient testimonie, That so long as you were able to resist by your owne power, or hoped for aid from forraine princes, I neuer spake word, or once thought of yeelding: but now seeing the fatall ruine of all things about vs, our common estate brought vnto the vttermost extremitie, our deadly enemie in the heart of our citie, no hope, and that the warre cannot longer be protracted; I wish you to yeeld, and for my part had rather make choise of peace than warre, and to proue the enemies fauour than his furie.

Most of them there present, were of the same mind with the priest. But as nothing can be so reasonably spoken as to content all men, so this speech was not of them all liked: some there were (though not many) which considering the harmes they had done vnto the Turkes, and doubting with what safetie they might yeeld themselues into the power of that faithlesse people, had rather to haue fought it out to the last man, and so to haue left vnto them a bloudie victorie. Amongst these, one bold spoken fellow stept forth, and in presence of them all dissuaded the yeelding vp of the citie in this sort:

I haue

I haue not been with any thing more vnacquainted, than to deliuer my opinion before princes, or in such great and publicke assemblies; being alwaies more desirous modestly to heare other mens opinions, than impudently to thrust forth mine owne. But now, seeing extreame necessitie will not longer suffer me to keepe my wonted course of silence, I will frankely speake my mind, and tell you what in my opinion is to be answered vnto the heanie message and imperious commaund of the most perfidious tyrant. This cruell enemie hath ouerthrowne our wall, and is entred three hundred foot and more within our cittie, and as a most troublesome gueſt liueth and conuerseth with vs as it were vnder the same roofe. Such as list not longer to endure such an vnwelcome gueſt and troublesome neighbour, persuade you because he is troublesome, to giue him all: But (worthie and sacred knights) I am of far different opinion; neither doe I thinke a possession of 214 yeares is so lightly to be deliuered vp, and the ground forsaken: but rather that this troublesome intruder is in like manner to be himselfe troubled, and with deadly skirmishes continually vexed: whom after we had by force of armes and vndaunted courage, maugre his head, held out fiue moneths, at length he brake into our citie, not by any valour in himselfe, but holpen by time, which tameth all things: and since his first entrance it is now almost fortie daies, in which time for all his hast, he hath scarcely got forward 130 paces, hindered by the blockes we haue laied in his way, and will not cease continually to lay if we be wise men, and mindfull of our former valour. Destroy me you heauenly powers, before I see with these eies these sacred knights to yeeld vp this famous citie of the Rhodes, *the antient bulwarke of Christian religion, vnto our mercilesse enemies, polluted with the infamous superstition of* Mahomet: *who besides the insatiable thirst they haue of our bloud, how faithlesse and mischeeuous they are by nature, if we know not, we need not make example of our selues, but wee may take example by the calamitie of* Constantinople, *the late miserie of* Eubœa, *and that which later was, of* Methone; *as also by the Mamalukes at* Caire, *miserably slaine contrarie to the league, contrarie to the faith and promise by the Turkish emperour himselfe before giuen. What? doe you not remember how the death of the most noble captaines at* Belgrade *was of late procured by the falshood, craft, and deceit of these same faithlesse miscreants? Let vs then, being men of wit and vnderstanding, trust these mad beasts, let vs giue our selues into their power, which haue no regard of right or reason, of religion, or any thing els; whose couetousnesse and crueltie it is hard to say which is greater; which for these many years haue plotted and laboured nothing more than how by policie or force they may vtterly root out the very name of the Rhodians, which they so deadly hate. They keepe vs shut vp and besieged now the sixt moneth, feeling together with vs extreame dangers and endlesse labours, slaine by heapes before our wals and fortresses, and cannot be remoued hence with thunder, lightening, stormes, tempests, and all the calamities of Winter, a time which giueth intermission to all warres both by sea and land; so desirous they are of reuenge, and greedie of our bloud: and that not altogether without cause, for we haue also shed theirs, and gladly would still so doe, if it lay in our power. But seeing it seemeth good vnto God otherwise, and that we are surprised with ineuitable necessitie: yet let vs whilest we are at libertie, and haue power ouer our selues, by honourable death amongst the Christian ensignes, eschew the torments and reproches which our cruell enemies hope to inflict vpon vs: so shall wee enioy eternall fame and glorie, prepared both in heauen and earth for such as honorably die in defence of their prince and countrey: Which honour it becommeth not them to enuie vnto thy most noble name and vertue, worthie Grand Master, which hauing for many yeares enioyed the commoditie and profit of peace, and greatly enriched by bountie of this sacred militarie Order, refuse now to beare this last burden of war.*

A most resolute speech of a common souldior, disswading the yeelding vp of the Rhodes.

At these words an antient Greeke, for his wisedome and discretion of great reputation both with the Greekes and Latines, perceiuing his countreymen wrongfully touched, and the desperat holding out of the citie vainely persuaded, tooke hold, and interrupting this yong gallant, in answere of that he had said, spake as followeth:

That greefe of mind and desparation can make men rather eloquent than wise, as you haue many times heard before this, so you might this day perceiue also, most valiant gentlemen: for aduised modestie neuer falleth into obloquie, neither confoundeth falshood with truth; it desireth not the slaughter of the citizens, it persuadeth not furie, nor exhorteth men to madnesse: but it is by nature so engrafted in many, that when they cannot by their owne wisdome and policie deliuer themselues from their troubles, they yet seeke to draw others into the fellowship of the same danger: so greedie haue mallice and miserie alwaies been of companie. But if you (worthie Commaunder) will giue me also leaue to speake, a man

The former speech notably answered by a Greeke, and the yeelding of the citie vrged.

a man amongst his countreymen not of meanest place or authoritie, which thing both the present calamitie and vrgent necessitie might of you easily obtaine; I would alledge such reasons, and lay down such matter, as should not only refell the copious and glorious words of this sharp witted Orator, scrapt together of purpose to flourish out the matter, but also such as might stir vp your mind to that which is honest, profitable, and necessarie; expulsing hatred, feare, trouble, or despaire. This gentleman, whom we all know, not only to be a vehement Orator, but somtime a man most terrible, wher as for all his great words he is by nature mild, and so mild, that he neuer had the heart to kill, nay not so much as lightly to wound any one of them whom he calleth barbarous, mad, cruell, whose perfidious dealing he detesteth, whose cruelty he accuseth, whose maner of liuing he exclaimeth against, as altogether without law, without reason, without order, without regard: and now in time of truce, and whilest the showers of arrows, yron bullets, fire and stones doth cease, creeping out of his caue, maketh much adoe, and keepeth a great stir; and not knowing in what danger he is, doth now with glorious words call vpon death, whereof he hath hetherto shewed himselfe too much afraid, and all forsooth (as he saith) least he should be enforced to endure the mocking and scorning of the enemie. But this is meere pride, not Christian fortitude or humilitie. But our enemie neither threateneth nor purposeth any such matter, nothing so perfidious or cruell as he would make him, rubbing vp the slaughters at CAIRE, EVBŒA, METHONE, and CONSTANTINOPLE, cities taken either by force or warlike policie, and not yeelded vp by composition, vpon faith giuen betwixt the besieger and the besieged: who because he would spare vs, will not suffer vs to doe that wherby we should vndoubtedly perish. But wherof proceedeth this new found clemencie? this vnwonted fauor towards the people of the RHODES? I am not of the tyrants priuie counsell, neither euer curiously sought after the reason of another mans bountie, but am glad to receiue it when I need it. Yet for all that, I will not dissemble what I thinke in a matter so doubtfull: He is willing (as I suppose) in this siege and conquest of the RHODES, to shew vnto other nations whom he purposeth to inuade, both his power and his patience: least alwaies satisfying his cruell nature, he should make desolation in places he would raigne ouer, and so for euer alienating the minds of men, be enforced to fight with all men with fire and sword, by which rigour he hath not so much hurt his enemie as himselfe. For this cause (as I suppose) he leaueth vnto vs life & goods, least whilest he in going about to take them from vs by force, & we seeking to keep thē by desperatnes, we should both fall into great destruction, no lesse lamētable to the conquerur than to the vanquished. Besides that, if he should kill all here, truly he might then enter the breaches of the citie on the bodies of the dead, no man now left aliue to resist him. But LERVS is shut vp, ARANGIA is strongly fortified, LINDVS is by situation impregnable: here he knoweth are weapons, armour, and men, here he must begin a new war, except he will haue the remainder of your war, the fatall plague of his empire, to prey still vpon his subiects: all which strong places he shall haue without slaughter, without bloudshed (as reason is) if he shall let you and vs poore wretches depart in safetie with a little trash. Except these worldly considerations haue moued him to mercie and compaßion: then out of doubt it is wrought by diuine power and the secret fauor of God towards vs, & of our Sauior Christ Iesus crucified. Whereunto if you be men well aduised, if religious, if mindfull of the dutie of Christians, it becommeth you not to oppose any obstacle, and with the ruin of your selues to destroy this miserable people, which for this halfe yeares siege hath scarcely had so much rest as might suffice the necessitie of nature, standing for you in battell, enduring both wounds and death for your honour and victorie: by whose faithfull labour and diligence you haue beene alwaies holpen both at home and abroad; whether you inuaded the Turke by land in MYTILENE, NAVPACTVS, METHONE, PATRAS, or other parts of PELOPONESVS, or els by sea thrust him out of the possession of the Ionian or Egeum: whereby it may appeare euen vnto a blind man, how iniurious it is & far from truth, to obiect vnto vs, That enioying the fruits of peace, we refuse the charges of wars: nay we neuer refused wars. But now it is come to that point, that if we would neuer so faine make wars, we are not able so to do, the flower of our youth being slaine: and the small remainder that is left, not only weakened in bodie with wounds, sickneße, watching, and restleße labour; but also in mind discouraged, whilest all things fall out prosperously to our enemies, and to vs aduerse: the greatest and best part of our great artillerie being broken with continuall vse, which if it were whole, we could haue thereof small vse or profit, for want of pouder, which not only this citie now wanteth, but also your strong holds, LERVS, LINDVS, HALICARNASVS, ARANGIA. I was neuer desirous or curious to looke into other mens doings, much lesse into your manner of wars: but yet (Great Master) you cannot denie but it is so, who haue caused soldiors to be brought from thence hither openly, and gunpouder secretly: by which prouident foresight you haue withstood your forraine enemie these six months, and deceiued the trecherie of one or two domesticall traitors. But I gladly admit we haue all these things,

things, I ſtand not vpon the truth, I ſay not what moſt men ſay, but I ſpeake to pleaſe a few: and ſuppoſe we wanted neither armour nor courage, I would then aske you this, whether they would aduiſe you to vſe them to your defence, or to your deſtruction? for vnto both it cannot be, no more than at once to be a freeman and a ſlaue. To vſe them to your deſtruction, that were madneſſe and ſenceleſſe pride, hatefull to God and man: you ſhould therefore vſe them to defence: But how ſhall we defend a citie (I doe not ſay, as the truth is) alreadie loſt and poſſeſſed by the enemie, wherein he raigneth, rangeth, and turneth all vpſide down? but hauing the wals battered down, a great breach in the Spaniſh ſtation, and another not like but euen now as good as made in the Italian ſtation, how ſhall we be able to keepe this vnfortunat towne, battered and rent at the French, Engliſh, and Auergne ſtations, and the tower of S. Nicholas? *Which if it were not ſo battered and bared of all warlike prouiſion, but ſound and thorowly furniſhed with munition and victuall, yet neceſſitie enforcing, and reaſon perſuading, you ought to forſake it, for ſo much as all power of further reſiſtance is taken from you. Doe you not ſee how eaſily and almoſt without any trouble the enemie (by means of the caſtle he hath new built vpon the mount* PHILERMO, *not paſt two miles diſtant) can take from you all manner of prouiſion both by ſea and land, and reſtraine you from going out or in? Truly notable gentlemen, honourable for your martiall proweſſe, you ſee and haue long agoe foreſeene theſe things better than I, altogether ignorant in martiall affaires, altogether buſied in the trade of merchandiſe, and caring for my familie: yet ſuffer me to ſay the truth, All the powers wherby this kingdome ſtood, are departed and gone; againſt the force of our enemies no policie or force of man remaineth; and to expect armies of angels or ſoldiours from heauen, and other ſuch like miracles, is in my iudgement more and more to prouoke God to anger, although in his anger he be vnto vs mercifull: Wherefore being deſtitute of all worldly helpe, let vs as we may, prouide for our ſafetie. I beſeech thee (worthie Great Maſter) by theſe my aged teares, by the naturall pitie ingrafted in thy noble nature, expoſe not this miſerable citie to the ſpoile of the enemie, our old and middle aged men to the ſword, our wiues and daughters to be raviſhed, our boies and youths to the vnnaturall filthineſſe of our barbarous enemies, and to be corrupted with the mad and groſſe opinion of the vngodly Mahometane ſuperſtition. I would (noble knights) you had ſeene with what teares, with what mourning our heauie families and children crying about their mothers, ſent vs hither, and what prayers they made for vs at our departing: I would you knew with what mind and how great hope they expect their ſafetie from your clemencie and aduiſed reſolution.*

This ſpeech of the aged Greeke might haue moued a heart of flint: but the Great maſter, who in his countenance ſhewed a greater courage than his preſent ſtate required, commaunding euerie man to his charge: after the matter had beene thus moſt part of the night diſcourſed, gaue them no other anſwere, but, That he would be carefull of all their well doing. The next morning he ſent for *Preianes*, *Martiningus*, and a few other of greateſt iudgement and experience; by whom he was fully reſolued, that the citie in ſo many places by the enemie laid open and ſhaken, was not poſsible to be long defended. Whereupon he cauſed a common counſell to bee called, of all the knights of the Order togither with the Burgeſſes of the citie: where after long debating, Whether they ſhould fight it out to the laſt man, or yeeld vpon ſuch conditions as was to be obtained? it was by generall conſent concluded, That the citie ſhould be yeelded, and therupon a decree made, which was by the Great maſter pronounced. Whileſt theſe things were thus in doing, a truce was taken with the enemie for foure daies, but full of feare and danger. During which time, diuers of the Turks preſuming vpon the truce, came by great companies to behold the wals and rampiers of the citie: wherewith *Fornouius* the Frenchman (of whom mention is before made) being ſore moued, in his choller without further commaund diſcharged a tire of great ordinance amongſt the thickeſt of them, contrarie to the truce taken. At which time alſo, the Rhodians receiued into the citie ſecretly by night a ſhip loaded with wines out of CRETE, and in her *Alphonſus* a Spaniard, chiefe pilot of the Rhodian gallies, and with him one hundred voluntarie ſouldiours all Latines, all which went out of CRETE without the knowledge of the Venetian Senat: for at that time the Venetians were in league with *Solyman*. The Turkes juſtly offended with the breach of the truce, and the taking in of new ſupplies, which they ſuppoſed to haue beene farre greater than in truth they were; without commaund of any captaine or enſigne diſplaied, in great numbers thruſt in thorow the ruines of the breaches into the citie as farre as the rampiers and baricadoes new made, and furiouſly aſſailed the defendants: in which conflict many were ſlaine and wounded on both ſides. But after the Turkes had to their

The Great Maſter reſolued that the citie was not to bee defended, calleth a common counſell of all his knights, and the burgeſſes of the citie.

A truce taken with the Turkes for foure daies.

their coſt againe made proofe of the courage of their enemies, as without commandement they began that skirmiſh, ſo of themſelues they brake it off and retired. After the truce was thus broken, the captaine of the Turkes fencers, a bloudie cruell fellow, hauing taken three Chriſtians priſoners, cut off their hands, eares, and noſes, and ſent them ſo diſmembred into the citie with letters to the Great maſter, charging him with the vnjuſt breach of the truce, barbarouſly threatning within three or foure daies to make like example of him to all poſteritie. Amongſt other none was more troubled with this ſudden and vnexpected breach of the truce, than *Robertus Peruſinus*, *Raymundus Marchet*, and *Raymundus Lupus*, three knights of the Order, men of ſingular wiſedome and grauitie, embaſſadours at that time in the Turks campe: whom the barbarous people in their furie had vndoubtedly ſlaine or put to torture, if they had not feared the like meaſure to haue beene ſhewed to their hoſtages in the citie. But after that *Nicholaus Vergotus*, and *Georgius Sandriticus*, two of the Burgeſſes of the citie, were come into the campe with articles containing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians were contented to deliuer vp the citie, all their furie and rage was quickly appeaſed. *Solyman* for his greater majeſtie and the more terror of theſe meſſengers, beſet round about with his great armie, and guarded about with his Ianizaries in their richeſt attire and gliſtring armour, gaue them audience: who admitted to his preſence, with great humilitie offered vnto him in writing the conditions whereupon the Rhodians would yeeld vp vnto him the citie. The chiefe points whereof were, That the churches ſhould remaine vnto the Chriſtians inuiolated: that no children ſhould be taken from their parents: that no Chriſtian ſhould be enforced to forſake his religion and turne Turke: that ſuch Chriſtians as would tarrie ſtill in the citie, might ſo doe at libertie, without paying any tribute for the ſpace of fiue yeares: that all they which would depart might go with bag and baggage, furniſhed with conuenient ſhipping and prouiſion as farre as CRETE, and to carrie with them ſo much great ordinance as they pleaſed; and that the Chriſtians ſhould appoint a reaſonable day for the time of their departure. All which articles *Solyman* condeſcended vnto, and ſolemnly ſwore faithfully to performe the ſame. But how they were indeed performed, the writers of that age doe much varrie: it ſhould ſeeme they were neither altogither kept, nor broken, but ſo performed as pleaſed the conquerour: certaine it is, that many great outrages were through militarie inſolencie committed by the proud Turkes vpon the poore Chriſtians, contrarie to the mind of *Solyman*. *Iacobus Fontanus* a Ciuilian, and at that time one of the judges of the citie (out of whoſe writings this hiſtorie is for moſt part collected) reporteth, That the Turks not expecting the departure of the Chriſtians, brake into the citie vpon Chriſtenmas day, by the gate called COQVINIVM, polluted the temples, ſhamefully abuſed the Chriſtians, and made hauocke of all things: and that he himſelfe falling into their hands, after he had with ſuch money as he had redeemed himſelfe, hauing not ſufficient to content all their greedie deſires, was by them hardly entreated and grieuouſly beaten. The Great maſter by the counſell of *Achimetes*, putting on ſuch ſimple attire as beſt beſeemed a vanquiſhed man that was to humble himſelfe before the conquerour, went out of the citie into the campe, attended vpon with a few knights of the Order: where after he had waited in the raine moſt part of the day, before *Solymans* tent, at laſt he had a rich gowne caſt vpon him, and ſo brought into the proud tyrants preſence. Where after they had a while at the firſt, with piercing eies one earneſtly beholden the other; the Great maſter humbling himſelfe before him, was in token of grace admitted to kiſſe his hand, and welcomed by *Solyman* in this ſort.

A barbarous fact.

Solyman his ſpeech vnto the Great maſter.

Although (ſaid he) *I might worthely and iuſtly infringe the articles I haue preſcribed concerning the yeelding of the citie, with thy moſt wicked croſſed compieres, the people of the* RHODES, *and thee eſpecially ſuch a capitall enemie, from whoſe deſerued puniſhment, neither faith nor oath ought to ſtay a moſt iuſt conquerour: yet I haue determined to be not onely gratious and mercifull vnto thee ſo great an offender, deſeruing exemplarie puniſhment, but alſo liberall and bountifull: who if thou wilt by well doing amend the grieuous tranſgreſſions of thy former life, I promiſe vnto thee moſt honourable entertainment, great preferment, and the higheſt places in my empire, in my armie in time of warre, and in counſell in time of peace. Not to refuſe this my offer, both thy preſent eſtate perſuadeth thee, and the Chriſtians (whoſe quarrell thou tookeſt vpon thee to defend againſt me, with better beginning than ſucceſſe) deſerue at thy hands no better: for what ſhould let thee, forſaken of all thy friends, a man as it were betraied and vanquiſhed, to caſt thy ſelfe into the perpetuall faith and*

A *and protection of a moſt mightie and mercifull conquerour, of himſelfe offering thee this vndeſerued grace and fauour.*

Whereunto the Great maſter preſently anſwered:

Moſt mightie and gratious emperour, your offered fauours before your other worthie captaines, I deſerue not; neither is my preſent eſtate and deſert towards you ſuch, as that I dare or ought to reſell the ſame: yet I will ſpeake freely in the middeſt of your victorious armie, a man vanquiſhed in preſence of the conquerour, whoſe great mercie I neuer diſpaired of, and whoſe faith I neuer doubted: I had rather now I haue loſt my ſoueraigntie, forthwith to loſe my priuat and vnfortunat life; or elſe for euer hereafter to liue in obſcuritie, than of my people to be accounted a fugitiue rather than a vanquiſhed man: For to be vanquiſhed is but chance of warre, and of ſo great a conquerour no ſhame to him that is conquered: but afterwards to forſake his owne people and to turne to the enemie, I account it ſhamefull cowardiſe and treacherie.

The reſolute anſwere of the great Maſter to Solyman.

Solyman maruelling at the courage and majeſtie of the hoarie old prince, in his ſo great extremitie, diſmiſſed him, and ſent him againe into the citie, guarded with his owne guard, vntill he was come into his pallace: and vnto euery one of the knights attending vpon the Great Maſter, was giuen a rich garment, in token of *Solymans* fauour. Within a few daies after *Solyman* comming into the citie, went to viſit the Great Maſter alſo: whom he found buſie in packing vp his things againſt his departure. Here when the Great maſter falling downe vpon his knees would haue worſhipped him, he would in no caſe ſuffer him ſo to doe: but with his hand putting aſide his vaile of majeſtie (which manner of reuerence the Turkiſh emperours giue onely to God, and their great prophet *Mahomet*) tooke him vp, and ſaluted him by the name of Father. To whom the Great maſter for his wiſedome and diſcretion now to him no leſſe admirable, than he was before in time of warre for his valour and courage, ſpake in this ſort.

Solyman commeth into the citie vnto the Great maſter.

If my fortune and ſucceſſe had been anſwerable to my heart and courage, I ſhould here be in this citie, rather as a victorious conquerour than a man conquered. But ſithence the fatall deſtintes would needs ouerthrow the Rhodian eſtate, I am glad that you are the man before all other by fortune aſſigned, of whom I ſhould receiue both force and grace. And vnto you, amongſt many other your rare and worthie praiſes, this ſhall not be the leaſt, That you vanquiſhed the RHODES, *and ſhewed mercie. By this meanes you haue ioyned vnto your dreadfull power, the fame of clemencie and curteſie; an honour not of the higheſt to be deſpiſed, by which alone we come neereſt vnto God. Wherefore I doubt not but you will keepe the conuentions of the late peace inuiolate, which your owne clemencie perſuaded you to grant, and neceſſitie enforced vs to take. I ſhall now be an eternall example of the Turkiſh emperours clemencie and vertue, more than if I had by and by at the firſt yeelded my ſelfe: my obſtinat wilfulneſſe hath made thy glorie and mercie now famous thorow the whole world, and vnto the worlds end.*

The ſpeech of the Great maſter to Solyman.

Whereunto *Solyman* by his interpreter, anſwered:

It is to me a great pleaſure, that God at length hath put into thy mind to make choiſe of peace before warre, which I would thou couldeſt haue liked of from the beginning: then truely thou ſhouldeſt at this time haue receiued of my great and mightie maieſtie, more good than thou haſt endured harme. Which that I haue done vnto thee, not for any hatred, but onely for deſire of ſoueraigntie, thou maieſt gather by this, That I ſuffer thee and thine to depart hence at libertie with all your wealth and ſubſtance: For I make not warre, thereby to heape vp wealth and riches; but for honour, fame, immortalitie, and enlarging of mine empire. For it is the propertie of a king royally deſcended, by ſtrong hand to take from others, and to inuade others; not vpon a greedie and couetous mind, but for the honourable deſire of rule and ſoueraigntie: which whileſt my neighbour withſtandeth, I count it enough by force of armes to remoue him.

The notable anſwere of Solyman to the great Maſter.

But the Tyrant (as many ſuppoſed) ſpake all this by way of diſsimulation, hauing as it was commonly bruted, giuen order for the rigging vp of a great ſhip and certaine gallies, for the ſud-

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den transporting of the Great maſter and the knights of the Order to CONSTANTINOPLE; G which report ſeemeth to haue beene but faigned either of malice, or elſe by ſuch as leaſt knew *Solymans* mind: for if he had ſo purpoſed, who ſhould haue let him, hauing them all in his power. *Iouius* in his little treatiſe *rerum Turcicarum* dedicated to *Charles* the fift, reporteth that hee himſelfe heard *Lelladamus* the Great maſter ſay, That when *Solyman* entered into the RHODES attended vpon with thirtie thouſand men, there was not any man heard to ſpeake a word, but that the ſouldiours went as if they had beene obſeruant friers: and that when he came to aske leaue of *Solyman* that he might depart, he was ſo courteouſly vſed of him, that turning himſelfe to *Abraim* the Baſſa, whom he aboue all men loued, ſaid, Truely I cannot but grieue to ſee this vnfortunat old man, driuen out of his owne dwelling, to depart hence ſo heauily.

The Great maſter embarking himſelfe with his knights and ſuch other as were willing to de- H part, in veſſels and gallies prepared for that purpoſe, departed out of the iſland on Newyeares day at night: and after long and dangerous trauell by ſea in that Winter weather, landed at laſt at MESSANA in SICILIA, from whence he afterwards ſailed into ITALIE, and ſo trauelled to ROME where he was honourably receiued by *Adrian* the ſixt of that name then biſhop there, a Hollander borne, ſometime ſchoolemaſter to *Charles* the fift, and his Vicegerent in Spaine; who if he had been as forward in the ſhort time of his Papacie to haue relieued the RHODES, as he was to maintaine *Charles* his quarrell againſt the French king, it is not vnlike but that famous citie had beene relieued, and the iſland in poſſeſsion of the Chriſtians at this day. Thus *Solyman*, whileſt the Chriſtian princes were at diſcord amongſt themſelues, to his great glorie and no leſſe griefe of all good Chriſtians, entred the RHODES the fiue and twentith day of December, a day I dedicated vnto the natiuitie of our Sauiour Chriſt, in the yeare 1522, after it had beene by the knights of the Order valiantly kept and defended againſt the infidels by the ſpace of 214 yeares, ſince the time they by force tooke it from the infidels in the yeare 1308: and now being ſo long holden as was poſsible, againſt all the power of the Turkes, was yeelded vp when it had been ſix moneths beſieged. At this ſiege *Solyman* loſt a great part of his army; for beſides them that were ſlaine at the aſſaults, which were many, thirtie thouſand died of the flix.

Solyman entreth into the Rhodes on Chriſtenmas day, in the yeare 1522.

Whileſt *Solyman* thus lay at the ſiege of the RHODES, *Ferhates Baſſa* Gouernour of the Marches of the Turkiſh empire, alongſt the riuer of Euphrates, by the commaundement of *Solyman* went with a great armie againſt *Alis-beg*, whom the Turkes called *Schach, Suar-ogli*, that is to ſay, king *Suar* his ſonne: which *P. Iouius* corrupting, calleth him by the name of *Saxouar-* K *oglis*. This *Alis*, after he had bettraied his vncle *Aladeules* the mountaine king, vnto *Sinan Baſſa*, was by *Selymus* left chiefe gouernour of that large and wild countrey alongſt the borders of ARMENIA and CAPADOCIA, wanting nothing of the honour of a king but the name onely, as is before declared in the life of *Selymus*. *Solyman* jealous of his honor, and fearing leaſt he ſhould take vpon him the abſolute gouernment of that countrey (which indeed of right belonged vnto him, the children of *Aladeules* the late king being now all dead) and ſo to make himſelfe king, eſpecially if he ſhould joyne in friendſhip with the Perſian king: after the manner of ambitious men, purpoſed by any meanes to haue him taken out of the way: and had therefore ſent *Ferhates* to eaſe him of that care. The Baſſa without making any ſhew of hoſtilitie, marching with his armie along the confines of his countrey, as if it had been but to looke to his charge, when L he was come as neere as he could to *Alis*, without miſtruſt, thought good to aſſay if he could by pollicie bring that to paſſe which he was otherwiſe with great danger to attempt by force. Wherefore faining himſelfe to be extreame ſicke, he ſent embaſſadours to *Alis*, requeſting him as a friend to vouchſafe to come vnto him being at the point of death, vnto whom he had many things of importance from the great emperour to impart, and would if he ſhould die, leaue with him all his charge vntill *Solyman* ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe thereof.

Solymen ſendeth Ferhates Baſſa againſt Alis beg the mountaine prince.

Alis and his foure ſons treacherouſly ſlaine.

Alis, who from his youth had alwaies honoured the Turkiſh emperours and faithfully ſerued them, miſtruſting no harme came to the Baſſa, accompanied with his foure ſonnes; whom the faithleſſe Baſſa without regard of infamie, cauſed preſently to be put to death with their father: and ſo reducing all that countrey into the manner of a prouince vnder *Solymans* obeiſance, came M to him with twentie thouſand men, about the time that the citie of the RHODES was yeelded vp. This is the faithleſſe dealing of the Turks, not with the Chriſtians onely, but with them of their owne ſuperſtition alſo: vſing it as no ſmall pollicie, vtterly to extinguiſh the nobilitie in all countries ſubject to their ſeruile tytannie.

Solyman

A *Solyman* after he had thus ſubdued the RHODES, and diſpoſed of the Iſland as he liked beſt, returning to CONSTANTINOPLE, brake vp his armie, and for the ſpace of three yeares after followed his pleaſure, not doing any thing worthie of remembrance. During which time and many yeares after, the rich and flouriſhing countrey of ITALIE, ſometime miſtres of the world, was miſerably afflicted and rent in peeces by *Charles* the fift, (then emperour) and *Francis* the French king, the one enuying vnto the other the glorie of the empire: and he not content therwith, ſeeking with immoderat ambition to make himſelfe lord of all ITALIE: moſt of the other Chriſtian princes and ſtates being at the ſame time either by the one or by the other, drawn into the fellowſhip of that warre, to the great trouble and ſore weakening of the Chriſtian commonweale. Whereupon *Solyman* waiting all occaſions that might ſerue for the enlarging of his em-
B pire, and annoying of the Chriſtians, thought it now a fit time for him to ſet his foot into HVNGARIE, whereinto he had alreadie laied open a way by the taking of BELGRADE. He knew right well that *Lewes* then king of HVNGARIE was but yong, altogether vnacquainted with the warres, commaunding ouer his headſtrong ſubjects (eſpecially his rich prelates and nobilitie) no otherwiſe than pleaſed themſelues, being himſelfe rather by them altogether ouerruled. Beſides that, he was in good hope, that the other Chriſtian princes neere vnto him, either carried away with regard of their owne eſtate, would not, or els before vnto himſelfe by league faſt bound, could not affoord vnto him any great aid or ſuccour: The Germanes hee knew would make ſmall haſt vnto ſuch warres as ſhould yeeld them much danger, and but ſmall pay: As for
C the princes of the houſe of AVSTRIA, *Charles* the emperour, and *Ferdinand* his brother, although they were joined vnto the young king with the neereſt bonds of alliance (*Lewes* hauing married *Marie* their youngeſt ſiſter, and *Ferdinand*, *Anne*, king *Lewes* his ſiſter) yet was there as he thought ſmall helpe to be expected from them; *Charles* hauing his hands full in ITALIE, and *Ferdinand* altogether carefull of himſelfe: And that *Sigiſmund* king of POLONIA would for the young kings ſake breake the antient league he had with the Turkiſh emperors, he could hardly be perſuaded: As for other Chriſtian princes farther off, he ſtood not in any great doubt. 1526
Thus hauing with himſelfe ſingled out this young prince the Hungarian king, whom he had in his greedie mind alreadie deuoured, he ſet forward from CONSTANTINOPLE, and was come on his way as far as SOPHIA in SERVIA with a mightie armie of two hundred thouſand men, before that the Hungarians had any knowledge of his comming (ſo blind & ſenceleſſe was that
D ſtate, which now ſleeping in ſecuritie, had long before loſt thoſe eyes which euer watcht, and neuer ſpared coſt or paines to keepe the ſame in ſafetie) in ſtead of whom were others come in place, ſharpe of ſight and too too prouident for that concerned their owne aduancement; but blind as beetils in foreſeeing this great and common danger (wherewith they were ſhortly after all quite ouerwhelmed) vntill it was now brought home vnto their owne dores. The yong king of himſelfe but weake, by reaſon of his youthfull yeares, and nothing ſtrengthened by them for whom he had moſt done, and ſhould haue beene his greateſt ſtay; was wonderfully diſmayed with the fame of the approch of ſo mightie an enemie: yet the better to withſtand him, he ſent
E embaſſadors with all ſpeed vnto the Chriſtian princes his neighbors, requeſting their aid againſt the common enemie: but all in vaine. In the meane time, after the auntient manner of his countrey, he gaue out generall ſummons for the aſſembly of his counſell for the warres: whether his great ſtipendarie prelates (of dutie bound to appeare) came with their troupes of euill appointed horſemen, and not halfe full; who alſo deliuered in leſſe ſummes of money by farre, than of right they ſhould haue done, towards the maintenance of the charge of that common war. And the temporall nobilitie, forgetting the warlike diſcipline of their famous anceſtors, as freſh water ſouldiors which had neuer ſeene the Turkiſh emperour in his ſtrength, and but little acquainted with ſome light skirmiſhes or ſmall inuaſions, in their vaine brauerie made light account of the Turkes, proudly vaunting, That although they were in number but few, yet they would eaſily ouerthrow the great numbers of them, if euer they came to handie ſtrokes. But aboue all the reſt
F one *Paulus Tomoreus*, archbiſhop of COLOSSA, ſometimes a Minorite, who had before been in diuers light skirmiſhes againſt the Turks, with great inſolencie did ſo confidently brag and boaſt of the victorie he vainely dreamed of, that in his ſermons vnto the ſouldiours, and in open talke with the nobilitie (if he could haue done ſo much as he vaunted of) it ſhould ſeeme that he himſelfe had been ynough to haue ouerthrowne the Turks whole armie.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

Solyman vpon the diſcord of the Chriſtian princes and diſordered ſtate of Hungarie, taketh occaſion to inuade that kingdome.

Solyman commeth againſt Lewes king of Hungarie.

The vanitie of Tomoreus.

But when all the kings armie was aſſembled, and a generall moſter taken, there was hardly

found fiue and twentie thousand men in all, horse and foot. So that the fooliſh hardineſſe of *Tomoreus*, and others ſo forwards to giue the Turks battell, was of moſt wiſe men diſliked. The old ſouldiors and men of great experience ſaid plainely, That it was meere follie and madneſſe with ſuch a handfull of men to giue battell vnto the enemie, who would bring eight times ſo many moe into the field as they were. Wherefore ſome wiſhed, that the young king ſhould be withdrawne from the imminent danger: amongſt whom *Stephanus Verbetius*, a noble captaine, of all the reſt beſt acquainted with the Turkiſh warres, gaue counſell, that the perſon of the yong king ſhould for the ſafetie of the common ſtate, whatſoeuer ſhould happen, be kept out of danger in the ſtrong caſtle of BVDA. But the vnruly ſoldiors with open mouth impugned his wholeſome counſell, and ſaid plainely, That except the king himſelfe did lead them, they would not at all fight. Of which opinion was alſo the raſh prelate *Tomoreus*, perſuading them with all ſpeed to giue the enemie battell, and that the noble young king vnder the protection of Almightie God, ſhould in perſon himſelfe goe and giue the ſignall of battell againſt his enemies. The king ouerruled by this vnluckie counſell, vpon a brauerie without reaſon ſet forward with his armie, and came to a place called MOHATCHZ or MVGACE, which is a little countrey village not farre from Danubius, almoſt in the middle betweene BVDA and BELGRADE. And now *Balybeus* with twentie thouſand horſemen (the forerunners of the Turkiſh armie) was at hand, at which time the commaunders and captaines of the kings armie, entred into counſell, Whether it were better to encampe their armie within their wagons alongſt the riuer of Danubius, and ſo to expect the comming of *Ioannes Sepuſius*, countie of CILIA, and Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA; (who was then ſaid to be comming towards the king with his Tranſiluanian horſemen, of all other fitteſt to haue encountered the Turkes) or els to march on forward, and preſently to giue them battell? But *Tomoreus*, who now commaunded all, knowing that vpon the comming of the Vayuod, he was to giue place, and himſelfe to be commaunded (which vnto ſo proud a man was no ſmall greefe) for the maintenance of his credit and reputation, and to carrie away the glorie of the victorie he ſo vainely hoped for, could not abide to heare of any delay; but haſting headlong to his owne deſtruction, did with ſuch vehemencie impugne the wholeſome counſell of others, who would haue expected the comming of the Vayuod, that he by his franticke perſuaſions drew on the vnaduiſed young king into moſt apparent and manifeſt danger. For *Balibeus* deuided his horſemen into foure battels, which by turnes skirmiſhed with the kings armie without intermiſſion, and gaue the Hungarians no leiſure to reſt either day or night, but continually wheeling about, kept them in ſo ſtraight, that no man could without great danger goe to water his horſe at the ſide of Danubius, which was faſt by, or once to ſtirre out of the campe, but were enforced to dig pits for water in places where they lay: with which neceſsitie *Tomoreus* was enforced to put the armie in order of battell, and there was now no remedie, but he muſt of neceſsitie fight for the honour of his prince and countrey. His battell was raunged all in length, and his horſemen not altogether (as it was thought) vnfitly placed here and there by troupes amongſt his footmen; leaſt the Turks (being in number eight to one) ſhould with their multitude compaſſe them round, and ſo enforce them to fight as it were in a ring: for now was *Solyman* come alſo with all his huge armie. The Hungarian tents defended with a ſmall garriſon, were left a little from the armie on the right hand, encloſed round about with waggons, one chained to another: neere vnto the which, *Tomoreus* Generall of this vnluckie battell, had not altogether vndiſcreetly placed a troupe of choſen horſemen for defence of the kings perſon againſt all vncertaine euents of the battell. But this day (vnluckie to the Hungarian name, but vnto the king himſelfe moſt fatall and vnfortunat) ouerthrew that his purpoſe, deuiſed too late for the ſafetie of the kings perſon: for at the firſt encounter the Hungarians, although they had receiued no harme by the Turkiſh artillerie (being mounted too high, of purpoſe as it was thought, the gunners being for moſt part Chriſtians) were eaſily beaten downe and ouerthrowne, oppreſſed by the multitude of their enemies, eſpecially *Tomoreus* with the reſt of the prelates and nobilitie being almoſt all ſlaine together, and the Hungarian horſemen alſo either ſlaine or put to flight. All things going thus to wracke, a companie of Turks aſſailed the campe, which was hardly defended by the weake garriſon. Which thing the troupe of the choſen horſemen appointed for defence of the kings perſon, beholding, could not be ſtayed, but that they would needs helpe them which defended the campe. The young king ſeeing all his armie diſcomfited, and himſelfe forſaken of the horſemen which he was in hope ſhould haue guarded him, betooke himſelfe to flight.

Wholſome counſell not followed.

The battell of Mohatchz.

Tomoreus ſlaine

But

A But as he was making ſhift for himſelfe, thinking to haue paſſed ouer a fennie ditch, his horſe in plunging out, fell backwards vpon him into the ditch; where being heauie loded with armour not able to helpe himſelfe, he was in the middeſt of that filthie ditch in the mud moſt miſerably drowned. Some few horſemen eſcaped out of the battell, the reſt were either ſlaine or taken priſoners. This wofull battell neuer ſufficiently to be lamented, as the ground of the miſeries of that worthy kingdome, was fought the 29. day of October in the yeare 1526. *King Lewis drowned in a ditch.*

Solyman hauing obtained this victorie, marched on directly to BVDA the regall ſeat of the Hungarian kings, which was deliuered vnto him with the caſtle; vpon condition, that he ſhould not violate any man either in perſon or goods, and at his departure to leaue the ſame againe vnto the Hungarians: all which things he (according vnto their requeſt) faithfully performed. Being entred into the caſtle, hee wonderfully commended the ſame, but lodged not therein, becauſe it is by their auntient law forbidden the Turkiſh emperour to lodge within any walled place which is not his owne. Wherefore he returned and lodged in his campe alongſt the riuer of Danubius.

Whileſt *Solyman* lay thus at BVDA, ſeauen bloudie heads of the biſhops and greateſt of the nobilitie (ſlaine in the late battell at MOHATCHZ) were preſented to him, all ſet in order vpon a woodden ſtep: whereat he ſmiled, to ſee his courtiers laying their right hands vpon their breſts, and bending their bodies as if they had done them great obeiſance, to ſalute them by name, and in deriſion to welcome them by the names of valiant popes. But afterwards, when he had more particulerly enquired what euerie one of them was, it is reported that he moſt of all deteſted *Ladiſlaus Salcanius* the great biſhop of STRIGONIVM, for his miſerable couetouſneſſe, that being a man of infinit wealth, refuſed to ſpare part thereof vnto his ſoueraigne, requeſting the ſame at his great need: *Tomoreus* he blamed of inconſiderat raſhneſſe, for that he being a cleargie man, would buſie himſelfe ſo farre in matters not belonging to his vocation: On the contrarie part, he commended *Franciſcus Perenus* biſhop of VERADIVM, a man honourably deſcended, for his wiſe counſell (though it was not followed) for that he had heard it reported, that he as a true prophet foretelling the common ſlaughter enſuing, had ſharpely ſaid in the counſell at ſuch time as *Tomoreus* would needs fight with the Turks, and was not by any meanes to be remoued from that his fatall opinion, That he did foreſee what that their frietlike Generall would the next day doe; and that he would with ſo great an enterpriſe effect no more, but to make one holiday the more in the Chriſtian kalenders, in remembrance of thirtie thouſand Hungarian martyrs, moſt miſerably ſlaine of the Turks in vnequall battell, for defence of the Chriſtian faith and religion (for at that time, they which willingly expoſed themſelues to death in defence of the Chriſtian faith, were all accounted for Martyrs:) *Georgius Sepuſius* and the others he called raſh fooles, that would aduenture with ſo ſmall ſtrength to encounter ſo ſtrong an enemie. At ſuch time as the counterfeits of king *Lewes* and *Marie* his wife were ſhewed vnto him, he honourably ſaid, That he was ſorie for the young king, that it was his euill hap to haue ſo vnaduiſed counſellors in a matter of ſo great importance, as to perſuade him againſt all reaſon to fight at ſo great diſaduantage: And that he came not into HVNGARIE to take his kingdome from him, but only to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him by the Hungarians: And that if he had eſcaped the danger of the battell, he would aſſuredly haue againe reſtored vnto him the kingdome of HVNGARIE, contenting himſelfe with ſome ſmall tribute: And that it ſhould haue beene vnto him honour enough to haue ſaued the nephew of *Sigiſmund* king of POLONIA his confederat, ſo ſtrongly allied with the honorable houſe of *Auſtria*. All which he commaunded to be told to *Marie* the queene, who was for feare fled from BVDA to POSSONIVM. Which might perhaps all ſeeme to haue been either diſſemblingly ſpoken, or falſely reported of the equitie and courteſie of the barbarous king, if he had not ſhortly afterwards to the ample declaration of his bountie and liberalitie, without any deſert, giuen the ſame kingdome of HVNGARIE to *Ioannes Sepuſius*, not borne of any royall bloud, and then retaining the mind of a verie enemie. After that, he tooke away three goodly images of braſſe of antient workmanſhip, which were placed in the entrance into the kings pallace, by that renowned king *Mathias Coruinus* the great fauourer of rare qualities and vertues: theſe images repreſented the formes of *Hercules* with his club, of *Apollo* with his harpe, and *Diana* with her bow and quiuer: all which he placed in the tiltyard at CONSTANTINOPLE, as a trophie of the Hungarian victorie. Howbeit theſe images were ſince taken downe by the perſuaſion of the Mufti, & molten (as contrarie to their ſuperſtition) and great ordinance

The heads of ſlaine Chriſtian biſhops and captaines preſented to Solyman.

The biſhop of Veradium too true a prophet.

The honourable ſpeech of Solyman concerning his comming into Hungarie.

dinance made of them. He carried also away with him three pieces of artillerie of most excellent and curious workmanship; and certaine brasen pillars of chamfred worke, which supported the Chapitets of the gates. He tarried at BVDA about twentie daies: In which time to satisfie the cruell nature and greedie desires of his souldiours, he sent out diuers troups of horsemen into the countrey thereabout, by whom all the countrey betwixt RAB and the riuer of Tibyscus was by that sudden and vnexpected incursion so destroied, that it is reported that aboue an hundreth and fiftie thousand people of all sorts were either slaine or led away into most miserable captiuitie. All which done, he returned againe by the same way he came, to CONSTANTINOPLE.

Ioannes Sepusius, Vayuod of Transiluania, aspireth to the kingdome of Hungarie.

About the same time *Ioannes Sepusius* Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA, with a great power came now too late into HVNGARIE to haue aided the king: but glad, as was thought, of his death, as tending to his owne aduancement; for as much as he was now (the king being dead without issue) a man of greatest account amongst the nobilitie of HVNGARIE. Wherefore as one of a deepe and reaching wit, and in great hope to obtaine the kingdome, he began cunningly to labour diuers of the noble men one by one, and instantly to request them, that at the next parliament they would not betray the honour of their countrey, in suffering the royall dignitie of that auntient kingdome to be transferred vnto a stranger, of such a nation as happily loued them not: for why, the Hungarians ought well to remember what great calamities they had receiued in former times, in chusing forraine kings and strangers to raigne ouer them, and in following their vnfortunat ensignes against the Turkes; which thing the wofull miseries of times past might notably proue: which either *Sigismundus* of BOHEMIA, or *Ladislaus* the first of POLONIA, by their vnfortunat battels, once at NICOPOLIS, againe at CVLVMBARIVM, and last of all at VARNA had brought vnto the Hungarians. But to speake, nay once to remember the harmes receiued by the long cowardise of *Ladislaus*, or this late rashnesse of his sonne king *Lewes*, would make any noble mind to blush and be ashamed: vnder whose gouernment all militarie discipline, and the glorie of HVNGARIE might well be thought to be vtterly lost. And yet he said there remained of the nobilitie of HVNGARIE, men honourably discended of most auntient houses, worthie of the kingdome, which bare noble minds, and were of sufficient courage, discretion, and power, in this time of common heauinesse to restore the honour of the estate, and worthily to defend the kingdome: Amongst whom (said he) I would not bee accounted so base minded, or heauie headed (although there be many which for the honour of their houses and wealth may seeme to go before me) that I will therefore confesse, that any of them is for valour, prowesse, or fortune better than my selfe, either for conducting of an armie, or gouernment of a kingdome: for I shall be a king of courage and valour sufficient, if by your fauourable good will I shall be thought worthie of your consent and suffrages. The Vayuod taking this course, by his earnest sute and labour had woon the good wils of many; and so much the easier, for that *Stephanus Bator* (a man of greatest nobilitie among the Hungarians) was a little before gone into BOHEMIA vnto king *Ferdinand*, who was then greatly busied (by reason of a parliament there summoned) in procuring the fauour of the nobilitie and commons of that realme against the time of the parliament, wherein he was in good hope to be chosen king; as he was in short time after.

King Lewes buried.

At that same time the Hungarians were with great solemnitie celebrating the funerall of their late king: whose dead bodie after the departure of *Solyman* from BVDA, was found whole, by the demonstration of one *Cotriscus* one of the squires of his bodie, who was present when he was drowned; and so was brought out of the fens of MOHATCHZ to ALBA REGALIS, where it was with great pompe buried amongst the sepulchres of the other kings of HVNGARIE his predecessours. Which solemne funerall once ended, the generall militarie parliament (by the authoritie and voice whereof the kings of HVNGARIE were by their auntient lawes and customes to be chosen) was called: in the shutting vp wherof, *Iohn* the Vayuod hauing in that common heauinesse no competitour, nor any of the greatest nobilitie which durst stand against him, was with the great applause and consent of all there present chosen king. To whom forthwith *Petrus Perenus* came and presented the auntient crowne of the kingdome of HVNGARIE, which was in his keeping, made after an homely fashion of pure gold; with which the lawfull kings of HVNGARIE vsed alwaies to be solemnly crowned. It is reported, that it was the crowne of *Stephanus* first king of HVNGARIE, and was by an auntient customе alwaies kept in the castle of

A of VICEGRADE. And so *John* the Vayuod was orderly crowned, and consecrated by the hands of *Paulus* bishop of STRIGONIVM, lately chosen in steed of *Ladislaus Salcanius*, slaine in the battell at MVGACE, and by the hands of *Stephanus Brodaricus* bishop of VACIA, whom he chose for his secretarie. And vnto *Americus Cibachus* he gaue the honor of the Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA, being but a little before chosen bishop of VERADIVM. In his preferment, he was greatly holpen vnto the kingdome by the nobilitie which followed him out of TRANSILVANIA, men of great account both in peace and warre; amongst whom descended of the Hungarian bloud, were chiefe, *Stephanus Verbetius*, *Paulus Antandrus*, *Gregorius Peschenius*, *Nicolaus Glessa*, and *Ianus Docia*. But whilest this new king is in this sort busied in rewarding his friends and strengthening himselfe in his kingdome, he was aduertised, That *Ferdinand* his competitor of the B Hungarian kingdome was chosen king of BOHEMIA: who out of the old controuersie betwixt *Mathias Coruinus* and *Fredericus* the emperours great grandfather, alleadged great claime vnto that kingdome, deriued from the time of *Ladislaus*, who was reported to haue beene poisoned at the time of the solemnization of his marriage, through the ambition and malice of *Georgius Pogibracius*; who affecting the kingdome of BOHEMIA, shortly after obtained the same. And now it seemed that the time was come, wherein *Ferdinand* made greater with the kingdome of BOHEMIA, and strengthened with the power of his brother *Charles* the emperour, not forgetting his right, might vpon good ground lay claime vnto the kingdome of HVNGARIE, vnto him (as he pretended) of right belonging euer since the time of *Albertus* the emperour. Neither did *Ferdinand* beside the strength of AVSTRIA & BOHEMIA, want the furtherance of C diuers of the princes of HVNGARIE; hauing in his court many of vnquiet spirit, false fugitiues, desirous of change, which enuied at the Vayuods royall preferment (as if it had been taken from themselues, more worthie thereof than he) by the rash and tumultuous fauour of the vulgar people. For besides *Bator*, who in most mens judgement might most worthely haue required and obtained the kingdome, there were others also almost of like nobilitie and valour, as *Valentinus Turaccus*, *Stephanus Maylatus*, *Ianus Scala*, *Gasper Scredius*, *Baltasar Pamphilus*, and *Ferentius Gnarius*; to whom also was joyned *Paulus Bachitius* borne in SERVIA, a valiant gentleman, who being entered into the Mahometane religion, to auoid the Turkish slauerie got away vnto the Christians, and hardly escaped from the battell of MOHATCHZ. By the perswasion of these noble men, *Ferdinand* of his owne disposition readie ynough to D claime his right, especially a kingdome, and trusting vnto his strength in AVSTRIA, BOHEMIA, RHETIA, STIRIA, and CARYNTHIA, marched directly towards BVDA. With whose comming, *Iohn* the new king being wonderfully troubled, as a man beset with want of all things, hauing neither sufficient strength whereupon to rest in his new got kingdome, neither any great assurance of the fidelitie of his subiects, like ynough either for feare, or of their naturall inconstancie to fall from him, determined not to abide the comming of his enemie to BVDA: but exhorting his captaines to follow him, although he were glad to depart and giue place to his euill fortune for a time, with such power as he had brought with him out of TRANSILVANIA, & such other as he could otherwise leuie, he passed ouer the riuer to PESTVM: and not daring any where thereabouts to rest, by long marches passed ouer the riuer Tibiscus, and there encamped E at TOCAI, which was a strong castle vpon the further side of the riuer. His departure being knowne, *Ferdinand* marching on, obtained BVDA without resistance: where he staied a while, and consulted with his captaines, Whether he should pursue his flying enemie, or not? But it was quickly resolued, That the discouraged enemy was to be speedily pursued, before he should gather greater strength, or enter into greater policies. Wherefore *Ferdinand* committed all his armie vnto the nobilitie of HVNGARIE, his friends, whom we haue before named; who marching with all speed possible, came to the riuer Tibiscus: where passing ouer vpon a bridge made of boats, which they brought with them in waggons for that purpose, they came with ensignes displayed vnto the castle of TOCAI, where the king lay with his armie in order of battell. But terrified with the suddaine comming of his enemies, and debating with his captaines of the F greatnesse of the danger, took a course vnto himselfe rather safe than honorable: For his captains desiring nothing more than to joine battell, and in manner contemning their enemies, perswaded him to withdraw himselfe a little out of the battell, and to keepe him out of danger; and if things fell out otherwise than well, to reserue himselfe vnto his better fortunes: as for themselues they would most resolutely fight against those traiterous fugitiues, for as much as it were great

John Sepusius the Vayuod chosen and crowned king of Hungarie.

Ferdinand king of Bohemia taketh claime to the kingdome of Hungarie.

King Ferdinand taketh Buda.

disshonour for them, being Hungarians, a warlike people by nature, to refuse battell being offered by the enemie. Amongst the cheefetaines in the kings armie, *Ferentius Bodo*, an old captaine of great experience and courage was cheefe, to whom the king deliuered his ensigne with his owne hands, and he with great skill ordered his battell, for the number of his souldiours: he himselfe stood in the maine battell with the Hungarians, placing the Transiluanians in the wings. In *Ferdinands* armie, *Valentinus Turaccus* led the maine battell with the Hungarians vnder *Ferdinands* ensigne, strengthened on the one side with troupes of horsemen out of STIRIA, and on the other with the horsemen of AVSTRIA. But *Paulus Bachitius* according to the manner of the Turkish warres (wherewith he was well acquainted) with a companie of light horsemen lay close in ambush in a conuenient place for that purpose, a good distance off, against the left wing of the enemies armie, readie as occasion should serue to take his most aduantage. It was not greatly needfull for the captaines to vse any persuasions to encourage their souldiours, readie ynough of themselues to fight. The great ordinance once discharged, the armies came fast on and joyned battell, where the wings of both battels fought with diuers fortune. The Stirian horsmen were not able to endure the force of the Transiluanians, but were put to the worse: and on the other side, the left wing of *Bodo* his armie, consisting for most part of raw and vnexpert souldiors, was by the horsemen of AVSTRIA ouerthrowne. At the same time both the maine battels (being almost all Hungarians) fought with equall courage, and that so eagerly, as seldome had been seene a more fierce or cruell battell. But by a fresh charge giuen by *Ferdinands* horsemen, who had now put to flight the right wing of *Bodo* his battell, all *Bodo* his armie fighting most valiantly, was disordered and put to flight: *Bodo* the Generall labouring to restore the battell, and to saue the ensigne to him before by the king deliuered, was by the comming in of *Paulus Bachitius* with his light horsemen, taken. The other captaines seeing all lost, and past hope of recouerie, betooke themselues to flight: all the kings artillerie and ensignes were taken by the enemie. The king seeing the ouerthrow of his armie, for safegard of his life fled into POLONIA. *Ferdinand* his captaines following the course of the victorie, entered into TRANSILVANIA, where the people yeelding themselues at the first, all the whole prouince submitted it selfe vnto the authoritie of *Ferdinand*. *Bodo* and the rest of the noble men that were taken prisoners, with the ensignes taken from the enemies, were sent to *Ferdinand*. But when *Bodo* hauing his libertie promised, could not be perswaded to renounce his oath giuen to king *Iohn*, and to beare armes against him, he was by *Ferdinand* his commaundement cast into a darke dungeon, where shortly after, consumed with sorrow and greefe, he miserably ended his life.

The battell of Tocai betweene the armies of king Iohn and king Ferdinand.

King Iohn flieth into Polonia.

Shortly after *Ferdinand* (the Hungarians generally submitting themselues vnto him) was by their common consent saluted king, and crowned with the same old crowne wherwith king *Iohn* had been crowned, which the same *Perenus* (a man of little constancie) brought vnto him; and with him was also crowned *Anne* his wife, the only sister of the late king *Lewes*: all which solemne ceremonies were celebrated at ALBA REGALIS, the vsuall place for the coronation of the Hungarian kings. *Ferdinand* by rare felicitie thus possessed of two kingdomes, whereunto he was not borne, returned into BOHEMIA, and left his deputies for the gouernment of the kingdome of HVNGARIE. These were *Stephanus Bator*, whom hee appointed viceroy, with whom he joyned *Paulus* bishop of STRIGONIVM, who had also reuolted from king *Iohn*: and made *Berethsaxius* secretarie, and *Alexius Turso*nus a Morauian, treasurer.

Ferdinand crowned king of Hungarie at Alba Regalis.

King *Iohn* thus miserably distressed, and thrust out of his kingdome, by *Ferdinand*, fled to *Hieronimus Lascus*, a man for his honourable discent and learned vertue, of great fame and reputation amongst the Polonians: who glad of so honourable a guest, was more carefull of nothing, than with all possible kindnesse and courtesie how to comfort him, wrapt vp in so many calamities with the losse of his kingdome: he frankely promised vnto him all his owne wealth (which was not small) for the recouerie of his former estate: and that which more was, for the reuiuing of his former felicitie, the vttermost of his wit and deuise, which in the compassing of all great matters was accounted wonderfull. That bountifull entertainement of this poore king by *Lascus*, was not altogether vnpleasant to *Sigismund* king of POLONIA, although because he would not offend *Ferdinand*, with whom he was joyned in friendship and aliance, he seemed to most men plainly to forget himselfe in shewing so small kindnesse vnto king *Iohn*, whose sister *Barbara* he had sometime married: which was the cause that *Lascus* forgot no point of courtesie in entertaining his gueſt, and yet the credit of *Sigismund* with king *Ferdinand* not toucht. But when

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B derſtood him to be wonderfully delighted aboue all other kings of the Eaſt, naturally carried away with that windie vanitie. This counſell (as in effect it prooued) was vnto king *Iohn* wholeſome and reaſonable, if a man doe but reſpect the poore eſtate of a king, ſo greatly wronged, liuing in exile; but reſpecting the Chriſtian commonweale, it was vndoubtedly moſt dangerous and lamentable for one mans particular profit to bring the whole ſtate into moſt dreadfull and horrible danger: but the ſicke minds of worldly men, liuing in ſmall hope of doing well, and at the point of deſperation, refuſe no worldly remedies, be they neuer ſo doubtfull or dangerous. And not long after, vpon this reſolution with the king, *Laſcus* deſirous by noble actions to encreaſe the honour of his name, tooke the matter vpon him, and went as embaſſadour from the exiled king to *Solyman* to CONSTANTINOPLE. The report was, that *Sigiſmund* did not only
C not ſtay him, but ſecretly gaue him his ſafe conduct with letters of credence, wherein he commended him vnto the Baſſaes and other great men in *Solymans* court, deſcended of the Polonian bloud, as his faithfull and louing ſubject ſent thither vpon an extraordinarie and ſpeciall embaſſage. *Laſcus* as ſoone as he was come to CONSTANTINOPLE, with wonderfull dexteritie had in ſhort time woon the fauour, not of the Baſſaes only, but of the other courtiers alſo; preſenting them with ſuch gifts as might for the fineneſſe and rareneſſe thereof, rather than for the value (as he thought) be moſt acceptable and pleaſing to their wiues: for amongſt that barbarous and corrupted people nothing is better welcome than gifts, whether they proceed of ſimple good will, or other reſpect, is no great difference. Amongſt the great Baſſaes at that time of greateſt power and authoritie, was *Luſtebeius*, or rather *Lutzis*, who had married *Solymans* ſiſter; and
D *Abraham* borne at PARGA, a baſe village in ACARNANIA, brought vp in the court from his childhood with *Solyman*: he was then viſier or cheefe of the Baſſaes, and keeper of the emperors ſeale, and was by his office to ſubſcribe all ſuch graunts or letters as paſſed from the emperour: by which his great place, and the ſpeciall fauour he had with *Solyman*, he in magnificence power and authoritie farre exceeded all the reſt of the Baſſaes, doing whatſoeuer pleaſed himſelfe; and that with ſuch ſoueraignetie and the good liking of *Solyman*, that it was commonly ſaid, he was the commaunder of his thoughts. *Laſcus* thus inſinuated into the court, and oftentimes talking with the Baſſaes without an interpretour, for that hee could well ſpeake the Sclauonian tongue, (the familiar ſpeech of the Turkiſh courtiers) earneſtly ſolicited the kings cauſe, wonderfully commending him: for at his firſt comming after he had ſaluted *Solyman*, and was about to haue de-
E clared the cauſe of his comming, he was after the manner of the Turkiſh court turned ouer to the Baſſaes: for *Solyman* vſed not to admit any Chriſtian to talke with him in his court. *Laſcus* requeſted of *Solyman*, by the Baſſaes, That king *Iohn* wrongfully thruſt out of his kingdome by *Ferdinand* duke of AVSTRIA, and the treaſon of certaine of the Hungarians, might by the Turkiſh power be againe reſtored vnto the kingdome of HVNGARIE, which he would hold by ho-
F mage of the Turkiſh emperour, as of right belonging vnto him, ſince the time that *Solyman* with victorious hand reuenging his wrongs and ſubduing his enemies, had by law of armes (fortune ſo judging) gained the ſame. Promiſing that king *Iohn*, who for his worthineſſe was by the generall good liking of the Hungarians lawfully choſen to be their king, and ſo after the auntient manner of that kingdome crowned; if he were now receiued into *Solymans* protection and by him reſtored, ſhould neuer forget ſo great a benefit, but alwaies moſt faithfully and thankfully to honour the majeſtie of *Solyman*, paying him ſuch yearly tribute as it ſhould pleaſe him to impoſe, and to make it knowne to all men that he was his vaſſaile. Which thing if it would pleaſe him to grant, it ſhould be no leſſe honour and glorie to *Solyman* himſelfe, than profitable and comfortable vnto the diſtreſſed king. For beſide that heroicall kings are compared vnto gods,

rather

Laſcus counſelleth king Iohn to craue aid of Solyman.

Laſcus goeth embaſſadour for king Iohn to Solyman.

Abraham Baſſa.

Laſcus his requeſt of Solyman in the behalf of king Iohn

dishonour for them, being Hungarians, a warlike people by nature, to refuse battell being offered by the enemie. Amongst the cheefetaines in the kings armie, *Ferentius Bodo*, an old captaine of great experience and courage was cheefe, to whom the king deliuered his ensigne with his owne hands, and he with great skill ordered his battell, for the number of his souldiours: he himselfe stood in the maine battell with the Hungarians, placing the Transiluanians in the wings. In *Ferdinands* armie, *Valentinus Turaccus* led the maine battell with the Hungarians vnder *Ferdinands* ensigne, strengthened on the one side with troupes of horsemen out of STIRIA, and on the other with the horsemen of AVSTRIA. But *Paulus Bachitius* according to the manner of the Turkish warres (wherewith he was well acquainted) with a companie of light horsemen lay close in ambush in a conuenient place for that purpose, a good distance off, against the left wing of the enemies armie, readie as occasion should serue to take his most aduantage. It was not greatly needfull for the captaines to vse any persuasions to encourage their souldiours, readie ynough of themselues to fight. The great ordinance once discharged, the armies came fast on and joyned battell, where the wings of both battels fought with diuers fortune. The Stirian horsmen were not able to endure the force of the Transiluanians, but were put to the worse: and on the other side, the left wing of *Bodo* his armie, consisting for most part of raw and vnexpert souldiors, was by the horsemen of AVSTRIA ouerthrowne. At the same time both the maine battels (being almost all Hungarians) fought with equall courage, and that so eagerly, as seldome had been seene a more fierce or cruell battell. But by a fresh charge giuen by *Ferdinands* horsemen, who had now put to flight the right wing of *Bodo* his battell, all *Bodo* his armie fighting most valiantly, was disordered and put to flight: *Bodo* the Generall labouring to restore the battell, and to saue the ensigne to him before by the king deliuered, was by the comming in of *Paulus Bachitius* with his light horsemen, taken. The other captaines seeing all lost, and past hope of recouerie, betooke themselues to flight: all the kings artillerie and ensignes were taken by the enemie. The king seeing the ouerthrow of his armie, for safegard of his life fled into POLONIA. *Ferdinand* his captaines following the course of the victorie, entered into TRANSILVANIA, where the people yeelding themselues at the first, all the whole prouince submitted it selfe vnto the authoritie of *Ferdinand*. *Bodo* and the rest of the noble men that were taken prisoners, with the ensignes taken from the enemies, were sent to *Ferdinand*. But when *Bodo* hauing his libertie promised, could not be perswaded to renounce his oath giuen to king *Iohn*, and to beare armes against him, he was by *Ferdinand* his commaundement cast into a darke dungeon, where shortly after, consumed with sorrow and greefe, he miserably ended his life.

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when they had ſpent almoſt a month in conſultation and debating of matters too and fro, *Laſcus* accuſtomed with his deepe wit ſharply to reaſon and aduiſedly to determine of moſt weightie cauſes, at laſt reſted vpon this one point, That readie helpe in ſo hard and deſperat a caſe, was onely to be hoped for of the Turkiſh emperour *Solyman*: being of opinion, that he being a moſt mightie prince, and of an honourable diſpoſition, anſwereable to his greatneſſe, would not reject the humble prayers of an oppreſſed and exiled king; eſpecially, if that being by his mercie and power reſtored, he could be content for ſo great a benefit to hold his kingdome, as of the bountie of the *Othoman* kings. For *Laſcus* ſaw, that *Solyman* (ſo great and proud an emperour) was not ſo deſirous of kingdomes (whereof he had ſo many as could not eaſily bee reckoned, then commaunding ouer a great part of the world) as of glorie and renowne, wherewith he vnderſtood him to be wonderfully delighted aboue all other kings of the Eaſt, naturally carried away with that windie vanitie. This counſell (as in effect it prooued) was vnto king *Iohn* wholeſome and reaſonable, if a man doe but reſpect the poore eſtate of a king, ſo greatly wronged, liuing in exile; but reſpecting the Chriſtian commonweale, it was vndoubtedly moſt dangerous and lamentable for one mans particular profit to bring the whole ſtate into moſt dreadfull and horrible danger: but the ſicke minds of worldly men, liuing in ſmall hope of doing well, and at the point of deſperation, refuſe no worldly remedies, be they neuer ſo doubtfull or dangerous. And not long after, vpon this reſolution with the king, *Laſcus* deſirous by noble actions to encreaſe the honour of his name, tooke the matter vpon him, and went as embaſſadour from the exiled king to *Solyman* to CONSTANTINOPLE. The report was, that *Sigiſmund* did not only not ſtay him, but ſecretly gaue him his ſafe conduct with letters of credence, wherein he commended him vnto the Baſſaes and other great men in *Solymans* court, deſcended of the Polonian bloud, as his faithfull and louing ſubject ſent thither vpon an extraordinarie and ſpeciall embaſſage. *Laſcus* as ſoone as he was come to CONSTANTINOPLE, with wonderfull dexteritie had in ſhort time woon the fauour, not of the Baſſaes only, but of the other courtiers alſo; preſenting them with ſuch gifts as might for the fineneſſe and rareneſſe thereof, rather than for the value (as he thought) be moſt acceptable and pleaſing to their wiues: for amongſt that barbarous and corrupted people nothing is better welcome than gifts, whether they proceed of ſimple good will, or other reſpect, is no great difference. Amongſt the great Baſſaes at that time of greateſt power and authoritie, was *Luſtebeius*, or rather *Lutzis*, who had married *Solymans* ſiſter; and *Abraham* borne at PARGA, a baſe village in ACARNANIA, brought vp in the court from his childhood with *Solyman*: he was then viſier or cheefe of the Baſſaes, and keeper of the emperors ſeale, and was by his office to ſubſcribe all ſuch graunts or letters as paſſed from the emperour: by which his great place, and the ſpeciall fauour he had with *Solyman*, he in magnificence power and authoritie farre exceeded all the reſt of the Baſſaes, doing whatſoeuer pleaſed himſelfe; and that with ſuch ſoueraignetie and the good liking of *Solyman*, that it was commonly ſaid, he was the commaunder of his thoughts. *Laſcus* thus inſinuated into the court, and oftentimes talking with the Baſſaes without an interpretour, for that hee could well ſpeake the Sclauonian tongue, (the familiar ſpeech of the Turkiſh courtiers) earneſtly ſolicited the kings cauſe, wonderfully commending him: for at his firſt comming after he had ſaluted *Solyman*, and was about to haue declared the cauſe of his comming, he was after the manner of the Turkiſh court turned ouer to the Baſſaes: for *Solyman* vſed not to admit any Chriſtian to talke with him in his court. *Laſcus* requeſted of *Solyman*, by the Baſſaes, That king *Iohn* wrongfully thruſt out of his kingdome by *Ferdinand* duke of AVSTRIA, and the treaſon of certaine of the Hungarians, might by the Turkiſh power be againe reſtored vnto the kingdome of HVNGARIE, which he would hold by homage of the Turkiſh emperour, as of right belonging vnto him, ſince the time that *Solyman* with victorious hand reuenging his wrongs and ſubduing his enemies, had by law of armes (fortune ſo judging) gained the ſame. Promiſing that king *Iohn*, who for his worthineſſe was by the generall good liking of the Hungarians lawfully choſen to be their king, and ſo after the auntient manner of that kingdome crowned; if he were now receiued into *Solymans* protection and by him reſtored, ſhould neuer forget ſo great a benefit, but alwaies moſt faithfully and thankfully to honour the majeſtie of *Solyman*, paying him ſuch yearly tribute as it ſhould pleaſe him to impoſe, and to make it knowne to all men that he was his vaſſaile. Which thing if it would pleaſe him to grant, it ſhould be no leſſe honour and glorie to *Solyman* himſelfe, than profitable and comfortable vnto the diſtreſſed king. For beſide that heroicall kings are compared vnto gods, rather

Laſcus counſelleth king Iohn to craue aid of Solyman.

Laſcus goeth embaſſadour for king Iohn to Solyman.

Abraham Baſſa.

Laſcus his requeſt of Solyman in the behalf of king Iohn

rather for giuing than receiuing: it was easie to be seene, how greatly it did concerne the profit of the *Othoman* kings to be neighboured with a weake and tributarie king, rather than with *Ferdinand*, a prince of great power, lately chosen king of BOHEMIA, supported by the strength of his brother *Charles* the emperour, commaunding ouer the warlike nation of the Germanes; which was as much difference as was betwixt the maintenance of a continuall heauie warre vpon his borders, and the safe enjoying of a most assured peace. Beside that, it concerned the Turks to beware, that such things as they had got by the sword, they should also by the sword defend; and not to suffer any one to grow greater than the rest in riches and power. For it might so fall out, that *Charles*, growne to be a prince of mightie power, might draw the rest of the Christian princes to joyne with him in the common cause of the Christian religion, and in that quarrell, as the Christian kings of EVROPE had in former time done, with vnited forces to seeke to recouer againe what they had before lost: whose force it would be hard to withstand. These things being sharpely deliuered, and by the Bassaes againe reported to *Solyman*, who standing at a secret window, had before heard them as they were by *Lascus* vnto the Bassaes declared; it was no great labour to persuade the Turkish emperour, of himselfe desirous of glorie and soueraignetie, againe to vndertake the Hungarian warre, and to graunt king *Iohn* his request, promising according to the successe of the victorie, to giue him that he desired, so that he would faithfully performe what he had promised, and not shew himselfe therefore vnthankfull.

Solyman graunteth Lascus his request.

In the meane time, *Ferdinand* vpon great reason thinking it necessarie by all meanes possible to confirme himselfe in possession of the kingdome of HVNGARIE: and fearing no force but the Turks, determined to proue *Solymans* disposition, and to seeke for his friendship; hoping by reasonable meanes to compasse it, by shewing vnto the barbarous prince (not altogether abhorring from the commendation of justice) his antient title and claime, and that he was by the antient lawes of the countrey right heire thereof: thinking that *Solyman* hauing obtained so many victories, and ruling ouer so many kingdomes, would now at length giue himselfe to peace, as a man contented with his glorie alreadie gotten. His desire was, to be receiued into his friendship, and to joine with him in league vpon the same conditions which *Ladislaus* and his son *Lewes* had for certaine yeares before obtained of the *Othoman* kings, and *Sigismund* king of POLONIA then also with like quietnesse enjoyed. Wherefore hauing found out a fit man, whom he might send vpon this embassage to CONSTANTINOPLE, one *Ioannes Oberdanscus*, a Hungarian, he furnished him accordingly, and gaue him gifts, such as hee thought good to bestow vpon the great Bassaes. But when *Oberdanscus* was come vnto CONSTANTINOPLE, he found *Solyman* harder to be entreated than he had before hoped, and the Bassaes altogether vnwilling to heare of any league: for although he was courteously receiued of *Solyman*, and most patiently heard, whilest he both eloquently and discreetly before the great Bassaes, deliuered his embassage; yet in the shutting vp of all, he receiued no more but a proud and insolent answere: for *Solyman* said, it was farre from the manner of his aunce stors, to receiue them into grace and fauour which had done injurie vnto the *Othoman* name: wherefore that *Ferdinand* had done impudently to inuade another mans kingdome, and to thinke to hold it to himselfe: for as much as his old title and claime which he stood so much vpon, was altogether extinguished and lost by law of arms, by his late victorie against king *Lewes*: for which causes hee adjudged him vnworthie of his friendship and fauour, purposing sharpely to reuenge the wrong he had receiued, and proclaiming warre to come againe into HVNGARIE with such a power as should be sufficient to inuade *Ferdinand* either in AVSTRIA or GERMANIE. Wherefore in stead of friendship and league, he denounced vnto him all the calamities of warre: and so commaunded the embassadour with speed to depart from CONSTANTINOPLE. But *Oberdanscus* when hee was come backe againe as farre as VIENNA, and had there told the kings lieutenants, of the threatening words of *Solyman*, and that he would shortly come thither with his armie, he was not of any of them beleeued, but reputed for a vaine man. Wherefore to shun the hatred of them which mistooke truth for falshood, he made hast to come vnto *Ferdinand*, who was then at SPIRES, labouring for voices to further his sute, for that at the next assemblie of the states of the empire, which was then at hand for the coronation of his brother *Charles*, he himselfe as he well hoped was to be chosen king of the Romanes. The newes brought by *Oberdanscus*, did not a little trouble king *Ferdinand*, foreseeing as it were what would happen: for that the Turkish tyrant vsed not lightly to breake such promises, but to performe them to the vtterm ost: and that more encreased

Ferdinand sendeth an embassador to Solyman.

Solymans answer to Ferdinands embassadour.

A increaſed his care, he knew he ſhould come in euill time to craue helpe of the Germaines, for the defence of his kingdome in HVNGARIE againſt ſo mightie an enemie, eſpecially his brother *Charles* the emperour being buſied in his warres in ITALIE, and he himſelfe wanting money, the only meanes to raiſe an armie to withſtand the Turke. The Spring now come, and all things 1529
freſh and greene; *Solyman* altering nothing of his former determination, hauing leuied an armie *Solyman cõmeth into Hungarie with a great armie.*
of an hundred and fiftie thouſand men, ſet forward from HADRIANOPLE, his Europeian horſe-
men going before him conducted by *Abraham* the great Baſſa and *Achomates*, *Michael-ogli*
Generall of the Acanzij or voluntarie horſemen: and his Aſian ſouldiours led by *Becrambeus*
Baſſa following after him: he himſelfe with his Ianizaries and ſouldiours of the court keeping in
the middle. And marching on this ſort came in fifteene daies to BELGRADE, where king *Iohn*
B accompanied with *Laſcus* and ſuch of the Hungarian nobilitie as tooke his part, came vnto him, *King Iohn commeth to Solyman at Belgrade.*
of purpoſe to make himſelfe knowne vnto him which was to protect him; and doing him all
the honour he poſsibly could, to requeſt him to proceed to reuenge his quarrell. *Solyman* with
graue and yet friendly countenance, raiſing himſelfe a little from the cuſhion wheron he ſat, gaue
him his right hand, proteſting, That nothing could happen vnto him better, or that he more de-
ſired of God, than to be able to relieue diſtreſſed princes, eſpecially ſuch as were wrongfully op-
preſſed by his enemies: wherefore he willed him to be of good comfort, promiſing of his
bountie frankly to beſtow vpon him whatſoeuer he ſhould in that warre win with the ſword
from the enemie. King *Iohn* obtained this rare fauour of *Solyman* by the earneſt mediation of
Abraham the commaunding Baſſa; whom he had before at CONSTANTINOPLE by his em-
C baſſadour *Laſcus* ſo woon with gifts and requeſts, that he thorowly tooke vpon him the defence
of the kings cauſe: wherein *Laſcus* was eſpecially holpen by *Aloyſius Grittus* the Duke of VE-
NICE his ſonne, who then followed the Turkes campe, and was for his fathers ſake and the great
ſufficiencie he held himſelfe, had in great reputation amongſt the Turkes; and in ſuch fauor with
Abraham who did all in all with *Solyman*, that he could perſuade him to any thing he would.
For this *Aloyſius Grittus*, borne and brought vp in CONSTANTINOPLE, and wonderfull elo-
quent in the Turkiſh tongue, had by the honourable carriage of himſelfe, and the great port he
kept in his houſe, ſo thorowly poſſeſſed *Abraham* (that all commanded) that he would ma-
nie times bring *Solyman* himſelfe ouer the hauen to PERA, to ſolace himſelfe in *Grittus* his
pleaſant gardens and banquetting houſes, which he had there moſt ſumptuouſly made after the
D Italian manner: whereby to his great profit he obtained to be the chiefe man in receiuing of the
Turkes cuſtomes.

The fame of *Solymans* comming directly from BELGRADE to BVDA, ſo terrified the citiſens
of BVDA, that they almoſt all forſooke the citie and fled vnto other places further off, ſome to
STRIGONIVM, ſome to ALBA REGALIS, ſome to POSSONIVM: ſo that at his firſt com- *Solyman entreth Buda without reſiſtance and beſiegeth the caſtle.*
ming he entred the citie (almoſt deſolate) without any reſiſtance: the caſtle holden by a garriſon
of Germains, he commaunded to be beſieged. The captaine of the caſtle was one *Thomas Na-*
daſtus, a man of great account among the Hungarians, both for the honour of his houſe and his
qualities anſwerable to the ſame, graced with ſingular learning: He perceiuing his ſouldiors diſ-
maied with the ſight of ſo great an armie and willing to ſurrender vp the caſtle, (as beſeemed a
E valiant captaine) forbad his ſouldiours to haue any talke with the enemie, commanded the great
artillerie to be bent and diſcharged vpon the Turkes: and ſeeing his ſouldiours ſlacke and timo-
rous, reproued them of cowardiſe and treaſon, threatning them with ſhamefull death if they did
not hold out the ſiege to the vttermoſt, and ſhew themſelues valiant men, both for the honour of
their countrey, and of king *Ferdinand* whoſe pay they receiued, and of whoſe bountie they were
to expect rewards and preferments anſwerable to their deſerts. But they miſdoubting by the run-
ning too and fro of the Turks, that the caſtle was vndermined; and ſmelling, or at leaſt wiſe ima-
gining themſelues to ſmell the ſent of the gunpouder, which they ſuppoſed to be in the mine,
and doubting to be preſently blowne vp; were ſtrucke with ſuch a ſudden feare, that neither the
feare of future puniſhment, neither the ſhame of ſo foule a fact, nor the reuerence of ſo worthie
F a captaine could ſtay them, but that they would needs without further delay deliuer vp the caſtle:
which when they could by no meanes perſuade the reſolute captaine to conſent vnto, but that he
ſtill with ſterne countenance exclaimed againſt their cowardiſe and treaſon, they laid hands vp-
on him, and bound him hand and foot, and ſo preſently concluded with the enemie to yeeld vn-
to him the caſtle, ſo that they might in ſafetie depart thence with bag and baggage: which their
requeſt

requeſt *Solyman* granted. But when the garriſon ſouldiours (in number about ſeauen hundred) were about to depart with their baggage towards POSSONIVM, as was before agreed; and the Ianizaries comming into the caſtle, hauing looſed the captaine, were about to let him go alſo: *Solyman* aduertiſed of the treacherie of the garriſon ſouldiours, and of the fidelitie of the captain, changing his mind, judged ſuch villanous minded men vnworthie of his mercie, and in deteſtation of their perfidious dealing with their captaine, gaue them all to his Ianizaries to be ſlaine: but to the captaine himſelfe he offered honourable entertainment, which when he refuſed, *Solyman* courteouſly ſent him away; holpen therein by the commendation of king *Iohn*, although his ſiſter was married to *Stephanus Maylat* his deadly enemie. Which bloudie execution done by the commaundement of the cruell tyrant, the Turkes ſaid was not onely lawfully done, but alſo to the immortall glorie of his name in the execution of juſtice: which might peraduenture ſeeme reaſonable, if the perpetuall hatred of that moſt barbarous nation againſt the Chriſtians gaue not juſt occaſion of ſuſpect, that it proceeded rather of their auntient malice than of any regard of juſtice. For why ſhould the Germans, who had offended to his great good, and therefore obtained his ſafe conduct, be thought worthie of ſo cruell death? when as *Solyman* himſelfe in puniſhing the perjurie of another, ran into wilfull perjurie himſelfe; peruerting the commendation of juſtice which he ſo much deſired, by his moſt bloudie and vnjuſt ſentence.

Solyman contrarie to his promiſe cauſeth the garriſon ſouldiours after they had deliuered the caſtle to be ſlain.

BVDA the chiefe citie of HVNGARIE thus taken by *Solyman*, he reſolued forthwith to beſiege VIENNA the chiefe citie of AVSTRIA: in good hope, that by the carriage away of that, the other cities of leſſe ſtrength both of HVNGARIE and AVSTRIA would without any reſiſtance be yeelded vnto him. Wherefore he ſent before him *Achomates* with the voluntarie horſemen, who according to the manner of the Turkiſh warres, running thorow the heart of HVNGARIE, and entring with fire and ſword into AVSTRIA, paſſed by VIENNA, miſerably burning and deſtroying the countrey before him as farre as LYNTZ. The poore people not knowing where to hide themſelues from the furie of their enemies, nor of whom to craue helpe, fled as men and women diſmaied, carrying with them their beloued children, the vnfortunat pledges of their loue, and what elſe they could, as things ſaued out of the middeſt of the fire. For whatſoeuer fell into the enemies hand, was loſt without recure: the old men were ſlaine, the young men led away into captiuitie, women rauiſhed before their husbands faces, and afterwards ſlaine with their children, young infants were ript out of their mothers wombs, and others taken from their breaſts were cut in pieces, or elſe thruſt vpon ſharpe ſtakes, yeelding vp againe that breath which they had but a little before receiued; with many other incredible cruelties, which were then by the mercileſſe enemie committed. *Solyman* himſelfe ſhortly after followed theſe forerunners, and ſetting forward with all his armie from BVDA towards VIENNA, by the way tooke the caſtle of ALTENBVRGE, whether by force or compoſition, is diuerſly reported: of the garriſon ſouldiors there placed by king *Ferdinand*, he reſerued three hundred Bohemians, whom he commaunded to follow his campe. He alſo aſſaulted the little citie of NEAPOLIS ſeauen times in one day, and was as often repulſed: but being loath to ſpend any longer time about a towne of ſo ſmall importance, he forſooke that, and held on his way to VIENNA, whither he came about the ſix and twentith day of September, and encamped in fiue places round about the citie, with ſuch a world of people, that vnto them which viewed his campe from the higheſt tower in VIENNA, it ſeemed that the ground was for the ſpace of eight miles all couered with the multitude of his tents and people. King *Ferdinand*, who from the time that he had by his embaſſador *Oberdanſcus* receiued the hard anſwere from *Solyman*, alwaies ſtood in doubt of his comming; had beſide his owne forces (which were not great to oppoſe againſt ſo mightie an enemie) craued aid of the Chriſtian princes his neighbours, eſpecially of the princes of the empire: who graunting him aid againſt the common enemie, appointed *Fredericke* countie Palatine of RHENE and duke of BAVARIA, Generall of their forces. But whileſt the Germans after their manner, ſlowly ſet forward, and made leſſe haſt than the greatneſſe of the preſent danger required; *Solyman* comming in the meane time, had ſo belaied the citie, that it was not poſſible for the duke *Frederick* by any meanes to get into it, but was glad to ſtay with his army at CHREMSE about twelue miles from VIENNA. A few daies before by good hap, vpon the report of the loſſe of BVDA, twentie thouſand ſouldiors horſemen and foot out of diuers countries, were in good time come to VIENNA: amongſt theſe, the cheefe commaunders was *Philip* the Paulſgraue, duke *Fredericks* nephew (a young gentleman of great courage and hope,

Auſtria ſpoiled by the Turks.

Altenburge taken.

Solyman commeth to Vienna.

ſent

A sent thither but a little before with a few companies of horsemen and footmen by *Fredericke* his vncle, who was comming after with a greater power himselfe, but was now shut out of the citie by *Solyman*) *Nicholaus* countie of SALMA, the L. *William Rogendorff*, steward of the kings houshold, *Ioannes Cazzianer*, a noble man of CROATIA, and afterwards gouernour of VIENNA: and next vnto them *Nicholaus Turrianus*, *Ioannes Hardetus*, *Leonardus Velsius*, *Hector Ramsack*, men both for their birth and valour of great account amongst the Germanes. The citie of VIENNA as it was of some good strength toward the North, by reason of Danubius, so in other places it was at that time neither by art nor nature strong. The ditches, such as they were, were altogether drie, and easie to be passed ouer: the wals of bricke, built round without any flankers, and neither high nor thicke, but after the antient simple manner of fortification of ci-

Vienna badly fortified.

B ties: for before that time neither had king *Ferdinand*, fearing no enemie, neither they of VIENNA who had not of many yeares seene an enemie, had any care to fortifie the citie: but as men altogether buried in securitie, and nothing fearing the comming of so mightie an enemie (although they were thereof before admonished by *Oberdanscus*) had not so much as cast vp any rampier or bulwarke, more than at the gate of CARINTHIA, whereon they might conueniently place their great Ordinance: so that of a hundred great peeces, and three hundred others of lesse charge, which might haue wonderfully annoyed the enemie, a great part serued to no vse, for want of conuenient place to mount them vpon. Yet as the suddain comming of the enemie and the shortnesse of the time gaue leaue, such bulwarkes as they could vpon the suddaine, they cast vp, and planted their ordinance thereon. The citie was deuided into diuers quarters, and to euery

C part a strong garrison appointed for defence thereof, all the gates of the citie were mured vp, except such as were of purpose reserued to sallie out at. Now had *Abraham* the great Bassa encamped himselfe vpon a high hill, where stood a ruinous castle, from whence he might ouerlooke all the citie, yet so, as that he lay out of the danger of gunshot. *Becrambeius*, *Solymans* great commaunder in ASIA, lay at the gate called PVRGATORIA, neere the church of S. *Vlderich*. In the third campe towards the rising of the hils, lay *Michael Ogli*, towards the church of S. *Vitus*. At the Scottish gate towards Danubius, lay the Aspi, with diuers companies of the Ianizaries: which with shot out of their trenches, suffered no man to appeare vpon the wals in that quarter without most manifest danger, and powred such showers of arrowes ouer the wals into the citie, as if they had fallen out of the clouds; that hardly could any man stirre in the citie

D vnarmed, but he was forthwith wounded. *Solyman* himselfe lay neere vnto S. *Markes* church, compassed about with the Ianizaries and other souldiours of the court, defended also with the bricke wals of the gardens thereabouts. Whilest the Turkes were thus encamping themselues, the Christian defendants oftentimes fortunatly sallied out vpon them, and slew many of them. In one of which sallies *Wolfgangus Hagen* a valiant captaine, with certaine old souldiours of the Spaniards was slaine, fighting most valiantly at the gates of the castle: and in another skirmish *Christophorus Zetlitz* a man of great courage, sallying out of the citie with fiue hundred horsemen, euen vnto the enemies trenches, was intercepted and taken with six others of his companie; who were all compelled by the Turkes to carrie so many heads of their slaine fellowes vpon poles, and so presented vnto *Solyman*: of whom he enquired many things as well concerning

E *Ferdinand* himselfe, and where he was, as concerning the princes which had the charge of the citie, whether they were in hope to defend the same against his mightie power or not. Whereunto *Christopherus* aptly and wisely answered, although not altogether so truly, That king *Ferdinand* lay not farre off at the citie of LINTZ, expecting the assembly of a great armie: and that the princes of GERMANIE, BOHEMIA, MORAVIA, and of diuers other places were comming vnto him, with great aid; so that if he would but stay a little vntill his forces were come together, he should then see whether of them were of greater strength and power: for as much as it would not be long before the king would come and giue him battell: As for the princes in the citie, he said he knew no more of their minds, but that both they and all the souldiours from the highest to the lowest, had solemnely sworne to defend the citie, and not to giue it ouer vnto the

F last man, reposing their hope not in the wals and fortresses thereof, but in their weapons and valour, being men of great resolution, and not easily to be vanquished or discouraged. With which answere although *Solyman* was a little moued, yet dissembling his present heat, said, he had hetherto made warre against diuers nations, and alwaies had the victorie, whereof he doubted not now also: But as for him, and the others taken with him, they knew they were in his power to

saue

Solyman releaseth the Christian princes without ransome.

saue or kill at his pleasure: Yet to make them know that he could shew mercie vnto his vanquished enemies, he frankely graunted them their liues and libertie: charging them, that after they were againe returned into the citie, they should in his name wish the defendants of themselues to yeeld vp the citie, which it was impossible for them long to defend against his mightie power, which neither the strong citie of BELGRADE, nor the famous citie of the RHODES were able to withstand; and to accept of such reasonable conditions as he should graunt vnto them, promising, that amongst other things proceeding of his infinit bountie, hee would take order, that they should in safetie depart thence with bag and baggage: in which doing they should well prouide for the safetie of themselues and of their goods by flying vnto his mercie in time, before the furie of the warre was growne to further extremitie: all which it would be too late to expect after the victorie, when nothing was to be hoped for but cruell death, murder, and miserable destruction. Wherefore it were good for them well to consider of the matter, and not foolishly to refuse that was now frankely offered them of mercie, which they should not afterwards obtaine with any prayers or teares: for why, he was resolutely set downe (as he said) not to depart thence before he had taken the citie. When he had thus schooled them, he gaue vnto euery one of them three Hungarian duckats, and so sent them away. They being receiued into the citie with great joy, made relation vnto the princes and great captaines of all the threatning and proud speeches of the Turkish tyrant: which they tooke in such disdaine, that they would not vouchsafe to returne him any answere. *Solyman* not a little displeased, that his great words were so lightly regarded, by way of derision sent word vnto the citie, That if they wanted helpe, he would send them the three hundred Bohemians, whom he tooke in the castle of ALTENBVRGE: to whom answere was returned by them of the citie, That they needed no helpe from him, wherefore he might dispose of his prisoners as he thought good. By this, *Solyman* perceiued, that VIENNA was not to be woon with words, nor the defendants to be discouraged with great lookes: wherfore he begun to vse his force, and with such ordinance as he had brought with him, to batter the wals: which because it was not great, but fitter for seruice in field than for batterie, did not much more harme than to beat downe the battlements and such little standings, made of timber and bourds in manner of galleries, hanging here and there ouer the wall, for the small shot to play out of, a simple deuise in stead of flankers. His great artillerie prouided for batterie was comming vp the riuer of Danubius, which he daily looked for: but by good hap, *Wolfgangus Hoder*, a forward captaine, hearing of the Turks comming vp the riuer, went out of POSSONIVM with certaine small vessels well appointed: and meeting with the Turkes, set vpon them with such courage and resolution that he slew many of them, and suncke diuers of their boats and pinnaces, amongst whom were they which were bringing vp *Solymans* great peeces for batterie to VIENNA: which was there all suncke in the riuer, with the boats that brought it. By this good seruice, *Solyman* was disappointed of his great artillerie, and the citie deliuered of a great danger. So *Wolfgangus* hauing made great spoile amongst the Turkes, and lost some few men, returned with victorie to POSSONIVM. Yet another part of the Turkes fleet comming vp to VIENNA, at the first comming brake downe all the bridges: for a little aboue the citie, the riuer of Danubius deuiding his channell, maketh diuers Islands, which by sundrie bridges are joyned together, ouer which lieth the way from AVSTRIA vnto the citie. This fleet so kept the passage, that no man could without danger either by water or by land goe in or out of the citie. *Solyman* hauing lost all his peeces for batterie, and seeing how little he preuailed with his field peeces, fell to vndermining of the citie, hoping by that meanes to ouerthrow the wals, and to make a way for his men to enter. This worke, as the Turkes cheefe hope, was with wonderfull labour and diligence attempted in fifteene sundrie places: which was not so secretly done, but that it was by drums laied vpon the ground, by basons filled with water, & sounds made into the earth, perceiued by the defendants; and so with countermines met withall, that most part of those works were vtterly frustrated, and in them eight thousand of his Turkes either slaine or buried quicke.

Eight thousand Turkes lost in the mines.

Solyman to busie the defendants that they should not so perfectly discouer his mines, diuided his armie into foure parts, appointing thē orderly to succeed one after another in giuing alaroms to the towne, that filling their eares with continuall noise, he might keepe them alwaies occupied. In the middest of which hurly burly his workes in the mines went forward with all speed possible, neither was he in that his expectation deceiued: for one of the mines brought to perfection vnperceiued by the defendants, and suddenly blowne vp, shooke and ouerthrew a great part

The wals of Vienna blowne vp.

A part of the wall neere vnto the gate which leadeth towards CARINTHIA; whereat the Turkes gaue a great ſhout as if the citie had now been taken, and withall couragiouſly ſtepping forward preſſed in on all ſides, by the ruines of the wall to haue entered the breach, charging the defendants with their ſmall ſhot and Turkie arrowes as thicke as haile. Who on the contrarie part like reſolute men ſtood in the face of the breach, with more aſſurance than the wall it ſelfe, receiuing them with deadly ſhot and puſh of pike, in ſuch furious manner, that the Turks for all their multitude, vnable longer to maintaine the aſſault, began to retire. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, ſent in new ſupplies, and ſo renewed the aſſault before giuen ouer, but with no better ſucceſſe than before: for hauing receiued a great ouerthrow, as men forgetting both duetie and martiall diſcipline, they retired, not expecting any ſigne of retrait. At this aſſault ſo many of the
B Turkes were ſlaine, that the ground neere vnto the towne lay couered, and the ditches filled with their dead bodies. Not long after, the wall was blowne vp in two places more ouer against S. *Clares* church; by which breach being not verie great, the Turks ſeeking to haue entred, made a bloudie fight with the Germains which defended that place, which they ſought ſo deſperatly to haue entred, that without regard they thruſt one another vpon the points of their enemies weapons: who gliſtering in good armor, readily receiued them being for moſt part naked men, and ſlew them without number, and ſo enforced them againe diſorderly to retire, hauing before filled both the breaches with their dead carkaſes. Three daies after enſued a moſt cruell fight, when as another part of the wall (neere vnto the gate of CARINTHIA, and not farre from the firſt breach) was ſo ſuddenly ouerthrowne, that the Turkes thorow the new made breach ſee-
C ing the Chriſtians as they ſtood readie to come to the defence therof; and likewiſe the Chriſtians them, now approching; for eagerneſſe and haſt on both ſides, threw away their pieces and bowes, and came to handie blowes in the middle of the breach; the Turkes with their ſcimiters, and the Germaines with their long ſwords. At which times, as the Chriſtian captaines encouraged their ſouldiours with cheerfull perſuaſions: ſo the Turkiſh Commaunders enforced forward their Turkes both with words and wounds. The aſſault began ſo terrible, that it was thought a more fierce and deadly fight was neuer ſeene from the beginning of the world: which was with greater reſolution maintained by the Turkes, for that many of their moſt valiant horſemen forſaking their horſes, thruſt in with their targets and ſcimiters, or elſe with their launces amongſt the Ianizaries and other footmen, and there fought moſt deſperatly. At laſt, after this furious
D fight had endured by the ſpace of three houres, and many of the Turkes beſt captaines and ſouldiours lay dead vpon the ground by heapes; the Turkes ſeeing no hope to preuaile, gaue ouer the aſſault, and retired to their campe.

The Turkes repulſed from the breach.

A moſt terrible aſſault.

The Turkes the third time repulſed.

Long and tedious it were to recount euerie aſſault giuen during the time of that dreadfull ſiege, with euerie particuler accident not vnworthie the remembrance, which for breuitie I wittingly paſſe ouer. Yet amongſt the reſt (the moſt valiant leader, though afterwards vnfortunat) the Lo. *William Rogendorffe* is not to be forgotten, who oftentimes perceiuing many of the Turkes ſtragling diſorderly abroad in the countrey, one day vpon the ſudden ſallied out vpon them with certaine troupes of horſemen, with ſuch violence, that at the firſt onſet he ouerthrew them; and hauing them in chaſe, did ſuch ſpeedie execution, that of 5300, ſcarcely 140 eſcaped
E his hands: after which time his name became terrible vnto the Turks. *Solyman* was exceedingly grieued with the often and bloudie aſſaults by him in vaine giuen to the citie, but purpoſing now to proue the laſt and vttermoſt of all his forces, he called vnto him the chiefe commaunders of his armie, whom at the firſt he ſharply reproued as men of no courage, which being many times as good as in poſſeſsion of the victorie, had moſt cowardly contrarie to the manner of that victorious nation, turned their backes vpon their enemies, in the breaches alreadie halfe woon. Wherefore he willed them to plucke vp their hearts, and to make all things readie for a new aſſault, wherein hee expected that they ſhould with couragious forwardneſſe and reſolution, recompence their late cowardiſe: for why he accounted it a great diſhonour to forſake the ſiege begun; wherefore they ſhould reſolue the next day as victorious conquerors to take the citie,
F or elſe there as faint-hearted cowards to end their daies. The next day after this heauie charge giuen, which was the fifteenth of October, the great Commaunders of the Turkes armie with all their forces aſſailed the citie, thruſting their men into the breaches by heapes, as if they would, if no way elſe, yet with verie multitude (if it had beene poſsible) haue diſcouraged or ouerborne the Chriſtians: they were come to handie blowes, and the fight was in euerie place moſt terri-

The Lo. William Rogendorffe.

Vienna againe aſſaulted.

ble, the Christian defendants stil repulsing thē with greater courage than they were able to assaile them. Besides that, to the great aduantage of the defendants, many pieces of their great ordinance skilfully mounted in places most conuenient, and continually discharged amongst the thickest of their enemies as they pressed on, made such slaughter amongst them, and so cut them off, that being thorowly discouraged, they shrunke backe, and could not by any threats or commaund of their captaines be thrust forward, chusing rather to be slaine of their owne captaines (as some of them were) than to be rent in sunder with the murthering shot of the Christians. So that the captaines seeing now no other remedie, gaue ouer the assault and retired, leauing behind them many thousands of their dead Turkes in the towne ditches. G

The Turks repulsed.

The next day after this assault, *Solyman* despairing to win the citie, and fearing the comming of king *Ferdinand* and the countie *Palatine* with a strong armie, as it had been to him reported, H consídering also that Winter was now comming fast on, determined to raise his siege: and to colour the dishonour thereof, he sent certaine of the chiefe prisoners which he had taken, richly apparelled with their purses full of money into the citie, to tell the captaines that he came not with purpose either to besiege or take the citie, but to reuenge the wrongs done vnto him by his enemie king *Ferdinand*, and to haue fought a battell with him for the kingdome of HVNGARIE: whom for as much as he could not draw vnto VIENNA, he would remoue thence to seeke for him, as his capitall enemie: Wherefore they should doe well to yeeld themselues, which if they would, he promised not to enter their citie, but to receiue both the citizens and souldiours into his protection, reseruing vnto them their liues and goods with perpetuall freedome. Which his offer the defendants scornfully refused as proceeding of meere desperation. The next night fol- I lowing *Solyman* with more than barbarous crueltie, caused all the prisoners in his armie to bee slaine, which pitifull outcries was of the souldiours heard into the citie, not knowing what the matter should be, vntill that the next day after the departure of the enemie they found the dead bodies of men, women, and children in all places of the campe wallowed in their one bloud, a most lamentable spectacle to behold. *Solyman* purposing to forsake the siege, caused *Abraham* the great Bassa to shew himselfe in order of battell, as if he would haue giuen a fresh assault: in the meane time he himselfe rose vpon the sudden with the rest of his armie, and returned towards BVDA in such hast, that he neither put any garrison into such places as he had taken, neither demaunded of them any tribute. After whom the Bassa followed, keeping himselfe a daies journey behind him: and so in fiue daies he arriued with all his armie at BVDA, 32 Germaine K miles from VIENNA.

Solyman raiseth his siege.

This siege was giuen ouer by *Solyman* about the sixteenth of October, wherein he is reported to haue lost eightie thousand men, amongst whom was his great lieutenant of ASIA, with many other of his forward captaines and best souldiours. Of the defendants few or none of name were lost, but of the countrey people it is supposed that there was aboue sixtie thousand slaine, and carried away into captiuitie: all the countrey about VIENNA was miserably spoiled, all their trees and vines being by the Turkes cut downe to the ground. *Solyman* according to his promise, restored BVDA vnto king *Iohn*, who by solemne writing acknowledged himselfe his vassaile, and to hold the kingdome of HVNGARIE of him as his lord and soueraigne. Vnto him *Solyman* joyned *Aloysius Grittus* as his legat, to helpe him to prouide such things as should L be needfull for the defence of that kingdome.

80000 Turks lost at the siege of Vienna.

Solyman restoreth the kindome of Hungarie to king Iohn.

It happened one day whilest *Solyman* lay at BVDA, and had giuen king *Iohn* with diuers of the nobilitie of HVNGARIE accesse into his pauilion, that he fell earnestly in hand with king *Iohn* to pardon *Paulus* bishop of STRIGONIVM, and *Petrus Perenus*, who had taken part with king *Ferdinand*, and to receiue them into his former fauour: which men king *Iohn* could in no case like of, because that they as traitors vnto their prince and countrey, forgetting their faith and oath, had performed the like duetie vnto *Ferdinand*, as they had but a little before done vnto him at the time of his coronation: wherein he shewing himselfe vnwilling to be entreated, said, That their mutable minds fraught with infidelitie, would neuer containe themselues within the bounds of loyaltie, but find occasion to commit some fowler treason than they had before: whereunto M *Solyman* straining his voice a little as one somewhat moued, most honourably replied: *Canany thing* (said he) *happen vnto thee in this life better or more honourable, than if by thy kindneße thine enemies shall be of all men accounted ingratefull; that is to say, men noted with eternall infamie: when as in thy selfe the commendation of a good and courteous prince shall for euer remaine?* And so not long

The honourable saying of Solyman to K. Iohn.

A long after fearing the cold of Winter then approching, dangerous for his beasts for carriage, especially his camels bred and brought vp in the hoat countries of ASIA, he set forward to BELGRADE, and so trauelling through THRACIA returned to CONSTANTINOPLE.

All this while that *Solyman* thus raged in HVNGARIE and AVSTRIA, *Charles* the emperour lately reconciled to *Clement* the seauenth of that name, then bishop of ROME, with a strong armie besieged FLORENCE, by his lieutenant *Daualus* (who might haue done much against the Turkes, if he had been so well imploied) labouring by all meanes to represse the libertie of the citisens, whereunto they had but a little before aspired, and to bring them againe vnder the subjection of the family of *Medices*, wherof *Clement* was the chiefe. Which thing with much adoe he brought to passe, inuesting *Alexander* the bishops nephew in the dukedome of FLORENCE, and
B afterward giuing him his base daughter in marriage; forgetting his brother *Ferdinand* in the meane time, thrust out of the kingdome of HVNGARIE by *Solyman*, and the dukedome of AVSTRIA wasted by the Turkes, with the citie of VIENNA in danger to haue been lost. Which common calamities might well haue moued both the emperour and the bishop, to haue had more regard of, than by oppressing the libertie of one free citie to seeke how to serue their owne priuat respects.

The yeare following, which was 1530, *Solyman* with great solemnitie and triumph, after the Turkish manner, circumcised three of his sonnes, *Mustapha*, *Muhamet*, and *Selymus*, at CONSTANTINOPLE. 1530 *Solyman circumciseth his three sonnes.*

Solyman hardly digesting the dishonour he had before receiued at VIENNA, and oftentimes
C solicited by king *Iohn* for aid against *Ferdinand*, who with greater stomacke than power ceased not continually to molest him: but most of all prickt forward with the insatiable desire of enlarging his empire, after the manner of the *Othoman* kings, accounting his neighbour princes alwaies his enemies, and their dominions the obiects of his victories, and spoile for his souldiors; raised such an armie as for the greatnesse thereof might worthely haue beene a terrour vnto the world: Not so much purposing the protection of king *Iohn*, which he in shew most pretended; neither the siege of VIENNA, as was commonly bruted; as the conquering of AVSTRIA, CARINTHIA, CROATIA, STIRIA and the rest of king *Ferdinands* dominions, and so afterwards of all GERMANIE. For the accomplishment whereof, he had in his immoderat desires prefined vnto himselfe the space of three yeares, which the great monarchs of ROME could not performe
D in more than so many hundreds. It was commonly reported that the proud tyrant would manie times say, That whatsoeuer belonged vnto the empire of ROME, was of right his, for as much as he was rightfully possessed both of the imperiall seat & scepter of *Constantine* the great Commaunder of the world, which his great grandfather *Mahomet* had by law of armes woon from *Constantine* the late Christian emperour, whom he slew at CONSTANTINOPLE. And therefore both in his common talke and writings, as oft as hee had occasion to make any mention of *Charles* the emperour, he would proudly and as it were in disdaine tearme him by the name of the king of Spaine, but neuer by the name of emperour.

The discord of the Christian princes, and the great troubles euen then arising in GERMANIE about matters of religion, did not a little encourage the barbarous tyrant to take in hand this
E great expedition. King *Ferdinand* certainly aduertised that *Solyman* was in person himselfe setting forward with his huge armie, sent vnto him three embassadours; whereof *Leonardus Negarola* a noble gentleman, well learned, and skilfull in diuers languages, was chiefe, with rich presents and reasonable offers to intreat with him for peace. Who meeting him vpon the borders of SERVIA, were by him courteously receiued, and patiently heard: yet obtained of him no other answere, but that they should follow his campe, and attend his further pleasure. The report wherof, brought a generall feare vpon all GERMANIE, but especially them of AVSTRIA, in whose fresh remembrance as yet remained the bleeding wounds of their countrey, their brethren and friends slaine, their wiues and children led away into captiuitie, their goods and cattell lost, their houses and fields burnt, and thousands of other grieuous calamities which they had
F endured in the late inuasion of the Turkes. *Charles* the emperour had in verie good time (a little before) for a while well appeased the discention then arising in GERMANIE about matters of religion, putting them in hope of a free and generall Counsell to be holden for the deciding of all such matters: and in a great assembly of the states of the empire holden at RATISBONE, shewing the greatnesse of the imminent danger, so puissant an enemie threatning vnto them all the

King Ferdinand sendeth embassadors to Solyman.

calamities of warre, with the manifold miſcheefes like to enſue, if they ſhould in ſo vnfit time fall at variance amongſt themſelues: offering with great reſolution to goe in perſon himſelfe with all his old expert ſouldiours in defence of the common Chriſtian cauſe, ſo much preuailed with the princes of the empire, and the embaſſadours of the free eſtates, that they highly commended his forwardneſſe; and all other matters for that time ſet apart, agreed all with one conſent at a prefixed day to ſend vnto VIENNA ſuch warlike forces as they had in any time before ſet forth, for the defence of the Chriſtian religion, and the majeſtie of the empire. Whereupon he wrot vnto *Alphonſus Vaſtius* (his lieutenant Generall in ITALIE, and one of the greateſt captaines of that age) that he ſhould without delay call together the old captaines, and to leuie ſo many companies of harquebuſiers as they poſsibly could; and with them and the Spaniſh ſouldiors to repaire forthwith vnto him into AVSTRIA. He alſo enjoyned *Andreas Auria*, his admirall, that hee ſhould with like diligence rig vp a ſtrong fleet of gallies and marchants ſhips, and to goe againſt the Turkes nauie into GRÆCIA. At the ſame time he ſent for his choiſe horſemen out of BVRGVNDIE and the low countries, and many noble gentlemen and old ſoldiours out of SPAINE: for the guard of his owne perſon he entertained twelue thouſand Germanes, ſuch as had longeſt ſerued in his warres in ITALIE, ouer whom commaunded *Maximilian Herberſthene*, and *Tamiſius*, both famous captaines. At the ſame time *Clement* the ſeuenth then biſhop of ROME, although his cofers were greatly emptied by the late Florentine warres, which had coſt him ten hundred thouſand duckats; yet to make ſome ſhew of his deuotion in ſo dangerous a time, with the great good will he bare vnto the emperor, after he had with greeuous exaction extorted from the cleargie a great maſſe of money (whereunto his rich cardinals contributed nothing, as if it had been a thing vtterly vnlawfull for them in ſo good a cauſe to haue abated any jot of their pontificall ſhew in the court of ROME,) ſent the young cardinall *Hyppolytus Medices* his nephew, being then about twentie yeares of age, a man indeed fitter for the warres than for the church, as his legate vnto the emperour, accompanied with mo good captaines than cleargie men, and his cofers well ſtuffed with treaſure: whoſe comming to RATISBONE was vnto the emperour and the Germanes very welcome, for beſides that hee was a young gentleman of very comely perſonage and exceeding bountifull, he entertained for thoſe warres (beſides the companie he brought with him) eight thouſand Hungarian horſemen, of all others beſt acquainted with the Turkiſh warres.

The preparation of Charles the emperour againſt Solyman.

King *Iohn* vnderſtanding, that the formoſt of *Solymans* great armie were come as farre as SALMANDRIA in SERVIA, thought it now a fit time to wring from king *Ferdinand* ſuch townes as he yet held in HVNGARIE, wherefore he ſent *Aloiſius Grittus* (whom *Solyman* had left as a helper for his eſtate) to beſiege STRIGONIVM; which is a citie of HVNGARIE, ſituat vpon the ſide of Danubius, about thirtie miles from BVDA, the caſtle whereof was at that time holden with a ſtrong garriſon of king *Ferdinands*: whereunto for all that *Grittus* laid ſuch hard ſiege both by the riuer and by land, that the defendants doubting how they ſhould bee able to hold out, eſpecially if *Solyman* ſhould take that in his way, as it was moſt like he would; ſent for releefe to *Cazzianer*, a warlike captaine, then gouernour of VIENNA, and generall of all king *Ferdinand* his forces: by whoſe appointment certaine ſmall frigots, were ſent downe the riuer of Danubius from POSSONIVM, well manned: who ſuddainely ſetting vpon the Turkes fleet (which ſo kept the riuer that nothing could that way be poſsibly conueyed either in or out of the caſtle) ſhould by their vnexpected comming open that way: but *Grittus* hauing intelligence thereof by certaine Hungarians, which though they ſerued king *Ferdinand*, made no great account to flie ſometime to the one part, ſometime to the other, as beſt fitted their purpoſe; preſently reſolued to ſend his fleet vp the riuer, and by his ſudden comming to oppreſſe his enemies, in like ſort as they had thought to haue done him. And the more to encourage his ſouldiours, hee promiſed great rewards to all ſuch as ſhould performe any extraordinarie peece of ſeruice in that action: and ſo hauing thorowly furniſhed all his fleet with good ſouldiours, but eſpecially with Turkiſh archers, ſent them vp the riuer to ſeeke their enemies: who fearing no ſuch matter, as men ſurpriſed with the ſame miſcheefe they had prepared for others, were at the firſt exceedingly diſmayed, yet conſidering that they were reaſonably well prouided for their comming (although they yet wanted ſuch helpe as *Cazzianer* had appointed to ſend them) they thought it a great ſhame to flie, and therefore putting themſelues in order of battell, came downe the riuer, and with great courage encountred their enemies. There began a ſharpe and cruell fight, many being ſlaine and

Strigonium beſieged by king Iohn.

A and wounded on both ſides: but at laſt they of POSSONIVM, not able longer to endure the deadly ſhot of their enemies, and eſpecially of the Turkiſh archers, who with their arrowes ſore gauled both the ſouldiours and the marriners, they turned their backes and fled: in which fight of ſixtie frigots which came from POSSONIVM, onely thirteene eſcaped, with *Corporanus* the Generall, all the reſt being either ſunke in the fight, or els taken by the enemie, being run aſhore and forſaken by the Poſſonians, truſting more vnto their legs by land than their oares by water. Beſides this loſſe of the frigots, there was ſlaine of the Poſſonians almoſt fiue hundred. After this victorie, *Grittus* hoping that they in the caſtle of STRIGONIVM, deſpairing now of releeſe, and fearing the comming of *Solyman*, would not long hold out; left off to batter or vndermine the caſtle, wherewith he perceiued he little preuailed, purpoſing by lying ſtill and kee-
B ping them in the caſtle from all releeſe, to enforce them in time to forſake the place. Thus whilſt the deuided Hungarians with their owne hands inconſideratly ſought one anothers deſtruction, with the ruine of their countrey; *Solyman* the great enemie of all Chriſtians was readie at their backes to deuour both the one and the other, as in few yeares after he did.

Much about this time the old Spaniſh ſouldiors in ITALIE, drawne together by *Vaſtius*, as the emperour had before commaunded, were come to the Alpes. In this campe, of one ſort of men and other, was aboue twentie thouſand, whereof almoſt the third part was not ſeruiceable: for the old ſouldiors, enriched with the long warres in ITALIE, and the ſpoile of the rich countrey of LVMBARDIE, wherein they had of late beene billited, brought with them all their old gotten ſpoiles and ſubſtance, not forgetting ſo much as their women, and whatſoeuer els ſerued
C their pleaſure: for carriage whereof they drew after them a great multitude of carriages and vnneceſſarie people, all which ſerued for no other vſe but for the ſoldiors pleaſure, and to conſume victuals. Which their licentious wantonneſſe *Vaſtius* deſiring to reforme, gaue ſtraight commaundement thorow all the campe, That they ſhould leaue behind them all ſuch vnneceſſarie baggage, and appointed what carriages ſhould ſuffice for euery companie: whereat the ſouldiors began at the firſt to murmure, and preſently after to ariſe vp in mutinie: for many of the captains being rich, and diſliking of that long and dangerous expedition, couertly incited the common ſouldiors to crie out vpon *Vaſtius* the Generall for their pay, alreadie due. Which thing once put into their heads, and the matter ſet on foot, quickly grew to that heat, that they all with one voice ſaid flatly, That they would goe no foot further, before they had receiued their pay. *Vaſtius*
D although he well perceiued that tumult to be raiſed by ſome of his enemies, which ſought thereby to lighten his credit, was glad for all that for the preſent to diſſemble the matter, and yeelding to the neceſſitie of the time, to content the mutinous ſouldiors with one months pay, promiſing them their full contentment, at ſuch time as they ſhould come vnto the emperour: and ſo when he had with much adoe appeaſed that tumult, he ſet forward into GERMANIE.

Mutinie amongſt the Spaniſh ſouldiours.

Immediatly after the Spaniards followed the Italians, who with ſuch cheerefulneſſe offered themſelues to that ſeruice, that euery captaine brought with him twice ſo many in his companie as was expected: ſo that *Vaſtius* (who before doubtfull of their forwardneſſe in ſo dangerous a warre, eſpecially in the aid of the Germanes, of whom they had in the late warres receiued great harmes, had by great and earneſt perſuaſions induced diuers of the nobilitie, and others of the
E better ſort, to enter into that honourable action, in hope that they would draw after them great numbers of their friends and tennants, as indeed they did) was now glad to ſend backe again many of the common ſouldiors, by reaſon of the multitude; and alſo to his great diſcredit, and the offence of many, full ſore againſt his will to diſplace moſt part of thoſe forward gentlemen whom he had but a little before made captaines, who to their no ſmall charge had gallantly furniſhed themſelues, according to their degrees and places: for the emperour had then appointed what number of Italians he ſhould bring, and alſo giuen commaundement, That rejecting the reſt, he ſhould commit the leading of them onely to thoſe old expert captaines of whoſe valour and diſcretion he had before had good experience. Theſe were *Martius Columna*, *Petrus Maria*, *Rubeus*, *Philippus Torniellus*, *Ioannes Baptiſta Caſtalius*, *Fabritius Maramaldus*, *Pyrrhus*
F *Stipicianus*, and *Camillus Columna*, being all men of great worth and approoued faith towards the emperour.

In theſe Italian companies were fourteene thouſand ſelect footmen, beſide many other braue men who voluntarily reſorted from diuers places to VIENNA. After theſe footmen followed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* with two thouſand horſemen, and certaine troupes of Grecians and Spani-

ards, and with them came many noble gentlemen out of all parts of ITALIE, who had before beene great commaunders, but now ſerued as priuat gentlemen voluntarily without charge or pay; accounting it a great ſhame to tarrie at home as cowards, and not to be preſent in that religious warre.

The emperour alſo about the ſame time, hauing taken view of his horſemen come out of the low countries moſt excellently appointed, and ſhipping his great ordinance whereof hee had bought great ſtore at NVRVMBERGE, departed downe the riuer from RATISBONE to LINTZ. The riuer of Danubius neuer carried ſo many veſſels and ſouldiours ſince the time of the great Romane emperours, as it did at that preſent. And yet beſides them which went downe the riuer by ſhipping, the pleaſant bankes on both ſides were filled with great companies of horſemen and footmen, paſsing all alongſt the riuer vnder their colours, with their drums and trumpets ſounding, which altogither made the moſt glorious ſhew that a man could well behold vpon earth.

1532 *Solyman cõmeth into Hungarie.*

In the meane while *Solyman* in ſix and fiftie daies march come to BELGRADE, thruſt ouer the great riuer Sauus by bridges made in diuers places, an infinit number of his horſemen into HVNGARIE: and leauing Danubius on the right hand, turning a little vpon the left, marched directly towards the rich countrey of STIRIA (called in auntient time VALERIA, and now STIERMARKE.) By the way as he went, he came to the little towne of GVNZA, which one *Nicholas Iureſchitz* (a man of an inuincible courage) kept with a ſmall garriſon of his own. This towne ſtandeth in a plaine, not farre from the citie of SABARIA, built ſquare, and but of a ſmall compaſſe, not verie ſtrongly walled, a poore obſcure thing, neuer famous till now by the great diſhonour that the great Turkiſh emperour *Solyman* there receiued. *Abraham* the chiefe Baſſa (who ſo abſolutly commaunded amongſt the Turkes, as if *Solyman* had receiued him into the fellowſhip of the empire with himſelfe) was verie deſirous to ſaue this captaine *Nicholas*, for that he knew him to be a man of great courage, and was familiarly acquainted with him at ſuch time as he lay embaſſadour at CONSTANTINOPLE: wherefore he attempted firſt by gentle perſuaſions and large offers, and afterwards by moſt terrible threats, to induce him to yeeld the towne vnto *Solyman*. But finding him ſo reſolutly ſet downe, that he was neither by faire nor foule meanes, but onely by force to be remoued out of his towne; he encloſed the ſame round about with the hugie armie of the Turks, and by mines ouerthrew the wals in three places. Which ſudden breach, whileſt the garriſon ſouldiours moſt valiantly defended againſt the furious aſſault of the Ianizaries, on the South ſide of the town; the Baſſa planting his field pieces vpon the hils on the North ſide, did from thence grieuouſly annoy the defendants: who fiercely aſſailed by their enemies before, and beaten with the great ordinance behind, were grieuouſly diſtreſſed. Wherewith the worthie Gouernour ſomewhat troubled, though not much diſcouraged, ſuddenly of timber and boords raiſed vp a curtaine twelue foot high, at the backs of his ſouldiours: wherwith they were ſo couered from the ſight of their enemies, that they could not make any certaine ſhot at them, but onely ſhot at that curtaine at all aduentures, not doing any thing ſo great harme as before: and with deſperat and reſtleſſe labour (in deſpight of all the Turkes great power) repaired the breaches, in as ſtrong manner as at the firſt. In the meane time two hundred of the Turks horſemen, ſtragling from the campe, and ſeeking after bootie into the country as farre as NEOSTAT, were by the Hungarian horſemen intercepted and all ſlaine or taken, whoſe heads the Hungarians brought to VIENNA; and the more to encourage the ſouldiours which daily repaired thither, in token of good lucke ſet them vp vpon ſtakes vpon the wals of the citie. Then was it certainly knowne of the priſoners, that *Solyman* had in his campe fiue hundred thouſand men, and three hundred field pieces, which were not of greater bigneſſe but that a camell might well carrie one of them, being taken from the carriage: for why, *Solyman* purpoſing by deſtroying the countrey before him, to draw the emperour vnto battell; had (as they ſaid) brought no greater pieces of batterie with him. Which report of the priſoners was alſo confirmed by the embaſſadours of king *Ferdinand*, whom *Solyman* gaue leaue to depart at GVNZA, giuing to euerie one of them a gowne of veluet and a piece of plate, with letters vnto the emperour and king *Ferdinand* his brother; wherein proudly vſurping the titles of many kingdomes, he moſt inſolently writ himſelfe lord and ſoueraigne of almoſt all countries and nations. But the effect therof was, That he was come into HVNGARIE, to reuenge the wrongs which they had don vnto king *Iohn* his friend and vaſſall; and would with fire and ſword enter their countries, and by the power of God

Gunza beſieged by the Turkes.

The huge armie of Solyman.

Solymans proud letters to Charles the emperour and king Ferdinand.

A God and his great prophet *Mahomet*, the fauourers of juſt quarrels, giue them battell, if they durſt meet him: Wherefore if they would as valiant and couragious princes meet him in the field, he would in one battell end quarrell with them, and in reward of the victorie either win or loſe the empire of the world. When *Solyman* had thus a great while laine at the ſiege of GVNZA, and thereto giuen diuers ſharpe aſſaults, being ſtill with great loſſe and diſhonour repulſed, he in the ſpace of foure daies caſt vp neere vnto the towne ditch two great mounts of faggots and earth, as if they had beene two great mountaines, of ſuch height, that they ouertopped not the wals onely, but euen the higheſt towers in the towne (by which wonderfull worke the greatneſſe of the Turkes armie might eaſily be conjectured:) one of theſe great mounts he caſt vp di-
rectly againſt the face of the towne, and the other at a corner of the ſame, to flanker alongſt the
B wall; from whence he did with his ſhot not onely beat them which appeared vpon the wals for the defence thereof, but them alſo which vpon occaſion went too and fro in the ſtreets: Theſe mounts being with incredible celeritie brought to perfection, the towne ditch filled vp, and many of the defendants either ſlaine or wounded vpon the wals, the Turkes gaue a moſt furious aſſault at that place which was before ſhaken with the mine: againſt whom the valiant captaine as need was in that extreame danger, oppoſed all the ſtrength he had left. But the Turks ſtill preſſing on with their infinit multitude, were got vp to the top of the wals with eight enſignes, from whence they had repulſed the defendants: which being all either wounded or wearied, ſhrowded themſelues vnder the defence of their penthouſes, being neither able nor of courage to make further reſiſtance, ſo that the wals were now abandoned, and the towne there left without de-
C fendants: when ſuddenly ſuch a great clamour was made by the loud outcries and lamentation of the women and children and other fearefull people, that the Turkes which had recouered the top of the wals, ſtrucken with a ſudden feare, thinking the towne to haue been full of ſouldiors, ſtood as men aſtonied and diſmayed, whereupon the defendants began againe to take courage, and to ſhew themſelues: at whoſe ſight the Turkes poſſeſſed with a needleſſe feare, forſooke the wals, and could not by any perſuaſions or threats of their captaines be brought on againe to the aſſault. The towne was that day in all mens judgements defended by the mightie power of God and not by the ſtrength of man. It greeued the proud tyrant aboue meaſure, that ſo baſe a towne ſhould ſo long hold out againſt all his power, ſo that oftentimes in his rage he would threaten to raſe it downe to the ground, and not to leaue any ſigne thereof remaining: which he would vn-
D doubtedly haue in time performed, had not *Abraham* the great Baſſa (by whoſe counſell he was altogether directed) otherwiſe perſuaded him: who waiting a fit time, when his choller was paſt, told him that it was not worth his name and greatneſſe, to ſpend his time and forces vpon ſo ſmall a towne of no importance, by raſing whereof he ſhould neither get honour nor profit: for why, no man would meruaile, if he with ſo puiſſant an armie ſhould take ſo ſmall a thing, eſpecially by long ſiege, whereby the ſtrongeſt places are enforced to yeeld; and when he had ſo taken it, yet it would bee accounted a greater honour for ſo little a towne to haue holden out ſo long, than for him to haue with ſo great forces in long time conſtrained it: but if it ſhould otherwiſe fall out, as the chances of warre are vncertaine, that he ſhould by any occaſion bee conſtrained to leaue it, hee ſhould thereby get no ſmall diſhonour: wherefore it were more wiſedome to
E ſpare his ſouldiors labour in ſo ſmall a matter, whereof he was not to expect either honour or profit, and for to reſerue them for his greater deſignes, and not vainely to ſpend his forces & time in the beſieging of ſo baſe a village, from whence he might now depart with leſſe diſhonor than hee could afterwards, when hee had proued the vttermoſt of his forces, and yet in the end glad peraduenture to forſake it: wherefore it were more for his honour to raiſe his ſiege, and calling the Gouernour of the towne vnto him, to giue him the towne as it were of bountie, than to ſpend ſo many good men as he muſt needs caſt away in the winning of it by force. With theſe and like reaſons the Baſſa preuailed ſo much with *Solyman*, that *Nicholas* the worthie gouernor of the towne was by a herault at armes ſent for to come vnto the great Baſſa, *Solyman* diſdaining (as it ſhould ſeeme) to ſpeake with him himſelfe. The Gouernour being ſent for, although he was
F greeuouſly wounded, and in ſmall hope of life, yet ſtoutly refuſed to come to any parley, except he were firſt well aſſured both by ſafe conduct and good hoſtages for the ſafetie of his perſon, and that nothing ſhould be exacted of him, not beſeeming his religion and honor. Which ſtout anſwere cauſed *Solyman* and the Baſſa to thinke, that his ſtrength was not yet ſo weakened but that he was ſtill able to hold out the ſiege: and thereupon, that he required for his ſafetie was forthwith

Abraham Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to leaue the ſiege of Gunza.

forthwith graunted, and two men of great account ſent for hoſtages for him into the citie with *Solymans* ſafe conduct. Which being receiued, the Gouernour went forth, and was by *Abraham* the great Baſſa honourably receiued into the campe, and commanded to ſit downe by him in his tent: where he was by him firſt by the way of courteſie demaunded, whether hee had recouered his old infirmitie wherewith he was troubled at ſuch time as he was ſent embaſſadour vnto *Solyman* at CONSTANTINOPLE? After that, whether the wounds he had receiued in the laſt aſſault, were dangerous or not? but laſt of all, and that which moſt concerned the matter, vpon what hope he alone had ſo long and ſo obſtinately withſtood the mightie Sultan *Solyman*; when as all his neighbours round about him had ſo willingly ſubmitted themſelues? ſaying further, That he maruelled much why he repoſed any confidence in the lingering king *Ferdinand*.

The Gouernour commeth to the Baſſa.

His anſwere to the Baſſa.

Whereunto the Gouernor modeſtly anſwered, That he was (thankes be to God) well deliuered of his old diſeaſe: and that his wounds were without danger: but as concerning his holding out, he ſaid, that he for his great wiſedome knew, that it was the dutie of a good ſouldior valiantly to withſtand his enemies, & not to be troubled with any euill hap, or diſcouraged with any chance of warre: as for himſelfe, he ſaid, when mans helpe failed, he had repoſed his full truſt in God, by whoſe power he had beene hetherto preſerued, which as he well hoped, ſhould neuer faile him at his need: and that king *Ferdinand* was not ſo farre off, but that he would before it were long be there preſent with a great armie: wherefore hee did not greatly maruell, that he was not releeued before that time, for as much as many lets and occaſions might chance which might hinder the kings purpoſe, conſidering that fortune alwaies by nature vnconſtant, was in nothing more like vnto her ſelfe in her vnconſtancie than in martiall affaires. The Baſſa wondering at the inuincible courage of the Gouernour, ſaid, That although the great emperour *Solyman* might now at his pleaſure vtterly deſtroy the towne, with all that therein was; yet being by nature of a moſt honourable and mild diſpoſition, and a great louer of valiant and courageous men, had commaunded him in his name to giue him that towne, and the liues of all them that were in it, as a reward of his valour ſhewed in the defence thereof: yet ſo, that he ſhould ſweare obedience vnto him, and receiue ſome few Turkes into the towne, in token that he had yeelded the ſame. The politicke Gouernour knowing that of eight hundred valiant ſouldiours he had ſcarcely a third part left, and them alſo ſore weakened with wounds and want of reſt, thought it neceſſarie to make his peace in beſt ſort he could: For what could haue happened vnto him more wiſhedly, than with his great honour to keepe the towne ſtill, and with the loſſe of a few pleaſing words to deliuer himſelfe, with ſo many of his friends, from extreame feare and perill? and ſo in all his talke ſhewing no ſigne of feare, and with great words ſetting forth the ſtrength of his garriſon (which was indeed brought to an extreame weakneſſe) ſaid he was readie at the firſt to haue yeelded vp the towne, for the old acquaintance he had with him at CONSTANTINOPLE, but was alwayes letted by the Germanes and Spaniards which were there in garriſon, fierce and cruell ſouldiors, whoſe hard hearts were (as he ſaid) hardly entreated to ſuffer him at that time to come out of the citie into the campe: Wherefore he could promiſe to be a friend to all ſuch Turkes as ſhould paſſe that way, and to releeue them with ſuch things as his waſted country could affoord; and further, in token of his ſubmiſsion, to ſet vp one of *Solymans* enſignes in the cheefe tower of the citie: but as for receiuing any Turkes into garriſon, in token that hee had yeelded vp the towne, he was willing ſo to doe, but that he was greatly afraid they ſhould be euill entreated by the Germanes and Spaniards, who deadly hated the Turks: whereof it was to be thought, that new warres would eftſoones ariſe. In concluſion, he ſo cunningly vſed the matter, that the great Baſſa was contented with this ſmall token of ſubmiſsion, That he ſhould receiue in at one of the gates of the citie, one of *Solymans* captaines with ten Ianizaries: which being done accordingly, and they courteouſly for a while entertained and againe diſmiſſed, the great Baſſa held himſelfe with that ſimple ſubmiſsion well contented: when as the Gouernour had neither Germane nor Spaniard as then in garriſon. So when *Solyman* had with his great armie lien at the ſiege of GVNZA by the ſpace of eight and twentie dayes, and in that time to his great loſſe aſſaulted the ſame thirteene times, he riſe with his armie, glad of a little fained ſubmiſsion for the ſafegard of his honour: and leauing VIENNA on the right hand, whither moſt part of the Chriſtian armie was aſſembled, tooke the way on the left into CARINTHIA, and ſo came to the riuer Mura, and from thence to the citie GRATIA. This turning of *Solymans* out of the way from VIENNA, where he knew his enemies lay, put all feare out of the minds of the Chriſtians, which they had before

Solyman departeth from the ſiege of Gunza.

A before not without cauſe conceaued, in ſo much, that he but a little before feared as a prince of great pride and power, ſhamefully repulſed at the little towne of GVNZA, and now ſhunning his enemies at VIENNA, began to grow into contempt as if he had been running away for feare. Which diſgrace the Turkes ſought by diuers excuſes to couer, as that the ſtrong citie of NEOSTAT lay betwixt him and VIENNA, which could neither without much difficultie be taken, nor danger left enemie behind him: Beſides that, Winter began to approch, which cauſed him (as the Turks gaue it out) to content himſelfe with the ſpoile of the rich countries betwixt the riuers Sauus and Dranus, and ſo in good time to returne againe to BELGRADE. But they which ſeemed to ſee farther into the matter, were of opinion, That *Solyman* vnderſtanding by his eſpials, and ſecret aduertiſement from his friends, that the princes of GERMANIE had with one conſent
B joyned their forces with the emperours, brought out of ITALIE, SPAINE, and the low countries, which at his ſetting foorth he leaſt feared; and that the Chriſtian armie in number great, conſiſted not of raw ſouldiours, but for the moſt part of ſuch as had beene trained vp in warres, men both for courage and skill nothing inferiour to his Ianizaries and beſt men of war; choſe rather to take the ſpoile of the countrey, as he might with ſafetie, than to aduenture his perſon and ſtate to the hazard of a moſt doubtfull and dangerous battell.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Michael-ogli* by the commaundement of *Solyman* ſent *Caſon* with fifteene thouſand of his voluntarie horſemen (who in *Solymans* expedition againſt VIENNA, had run thorow the countrey of AVSTRIA as farre as LINTZ) charging him without ſtay to ſpoile all the countrey farre and neere which lieth between Danubius and the Alpes,
C thereby to learne what he could of the ſtate and ſtrength of the emperours campe; and by doing all the harmes he could poſsibly, to leaue a moſt lamentable remembrance of the Turkes being in AVSTRIA. *Caſon* was of himſelfe forward enough, and deſirous of the ſpoile; but ſo much the more, for that he was by the former road into that countrey become both famous and rich: Wherefore diuiding his horſemen into three companies not farre diſtant one from another, he ſuddenly oppreſſed an infinit multitude of all ſorts of people in the fields and countrey villages as he went; all which hee either ſlew without mercie, or carried away as miſerable priſoners. Thouſands of men and women tied togither in chaines and roapes, were by the cruell Turkes enforced to run as faſt as their horſes, the countrey villages were burnt downe to the ground and in them the poore children of the Chriſtians, whoſe parents were either ſlaine or carried away
D captiues: ſo that all the countrey euerie way for the ſpace almoſt of an hundred and fiftie miles, was couered with ſmoke and fire, within three miles of LINTZ; where king *Ferdinand* then lying, was glad to get himſelfe farther off to STRABINGA, where his brother *Charles* the emperor lay. This cruell Turke, according to his charge hauing with fire and ſword without compaſsion wrought all the wo he could poſsible vpon the poore Chriſtians, and now loded with the ſpoile of the countrey and multitude of priſoners, began to returne the ſame way he came, thinking to find *Solyman* either at the ſiege of GVNZA where he left him, or neerer hand at NEOSTAT comming towards VIENNA. But he as is before ſaid, riſing with ſmall honour from GVNZA, and fearing the power of the Chriſtians, was gone quite another way as farre as GRATIA, the metropoliticall citie of STIRIA, ſtanding vpon the riuer of Mura; which turned to the vtter deſtructi-
E on of *Caſon* and all his followers. For as ſoone as it was perceiued by the burning of the countrey all about, that the Turkes were come neere vnto LINTZ, the Chriſtian captaines with their companies went out of the campe, ſome one way, ſome another, as was thought moſt conuenient for the meeting with of theſe miſchieuous Turks, which neuer reſted in one place: wherin they vſed ſuch diligence in taking the paſſages, that it was not poſsible they ſhould eſcape vnfought withall. Foure companies of Spaniſh and Italian horſemen vndet the leading of *Lewes Coue* a valiant captaine, firſt lighting vpon them in a valley neere vnto NEOSTAT, and deſperatly charging them, were by the Turkes for moſt part ſlaine: But *Caſon* perceiuing how he was on euerie ſide laid for by the Chriſtians in the vallies betwixt NEOSTAT, SABARIA, and VESPRI-
F NIVM, the night following with more than barbarous crueltie ſlew foure thouſand of the Chriſtians he had before taken priſoners, becauſe he ſhould not be hindred by them in his flight; and diuiding his armie into two parts, about midnight began to ſet forward, vſing the benefit of the night to haue eſcaped from his enemies out of theſe vallies wherein he was encloſed. One part of this armie led by *Feriſes* taking the way Southward, did with incredible labour cut a way thorow the thicke and ouergrowen woods (a thing thought altogither impoſsible) and ſo with lit-

Caſon ſent with 15000 horſemen to ſpoile Auſtria.

4000 Chriſtian captiues murdred by Caſon.

tle

tle or no losse came to *Solyman* into STIRIA. *Casons* with the other part of the armie breaking out of the valley of STORAMBERG, chanced vpon the Palatine (Generall of the forces sent from the Germain princes) who with ten thousand footmen and two thousand horsmen, and certaine field pieces brake the battell of the Turkes, and slew of them a great number: in which conflict *Cason* his chiefe ensigne was taken. He fighting most valiantly in the rearward to giue others time to escape, was himselfe there slaine; whose gallant headpiece presented afterwards to the emperour, confirmed the report of his death. They which escaped from the *Palatine*, in their flight fell into the hands of *Lewes* and the Marquesse of BRANDENBVRG, by whom they were slaine like beasts. The Hungarian horsmen led by *Valentinus Turacus*, lighting vpon them which fled from *Lewes* and the Marquesse, had the killing of them for the space of seauen miles; and of all others did vpon them the cruellest execution, following them hard at the heeles with their fresh horses, and fiercely insulting vpon them in their owne language. Those few dispersed Turkes which escaped the furie of the Hungarians, fell into the hands of the countrey people about VESPRINIVM and the lake of Balaton, which came out on euerie side in hope of spoile, who shewed them small fauour: so that of 8000 Turks which were with *Cason*, it was thought not one returned to *Solyman*.

Cason discomfited by the Palatine and slaine.

The slaughter of the Turkes.

The emperour vnderstanding that *Solyman* was gone as farre as GRATIA in STIRIA, called his chiefe captaines togither into the castle of LINTZ, to know their opinions, whether it were best to follow the enemie into STIRIA or not. The cities of LINTZ, GRATIA, and VIENNA are scituat almost in forme of a triangle: but from LINTZ to GRATIA is three good daies journey of bad rough way by horse. Some said it was best to fight with the Turkes in that vneuen mountaine countrey, where the Turkes chiefe strength consisting in the multitude of his horsemen, should stand him in small steed, but should be enforced to trie the battell with his footmen, wherein he was inferiour to the Christians. This counsell although it had in it many difficulties, yet for that it proceeded from the most approued captaines, so moued the emperour, that he presently sent *Apontius* a Spaniard (the most famous captaine *Antonius Leua* his lieutenant) to take view of that passage: who shortly after returned againe to LINTZ, bringing word that all the countrey as hee went was desolat and for feare forsaken of the inhabitants: but concerning the place of the enemies abode, he could learne no certaintie. Whereupon it was by generall consent concluded, that they should all go to VIENNA, whither all the strength of the Germains was alreadie assembled, there to take a generall view of the armie, and to giue the enemie battell if he should againe returne. Some there were of great courage which openly disliked of that going to VIENNA, saying, That the emperour should rather in that distresse of the prouinces of STIRIA and CARINTHIA pursue his enemie, than turne out of the way to VIENNA. But others of greater judgement, whose opinion preuailed, said, It was one thing to inuade, and another thing to defend: so that the emperour might with honour enough encampe himselfe in the fields of VIENNA, and from thence to expect & deride the base expedition and vaine brags of his proud enemie, who a farre off chalenged him into the field, and then like a coward durst not come neere him.

The emperour comming to VIENNA, and taking a generall view of the armie, found therin two hundred and sixtie thousand men, whereof nintie thousand footmen, and thirtie thousand horsemen were accounted old expert soldiors, and of them many whole companies and bands, of such as had before ben generals, captains, lieutenants, antients, or other officers & men of marke in other armies, and now were content to serue as priuat men. It was thought that so many worthie captaines and valiant souldiours, were neuer before in the memorie of man assembled togither into one campe: for the princes and free cities had not sent thither common souldiours, but their chosen and approued men; striuing as it were amongst themselues, who should send the best. All the flowre and strength of GERMANIE from the riuer of Vistula to the Rhene, and from the Ocean to the Alpes, was by the princes of the empire and free cities either sent thither, or of themselues voluntarily came thither. A thing neuer before heard of, that all GERMANIE should as it were with one consent, be glad to take vp armes for their common safetie, in defence of their honour and libertie; especially against people brought out of the furthest parts of ASIA, SYRIA, and ÆGYPT. Beside the great number of Spaniards, Italians, and Burgundians; the Bohemian campe lay not farre off, strengthened with them of SILESIA and MORAVIA. There were also some troupes of Polonian horsemen, not sent thither by publike authoritie, but seruing as

Charles the emperour his power at Vienna.

A as voluntarie men: king *Sigiſmund* winking thereat, who as he was carefull not raſhly to breake the league he had made with *Solyman*; ſo leaſt he ſhould ſeeme careleſſe of the Chriſtian common cauſe, by notable diſsimulation left place for ſuch of his ſubjects as would (as if it had beene without his knowledge) to ſhew their valour in the moſt honourable warre.

The Chriſtian armie readie to receiue the enemie, lay in a great field neere vnto VIENNA in this order: Three great ſquadrons of pikemen, ſtanding one ſquadron a great way diſtant from another, were ſo placed againſt the enemie with like and equall front, that all the horſemen diuided into two parts, might well be receiued into the great ſpaces betwixt the three ſquadrons: for it was not thought conuenient to oppoſe ſo ſmall a number of horſemen in open field without the footmen, againſt almoſt three hundred thouſand of the Turks horſemen. The right wing of B the horſemen was led by the emperour himſelfe, and the left by king *Ferdinand*. Before and behind, and on euerie ſide of the three ſquadrons of pikes, ſauing in thoſe places which were left open for the horſemen, about thirtie paces off, were placed twentie thouſand nimble harquebuſiers ranged in length, and but fiue in a ranke; ſo that whileſt the firſt diſcharged, the ſecond, and after them the third, and ſo the reſt readily and orderly comming on, might without let deliuer their bullets vpon their enemies: neither was it thought any diſaduantage to place them ſo thin, for that if they found themſelues by the enemies oppreſſed, they might eaſily retire amongſt the pikes, ſtanding faſt at hand. Before the harquebuſiers was planted the great ordinance, whereof the emperor had ſuch ſtore and ſo well placed, that he could therwith (as with a moſt ſure trench) haue compaſſed in his whole armie. Only the Hungarians, men well acquainted with the man- C ner of the Turks fight, choſe to lie in the open field in two great wings, vnder the leading of their two valiant captaines *Valentinus* and *Paulus*. Many noble gentlemen beholding this goodly armie, wept for joy, conceiuing a moſt aſſured hope of victorie, if the proud enemie durſt with all his forces joyne in battell. But *Solyman*, who by all meanes ſought with his great number of horſemen to keepe the wide and open fields, certainly aduertiſed both of the emperors ſtrength and the manner of his lying, got him ouer the riuer of Mura, and at MARPVRGE by bridges which he made on the ſudden, paſſed ouer the great riuer Dranus. And ſo he which that Sommer held almoſt all the world in ſuſpence, with the doubtfull expectation of the ſucceſſe of that war; hauing with all that his huge power wherwith he threatned the world, done nothing at all worth the remembrance, but was in euerie place either ouercome or elſe ſhamefully repulſed; left STI- D RIA & returned the ſame way he came, directly betwixt the riuers of Sauus and Dranus to BELGRADE, and ſo to CONSTANTINOPLE, leauing here and there ſome remembrance of his barbarous crueltie, and ſtill looking behind him if the emperour were not at his heeles: at ſuch time as a few Dalmatian and Croatian horſemen did ſtill purſue the taile of his armie. It is reported that he carried away with him thirtie thouſand Chriſtians into captiuitie, beſides many thouſands of poore countrey people ſlaine by the mercileſſe Turkes; but eſpecially by *Caſon* and his followers: and ſo to his eternall infamie was twiſe in the ſpace of a few years driuen out of GERMANIE. The emperour vnderſtanding of *Solymans* departure, determined with all ſpeed to returne into ITALIE, although king *Ferdinand* his brother moſt earneſtly entreated him before his departure, in ſo fit a time to employ thoſe great forces againſt king *Iohn*, who now as it were E forſaken of *Solyman*, might eaſily with ſo puiſſant an armie haue beene thruſt not onely out of BVDA, but alſo quite out of the kingdome of HVNGARIE, wherein he was by *Solyman* as his vaſſall placed. But the emperour, for that Winter began now to approach, and the plague was got into the campe, yea euen into his court, continued in his former purpoſe of departing into ITALIE: yet yeelding ſo farre vnto his brothers requeſt, as to leaue behind him all the Italians, who joyned with king *Ferdinands* owne forces were thought ſufficient for the accompliſhment of the Hungarian warre.

The order of the Chriſtian armie.

Solyman returneth.

Ouer theſe Italians, one *Fabritius Maramaldus* was by the meanes of *Alphonſus Victius* appointed Generall: but no order taken for the paiment of their wages, whereby the ſouldiours might be the more encouraged to take in hand that warre, and alſo kept in obedience. Which F thing at the firſt much offended the minds of the other captaines, thinking themſelues diſgraced by the preferment of *Maramaldus*, a man of no greater account than themſelues: but as ſoone as it was knowne abroad, the vnder captaines and officers of the bands, led with the credit and fauour of their old captaines, ſaid plainly, That they would not go into HVNGARIE, except either king *Ferdinand* would in perſon himſelfe go, or elſe one of the great Commanders, *Vaſtius* or

The Italians left for the aid of king Ferdinand, ariſe in mutinie.

or *Lena* were appointed for their Generall: and the common ſouldiours ſaid flatly, that they would aske leaue to depart, except they had three moneths pay, which they knew well they ſhould neuer get of that poore king, alreadie brought vnto great wants. *Vaſtius* to appeaſe this mutinie, trauelled greatly with his ſouldiours, perſuading them to remember the faith of ſouldiours, and by their conſtant perſeuerance to maintaine the honour they had got by their cheerfull comming: telling them, That valiant ſouldiours neuer wanted pay, furniſhing themſelues by their victories with all things neceſſarie from the enemie. And as for *Maramaldus* their Generall, they had no juſt cauſe to miſlike him being an old captaine of great experience, for courage and pollicie not inferiour to any of the greateſt Commanders, and placed by the emperor his owne appointment as a man moſt ſufficient, whoſe judgement they ought not in any caſe to diſlike. When *Vaſtius* had with theſe and ſuch like reaſons well appeaſed the tumultuous ſouldiours, and was gone out of the campe into VIENNA to take further order for the remedying of all difficulties; night, the nurſe of ſedition came on, whoſe darkeneſſe excluding all modeſtie and feare, gaue further ſcope and place vnto the mutinous ſouldiors inſolencie. By chance there was at that time brought out of the citie into the campe verie courſe, hoarie, moulded bread, which ſome of the ſouldiours hauing bought, and thruſting it vpon the points of their ſpeares, ſhewed it vnto their fellowes in great choller, railing againſt king *Ferdinand*, which in his owne kingdome in the beginning of the warre had made no better prouiſion, but with ſuch corrupt and peſtilent bread to feed them being ſtrangers, which were onely for his defence and quarrell to aduenture their liues. And but a little before, a certaine Spaniard being but a common ſouldiour comming into the Generals tent, and caſting the like bread down at the feet of *Vaſtius*, bitterly curſing the emperour and king *Ferdinand*, had raiſed a wonderfull tumult: wherefore the Italian ſouldiours flocking togither out of their tents, gaue many hard ſpeeches concerning their pay, their victuals, and the difficulties of the Hungarian warre. There one *Titus Marconius* of VOLATERRA a man of a troubleſome ſpirit, but reaſonably well ſpoken, was by the other ſouldiours ſet vp vpon a great heape of ſaddles, that he might be the better heard, and by diuers ſeditious captaines requeſted frankly to ſpeake his mind, ſo farre as he thought concerned the ſafetie and welfare of them all. Where it is reported that he ſpake vnto them in this ſeditious manner as followeth:

The ſeditious oration of Titus Marconius, to the mutinous Italians.

And ſhall the Spaniards (ſaid he) *beloued companions and fellowes in armes, as you haue heard, go into* ITALIE? *and to our great hurt againe returne into their old Wintering places? and that which I am aſhamed to ſay, as notable gueſts lie with our wiues? and we Italians as baniſhed men fight this Winter with ice and ſnow in* HVNGARIE? *and that forſooth for a moſt beggarly king, and him alſo to the Hungarians a forener and meere ſtranger, againſt a naturall borne prince, of his ſubiects well beloued, and ſtrongly backt with the power and wealth of the Turkiſh emperour? And that which might iuſtly grieue any courageous mind, vnder the conduct of* Maramaldus, *who oftentimes blinded with anger and haſtie crueltie, hath ſo furiouſly thruſt vs thorow with his ſword, that he ſeemeth not more to deſire the name of a captaine for any thing, than for the killing and murthering of vs now his ſouldiours. Neither can I beleeue that you, who haue oftentimes beene captaines and auntients your ſelues, will be ſo mad, as to ſerue vnder a common captaine, without hope of any pay, of any prouiſion, of victorie or returne. Truely it delighteth me not ſo much to haue come hither for the honour of the Italian name (no more reckoned of than a ruſh) although I haue eleuen times ſerued; as it doth this day aſhame me to ſee this ſhamefull end of the warre, ended before it was well begun. But in Regall dignitie is no ſhame, nor equitie in rewarding the ſouldiour: for kings now adaies make account of ſouldiours onely according to their neceſſitie; this is it alone that giueth vs pay, this is that getteth vs loue, this is it maintaineth our reputation; all which, peace once by victorie obtained, leeſe their grace. So fareth it with vs at this preſent (fellow ſouldiours) the emperour and his brother king* Ferdinand, *deliuered from the feare of a moſt dangerous warre, to eaſe themſelues of this multitude of vs, ſeeke to thruſt vs into* HVNGARIE *as beaſts to the ſlaughter, by the ſpending of our bloud hoping to purchaſe vnto themſelues victorie; and by the loſſe of vs to take no harme themſelues, though the Turkes and Hungarians ſhould with ſword and famine vtterly deſtroy vs, ſhut vp with the ice of Danubius and the ſnow of the Alpes. But peraduenture you vnderſtand not theſe deuiſes, no more than you vnderſtand what this terrible and bloudie * comet, ſhooting his beames towards* ITALY, *pretendeth. Verily it is not fatall either to* Solyman *or* Cæſar, *but rather threatneth vnto vs death and deſtru-*

* *At this verie time a great blazing ſtarre was ſeene in the firmament at Vienna.*

A *deſtruction: for they with like counſell, full of ſafetie and diſcretion, would not open any way vnto their owne deſtinies, but warely withdrew themſelues one from the other, and ſhunned all the dangers of the field. Wherefore if it were lawfull for them without any blemiſh of their Maieſties, ſo notably to prouide to keepe themſelues out of danger, when as on each ſide halfe the world lay as a reward of the victorie; ſhall not we looke to our ſelues that we be not thruſt thither from whence appeareth no hope of returne, but with vtter deſtruction? when as we may doe it without offence and by good right, eſpecially ſeeing no pay is offered vs. Thus you ſee what a goodly end is made of this notable warre, wherein onely we the Italians in ſtead of commendation and reward reape iniurie and diſgrace: and are peraduenture of purpoſe exiled into* HVNGARIE, *that this flowre of chiualrie being drawne out of* ITALIE *and ſent farre out of the way, colonies of Spaniards and Germanes may be placed in our*
B *ſteads. Truly it ſeemeth hard dealing to be ſent out of the way into a barbarous countrey, where wee ſhall find all hoſtilitie, and no place of refuge to receiue vs, being diſtreſſed. Beſide this, we ſhall alſo whether we will or no feele how heauie and intollerable it will be both to our bodies and minds to endure the miſeries of this Winter and dangerous warre: and in the meane time with no ſmall hearts greefe imagine what things our children, our brethren, our kinſmen, yea and our wiues, ſuffer at home of the Spaniards and Germanes. Wherefore worthie companions, it concerneth vs more at this time to haue a good foreſight, than valiantly to fight. The occaſion preſented vnto vs for our ſafetie and welfare, ſtandeth vpon a tickle point, it muſt be done without delay, and we muſt hie vs hence before that the Spaniards truſſe vp their baggage; and ſo preuenting the emperours formoſt companies, come firſt our ſelues into* ITALIE: *for if we ſhall ſtay but a little to conſult vpon the matter, Vaſtius*
C *and our other proud commaunders will preſently be here, the very betrayers of the Italian bloud, who for their owne gaine and our miſcheefe haue brought vs into theſe ſtraits; who I know will moſt earneſtly intreat vs, and with many ſubtilties ſeeke to ſeduce vs, by offering vs great pay and whatſoeuer els we ſhall require: which will all proue but words. But you, if you be men, refuſe to talke with them as with your common enemies, or rather in reuenge of their old iniuries kill them. Here wanteth not in this aſſembly valiant men, for courage and integritie of life their betters farre, which can lead you forth, order your battell, and fortunately vſe this your courage and forwardneſſe. Wherefore if you be wiſe, ſet forward reſolutely, and good fortune no doubt will attend you in your haſt, for the full accompliſhment of your deſire conſiſteth in your haſt onely.*

D *Martonius* had no ſooner made an end of this mutinous ſpeech, but the tumultuous ſouldiors in euery band began highly to commend and approue the ſame, and by and by ſuch a confuſed noiſe was heard thorow all the aſſemblie, as vſeth to riſe amongſt the diſcontented vulgar people, readie to riſe in armes: but the drums preſently ſtriking vp a march, they made no longer ſtay, but without delay pluckt vp their enſignes, and forward they go directly towards NEOSTAT. In this tumult, in ſtead of their old captaines which either were not then preſent, or refuſed to goe with them, they choſe others to bee their leaders: who once named by the ſeditious multitude, might in no caſe without danger refuſe to take the charge vpon them, were they neuer ſo vnwilling. Theſe were *Montebellius, Nerius, Melcarius, Sanctius*, and the two twins of MILLANE, called *Gluſſani*: who drew after them eight thouſand ſouldiours, the reſt partly for
E ſhame, and partly for feare, ſtaied ſtill with *Maramaldus* their new appointed Generall. When they were thus gone, *Vaſtius* and diuers other great captaines hearing thereof in the citie, poſted after them ſix miles, and at length ouertaking them, requeſted them to ſtay, and not to diſhonor themſelues with ſo foule a fact, telling them, that their pay was readie for them, and omitting nothing wherwith they might haue ben moued to ſtay, mingled their praiers with grieuous threats: but they reſolutely ſet downe, would neither heare, nor ſtay; but as men enraged with furie, and their own guiltie conſcience, with ſterne lookes diſcharged ſome ſmall ſhot vpon them. Whileſt *Vaſtius* would there haue ſtaied the companie, and did what hee poſsibly could by threatening and otherwiſe to haue terrified their leaders, and to haue brought them backe, he was oftentimes in danger to haue been ſlaine. In the end he was glad to forſake them, and to returne as he came.
F King *Ferdinand* by this ſudden departure of the Italians, for that time diſappointed of all his hope of recouering the kingdome of HVNGARIE from king *Iohn*, in great choller writ vnto his ſubiects of STIRIA and CARINTHIA, whereby the Italians were to paſſe, that they ſhould ſhew them no manner of courteſie in their paſſage: whereupon enſued great hurt on both ſides. Yet for all that theſe Italians in deſpight of what could bee done, at length recouered TILIA-

Eight thouſand of the Italians in mutinie forſake their captaines and returne to Italie.

VENTVM in the borders of ITALIE, where they disbanded themselues, and returned euery man to his owne dwelling, leauing king *Ferdinand* vnto his owne forces. The emperour also breaking vp his armie at VIENNA, and purposing now as before to returne into ITALIE, appointed *Ferdinand Gonzaga* to goe formost with the light horsemen, with whom also he went himselfe: after him followed *Vastius* with the Spaniards; two dayes after came the cardinall, whose traine was of all the greatest; last of all followed the mercinarie Germanes: in which order he returned in safetie into ITALIE.

Charles the emperour returneth into Italie.

This was the end of those wonderfull preparations made by the two great monarchs *Solyman* and *Charles* the fift, in the yeare 1532, which held the world in great suspence with the fearefull expectation of some maruellous alteration, and so much the more, for that at the same time appeared a great blasing starre by the space of fifteene daies. All which for all that, God so appointing, sorted to farre lesse harme than was of most men feared.

Now whilest *Charles* the emperour was thus in Armes against *Solyman* in AVSTRIA, *Andreas Auria* by his appointment with a fleet of 35 tall ships and 48 gallies, wherein he had embarked 25000 good souldiours well appointed, did in the meane time wonderfully annoy the Turkes in PELOPONESVS. With this fleet *Auria* departing from MESSANA in SICILIA: and passing alongst the coast of ITALIE into the Ionian, neere vnto the Isle of ZACYNTHVS, met with *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian admirall with a fleet of sixtie gallies, set forth by the Venetians for defence of their territories; who offered vnto *Auria* all possible kindnesse, but excused himselfe, that he could not joine with him in that warre against the common enemie, by reason of an old league betwixt the Turkes and the Venetians, which *Solyman* had but a little before renewed. So that at that time the Venetians stood as men indifferent betwixt *Charles* the emperour and *Solyman*, offering like kindnesse to both, but taking part with neither, yet in readinesse to fall out with either, if they should by sea or land offer any injurie to their state: wherein they bare themselues so indifferent, that it was thought, that they at one and the selfesame instant aduertised *Auria*, That *Himerales* the Turks admirall lay with his fleet of sixtie gallies, euill appointed in the bay of AMBRACIA, where he might easily be surprised: and gaue likewise warning to him of the comming of *Auria* with a strong fleet, wishing him in time to prouide for his better safetie, by retiring his fleet into some other place of more assurance, which he presently did: for knowing himselfe too weak, he departed from AMBRACIA to the strong hauen of CALCIDE. Which thing with other like well considered, might giue just cause to any Christian heart to bewaile the state of that time, wherein the Christian princes being either in mortall warres among themselues, or entangled by *Solyman* with leagues of no assurance, omitted the fairest oportunitie that could haue beene wished for the abating of the Turkes greatnesse: for if the Venetians joyning their forces with *Auria*, had in time pursued the Turkish admirall, it was like, that not onely all *Solymans* power at sea had beene vtterly discomfited; but also most part of GRÆCIA, mindfull of their antient empire and libertie, and then readie to haue rebelled, and joyned hands with the Christians, might haue been recouered out of the Turkish thraldome; yea and the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE greatly endangered, few or none being left for the defence thereof, beside yong Ianizaries, and effeminat eunuchs, the heartlesse keepers of the Turks concubines, *Solyman* himselfe being then far off in HVNGARIE, and hauing drawne with him the greatest strength of his empire.

Auria goeth against the Turks.

Auria taking his leaue of the Venetian admirall, with much honour done at sea on both sides, was shortly after aduertised, that the Turkes admirall was fled to CALCIDE. Wherefore now out of hope to doe any good against him, he directed his course to CORONE, which is a strong citie vpon the coast of PELOPONESVS, about twelue miles distant from MODON, with purpose to besiege it: which when hee had well viewed, and considered of the strength thereof, he laid siege thereto both by sea and land, battering it most terribly, at one time with foureteene great peeces of artillerie by land, and a hundred and fiftie by sea, so that a more terrible batterie had not been lightly heard of: for all that, the Turks valiantly stood vpon their defence, and manfully repulsed the Italians, which vnder the leading of the countie of SARNE assaulted the citie by land. The Turkish garrisons lying about in the country of PELOPONESVS, did what they might to haue releeued the citie, who by the valour of the said countie were discomfited, and *Zadares* their cheefe leader slaine, whose head with others of the slaine Turks was set vp vpon stakes to the terrour of the defendants.

Auria besiegeth Corone in Peloponesus.

At

A At length the Turkes wearied with aſſaults, and terrified with the thundering ſhot which neuer ceaſed, and driuen alſo from their greateſt ſtrength towards ſea by the deſperate aſſault of certaine reſolute Chriſtians, whom they had now full ſore againſt their wils receiued as it were into their boſomes, fearing alſo to want victuall and pouder, if they ſhould longer hold out without any hope of releefe; yeelded the citie & caſtle to *Auria*, vpon condition, that they might in ſafetie depart thence with bag and baggage. CORONE thus taken, and a ſtrong garriſon of Spaniards there placed, and the Chriſtian Greekes which dwelt in the citie ſworne vnto them, *Auria* put to ſea with his fleet, and ſayling againe by ZACINTHVS, came to PATRAS, another antient citie of PELOPONESVS, which he eaſily tooke and ranſacked: for the Turks diſtruſting the ſtrength of the citie had ſtrongly entrenched themſelues neere vnto the caſtle, which place B alſo together with the caſtle they in ſhort time yeelded to *Auria*; couenanting, that they and eſpecially their wiues might with their garments onely depart in ſafetie into ÆTOLIA: which was by *Auria* ſo preciſely performed, that when three thouſand of them paſſed along thorow the armie of the Chriſtians raunged on both ſides, and ſome of the ſouldiours began rudely to handle ſome of the women, and to take from them ſome of their jewels, he cauſed them preſently to the terrour of others to be hanged. *Auria* leauing his armie at PATRAS, with commaundement to follow him by land, ſailed alongſt the coaſt of PELOPONESVS, vntill he came to the ſtrait of NAVPACTVM, now called LEPANTO, which is the entrance into the gulfe of CORINTH, parting PELOPONESVS from ÆTOLIA with a ſtrait ſomewhat narrower than the ſtrait of HELLESPONT: Vpon this ſtrait ſtood two caſtles, the one called RHIVM vpon the coaſt of C PELOPONESVS, and the other MOLYCREVM in ÆTOLIA, which *Baiazet* had wonderfully fortified and ſtored with ordinance for the keeping of that ſtrait. *Auria* threatening all extremitie vnto the captaine of the caſtle on PELOPONESVS ſide, if he did enforce him to plant his batterie, ſo terrified him, that he without delay yeelded to him the caſtle, couenanting only, That he and his ſouldiours might in ſafetie depart thence: which graunted, and the Turkes departed, *Auria* gaue the ſpoile of the caſtle vnto his ſouldiors which came with him by ſea; whereby he ſo offended the minds of the other ſouldiors which came by land from PATRAS, that they were about to haue forſaken him. The other caſtle vpon ÆTOLIA ſide was not ſo eaſily taken, being valiantly defended by a garriſon of old Ianizaries, appointed for the keeping thereof. Yet in the end by furie of the ordinance a breach was made, wherby the Chriſtians forcibly entring, D ſlew three hundred of the old garriſon ſouldiours, not taking any to mercie: the reſt fled into a ſtrong tower in the middeſt of the caſtle, where ſeeing no remedie but that they muſt needs fall into the hands of their enemies, they deſperatly blew vp themſelues and the tower with a great part of the caſtle with gunpouder, in ſuch ſort, that it ſeemed all the ſea coaſt to haue been ſhaken with an earthquake, and the gallies which lay a bow ſhoot off were almoſt ouerwhelmed with ſtones blowne out ſo farre off. The great Ordinance taken in this caſtle, was valued at ſeuentie thouſand duckats; whereof certaine peeces of a wonderfull greatneſſe, with Arabian letters written vpon them, were afterwards by *Auria* brought to GENVA, and in remembrance of the victorie mounted vpon the bulwarke at the mouth of the hauen. All theſe things thus happely atchieued, *Auria* ſtrongly fortified the citie of CORONE, ſtoring it both with munition and E plentie of victuall, committing the defence therof to *Mendoza*, a valiant Spaniard, with a ſtrong garriſon of Spaniards, promiſing of his owne charge to relieue him whenſoeuer he ſhould need, if the emperour ſhould deferre to doe it. The ſtrait of NAVPACTVM laid open, *Saluiatus* with the gallies of MALTA, ſcoured all alongſt the gulfe of CORINTH, doing great harme vnto the Turkes which dwelt on both ſides of the gulfe, ſpoyling and terrifying them euen as farre as CORINTH. Not long after Winter now approching, *Auria* receiuing letters from the emperour, of *Solymans* departure out of HVNGARIE, returned with his fleet loaded with the ſpoile of the Turkes to NAPLES, and ſo from thence home to GENVA.

Corone yeelded to Auria by the Turkes.

Patras taken and ranſacked by Auria.

Auria returneth to Italie.

In the beginning of the Spring following (which was in the yeare 1533) it was rifely reported, that the Turks were comming with a great fleet towards PELOPONESVS: and not long af- F ter, *Mendoza* Gouernour of CORONE by letters aduertiſed *Peter* of TOLEDO vicetoy of NAPLES, that he was both by ſea and land hardly beſieged by the Turkes; and that he would to the vttermoſt of his power valiantly defend the citie, ſo long as he had any prouiſion of victuall: Wherefore he moſt earneſtly requeſted, that if the emperour would haue the towne kept, hee ſhould in time ſend him releefe, wherupon the oppreſſed Grecians taking heart were like enough

1533

The Turkes beſiege Corone.

Auria sent by the emperour to relieue Corone.

to rebell, and to helpe to expulse the Turks quite out of PELOPONESVS. But aboue all things he forgot not to craue speedie helpe of *Auria*, and to put him in mind of the faithfull promise he had made to relieue him at his need. Vpon this newes, *Charles* the emperour commaunded *Auria* his Admirall to rig vp a conuenient fleet for that seruice, promising forthwith to send vnto him twelue gallies, which hee had new built in SPAINE. He also requested the knights of MALTA to aid him with their gallies against that common enemie. Wherefore *Auria* hauing with wonderfull celeritie rigged vp thirtie tall ships, and as many gallies, came to NAPLES to take in his souldiours: there the old garrisons of the Spaniards which for want of pay were risen in mutinie against the great Commaunder *Vastius* and the viceroy, and had rifeled the citie of AVERSA, and done no little harme all about in the countrey of CAMPANIA, were againe pacified by a pay giuen vnto them, and presently embarked for CORONE, vnder the commaund of *Rodericus Macicaus* their Generall; at which time also *Frederick* of TOLEDO the viceroy his sonne, with a companie of braue gentlement went aboord, vowing vnto the sacred warre that their first seruice. The knights of MALTA came thither also with their gallies. But whilest these things were a doing, *Auria* to encourage them of CORONE, for feare least they dispairing of helpe should fall to some hard composition with the Turkes, sent *Christopher Palauicine* a resolute young gentleman of an inuincible courage, with a most swift gallie to CORONE; who by daylight passing thorow the middest of the Turkes fleet, safely recouered the hauen, to the great joy of the besieged Christians: and shortly after, when he had well viewed all things he was sent for, with the strength and manner of the enemies lying, and filled the mindes of the defendants with assured hope of speedie rescue; about noone time of the day he suddenly brake out againe thorow the middest of his enemies, and as it were miraculously escaped in safetie for all that they could doe, although they ceased not to giue him chase so long as they were in any hope to haue ouertaken him. *Auria* departing from NAPLES came to MESSANA, where he certainly enformed of the enemies force both by sea and land, with the number of their gallies, and seeing that the chiefe hope of relieuing of the citie consisted in celeritie, staied not for the gallies he expected out of SPAINE, but held on his course towards GRÆCIA: for it was told him that the enemies fleet daily encreased by the cõming in of the Turkish pirats; and that *Assem-beg* otherwise called the Moore of ALEXANDRIA (an arch pirat) was still looked for, in whose good directions the Turkish captaines reposed the greatest hope of their victorie. When he was come as farre as ZACYNTHVS, he was enformed by the Venetians, That *Luftibeius Bassa* (or rather *Lutzis Bassa*, the Turks great Admirall and *Solyman* his brother in law) with *Solyman* of ACARNANIA, and the Moore (men for their skill at sea of great fame and reputation) lay before CORONE with eightie gallies, manned with diuers companies of the old Ianizaries; so that it was thought a matter of exceeding perill for him to aduenture to relieue the town, except he tooke the aduantage of some prosperous gale of wind. Wherfore *Auria* to haue yet more certaine knowledge of the enemies fleet, sent before him *Christopher Palauicine* with one gallie, againe to view the manner of the enemies lying: who passing the promontorie of ACRITES, saw all the Turkes great fleet lying in verie good order before the citie: and so returned to AVRIA, confirming that the Venetians had before reported, and that the Turkes fleet was greatly encreased, and lay readie as it should seeme to giue him battell as soone as he should approach the citie. For all that, *Auria* nothing dismaied with the greatnesse of the Turkes fleet, made no stay but still kept on his course, and with a faire gale of wind passing the promontorie of ACRITES, came directly towards CORONE. Two great Gallions, of all the fleet the most warlike ships, came formost; whereof the one was *Auria* his owne which hee had built with a wonderfull charge, and the other was of SICILIA: These two great ships wete appointed by *Auria* to turne a little vpon the left hand, and at such time as the enemie should set forward from the shoare to cast anchor betwixt both the fleets; that as occasion should serue, they might as out of two strong castles beat the Turkes gallies with their great ordinance, wherewith they were for that purpose wonderfully stored. Next vnto these great Gallions followed the other warlike ships with full sailes: after whom came the gallies in three squadrons, whereof *Saluiatus* had the leading of the right wing, which consisted of the bishop of ROMES gallies, and them of MALTA: in the left wing and neere vnto the enemie commaunded *Antonius Auria*: and in the middle was *Auria* himselfe. At the first sight of the Hungarian fleet the Turkes moued not from the shoare, but discharged their ordinance at them a farre off, and then begun to set forward and to draw neerer; especially the

The order of Auria his fleet before Corone.

A the Moore, who with greater courage than the reſt, aſſailed the ſide and reareward of the fleet: for the Chriſtians keeping on their courſe right forth to CORONE, and turning nothing to the left hand as was before appointed, ſeemed as if they had fled; and ſo much the more, for that the gallies in the right wing, for feare of the Turkes great ordinance did fet a great compaſſe farther off into the ſea, and many of the middle ſquadron and of the left wing alſo, had diſorderly thruſt themſelues in amongſt the ſhips, although they had receiued little or no harme of the enemies great ſhot. *The Chriſtian fleet diſordered.*

In this confuſion of the Chriſtian Nauie, the Moore requeſted *Lutzis* the Admirall not to let ſlip ſo faire an occaſion, wherein the Chriſtian fleet might eaſily haue beene ouerthrowne: but whileſt *Lutzis* doth ſlowly and conſideratly ſet forward, *Auria* in the meane time had put
B his fleet againe in order, and with a faire wind was come to CORONE. Two of the ſhips by the way falling foule one on another, ſtaied behind, being not able to keepe way with the reſt: about which all the Turks gallies preſently flockt, and tooke the leſſer of them, killing all the Spaniards they found therein. Out of this they boorded the greater, and with a bloudie fight had woon the forecaſtle and waſte of the ſhip: when *Auria* accounting it no ſmall diſhonour to haue his ſhips ſo ſurpriſed at his heeles, cauſed all his gallies to turne againe vpon the enemie to reſcue thoſe ſhips. The Turks ſeeing that, and with the Weſterly wind by little and little fallen down ſo farre with the ſhips, that they were come within the danger of the ſhot of the towne, began with great ſtir to forſake the ſhips, and to betake themſelues to their oares, and ſo in manner of flight withdrew themſelues. Whom *Auria* purſued a good way to MODON, thundring in
C their poupes with his great ſhot, which hee liberally beſtowed amongſt them: whileſt in the meane time *Antonius Auria* came to reſcue the two diſtreſſed ſhips. There the Spaniards which but a little before had hardly maintained their cloſe fights, began now as men reuiued to ſhew themſelues, and couragiouſly to make reſiſtance: and they which came with *Antonius Auria* to their reſcue, entring with wonderfull celeritie on euerie ſide, ſlew and tooke three hundred Ianizaries, which with great courage had entred thoſe ſhips, and were there left by the ſudden departure of their fellowes. Amongſt whom was taken one *Ioſuphus* and old captaine of a thouſand Ianizaries, to whom *Auria* after he was come to CORONE, gaue a faire ſute of apparell and a chaine of gold, and ſo ſet him at libertie without any raunſome, thereby to prouoke the Turkes to the like kind of courteous dealing with the Chriſtians. *Aſſam-beg* the pirat, and the
D other captaines of the Turkes fleet wonderfully blamed *Lutzis* the Admirall, for that he would not then fight with the Chriſtians, when as he was thereto moſt earneſtly requeſted both by the captaines and ſouldiours in generall, and had a faire opportunitie of victorie offered at ſuch time as the Chriſtian fleet was diſordered: but he excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, That it was giuen him in ſpeciall charge from *Solyman* the emperour, that he ſhould in any caſe reſpect the ſafetie of his nauie, and not to come to the hazard of a battell. The Turks which beſieged the citie by land, vpon the approach of the Chriſtian fleet forſooke their trenches & fled: at which time *Mendoza* the Gouernor ſallying out, tooke great ſtore of victuall and warlike prouiſion which the Turks had for haſt left behind them. So *Aurea* to his great honour, hauing driuen the Turkes from CORONE both by ſea and land, furniſhed the citie with ſtore of corne, wine, victuall, pouder,
E and ſhot: and committed the defence thereof to *Macicaus*, and the companies of the mutinous Spaniards which he had brought from NAPLES: comforting the Greekes, and exhorting them patiently for a while to endure thoſe calamities of warre, telling them that the emperour would the next Spring make warre againſt the Turkes both by ſea and land in PELOPONESVS, and free them from the Turkiſh bondage. And ſo embarking the old garriſon of Spaniards, departed from CORONE and came before METHON, where he lay as it were brauing the Turks Admirall, hoping thereby to draw him out of that ſtrong harbour to battell. But when he ſaw that the enemie could by no meanes be allured out of his ſtrength, or aſſailed as he lay, he departed thence to CORCYRA, and ſo backe againe to MESSANA in SICILIA. *Auria arriueth at Corone.* *The Turkes fleet flieth to Modon.* *Corone reſtored by Auria.* *Auria returneth and before Modon braueth the Turks fleet.*

F Within a few dayes after *Aſſam-beg* the Moore of ALEXANDRIA and moſt famous pyrat, lying in wait for the marchants ſhips of VENICE comming out of SIRIA with marchandiſe, by chance met with *Hieronimus Canalis* vpon the coaſt of CRETE: where in the night time was fought betwixt them a fierce and cruell battell, wherein of the Moores thirteene gallies foure were ſunke, three taken, and the reſt hauing loſt moſt part of their rowers, fled to ALEXANDRIA. In this fight was ſlaine three hundred Ianizaries which were going to CAIRE, and a thou- *The Moore of Alexandria well beaten and taken by Canalis the Venetian.*

thouſand other Turks: of all them that were taken there was ſcarcely one ſaued, but the Moore himſelfe, who greeuouſly wounded in the face, for ſafegard of his life was glad to diſcouer himſelfe: for the Venetians maintaining their ſtate by trade and trafficke, doe of all other ſhew leaſt fauour vnto pyrats. When the Moore had made himſelfe known vnto *Canallis*, there was great care taken for the curing of his wounds, and either of them began with notable diſsimulation to excuſe the matter to other, ſaying, that they were both deceiued by the likeneſſe of the gallies, and miſtaking of their friends for enemies: when as for all that they knew one another right well. For the Moore ſaid, that he tooke thoſe Venetian gallies for to haue beene part of *Auria* his fleet: and *Canalis* excuſed himſelfe, by ſaying, that he miſtooke him for *Barbaruſſa*, who a few yeares before had ſurpriſed three of the Venetian gallies. Yet the Venetians doubting how *Solyman* would take the matter, by their embaſſadour ſought to excuſe that was done, as a thing happening by errour and miſchance: of which excuſe *Solyman* excepted, and ſaid moreouer, that *Canalis* had done well and ſoldior like, to repulſe by force the wrong that was offered him. Three of the emperors gallies ſtaying behind the reſt of the fleet, were neere vnto the promontorie PALINVRVS, vpon the coaſt of APVLIA, intercepted and carried away by *Sinam*, ſurnamed the Iew, a notable pyrat of that time alſo.

The Winter following, the Spaniards and Greekes in CORONE began to want victuals, eſpecially wine and fleſh: for the Turkes had ſo blocked vp the citie, that nothing was to be had out of the countrey; wherefore the ſouldiors requeſted *Macicaus* their Gouernour and Generall to lead them forth to ſome peece of ſeruice againſt the enemie, for ſo much as they were not to hope for any releeſe elſewhere before Aprill, wiſhing rather valiantly to die like men in fight againſt the Turkes, than to languiſh within thoſe dead wals for want of victuall. But *Macicaus* mindfull of his charge, ſought by many reaſons to diſſuade them from ſuch purpoſe, ſhewing them what an offence it were raſhly to depart out of the citie committed to their cuſtodie, which might be vnto them dangerous, although they ſhould ſpeed neuer ſo well; and that thoſe wants which they rather feared than felt, would well enough be ouercome by ſparing and patience: and therefore told them plainely, that hee was reſolutely ſet downe to keepe the citie for the emperor, and to endure all hardneſſe, rather than to incurre the infamie, That he had forſaken the citie, and betrayed his garriſon. Yet for all this, the matter was ſo vrged by *Didacus Touarres* and *Hermoſilla*, both great captaines, and by the generall importunitie of the ſouldiours, that *Macicaus* was enforced to yeeld to their deſire, and to promiſe them to goe: yet earneſtly proteſting, that he did it altogether againſt his will, rather enforced than perſuaded vnto that, whereof he had no great hope of ſucceſſe. Amongſt other that were ſo forward in this action, was one *Barbatius*, a moſt valiant Greeke, who could perfectly ſpeake the Turkes language, and of all others beſt knew the bywayes and ſecret paſſages of the countrey: he vndertooke to be their guide, and by vnknowne wayes to bring them vnto the enemies vndiſcouered in the dead time of the night, when as they feared no ſuch matter. So *Macicaus* commending the cuſtodie of the citie to *Liſcanius* and *Mendeſius*, with charge that they ſhould ſuffer no man to goe out of the citie after his departure, for feare of giuing any knowledge vnto the enemie, ſet forward about ten a clocke in the night towards ANDRVSSA, *Barbatius* being his guide, who ſhunning the common beaten wayes, brought them by ſecret and vncouth pathes that night halfe the way to ANDRVSSA: but vpon the riſing of the Sunne he brought them into a ſecret woodie valley, where they reſted and refreſhed themſelues all that day, and ſetting forward againe at night, came to ANDRVSSA before day. In this towne, which was of no great ſtrength, lay one *Caranus*, a warlike captaine, with three thouſand footmen, whereof the one halfe was of the Ianizaries, and in the ſuburbes lay *Acomates* with a thouſand choſen horſemen, with which garriſon the Turkes kept all that ſide of PELOPONESVS in awe. *Macicaus* brought by his guide vnto the place where his enemies lay, went directly to the towne to haue ſurpriſed it: *Hermoſilla* in the meane time ſtanding ſtill with certaine companies of Spaniards ouer againſt the place where the horſemen lay. But this could not be done with ſo great ſilence, but that ſome of the horſe boyes being awake, diſcouered them by the fire in their matches; who firſt awaked the negligent watchmen, and afterwards raiſed an alarum in the ſuburbes: whereupon *Hermoſilla* couragiouſly ſet vpon the horſemen, being altogether vnreadie, and ſlew many of them before they could arme themſelues, and ſet fire alſo vpon the ſtables wherein the Turkes horſes ſtood, with the rage whereof many of the Turkes periſhed, with their horſes and armour. Great and terrible was the noiſe

The garriſon ſoldiors of Corone deſire of their generall to bee brought to ſome ſeruice.

Macicaus gouernour of Corone goeth out to ſurpriſe Andruſſa.

A noiſe raiſed vpon the ſudden in the ſuburbes, but eſpecially of the horſes, which burnt as they ſtood faſt tied in the ſtables, or by chance breaking loſe, ran vp and downe with their tailes and maines on a light fire: by occaſion whereof, an alarum was raiſed in the towne, and the Turkes got to the wals before the Spaniards could enter. *Macicaus* himſelfe labouring to breake in at a poſterne, was ſhot in the head with a ſmall ſhot, and ſlaine: diuers others neere vnto him were there ſlaine alſo. The Turkes perceiuing the ſmall number of their enemies, ſallied out vpon them, and enforced them to retire to *Hermoſilla*, who had alreadie made great ſpoile amongſt the horſemen, by whoſe skilfull direction the Spaniards retired in ſo good order, making many ſtands, with their harquebuſiers all drawne into the reward, that ſuch of the Turkes as were moſt forward to purſue them, did by their death cauſe the reſt to make leſſe haſt. *Acomates* with ſuch B of his horſemen as had eſcaped the fire, haſted thither alſo, bringing with him two hundred harquebuſiers, which he had cauſed his horſemen for haſt to take vp behind them vpon their horſes: but whileſt he ſought eagerly to be reuenged vpon his enemies, and with too much heat preſſed on with the formoſt, he was ſhot into the bodie with a bullet and ſlain. So the horſemen which had before receiued a great loſſe as they lay in their lodgings, accounting it in their good haps that they were not there all ſlaine, and hauing now loſt their captaine, ceaſed any further to purſue their enemies, but returned. The Spaniards and Greekes, although they were wearied both with their long march and euill ſucceſſe, retired ſtill as reſolute men readie to fight, and ſo returned to CORONE. Preſently after, the Turkiſh garriſon remoued from ANDRVSSA to MEGALOPOLIS, now called LONDARIVM: after whoſe departure the Chriſtian ſouldiours of C CORONE came thither, and buried the dead bodies of their ſlaine fellowes (which till then lay vnburied) and brought backe with them the head of *Macicaus* their late Generall, which the Turks had there ſet vp vpon a long pole, which they honourably buried at CORONE. Not long after the plague began to grow hot in CORONE, ſo much the more grieuous, for that it came accompanied with many other hard difficulties. For which cauſes, the Spaniards as men at once enforced with many extremities, embarked themſelues with all the great ordinance and ſuch Greekes as would goe with them, in certaine ſhips which came with corne out of SICILIA, and ſo departed, leauing the towne emptie for the Turkes to come vnto.

Macicaus ſlain

Corone forſaken by the Spaniards

It was commonly reported, that the Spaniards left CORONE not without the ſecret conſent of the emperour, which was the rather thought to be ſo, becauſe that they which forſooke the D place, receiued thereby no diſgrace, and the emperour himſelfe had offered to giue the towne to *Clement* biſhop of ROME: the Venetians and the knights of MALTA, who all refuſed to receiue it, as loath to be at ſo great a charge in keeping a place ſeruing for no greater purpoſe; the verie cauſe why the emperour was ſo willing to depart with it. Now *Clement* the great biſhop had by meanes of *Aloyſius Grittus* made a motion of a peace, to haue beene concluded for ten yeares betwixt *Solyman* and the Chriſtian princes, and therupon the towne to haue been againe deliuered vnto the Turkes: which peace *Solyman* was not altogither vnwilling to grant, being then wholy bent to inuade the Perſian king. *Ferdinand* was alſo in good hope that his brother *Charles* the emperor, would for the yeelding vp of that towne haue couenanted with the Turke ſome great matter for his benefit in HVNGARIE, which as was thought would alſo haue beene E eaſily obtained. But whileſt the emperour drawne diuerſly with the conſideration of his honor in keeping it, and of his profit in giuing it vp, ſtood too long in reſoluing; the towne in the meane time was by the Spaniards (their neceſsitie daily increaſing) abandoned, and ſo left to the Turkes for nothing.

Solyman now purpoſing to returne his forces againſt the Perſians, of whom hee had in the frontiers of his dominions receiued great hurt, eſpecially in COMAGENE; renewed the league he had with the Venetians, and ſome other Chriſtian princes: but of all other his affaires with the Chriſtians, he was moſt carefull of the intereſt he had alreadie gotten in HVNGARIE. For it was reported, that king *Iohn* his vaſſale induced by the continuall ſolicitations of his ſubjects, was deſirous of peace with king *Ferdinand*, vpon condition that hee might quietly enjoy the F kingdome during his life: and after his deceaſe it to remaine to king *Ferdinand* and his heires. Wherefore *Solyman*, that nothing ſhould be there done in his abſence without his knowledge, ſent *Aloyſius Grittus* the Duke of VENICE his ſonne (of whom we haue before ſpoken) a man both for the honour of his houſe, the good carriage of himſelfe, and the ſpeciall commendation of *Abraham* the chiefe Baſſa, in great credit with him: with commiſsion as his Lieutenant to be aſsiſtant

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Aloyſius Grittus the duke of Venice his ſonne, Solymans lieutenant in Hungarie, to ouerſee king Iohn.

aſsiſtant vnto king *Iohn*, in ſuch magnificall ſort, as that without him the king might conclude nothing in matters of ſtate, concerning either peace or warres, with any other the Chriſtian princes. With this proud commiſsion from the Graund ſeignior, *Grittus* entred into TRANSILVANIA, then a part of the kingdome of HVNGARIE (much about the ſame time that *Solyman* ſet forward from CONSTANTINOPLE againſt the Perſian) attended vpon with ſeauen thouſand perſons of one ſort and other, amongſt whom were *Vrbanus Batianus*, and *Ianus Docia*, two famous Hungarian captaines with their companies, and many of the Turkes Ianizaries alſo. At his firſt comming, to make his authoritie the more knowne, he ſent out his proud commaund vnto the great men and Gouernours of the cities of that warlike prouince, charging them forthwith to repaire vnto him as great *Solymans* deputie, authoriſed by him to heare and determine all the controuerſies and matters of ſtate concerning the kingdome of HVNGARIE. At that time *Americus Cihachus* biſhop of VERADIVM, a man of great nobilitie and power, withall ſingularly well qualitied, was Vayuod or gouernour of TRANSILVANIA, an honour next vnto the king: he vnderſtanding that *Grittus* was come into his prouince, and making ſmall haſt to welcome him, as one not greatly moued with his comming, or much regarding the commandement of *Solyman*; wonderfully offended *Grittus*, who deſired nothing more than at his firſt entrance to haue confirmed the opinion of his authoritie in the minds of the vulgar people by the preſt and readie attendance of the Vayuod. But it was commonly bruted, that the ſtout biſhop vpon a Chriſtian zeale deteſted the friendſhip of the Turkes, and could not well brooke that they ſhould be too much acquainted in his prouince, for feare leaſt that fruitfull countrey abounding with men and horſes, ſhould by one meanes or other fall into their hands. *Grittus* was come to BAXOVIA when he vnderſtood by many meſſengers, that the Vayuod was comming with a great traine, and lay about ten miles off, encamped with diuers gallant troupes of horſemen in warlike manner appointed: for the biſhops of HVNGARIE being wonderfull rich, were by old cuſtome bound to keep great nũbers of horſmen, which as occaſion ſerued they vſed to bring into the fields againſt the Turke; accounting it great honour with their religious hands to defend the cauſe of religion. But then eſpecially the nobilitie of the countrey well appointed, reſorted on euerie ſide, of courteſie to honour and countenance their great biſhop and Gouernour, at whoſe commaundement they were: in ſo much as the biſhops retinue made ſhew of a good armie. Which thing moued *Grittus* exceedingly, that he ſhould be enforced contrarie to his expectation to parley with the biſhop in the open fields, as with an enemie in ſight of all their followers. Hereof riſe enuie, a deadly miſchiefe alwaies repining at another mans honor; when as the one ſwelling with Turkiſh pride could not then abide any equall, and the other jealous of his honour could by no meanes endure any ſuperiour, in ſuch place as he had the ſoueraigntie of. When theſe two great men had met togither in the open fields, and there dined more like enemies than friends, without any ſhew of friendſhip or good will: *Grittus* inwardly chafed at his bare entertainment, couertly threatened to bee reuenged vpon all ſuch as ſhould make ſo light account of his authoritie: and immediatly as he departed from the banket, taking his cap from his head (which was after the Turkiſh manner made of a high faſhion, of rich ſables) and opening it with both his hands, ſaid, This cap will not hold two heads, and therefore it muſt be fitted to one, and ſo put it on againe. *Ianus Docia* one of the Hungarian captaines, his followers, who deadly hated the Vayuod (for that he had long time before, for his malapert ſpeech in a great aſſembly, giuen him a blow with his fiſt) tooke hold of that ſpeech of *Grittus*, as a fit occaſion for him to worke his reuenge: and ſaid, *Your honour maketh a fit compariſon, neither can this prouince containe two equall gouernours or commaunders, nor you euer enioy your power and authoritie, except you doe this day with ſpeedie and manly reſolution defend both* Solymans *credit and your owne. You know not this proud beaſt* Americus, *whoſe pride and inſolencie if you but ſay the word, I will quickly put downe: for he hateth* Solyman, *he regardeth not the king, and of you he maketh no account at all, for why he aſpireth vnto the maieſtie of a king, and ſaith that the Vayuodſhip of* TRANSILVANIA *well beeſemeth a king; for that in this countrey* Decebaldus *the Dacian ſometime raigned, whom the warlike emperour* Traian *with all the force of the Roman empire hardly ſubdued. No man can more proudly or arrogantly ſet himſelfe forth than he, neither more craftely or cunningly diſſemble to ſerue his turne. Indeed he hath for faſhion ſake preſented your honour with a few ſimple preſents, and giuen you his hand alſo, better knowne for his falſhood than his faith; to the intent that when you are once paſt his countrey, he may ſcoffe and teaſt at your decrees: verely he deadly enuieth at your*

Americus biſhop of Veradium and Vauod of Tranſiluania, contemneth Grittus.

Ianus Docia inceſteth Grittus againſt the Vayuod.

A *your honour and felicitie, and grudgeth in his heart, that you ſhould ſet downe the lawes of peace and warre in* HVNGARIE: *and whereas he doth manifeſtly aſpire vnto a kingdome, he feareth you aboue all others, leaſt you ſhould trouble his deſignes, abate his credit, and chaſtiſe his inſolencie. Verely, he that thus maligneth your happineſſe, and contemneth your authoritie, is not to be ſuffered, but by good reaſon to be taken away: thereby at this your firſt entrance to defend the credit of your commiſſion and honour of your name. For nothing is more dangerous than a faithleſſe companion and a ſecret enemy, eſpecially when you ſhall leaue him at your backe behind you: for when he ſhall as occaſion ſerues ſhew forth his hidden malice, he ſhall ſo much the more ſtily and deſperatly indanger your perſon. Grittus* enraged with his ſpeech more than before, thought it beſt to make haſt, & to vſe his authoritie to the full; he commended *Docia*, and promiſed him in ſhort time to requite his good will towards
B him, eſpecially if he would by ſome notable attempt abate the biſhops pride. It is reported, that *Grittus* gaue him no other charge but to take the biſhop, that ſo he might after the Turkiſh maner haue ſent him in chaines to CONSTANTINOPLE, & beſtowed the honor of the Vayuod vpon *Hieronimus Laſcus* the Polonian, who in hope of that honourable preferment vnto him promiſed by king *Iohn*, had done him great and faithfull ſeruice, as his embaſſadour both vnto *Solyman* and alſo to the French king. But when king *Iohn* perceiued that he could not conueniently without manifeſt danger place him, being a Polonian (who could ſcarcely ſpeake the Hungarian language) gouernour ouer ſuch a warlike people; he as it were enforced by neceſsitie, preferred this *Americus* the biſhop of VERADIVM, a man of them both reuerenced and feared: Which ſo grieued *Laſcus*, a man of great ſtomacke and experience, and thereunto excellently learned, that
C he would neuer admit any excuſe of the kings, but alwaies after complained that he was by the king deluded. Yet for all that, he kept himſelfe within the bounds of loyaltie, and enjoyed certaine lands and townes which the king had giuen him in the borders of POLONIA; and eſtranged neuertheleſſe from him in mind, was now become one of *Grittus* his followers, hoping of his better preferment by his meanes vnto *Solyman*; and for that cauſe was not ſo forward to doe the king ſuch ſeruice as he had in times paſt. Now by the commandement of *Grittus*, a ſtrong companie of Turkiſh horſemen, and certaine troupes of Hungarians, were deliuered to *Docia*; who ſecretly departing that night from BAXOVIA, came ſuddenly to the Vayuods campe, hauing a little before by his Hungarian ſpies learned that he lay in the open fields in his tent, by reaſon of the great heat, without any watch or guard, attended on only with his pages and houſ-
D hold ſeruants, as a man without feare; and that all the reſt of his retinue lay diſperſed in the countrey villages round about. All which ſerued ſo well for *Docia* his purpoſe, that the Vayuod ignorant of his death ſo nigh at hand, who rather contemned than feared his enemies, was ſuddenly oppreſſed by *Docia* his ſouldiours: ſo that whileſt he was yet lying in his bed, and ſcarcely well awaked by his chamberlaines and the noiſe of the enemie; *Docia* breaking into his tent, cut off his head as he lay. All they which lay neere, amazed with the ſuddenneſſe of the matter, fled away for feare, and left their horſes and other things for a prey to the Turkes, and other of *Docia* his followers. *Docia* hauing done ſo great an outrage, returned to *Grittus* preſenting vnto him the Vaiuods head, which he brought in his hand by the eare. *Laſcus* was then preſent, but altogither ignorant of the murther, who as a man moued with a naturall compaſsion in ſo ſudden
E and horrible a fact, and forgetting all former grudge (as in like caſe it oftentimes chanceth) ſtood as one diſmaied, nothing rejoycing at the vnworthie death of his enemie. To whom *Grittus* turning himſelfe ſaid, *Laſcus*, Doeſt thou not know this ſhauen pate, truely it is a great mans head, but of ſuch a one as was verie ambitious, rebellious, and proud. To whom *Laſcus* replied, Truely though I loued him not, yet I thought it not ſo whileſt it ſtood vpon his ſhoulders: diſallowing therein the crueltie of the fact. Which thing *Grittus* perceiuing, began to repent him of that was done, and ſaid openly, That although he was worthily ſlaine, yet he could haue wiſhed rather to haue had him taken priſoner. The report of this horrible murther once bruted abroad, the biſhops kinſmen and friends, yea almoſt all the people of that prouince riſe vp in armes againſt *Grittus*, to reuenge the death of the reuerend biſhop, whom liuing they had
F both loued and feared. Neuer did any people in reuenge of a common wrong, enter into armes with greater deſire, more heat, or quicker ſpeed: ſo that in a few daies there were aſſembled togither fortie thouſand horſe and foot, vnder the leading of *Stephanus Maylat* a noble gentleman, who of all other moſt honored the biſhop, and in that common griefe tooke vpon him as chiefe, the perſecuting of the authors of ſuch inhumane crueltie. *Grittus* perceiuing how grieuouſly the matter

The cauſe why Laſcus the Polonian fell from king Iohn.

The Vayuod murdred in his tents by Docia, and his head preſented to Grittus

The Tranſiluanians riſe vp in armes againſt Grittus, to reuenge the death of the Vayuod.

matter was taken, with the danger he was in, began to doubt with himselfe what course were best for him to take. To go forward, and to fall into the hands of the furious people, the same was present death; and to returne and leaue the honourable deputation he had with so great expectation of all men taken vpon him, was vnto his aspiring mind no lesse torment than death it selfe. Thus perplexed, he with al speed got himselfe with his followers to the strong town of MEGE, in hope to shroud himselfe vntill such time as the rage of the countrey people were either of it selfe appeased (as it oftentimes falleth out in such sudden tumults) or else he might be relieued by king *Iohn*, or the Turkes Sanzacks which had the charge of the frontiers of the Turkish empire. The townesmen of MEGE seeing *Grittus* accompanied with so many Turkes, shut the gates against him: yet at length by the perswasion of the two Hungarian captaines *Docia* and *Batianus*, they gaue him leaue to enter into the base towne, hauing before retired themselues with all their substance vnto the higher towne, which in manner of a strong castle commanded the lower. Here whilest *Grittus* with all carefulnesse fortifieth the place, and dispatcheth the messengers vnto his friends abroad for aid; his enemies with hideous noise & outcries approching the town, at their first comming attempted to haue scaled the wals and rampiers thereof: which thing whilest they disorderly did, with greater furie than discretion, they were easily repulsed and many of them slaine by the Turkes Ianizaries and harquebusiers. After which losse, by the direction of *Maylat* their Generall, they withdrew themselues out of the danger of the shot, and encamped on euerie side of the towne, hoping as the truth was, that their enemies vnprouided of victuall could not long hold the place, but must of necessitie either starue with famine or yeeld it vp. In the meane time *Grittus* resolutely enduring all the calamities of a man besieged, fell sicke, and so much the more for that he could heare nothing of any aid which he expected frō his friends: For king *Iohn* glad in his mind of the distresse of the ouerseer, or rather competitor of his kingdome; and also knowing that he could not without great discontentment of his subiects oppose himselfe against such a multitude risen vpon so just a cause, yet for fashion sake sent certaine troupes of horsemen to his relefe: who not altogither ignorant of the kings mind, made such hast, as men that purposed not to come in time to doe him good. As for the Turks Sanzacks of BELGRADE and SAMANDRIA, they enuying at his homage, flatly refused to depard from their charge to relieue him, without expresse commaund from *Solyman* himselfe: and *Lascus* (before one of *Grittus* his chiefe followers, but now a beholder of his distresse) when he had a little before departed from him to procure him some relefe as he promised, did now in this extremitie forsake him also. The citisens in the vpper towne, who a great while had stood looking on from aboue as men indifferent; perceiuing the full resolution of their countrie men to be reuenged, and the difficulties wherewith the Turkes were inclosed, assailed them also from the high towne. *Grittus* thus beset on euerie side, offered vnto the Transiluanians a great masse of money, to suffer him to passe forward into HVNGARIE: but their furious minds more desirous of reuenge than money, were not to be moued with any gold. In fine hee sent rich jewels vnto the Gouernour of MOLDAVIA his friend, to be readie at a certain houre when he would sallie out of the towne, to receiue him with certaine troupes of horsemen; so if it were possible to saue himselfe and his children. *Grittus* (whether it were vpon a doubtfull hope, or vrged by ineuitable destinie) sallying out of the towne at the appointed time, with *Solymans* commission in his hand, and missing of the Moldauian, fell vpon *Francis Schenden* the late bishops nigh kinsman, and *Maylat* his familiar friend; who furiously running in vpon him with tumultuous speech, violently raught from his head his rich cap of Sables, and with his horsemen tooke him, being weake with sicknesse and making no resistance. His followers, especially the Turkes, enclosed on euerie side, were either slaine or taken. But *Grittus* himselfe being brought to the Generals tent, beset round with his armed enemies, and there examined, Why he had commaunded the Vayuod to be slaine? earnestly protested, That he neuer commaunded any such thing, and that it was done without his knowledge. Which his answere serued not his turne, all the people crying out against him with one voice, that he should as a sacrifice be offered vnto the Vayuods ghost. Whereupon he was by *Maylat* deliuered againe to *Francis Schenden* to be executed, who without delay caused his head to be strucke off. The nobilitie and the Vayuods kinsmen (after the manner of that people) dipped some part of their garments in his bloud, the longer to keepe in mind the remembrance of the reuenge. This was the shamefull end of *Aloysius Grittus* the duke of VENICE his sonne, *Solymans* deputie in HVNGARIE, with whom he was in such credit as neuer

Grittus besieged by the Transilnanians.

Grittus taken and brought to Maylat.

Grittus beheaded.

A uer was any Christian, abounding in wealth and worldly felicitie: but climing too fast vp the euill staued ladder of ambition, suddenly fell and neuer rise more. The executioner stripping his dead bodie, found about him so many pretious stones and jewels as were valued at fortie millions of duckats. And not long after, *Lascus* sent for by the king to BVDA, was straightly examined vpon torture concerning *Grittus* his commission and purposes, and was in great danger of his life: but at last by the intercession of *Sigismund* king of POLONIA, he was set at libertie, and so fled out of HVNGARIE vnto *Sigismund* his court in POLONIA: after hee had long time wearied himselfe and aduentured his life in the Hungarian state. *Dotia* the author of this Tragedie, was by the furious people afterwards rent in peeces, and so perished.

The riches found about Grittus.

The same time that *Grittus* went from CONSTANTINOPLE into HVNGARIE, *Solyman*
B the Turkish emperour dreading no danger out of EVROPE, tooke in hand two great expeditions both at one time, the one by land into ASIA against the Persians, and the other by sea into AFFRICKE against the Moores: promising vnto himselfe in his inordinate desires the monarchie of the whole world in short time, if he might subdue those two great nations whom he had alreadie in hope deuoured. But for as much as all cannot be told at once, which was at one time in diuers places so farre distant done; omitting for a while the expedition made in person himselfe against the Persians, we will first declare what he did by his lieutenants against the Moores. *Hariadenus* surnamed of the Christians *Barbarussa*, who succeeding his elder brother *Horruccius*
C in the kingdome of ALGIERS in AFFRICKE, had by many victories so enlarged the kingdome before gotten by his brother, that his name and power was now become terrible both to the Christians and wild Moores, and his fame growne great in the Turkish court, was the cheefe author and persuader of *Solyman* to inuade AFFRICKE. But it shall not (as I thinke) be far from our purpose here breefely to rehearse by what meanes those two MYTILENE brethren, basely borne, crept out of a small galliot vnto the majestie of great kings, that herein they which come afterwards may also admire the wonderfull changes and chances of these worldly things, now vp, now downe, as if the life of man were not of much more certainetie than a stage play.

Solyman at one time purposeth to inuade Persia and Affricke.

These two brethren, *Horruccius* and *Hariadenus*, borne at MYTILENE in the Iland of LES-
D BO, wearie of the poore and base estate they led at home with their father, a renegate Grecian; stealing a little galliot, committed themselues and all the hope of their good fortune to sea, where by chance they consorted themselues with *Camales*, a most famous pyrat of that time, vnder whom *Horruccius* the elder brother for his forwardnesse became a captain: and growing rich by many purchases, and also strong with gallies and slaues which he had at sundrie times taken, and at last consorting himselfe with *Haidin*, *Sinam* the Iew, *Salec*, and other lesse pyrates, which afterwards became men of great fame and account, ouer whom he commaunded as an arch pyrat, came seeking after purchase as far as MAVRITANIA. At which time *Selymes* king of IVLIA CÆSARIA, which now we call ALGIERS, was in armes against his brother *Mechemetes*, competitour of the kingdome: who aided by the Numidians, now commonly called Arabians, put his brother in great doubt of his estate. *Selymus* glad of the comming of *Horruccius* & the other pyrats his followers, with a great masse of money paid before hand, induced *Horruccius* and the rest to take vpon them the defence of him and his kingdome against his brother: Which thing
E *Horruccius* so happily performed, especially by the meanes of his harquebusiers, as then no small terrour to the wild Moores and Numidians, that in short time he repulsed that sauage people, and set *Selymes* at peace in his kingdome. *Horruccius* being a man of a sharpe wit, and by nature ambitious, noting in the time of his seruice the kings mild and simple disposition, void of all distrust; and that the naked Moores were no souldiors, but a light and vnconstant people, alwayes at variance among themselues; and that the wandering Numidians liuing barely, deuided into many factions, were easily by reward to be woon, or by force constrained: suddenly falsified his faith, and villanously slew *Selymes* the king, as he was bathing himselfe, mistrusting nothing lesse than the falshood of the pyrat; and in the same hurle murthering such as he thought would withstand his desire, and with bountie and crueltie ouercomming the rest, so wrought the matter,
F that he was by generall consent chosen king of ALGIERS. Thus of a pirat become a king, he shortly after by policie surprised CIRCELLO, a famous citie (about sixtie miles distant from ALGIERS) by his souldiors sent thither in the habite of marchants. After that, he by his brother *Hariadenus* (no lesse valiant than himselfe) troubled all the Medeterranian sea from ALGIERS with his gallies, & all his neighbors: himselfe by land with daily incursions, leauing nothing vntoucht which

The poore beginning of Horruccius and Hariadenus, who of base pyrats aspired to the kingdome of Algiers.

Horruccius his successe.

which might by force or policie be had: ſo that his power dayly encreaſed, men of ſeruice continually reſorting vnto him, as the cheefe man in all thoſe parts. Not thus contented, he to enlarge his kingdome, draue the Spaniards out of BVGEA, a citie famous both for the great trade thither, and for the Mahometane ſchoole ſometime there kept: at the taking where of he loſt his right hand with a ſhot, and in ſtead thereof euer after vſed a hand of yron, wherewith hee obtained many worthie victories againſt his enemies: for neere to ALGIERS he ouerthrew an armie of the Spaniards, with *Diego de Vara* their generall. And ſhortly after, at ſuch time as *Hugo Moncada* returning out of ITALIE with the old Spaniſh ſouldiours, landed in his countrey, hee enforced him againe to ſea; where he with all his expert ſouldiours either periſhed by ſhipwracke, or driuen on ſhore, were ſlaine or taken priſoners by *Horruccius*, and thruſt into his gallies. At laſt hauing in ſundrie battels ouercome the king of TREMISSA, *Charles* the emperour his confederat, and thruſt him out of his kingdome, he ſtirred vp both the Chriſtians and Numidians againſt him: ſo that comming to take ORA and PORTVS, two ſtrong holds kept by garriſons of Spaniards ſent thither to aid the king of TREMISSA, he was by them and the Moores at the firſt repulſed, and afterwards quite ouerthrowne: where moſt part of his armie being ſlaine or taken priſoners, he with a few of his friends ſought to ſaue themſelues by flight ouer the deſart ſands; and ſeeing himſelfe hardly purſued by his enemies, ſcattered many peeces of gold vpon the ſands as he fled, thereby to haue ſtaied their haſtie purſute: but they more deſirous of him than of his gold, followed ſo faſt, that at the laſt they ouertooke him, and without further delay ſtrucke off his head, which was afterwards ſent into SPAINE, and carried vpon a launce thorow all the townes and cities alongſt the ſea coaſt, to the wonderfull rejoycing of the people, vnto whom he had in former time done great harme.

Horruccius ſlain and his head caried about in Spaine.

Hariadenus ſurnamed Barbaruſſa, ſucceedeth his brother Horruccius in the kingdome of Algiers.

After the death of *Horruccius*, *Hariadenus* inferiour to his brother neither in courage nor martiall proweſſe, by the generall conſent of the ſouldiours tooke vpon him the kingdome of ALGIERS. He, made heire not onely of his brothers kingdome, but of his vertues and hautie thoughts, and of the ſurname alſo of *Barbaruſſa*, began forthwith to aſpire vnto the empire of all that part of AFFRICKE, accounting what he had already gotten, too little and too baſe to anſwere his deſires. Wherefore he entred into armes, and became a terrour both to the Moores and Numidians, holding peace with ſome, and warres with others, as beſt ſerued his purpoſe: and with his gallies robbed and ſpoiled the coaſts of SPAINE, SARDINIA, and the Iſlands BALEARES; fortune ſo fauouring him in all his enterpriſes, that he became both famous and fearefull vnto his enemies. He ſlew *Hamet*, a great commander among the Numidians, & chaſed *Benchades* and *Amida*, two of their greateſt princes, out of the country: and with like fortune at ſea ouercame *Hugo Moncada*, a famous Spaniard, who ſore wounded, had much adoe to ſaue himſelfe by flight, when he had loſt diuers of his gallies. He alſo in battell at ſea ouerthrew *Rodericus Portundus*, admirall of SPAINE: in which fight the admirall with his ſonne were both ſlaine, and ſeuen of his gallies taken: In token of which victorie, he ſent part of the rich ſpoile there taken with the admirals enſigne, as a preſent vnto *Solyman*, whereby he became famous in the Turkes court; but much more after he had repulſed *Auria* from CERCENNA, and taken two great Genoway ſhips which were comming to *Auria* loaded with men and munition, the loſſe whereof filled the citie of GENVA with much ſorrow. All things ſorting thus according to his deſire, and his name become no leſſe terrible in SPAINE, ITALIE, SICILIE, and the Iſlands of the Mediterranean, than it was in the greateſt part of AFFRICKE; *Solyman* grieued with the loſſe of CORONE, PATRAS, and the caſtles vpon the ſtraits of LEPANTO, taken from him by *Auria*, *Himerales* his admirall being ſhamefully put to flight: by the counſell of his Baſſaes, but eſpecially of *Abraham* the cheefe Baſſa, ſent embaſſadours vnto him to ALGIERS, offering him the greateſt honours of his court, and to make him admirall of all his fleet, if hee would forthwith repaire vnto CONSTANTINOPLE: for why he was the onely man in all mens judgements, who for his yeares and great experience at ſea, as well as for his inuincible courage and glorie of his late atchieued kingdome, was to be compared with *Auria*, and to bee oppoſed againſt the Chriſtian fleet. *Sinas* a great man in *Solymans* court, was with this embaſſage ſent, and ſpeedily tranſported to ALGIERS by *Mangalis*, a famous pyrat, then gouernour of the RHODES: who at his landing was honourably receiued by *Barbaruſſa*, and audience giuen him. *Barbaruſſa* vnderſtanding the cauſe of his comming, was exceeding glad thereof, preſently conceiuing no ſmall hope of obtaining the Monarchie of AFFRICK, if he might once come to *Solymans* preſence,

His wonderfull ſucceſſe.

Solyman ſendeth for Barbaruſſa.

and

A and at large ſhew vnto him the ſtate of AFFRICKE, and power of the Chriſtians, with their continuall diſcord amongſt themſelues. Wherefore without further delay committing the protection of his ſonne *Aſanes* (then about eighteene yeares old) and the gouernment of his new gotten kingdome to *Ramada* and *Agis*, two of his nigh kinſmen and aſſured friends, of whoſe fidelitie he doubted not: he with fortie of his owne gallies, in moſt warlike manner appointed, ſet forward with *Solymans* embaſſadour towards CONSTANTINOPLE; whete by the way hee met with a fleet of Genoway ſhips bound for SICILIE for corne, which after a ſharpe and cruell fight he tooke and burnt. After that, landing by night in the Iſland of ELBA, not farre from NAPLES, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed RHIVM, a rich citie; where loading his gallies with the wealth thereof, and carying away with him all the inhabitants into captiuitie, he arriued at CONSTAN-

B TINOPLE in the yeare 1533, where he was by the great courtiers brought to *Solyman*, of whom he was joyfully receiued, if it were but for the preſents which he gaue him: which were fair boyes and young maidens ſumptuouſly apparrelled, eunuchs, and wild beaſts of LYBIA, as Lyons, Leopards, and ſuch like. But after he had certaine daies diſcourſed at large with the great Baſſaes of the ſtate of AFFRICKE, the ſtrength of the Chriſtians, and how the warres were to be managed, he was afterwards by them ſeldomer ſent for, and offering himſelfe into their companie, was hardly admitted: for enuie (the inſeparable companion of growing honour) had quickly ouertaken him in the court, ſo that many men letted not openly to ſay, That it had not beene the faſhion of the *Othoman* kings to preferre pyrats (the worſt kind of theeues) to the honour of their great Admirall; and that there wanted not, neither euer would want men both vertuous and va-

C liant in the Turkes court, which could with great honour maintaine and augment the glorie of the Turkiſh empire both by ſea and land, whereas he had againſt all right and conſcience, by ſhamefull treacherie intruded himſelfe into another mans kingdome in AFFRICKE, and there perſecuted the Mahometane princes and people, being of no religion himſelfe, as one that was borne of a renegat Greeke, and had from his youth liued as a mercileſſe pyrat, and common enemie of mankind. By which ſpeeches, *Barbaruſſa* well perceiued in how euill time *Abraham Baſſa* his beſt friend, and by whoſe meanes he was ſent for, was abſent from the court: who at that time was gone into COMAGENA, and wintered at ALEPPO, with purpoſe (as *Solymans* foretunner) with the firſt of the Spring to paſſe ouer Euphrates againſt the Perſian. After long ſute and much expectation, *Solyman* anſwered *Barbaruſſa* by *Aiax* and *Caſsimes*, two of the great

D Baſſaes, That all the matter concerning him ſhould be referred to the diſcretion of *Abraham* the cheefe Baſſa, for that hee was by his counſell eſpecially ſent for into AFFRICKE: wherefore if he did expect any thing, he ſhould repaire vnto him into SIRIA, that according to his graue judgement all things might be ordered. *Barbaruſſa* thus rejected into SIRIA, although he well perceiued that it tended to his no ſmall diſgrace; yet in hope by ſufferance to obtaine another kingdome, ſeemed contented with the anſwere, and reſolued forthwith to take vpon him that long and painefull journey, which the old king luſtily performed: and ſo poſting by land thorow ASIA the leſſe, and trauelling ouer the mountaine AMANVS, then couered with deepe ſnowe, came in the dead time of Winter to ALEPPO in SIRIA, where hee was honourably receiued of the great Baſſa, and heard at large, to his ſo good contentation and liking, that he deemed him

E of all others the fitteſt to commaund the Turks power at ſea, and to that purpoſe writ commendatorie letters in his behalfe to *Solyman*; wiſhing him for his ſufficiencie to place him as the fourth with the other three Baſſaes of his counſell. After *Barbaruſſa* was againe arriued at CONSTANTINOPLE with theſe letters, and that it was once knowne how effectually the cheefe Baſſa had commended him to *Solyman*, it was a world to ſee, how vpon the ſudden the face of the court was changed vpon him, euery man either for friendſhip or flatterie begun now to ſpeake of his praiſes, and to extoll his worthineſſe: who was now in all mens mouths but *Barbaruſſa?* ſo great was the power & authoritie of the cheefe Baſſa, that being abſent, yet was his approbation of all men accounted ſufficient to preferre whom he pleaſed; & his letters lawes to the reſt of the court. *Barbaruſſa* had brought with him from ALGIERS one *Roſcetes*, the elder brother of *Muleaſſes*,

F king of TVNES, who wrongfully driuen into exile by his younger brother, had liued certaine yeares at ALGIERS, but now by the perſuaſion of *Barbaruſſa* was come with him to CONSTANTINOPLE to craue aid of *Solyman* againſt the oppreſsion of his brother. Him *Barbaruſſa* oftentimes ſhewed vnto the great Baſſaes, and in his diſcourſes with them concerning the conqueſt of AFFRICK, ſet him out as a moſt fit inſtrument for ſubduing of the kingdome of TVNES,

Barbaruſſa commeth to Conſtantinople.

Barbaruſſa enuied in the Turks court.

Barbaruſſa reiected to Abraham the great Baſſa.

He trauelleth into Siria to the Baſſa, and is by him commended to Solyman.

His returne to Conſtantinople;

Roſcetes

as a man whom the people more affected than they did *Muleasses* the vsurper. After long deliberation and consultation had with the Bassaes, concerning the inuasion of AFFRICKE, *Barbarussa* now admitted vnto the presence of *Solyman*, in these or like words persuaded him to that warre, for the entrance whereinto we haue thus farre digressed. G

Barbarussa his speech to Solyman to persuade him to inuade Tunes.

What thing the priests with lowd voice vse to pray for, at such time as the Othoman *emperours enter into the temple to pray, the same thing doe I also wish vnto thee most mightie* Solyman, *which is, That thou shouldest remember, thy progenitors by iustice and religion to haue got for thee this empire, than which, more magnificent or richer the gods haue not giuen to any: for fortune hath neuer deceiued them that tread that way, and thou hetherto hast so traced their steps, that thou hast easily surmounted their fame and glorie, administring iustice to thy subiects; and inflamed with the hope* H *of eternall praise, making continuall warre against the enemies of our religion, the true office of a Zealous prince. By this meanes is* BELGRADE *taken,* RHODES *woon, the king of* HVNGARIE *slaine in battell,* GERMANIE *twice harried and burnt: so that* Charles, *whom the Christians would make equall to thy selfe in power and valour, with the great aid almost of all the Christian nations, terrified with the noise of thy armie, shunned battell. But for as much as empires be they neuer so large, or victories be they neuer so glorious, can either satisfie the greatnesse of an heroicall mind, or glut the same with glorie: thou hast therefore sent before thee thy victorious ensigns against the Persians and Parthians, that those nations who haue wickedly fallen from our rites, purified as it were by thy sacred armes, may be againe reclaimed to the auntient rites of our religion. But be this vnto thy greatnesse most honourable to attempt, and glorious to performe: let it only be lawfull for me now growne an old* I *man in the middest of armes and dangers, to declare what is expedient, and briefly to open such things as I haue by long experience learned to concerne the augmenting of thy fame and empire elsewhere. Neither would I haue you to take this as presumptuously spoken of me: for fortune hath enough, yea and more than enough fauoured my designes, whom from a poore cottage and bare hope, she hath promoted to glorious victories, great riches, yea vnto the title and maiestie of a king. But vnto these things the gods could giue me nothing better than to be called for of thee, and sent for, in counsell to discourse of matters of greatest importance: wherefore my aduise shall bee vnto thee faithfull, and with experience confirmed; which although it be all that it seemeth old men can doe, yet in my sound bodie remaineth such strength, that I dare both promise and performe vnto thee my good seruice at* K *all assaies both by sea and land. For vnto this onely course haue I bent my selfe day and night from my youth (following the purpose & counsell of my valiant brother* Horruccius, *who to extend the bounds of our religion, persecuted the Christians both by sea and land) desiring nothing more, than that thy fleet and power might once be ioined with my forces and direction, and so vnder thy good hap to be either a commaunder, or els commaunded: for as much as it grieueth me not to be commaunded by my betters: of which my desires if the gods shall make me partaker, the Spaniards shall shortly be driuen quite out of* AFFRICKE, *thou shalt heare that the Moores are gone ouer into* SPAINE *to repossesse the kingdome of* GRANADO, *that* TVNES *and* NVMIDIA *are at thy commaund, and not to speak of* SARDINIA *and* CORSICA, *that* SICILIA *is ours: which once taken, we shall starue vp* ITALIE, *and on euery side distresse it with our fleet, being now weake and brought low by the discord of the princes, and that part thereof both towards* SICILIA *and* MACEDONIA *readie to submit it selfe* L *vpon any condition, so it might cast off the Spanish yoke. Thinke not that either that strength or vnitie is now in* ITALIE, *which was when thy great grandfather* Mahomet *hauing taken* HYDRVNTVM, *brought a great feare not vpon* ITALIE *onely, but vpon other the Christian nations also: For by the good successe of that warre, which all the Christian princes could hardly withstand, he had vndoubtedly taken the citie of* ROME, *and so according to right and reason againe united the empire of the East and of the West, as they were before in their auntient glorie: But hee suddainely left the world, rapt to heauen, that he might leaue to thee (according to the appointment of the fatall destinies and reuolutions of the heauens) this worke of absolute perfection. And yet my purpose is not by putting thee in hope of so great and rare a triumph, to interrupt or hinder thee for turning thy power into the East against thy old and irreligious enemies, deseruing all extremities: for thy nauie shall be* M *sufficient for me, whereof thou shalt haue no need in thy warres so farre within land, that whilest thou art conquering* ASIA, AFRICA *the third part of the world may in the meane time be brought vnder thy subiection also. Where before all other things,* Muleasses *is to be driuen out of* TVNES, *a man of insatiable couetousnesse, vnstayed lust, horrible crueltie, hated both of God and man: who hauing*

by

A *by treacherie ſlaine eighteene of his brethren, or that which worſe is, cruelly burnt out their eyes, doth ſoraigne alone, that he hath left him neither kinſman nor friend: For being as vnthankfull as perfidious, he hath murthered all his fathers friends, who with great trauell had preferred him to the kingdome, ſo to make ſhort paiment for ſo great deſert. With this beaſt we muſt haue to doe, whom whileſt no man loueth, all men eaſily wiſh to periſh. The Numidians trouble him with daily inuaſions, whoſe iniuries the infamous coward endureth with ſuch ſhame and reproach, that it ſhould ſeeme he had rather to ſuffer them than reuenge them. And yet this effeminat daſtard holdeth in chaines many valiant Turkes, and acknowledgeth not your imperiall name, whereunto all men on euerie ſide ſue for grace: and which is not to be ſuffered, exceedingly fauoureth the Spaniards at* TRIPOLIS, *to the intent that* Agis *and* Moſes, *two valiant Turkiſh captaines, may be driuen out of the citie.*
B *This wild beaſt diſarmed of his clawes and teeth, we ſhall eaſily deſtroy, if it be but for that we haue with vs* Roſcetes *his brother, whom the Numidians wiſh and long for: him muſt we vſe, if it be but for a ſhew, ſo ſhall the thing we deſire be without bloud effected, as ſoone as we ſhall but preſent our ſelues before the gates of* TVNES. *Then ſhall it be at your pleaſure to appoint whom you will haue to gouerne the Numidian kingdome: it ſhall be vnto me glorie enough, when the greateſt part of* APFRICKE *conquered, ſhall be peaceably deliuered into your hands at your returne with the triumphs of* PERSIA. *But by the way as I returne, I aſſure you vpon mine owne priuat ſo to vſe the matter, that the Chriſtians ſhall alſo haue good cauſe to bewaile their calamities: and if I hap to meet with* Auria, *he ſhall haue ſmal cauſe to reioyce of the miſchiefe he hath done: for him alone I challenge to perſecute as my proper and peculiar enemie, both for the remembrance of the harmes we haue receiued at his*
C *hands, and for the deſpight I haue at his fame; who once taken out of the way, the ſeas ſhall be open onely to you and your fleets. And beleeue me, he that ſhall be able to commaund the ſeas, ſhall eaſily alſo ſubdue the kingdomes by land.*

But *Solyman*, who after the manner of wiſe princes vſed well to conſider, and afterward with ripe judgement to reſolue of ſuch matters as he had with attentiue eare hearkened vnto; commending *Barbaruſſa* for his forwardneſſe in his ſeruice, for that time brake vp the counſell. Not long after a decree was made, according to *Abraham* the great Baſſa his aduiſe, That *Barbaruſſa* ſhould be joyned as fourth with the other three chiefe Baſſaes of *Solymans* counſell, and be made great Admirall: ſo that all the iſlands, ports, and people all alongſt the ſea coaſt thorow out *So-*
D *lymans* empire, ſhould be at his commaund, and that it ſhould be lawfull for him to take vp ſuch marriners and ſouldiours for ſeruice at ſea, as pleaſed him in what place ſoeuer. This being ſolemnly proclaimed, *Solyman* with his owne hand deliuered him a ſcepter and a ſword, willing him by worthie deeds to performe what he had promiſed. After which *Aiax* and *Caſſimes* the two great Baſſaes, with the captaine of the Ianizaries, brought him with exceeding pompe from the court to the Nauie: at which time was carried before him all the tokens of his new obtained honour. And toward the maintenance of that warre at ſea, he had deliuered vnto him out of *Solymans* treaſures eight hundred thouſand duckets, and eight hundred Ianizaries.

Barbaruſſa made Solymans great Admirall.

But for as much, as much it was that he did in the ſeruice of *Solyman*, and more is of him hereafter to be ſpoken; it ſhall not be amiſſe here to preſent vnto the view of the world the ſterne,
E but liuely countenance of this ſo famous a man (who liuing kept all the Mediterranean in feare) as it is by *Boiſardus* expreſſed, togither with the Elogium following.

1603

Littora te Heſperiæ timuere vtriuſq́, Lybeſq́,
Oppreſſi dextra ſuccubuere tua.
Nunquam te Lypare Corcyraue diliget, harum
Cum ſis immeritos depopulatus agros.

The coaſts of ITALY and SPAINE, of thee were ſore afraid,
And ſo the Moores did ſtoupe to thee, by thy right hand diſmaid. L
LYPPAROS will thee neuer loue, ne yet CORCYRA ſtrong:
For that thou cauſeleſſe didſt to them ſo great and open wrong.

Barbaruſſa ſped of that he deſired, ſtaied not long after at CONSTANTINOPLE, but departing out of HELESPONTVS with eightie gallies and certaine galliots, ſhaped his courſe towards ITALIE; leauing *Amurathes* (a ſea captaine) with twelue gallies to tranſport *Solyman* and his armie, readie to ſet forward againſt the Perſian, ouer that narrow ſea into ASIA. Who after hee had ſo done, ouertooke *Barbaruſſa* at METHONE, who holding on his courſe to AFFRICK, and ſodainly paſsing the ſtrait betwixt ITALIE and SICILIE, brought a great feare vpon both the countries; but paſsing by the bay of HIPPONA alongſt the coaſt of the lower CALABRIA, he ſet vpon the towne of S. *Lucidius* called in auntient time TEMPSA: which although it ſtood vpon a rocke, and was reaſonable well walled; yet ſuch was the violence of the Turkes aſſault, that it could not be defended but was taken, with ſo much more hurt to the inhabitants, for that the

He ſpoileth the coaſt of Italie. M

Maior

A Maior of the towne to keepe the people from flying away, had lockt vp the gates on the other ſide of the citie from the enemie. From thence he with rich ſpoile and many priſoners went to CITRARIVM, where he had learned of his priſoners, a fleet of gallies was in building. This towne forſaken of the inhabitants for feare, he tooke without reſiſtance, ranſaked and burnt it, where he alſo fired ſeauen gallies not yet altogither finiſhed. But after he was come with his fleet as farre as the iſland CAPRI within the ſight of NAPLES, ſuch a terrour was ſtrucke into the minds of all that dwelt alongſt that coaſt, that it was thought if he had landed and gone directly to NAPLES, the Neapolitanes would for feare haue abandoned the citie. But holding on his courſe, he came to PROCHITA, which he tooke and rifled: ſo paſsing by the port of CAIETA, which he might eaſily haue taken, he came to SPELVNCA, a towne in the hithermoſt part of
B the kingdome of NAPLES. They of the towne diſmaied with the ſudden arriuall of ſo great a fleet, yeelded the ſame without reſiſtance. The enemie entring the towne, tooke twelue hundred priſoners. *Pelegrinus* a chiefe man amongſt them of SPELVNCA was fled into the caſtle; him *Barbaruſſa* commaunded to yeeld, which if he would preſently doe, he promiſed to let him go free; but if he ſhould ſtand vpon his defence, he threatned in ſhort time to make him repent his fooliſh hardineſſe with the vtter deſtruction both of himſelfe and the towne. The fearefull gentleman without delay, came out of the caſtle, and fell downe at his feet; who according to his promiſe gaue him his libertie, and with rare courteſie reſtored to him his wife, his ſonne, and niece, whom hee had taken priſoners, who receiued them with many teares falling from their eyes for joye.

C The ſame night alſo two thouſand Turkes came from the fleet thorow the rough and buſhie mountaines to the citie FVNDI, ten miles diſtant from SPELVNCA, in the vttermoſt borders of the kingdome of NAPLES, conducted as was thought by certaine Italians of that countrey; who a few yeares before taken at ſea, and ouerwearied with the heauie burthen of the Turkiſh ſlauerie, had reuolted to the Mahometane religion. But ſuch was the ſuddenneſſe of their coming, and their celeritie in entring the citie, that *Iulia Gonzaga* the paragon of ITALIE, and the chiefe priſe which they ſought after, had ſcarce time to get to horſe halfe naked, and ſo with much difficultie to eſcape into the mountaines. It is reported, that *Barbaruſſa* (which thing he himſelfe afterwards ſeemed not to denie) moued with the fame of her incomparable beautie and wonderfull perfection, deſired exceedingly to haue taken her as a preſent for *Solyman*. The citiſens
D were for moſt part either ſlaine or taken priſoners by the Turkes; who loded with the ſpoile of the citie, returned againe to the fleet. Another part of *Barbaruſſa* his fleet came to TARRACINA, which the Turks tooke forſaken of the inhabitants, who for feare were all fled into the mountaines, except ſome which for age or ſickneſſe could not ſhift for themſelues, whom the Turkes ſlew and ſpoiled the churches. *Barbaruſſa* thus ſcouring alongſt the coaſt of ITALIE, and newes thereof daily brought to the citie of ROME, ſtrucke ſuch an exceeding terrour into the minds of the citiſens, that it was verily thought if he had come but a little farther to OSTIA, they would generally haue forſaken the citie. But he hauing well performed his promiſe made to *Solyman* for vexing the Chriſtians, and before reſolued of a greater matter he had to doe; when he had watered at PONTIA, paſſed ouer into AFFRICK with ſuch celeritie, that he was arriued there
E before it was thought that he was departed from the coaſt of ITALY. For *Barbaruſſa* to deceiue *Muleaſſes* king of TVNES, and to take him vnprouided, had giuen it out that he would burne and ſpoile the coaſts of the Chriſtian countries, eſpecially of ITALY, LIGVRIA, and SPAINE, in reuenge of the harme done by *Auria* at CORONE and PATRAS. Which thing *Muleaſſes* the rather beleeued, vnderſtanding his proceedings vpon the coaſt of ITALY. The Venetians hauing alſo at the ſame time at great charges prepared a great fleet, did in ſome part leſſen *Muleaſſes* feare, that *Barbaruſſa* would employ his forces for AFFRICKE: for then what ſhould the Venetians haue needed to haue made ſo great and chargeable a preparation. But that which aboue all other things brought him into ſecuritie, was for that he had by ſecret eſpials certainly learned, that his brother *Roſcetes* was kept at CONSTANTINOPLE, as a priſoner at large, vnder
F ſafe keeping: which made him to thinke that *Barbaruſſa* his forces were not prepared againſt him, for he knew that he could not be impugned, or his ſtate more endangered by any other meanes than by producing the competitour of his kingdome, to whom his guiltie conſcience doubted, that both the citiſens of TVNES and the Numidians were for moſt part well affected.

Iulia Gonzaga a faire lady hardly diſtreſſed by Barbaruſſa.

The Romans afraid of Barbaruſſa.

This *Muleaſſes* of whom we now ſpeake, and whom hereafter we ſhall by occaſion often re-

Muleaſſes king of Tunes.

member, was lineally diſcended of the auntient kings of Tunes; who without interruption of diſcent or mixture of forraine bloud, had by the ſpace of nine hundred fiftie and foure yeares mightily ruled the great kingdome of TVNES, from TRIPOLIS to BVGIA, almoſt eight hundred miles alongſt the Mediterranean, and into the maine as farre as the mount ATLAS: and for the long continuance of their ſtate, and largeneſſe of their kingdome, were worthely accounted the moſt reuerend and mightie amongſt the Mahometane kings of AFFRICKE. His father *Mahometes*, when he had with much glorie and more pleaſure raigned two and thirtie yeares, perceiuing the end of his life to approach, had purpoſed to haue appointed *Maimo* his eldeſt ſonne (whom for his haſtie aſpiring he then held in durance) to ſucceed him in his kingdome. But ouercome with the importunitie of *Lentigeſia* his wife, a woman of hautie ſpirit, who had by reward made a ſtrong faction in the court for her ſonne *Muleaſſes*, he altered his former purpoſe, and appointed him his ſucceſſour: by whom (as it was thought) the ſmall remainder of his owne old yeares was ſhortened; *Maimo* the right heire of the kingdome in priſon, preſently murdred; ſeuenteene of his other brethren vnmercifully executed; and three other, *Barcha*, *Beleth*, and *Saeth*, with more than barbarous crueltie, with a hoat yron of their ſight depriued: only *Roſcetes* the ſecond brother, and *Abdemelech*, eſcaping the hands of their vnnaturall brother, fled to *Morhabitus* a great prince amongſt the Numidians; whither alſo their brothers malice perſecuted them, ſeeking ſometime by practiſe, ſometime by poiſon to haue taken them away, and at laſt for a great ſumme of money to haue had them deliuered into his hands: Which money they Numidian receiued, but ſuffered the diſtreſſed princes as if they had eſcaped againſt his will, to flie further to anothor Numidian prince a friend of his, called *Bentieſes:* where *Muleaſſes* by like practiſes as before ſought to haue deſtroied them, or to haue got them into his owne power. Thus chaſed by their brothers endleſſe malice from prince to prince, and place to place, they for their more ſafetie fled at laſt to the citie of BISCARIS farre into the maine land: where *Abdemelech* as one wearie of the world, gaue ouer all and betooke himſelfe to a ſolitarie life, and became a melancholy Mahometane monke. But *Roſcetes* courteouſly entertained by *Abdalla* prince of that citie, found ſuch fauour in his ſight, that he gaue him his daughter in marriage, and long time honourably maintained him as his ſonne in law, with ſuch carefulneſſe, that for feare of *Muleaſſes* practiſes, he was ſeldome permitted to eat any other meat but ſuch as the prince or his wife had before taſted of. *Muleaſes* thus raigning and raging, and yet not contented with the death of ſo many of his brethren, proceeded further, and murthered diuers of their children alſo. He cauſed alſo the Manifet and Meſuar, men of greateſt authoritie in all the kingdome, his fathers graue counſellors and his cheefe friends, by whoſe meanes eſpecially he had aſpired vnto the kingdome, to be cruelly tortured to death. fearing their greatneſſe, or rather as ſome thought greeuing to ſee them liue to whom he was ſo much beholden, and therefore rewarded them with ſuch ſharpe payment. And by the inſtigation of *Lentigeſia* his mother, cauſed diuers of his fathers other wiues and concubines to be ſhamefully murthered, inueighing oftentimes againſt his father, that as an effeminate prince with infinit charges had for his pleaſure maintained two hundred wiues and concubines in his houſes of delight, by whom he had begot ſo many ſonnes competitours of the kingdome, that he had left him (as he ſaid) a laborious and enuious peece of worke, to deſtroy ſo great a brood. *Roſcetes* aided by his father in law and the other Numidian princes, to whom the name of *Muleaſſes* both for his crueltie againſt his owne bloud, and injurious dealing againſt his neighbours, was become odious, paſsing ouer the riuer Bragada, with a great armie, neere vnto TVNES met with *Muleaſſes* his armie, conducted by *Dorax*, a valiant captaine, brother to *Lentigeſia*: where in a ſharpe conflict he ouerthrew his brothers armie, and enforced *Dorax* with them that were eſcaped out of the battell for ſafegard of their liues to flie into TVNES. *Roſcetes* purſuing the victorie, came and preſented his armie before the gates of the citie, in hope that the citiſens (whom he knew for the moſt part to hate the vſurping tyrant) would vpon the ſight of him, in right their king, with ſo great an armie, raiſe ſome tumult in the citie, and let him in. There he lay by the ſpace of twentie daies, ſtill expecting ſome innouation; in which time the more to alienate the minds of the people from *Muleaſſes*, and to ſhew how vnable he was to protect them, he burnt and deſtroyed all the oliue and fruit trees, which grew moſt plentifully and pleaſantly all alongſt the country, from the ruines of old CARTHAGE to the wals of TVNES: which was vnto the citiſens, whoſe greateſt poſſeſsions lay there, a moſt heauie and lamentable ſpectacle. But *Muleaſſes* had ſo attempered their minds with faire ſpeeches

The ingratitude of Muleaſſes.

Roſcetes riſeth againſt his brother Muleaſſes.

A ches and large promiſes of recompenſing euery man to the full, for all ſuch harme as they ſhould ſuſtaine by his brothers furie in the countrey: and beſide that had the citie in ſuch ſtrong poſſeſſion by reaſon of his ſouldiors, that the citiſens either would not or could not reuolt to *Roſcetes*. The Numidian princes wearie of that long and vaine expectation, according to the leuitie of that nation, accounting it no ſhame after victorie once gotten to depart, began one after another to ſhrinke away to their owne dwellings, perſuading *Roſcetes* alſo to prouide for himſelfe whileſt he had time, and to attend his better fortune. Wherefore he fearing to be betrayed by the Numidians, or circumuented by his cruell brother, fled to *Barbaruſſa*, then raigning at ALGIERS in great glorie, where he was honourably entertained; and there remained vntill ſuch time as by his perſuaſion he went with him as is aforeſaid to CONSTANTINOPLE, to craue helpe of *Soly-*
B *man*, by whom he was detained in ſafe cuſtodie: although it was in policie giuen out by *Barbaruſſa*, that he was in the fleet, and that he ſhould by *Solymans* power be reſtored to his fathers kingdome at TVNES.

Forſaken of the Numidian princes, he fleeth to Barbaroſſa.

This was the ſtate of the kingdome of TVNES, at ſuch time as *Barbaruſſa* with *Solymans* great fleet, contrarie to all mens expectation, ſuddenly departing from the coaſt of ITALIE, landed in AFFRICKE at BISERTA, a famous port of the kingdome of TVNES. They of BISERTA wearie of the gouernment of *Muleaſſes*, and of themſelues deſirous of change, as ſoone as they heard the name of *Roſcetes*, forthwith draue out their Gouernour, and receiued the Turkes into the towne. For *Barbaruſſa* had before ſent certaine of *Roſcetes* his familiar friends aſhore, which bare the people in hand, that he was in the fleet, but not able yet to come on ſhore, for
C that he was (as they ſaid) ſeaſicke and troubled with an ague. BISERTA thus poſſeſſed by *Barbaruſſa*, he preſently departed thence: and ſayling by VTICA, thirtie miles diſtant from BISERTA, and ſo keeping alongſt the coaſt, and paſsing the promontorie of CARTHAGE, came before GVLETTA, a ſtrong caſtle within the bay of TVNES, ſo placed vpon a ſtrait, that it commaundeth all the paſſage by ſea vnto the citie of TVNES. Before this caſtle, *Barbaruſſa* in token of friendſhip, diſcharged all his great ordinance, which they of the caſtle anſwered with like: but being required to deliuer it vp to *Roſcetes*, they ſaid it ſhould be alwayes at his commaund that ruled in the citie of TVNES. The newes of *Roſcetes* his ſuppoſed comming, flying ſwiftly by land from BISERTA to TVNES, and the great fleet once diſcouered, ſet all the citie on an vprore: for the citiſens were in great expectation of their new king, both for the loue of *Roſcetes*, who had
D alwayes ſhewed himſelfe to be of a mild and bountifull nature; and alſo for the hatred of *Muleaſſes*, whoſe tyrannous and couetous gouernment they thought they had too long endured. Neither was he ignorant what report ran of himſelfe, and how he had loſt the hearts of his ſubiects, which was euidently to be ſeene in the eyes and countenances of the cheefe men of the citie. And that which more encreaſed their hatred, was for that he had not according to his promiſe to them in time of his diſtreſſe, made them any recompence for their goodly houſes and oliue gardens, deſtroyed in the countrey by *Roſcetes* in the former warres: wherefore at ſuch time as he came now out of the caſtle, and in the greateſt aſſemblie of his people, began to perſuade them to play the men, and to continue conſtant in their obedience, promiſing vnto them ſuch reward as they knew he was neuer able to performe, they all departed, and left him alone:
E yea ſome of them vnder the colour of friendſhip, and amongſt them *Abdahar*, then Meſuar, (which was cheefe officer next vnto the king) perſuaded him to giue place to his hard fortune, & forthwith to flie, for by chance at the ſame inſtant it was in euery mans mouth, that the Turks were euen at hand: which thing cauſed *Muleaßes*, forſaken of his ſubiects, of himſelfe fearefull, and worthily doubting to be betrayed, to flie in ſuch haſt out of the citie, that he left behind him both his treaſure and jewels, which afterwards came into the hands of his enemies. The firſt that reuolted was *Abeẓes*, a man of great authoritie; and *Fetuches*, captaine of the caſtle; both renegate Spaniards. *Fetuches* preſently after the flight of *Muleaſſes*, brought out *Roſcetes* wife and children, whom *Muleaſſes* had long time kept in priſon, & to welcome their father, placed them
F in the kings royall ſeat. *Abeẓes* alſo forthwith aduertiſed *Barbaruſſa* of the departure of *Muleaſſes*, and with what longing the people expected their deſired king, wiſhing him without delay to repaire vnto the citie: and for a preſent ſent him a goodly Barbarian horſe, richly furniſhed, and diuers others for his other cheefe captaines. Hereupon *Barbaruſſa* without longer ſtay ſet forward with fiue thouſand Turks, which he had alreadie landed, and comming to the citie, was of the citiſens joyfully receiued. But after long looking, when they could no where deſcrie *Roſ-*

Barbaruſſa landeth at Biſerta.

Biſerta yeeldeth.

Barbaruſſa commeth to Gulette.

Muleaſſes flieth out of Tunes.

Barbaruſſa entreth into Tunes.

cetes

cetes their ſuppoſed king, and heard nothing but the name of *Solyman* and *Barbaruſſa*, doubled and redoubled by the Turkes in their militarie acclamations, as they marched thorow the citie towards the caſtle; they began to diſtruſt, as the truth was, that in ſtead of their new king whom they ſo much deſired, they had receiued the Turkiſh gouernement, which they vtterly deteſted. Which ſuſpition once confirmed by certaine of *Roſcetes* friends (whom *Barbaruſſa* had brought with him of purpoſe to delude the people) who grieued to ſee the ruine of their natiue countrey, ſpared not for feare of the preſent danger to tell their friends and acquaintance as they went, That they did in vaine looke for *Roſcetes*, whom they had left in bonds at CONSTANTINOPLE: it was a wonder to ſee, how ſuddainely the minds of the people were changed, how ſpeedily they ran to their weapons, and how furiouſly they aſſailed the Turkes, now feating no ſuch matter, and were not as yet all got into the caſtle. The cheefe leader of the citiſens in this tumult, was *Abdahar* the Meſuar, who but a little before vpon the comming of the Turkes, by augmenting the danger, and the vnfaithfulneſſe of his ſubjects, had perſuaded *Muleaſſes* to flie; but now perceiuing himſelfe deceiued of his expectation for the comming of *Roſcetes*, and repenting of that he had done, ſought by all meanes to driue out the Turkes, and to recall *Muleaſſes*. And the more to animate the people, as he ſtood on high, from whence he might beſt be heard, he cried vnto them with a loud voice:

The citiſens deceiued of their expectation, riſe againſt the Turkes.

We are moſt villanouſly betrayed (worthie citizens) for Roſcetes, *whom we expected for our lawfull king, lamenteth his miſerie in chaines, in priſon at* CONSTANTINOPLE: *and we, except we preſently play the men, and valiantly fight for our libertie, ſhall for euer ſerue as ſlaues to theſe forraine and mercileſſe pyrats. The preſent danger of our eſtate telleth vs, that we muſt preſently and without delay take the occaſion offered. Wherefore let all men that meane not to ſerue as ſlaues, and to be bought and ſold as beaſts, take vp armes againſt the faithleſſe Turkes. I my ſelfe will be your leader: let vs therefore all with one conſent with heart and hand reuenge this ſhamefull trecherie, defend our countrey and libertie with the antient honour of the Numidians.*

There was now no time to ſtay, euery man had betaken himſelfe to his weapons; *Muleaſſes* was againe ſent for, who yet ſtaied in the ſuburbes, expecting what ſhould happen; many of the Turkes were ſlaine before they were aware, or feared any thing; all the citie was filled with outcries and clattering of weapons: the number of the citiſens was ſuch, as might eaſily haue expulſed the Turkes, had they beene but reaſonably armed or well conducted, which in a matter ſo ſudden, and with men altogether ignorant of ſeruice, was not poſsible. Yet they armed with furie, and encouraged with the multitude of themſelues, ſwarmed vp as thicke as was poſſible one of the bulwarkes of the caſtle, which they knew was eaſieſt to bee gained, where the Turkes had ſet vp one of their enſignes; and with the multitude of their darts and arrowes ſo ouerwhelmed the Turkes, that they were glad to forſake the place, and to retire farther into the caſtle to a place of more ſtrength: from whence and all alongſt the curtaine of the wall, they without intermiſsion diſcharged their great artillerie and ſmall ſhot amongſt the thickeſt of the naked Moores, making of them a wonderfull ſlaughter. *Barbaruſſa* although he was a man of an inuincible courage & great experience, all his life time well acquainted with deſperat dangers (the dreadfull ſteps of aſpiring minds) yet ſurpriſed with the ſuddenneſſe of the aſſault, ſhut vp in a place whereof he yet knew not the ſtrength, and not prouided of victuall for three dayes, was with the due conſideration of theſe difficulties, not a little troubled: which his care was by the diſordered furie of his enemies, and knowne valour of his owne ſouldiours greatly deminiſhed; eſpecially when hee ſaw his owne men ſtill fighting, as men full of hope and courage, and the Moores as men halfe diſmayed with the wounds and ſlaughter of their friends, readie to retire. Howbeit, by the comming in of *Mulcaſſes* and *Dorax*, the aſſault twice before giuen ouer, was againe at both times renewed, with no leſſe deſperat furie than at the firſt, and the Turkes hardly charged. In this dangerous aſſault *Halis* of MALIGA, a renegate Spaniard, but a moſt expert ſouldior, turning himſelfe to *Barbaruſſa*, ſaid:

Muleaſſes returneth into the citie.

If thou wilt ſaue thine honour, and hold this fort, we muſt ſallie out vpon this enemie, which hauing neuer ſeene a ſet battell, but onely acquainted with light skirmiſhes, will not be able to endure our charge at hand, but ſhall in a moment know the price of their fooliſh hardineſſe: who as braine-ſicke men could neither endure the gouernment of their cruell king, ne yet thankefully receiue the authors of their deliuerance and libertie.

This motion of the Spaniard, confirmed by the generall approbation of the cheefeſt captaines,

taines, *Barbaruſſa* commaunded *Halis* the author of that counſell, with certaine other captaines and their companions, at one inſtant to ſallie out at two ports of the caſtle: which they ſo reſolutely performed, that in ſhort time a wonderfull number of the naked Moores lay dead vpon the ground.

Abdahar the Meſuar himſelfe, was there ſhot thorow with a bullet and ſlaine: whereupon the aſſault was quite giuen ouer, the Moores retyring by companies backe into the citie, and the Turkes ſtill purſuing them: where, in the ſtreets for certaine houres, was fought a moſt cruell and bloudie battell. At laſt the citiſens ouercome, forſooke the open ſtreets, and betooke them to the refuge of their houſes; not ſo carefull of their king, as of themſelues, their wiues and children. And *Halis* with the reſt, wearied with the ſlaughter of his enemies, and ouercome with labour, heat, and thirſt, returned with victorie vnto the caſtle. It is reported that there was aboue three thouſand of the citiſens ſlaine that day, and thriſe as many hurt. *Muleaſſes* thus diſcouraged, and vtterly deſpairing to recouer the citie; hardly eſcaped his enemies hands, by the good helpe of his vncle *Dorax*, with whom he fled ouer the riuer Bagrada, and came in ſafetie to CONSTANTINA (called of old time CYRTHA) the antient ſeat of the Numidian kings, but then a part of *Dorax* his dominion; where he was honorably maintained and protected vntill the comming of *Charles* the emperour into AFFRICKE. The night enſuing this battell, and the flight of the king, was reſtleſſe both to the citiſens and the Turkes, each of them for feare of other ſtanding vpon their ſtrongeſt guard.

The citiſens of Tunes diſcomfited by the Turkes.

Muleaſſes flieth.

The next day the citiſens diſcouraged with the loſſe of ſo many of their kinſmen and friends, and hauing no king now for whom they ſhould fight, craued pardon of *Barbaruſſa* for their raſh attempt, excuſing it by the name of loyaltie to their antient kings; offering to ſubmit themſelues vnto him with all faithfulneſſe. Which their offer he willingly accepted, knowing that he was not able to keepe that place with his ſouldiors three daies, for lacke of victuall: ſo that all his hope and victorie gotten, might eaſily be ouerthrowne and brought to nought, if the citiſens moued either with deſperation or deſire of reuenge, ſhould joyne with the other Numidian princes, and beſiege him in the caſtle. Whereupon a generall peace was granted, and by ſolemne oath on both ſides confirmed, whereby the citiſens expreſly bound themſelues to the obedience of *Solyman*, and to *Barbaruſſa* as his lieutenant. All things thus ſet in order in the citie of TVNES, & new magiſtrates and officers by him made, he laboured by all meanes to win vnto him the Numidian princes: which when he had eaſily brought to paſſe by gifts and rewards with thoſe needie princes, of themſelues prone enough vpon light occaſions to make or breake the bonds of friendſhip, he ſent *Aſan-aga* an eunuch, and *Halis* the Spaniard with the Ianizaries, & certaine pieces of great ordinance, to take in the other cities of the kingdome of TVNES: which they in ſhort time performed, being in all places peaceably receiued, onely the citie of CARVENNA held out a while, yet afterwards for feare of further harme receiued the Turkes garriſon. But to leaue *Barbaruſſa* king of ALGIERS and *Solymans* great Admirall, thus poſſeſſed of the kingdome of TVNES; and *Muleaſſes* in exile at CONSTANTINA, vntill he be againe reſtored vnto his kingdome by *Charles* the emperour, as ſhall be hereafter declared: let vs againe returne to the wars at the ſelfeſame time vndertaken by *Solyman* in perſon himſelfe in PERSIA, perſuaded therunto as we haue before ſaid by *Abraham* the great Baſſa. Of whom a few words, that they which ſhall hereafter liue, may in him as in others, ſee in what ſlipperie place they ſtand, and what ſmall aſſurance they haue, which forſaking God, run headlong after theſe worldly vanities, and ſwelling with the fauours of great princes, are in a moment when they leaſt feare any ſuch fall, ſuddenly ouerthrowne, and become the miſerable ſpectacles of mans fragilitie in the height of their ſuppoſed bliſſe.

The citiſens of Tunes yeeld themſelues to Barbaruſſa.

This great Baſſa called of the Turkes *Ibrahim*, of vs *Abraham*, was borne in a poore countrey village neere vnto PERGA, a towne in that part of EPIRVS which was called BVTHROTIA: who in his childhood was taken from his Chriſtian parents, by ſuch as by authoritie did take vp the tribute children of the Chriſtians for the Turkiſh emperour. A tribute of all tributes moſt grieuous. He was of countenance amiable, of feature comely, actiue of bodie, well ſpoken, pleaſantly conceited, and ſharpe of wit: ſo that he in ſhorter time than was thought poſsible, to the admiration of many, learned both to ſpeake and write the Arabian tongue, and other languages vſed in the Turkes court, and could skilfully play vpon ſundrie kinds of inſtruments. And being yet a boy, ſerued *Scanderbaſſa*, a man of great authoritie and power, in the time

The deſcription of Abraham the great Baſſa.

time of *Selymus* the emperour, in whose seruice he was instructed in the Mahometane religion; but giuing himselfe to all manner of curiositie and neatnesse, he was wonderfully fauoured by the great ladie his mistresse, and by her commended to her husband *Scanderbassa*, as a fit page to attemper his melancholy and wayward disposition, with his pleasant conceits and deuises. Wherein the Tetricall Bassa finding him to excell, gaue him as a rare gift to *Solyman* the sonne of *Selymus*, his grandfather *Baiazet* yet liuing: who tooke in him such pleasure, that the old emperour caused him to be brought vp in the court, in all princely qualities with *Solyman* (who was of like yeares vnto him) as his companion and playfellow. Where he so framed himselfe vnto the young prince his disposition in all points, that he was of him alwaies exceedingly beloued, and afterwards promoted to all the honours of the court, and made one of the Bassaes; giuing vnto him in marriage the onely daughter and heire of *Scanderbassa*, his master then dead, with an exceeding great dowrie. And after that, made him Gouernour of CAIRE: where hee had not long remained, but he was againe sent for to the court, as the man which gaue thereunto life, without whose companie *Solyman* was as one halfe dead. At length he made him Vesier, which is the chiefe of all the Bassaes, and president of his counsell, the greatest honour in the Turkish empire next vnto the emperour himselfe. And to honour him yet more, he deliuered him his priuat signet, wherwith the Turkish emperours neuer vsed to trust any but themselues: he might at his pleasure, grace, and disgrace whom he would, in court or elsewhere. What he commaunded, was done: and whatsoeuer he did, was taken for well done. He might without the emperours knowledge giue any office, yea the gouernment of whole countries and prouinces, vnto his fauourites: his credit with the emperour was so great, that hee did what he list, and no man durst presume to aske any reason why. And to say all at once, he wanted nothing of the majestie of an emperour, but the name onely; in steed whereof he was commonly called the Great Commander of all the emperours forces. His house in CONSTANTINOPLE was of all other most stately, wherein was daily to be seene such a multitude of his gallant followers, and such a world of wealth and royall furniture, as that it might be worthely compared with the pallace of a great prince. Neither was he partaker of *Solymans* counsailes in his waighty matters of state onely, but of his secret delights and pleasures also; if he were present all was well, if he were away nothing pleased: to be short, he so possessed this great emperour, that men commonly said, The soule of *Solyman* liued in *Abraham*. Whereat many of the great men of the court secretly repined; but especially *Solymans* mother, and *Roxalana* his faire concubine, whom of all women hee held deerest. His liuely and majesticall countenance thou maiest here behold.

His bringing vp in the court.

His great credit with Solyman.

ABRA-

Magnus es & Getici tibi gratia prona tynanni
Seruit, at ex alto magna ruina venit:
Te proceres odere, Parenſq́, & regia coniux
Horum ne pereas proditione caue.

Right great thou art, and doeſt commaund the fauour of thy king;
E But ſuch great fauours oftentimes, a greater fall doe bring.
The great kings mother, wife, and all the nobles hate thee ſore:
Beware that by their wily drifts thou periſh not therefore.

This great Commaunder, which might at all times be bolde to ſpeake what he thought vnto *Solyman*, ſought many times in his priuat diſcourſes betwixt them two, to perſuade him to forbeare to vſe his forces any farther againſt the Chriſtians, ouer whom he had ſufficiently alreadie triumphed, and to turne them vpon the Perſians by whom he was daily injured. Alleadging vnto him, that the Germans were a ſtrong and warlike people; who as they both in language
F and manners differed from the Hungarians, ſo were they alwaies at variance with them, and therefore much cared not though they were by him ſubdued: but if he ſhould begin to inuade any part of their countrey, he ſhould then ſoone ſee that inuincible nation with their vnited forces, vp in armes readie to make ſtrong reſiſtance. And to prouoke *Charles* the emperour (of all the Chriſtian princes the mightieſt) were not good, who of himſelfe was able to bring into the field

Abraham Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to make war vpon the Perſians.

field moſt puiſſant armies of valiant ſouldiours out of his owne dominions: beſide the wonderfull concourſe of moſt reſolute men out of all parts of Chriſtendome, which would not ſpare to lay downe their liues at his feet in that warre, which was of them accounted moſt religious. *Yea what ſtrength both of horſe and foot might be raiſed and brought to the battell by the two brethren* Charles *and* Ferdinand, *onely might* (as he ſaid) *euen then be plainely perceiued, when as they valiantly defended* VIENNA, *beſieged by vs with great power. Neither did* Charles *afterward, as it ſeemed, and as the Chriſtians commonly vaunt, feare to haue aduentured the fortune of a maine battell with you: who although I doubt not but he ſhould haue beene ouercome by you ſo great a monarch with ſo puiſſant an armie, a thing peculiar to your good fortune; yet I cannot denie, but that that victorie againſt ſuch expert and reſolute ſoldiors, ſo ſtrongly armed as their manner is, muſt haue been bought with a great deale of our bloud. Theſe things in my opinion may reaſonably perſuade you to let the Chriſtians alone, by ciuile warres to weaken one another, that ſo afterwards they may become a prey vnto vs without any danger of ours. So that in my iudgement the Perſian warre is to be taken in hand, rather than the warres in* GERMANIE, *and eſpecially for that you haue ſufficiently enlarged the bounds of your empire Weſtward: which you haue extended euen vnto nations very far diſtant. So that it is now a great matter to defend ſo much as you haue alreadie gotten, and therefore partly for the difficultie of the defending thereof, and partly vpon an honourable contempt, according to the infinit bountie of your heroicall inclination, haue thought good to beſtow whole kingdomes vpon ſtrangers, yea halfe your enemies. Wherefore how much more glorious ſhall it be now vpon iuſt occaſion to ſeeke for that which toyneth vnto your owne confines; and may therefore eaſily be united vnto your owne empire: if you according to the example of your grandfather and father ſhall force your ſelfe to driue that accurſed and abhominable race of* Iſmaell *out of* ASIA. *For it ſhall be a great glorie vnto the name of the* Othoman *kings for euer, if you ſhall after your wonted manner Zealouſly reſpect the cauſe of religion: a worke of an incomparable fame, if the authors of a moſt deteſtable ſuperſtition ſhall by you be chaſed quite out of* ASIA. *For what more iuſt or honourable cauſe can there be to make warre, than to profeſſe your ſelfe the defendor of the deuine precepts of our great prophet* Mahomet, *againſt the wicked and irreligious impugners thereof? And by the way to reuenge and vtterly to deſtroy the capitall enemies of your auncestours: which was the laſt prayer of your father* Selymus. *Can you endure them which rule ſo inſolently, that they account euery one that is neere them their enemies and prey, and dare alſo with their pilfering inuaſions prouoke your ſelfe, liuing contented within the bounds of your owne empire in peace both in* EVROPE *and* ASIA? *and they (forſooth) ſuch as haue by moſt horrible wrong crept into the royall ſeat of the moſt lawfull and noble kings deſcended of the bloud of* Vſun-Caſſanes? *who after their wonted manner ſtill liue by rapine and robberie? Beleeue me noble emperour, if you ſhall vpon a Zeale to your religion with your victorious hand take away this ſtaine and plague of* ASIA, *there ſhall vndoubtedly be erected vnto you ſo glorious and magnificent a trophie in the middeſt of* PERSIA, *as may be compared, yea preferred before the triumphs of your victorious father* Selymus. *For it is not ſo much to haue deſtroyed the Mamalukes (by condition ſlaues) and the proud Sultans of* ÆGIPT *and* SIRIA, *as to haue ſubdued the Perſians, famous in antient time for their martiall proweſſe, who ſo oftentimes vanquiſhed by* Alexander *of* MACEDOM *gaue vnto him the name of Great. Solyman* prickt forward with many ſuch diſcourſes, dayly ſounded in his eares by the Baſſa, began to yeeld to his perſuaſion. Whereof *Abraham* in himſelfe greatly rejoiced: for it was thought of many, that he did neuer in heart renounce the Chriſtian religion, but was onely in outward ſhew a Turke, and in heart a Chriſtian. Which was the rather conjectured, for that he maruellouſly fauoured and protected the Chriſtian marchants, furthered by all meanes the leagues of the Chriſtian princes with *Solyman*, and laboured alwaies to turne his forces from them vpon the Perſians. And the more to whet him forward, the Baſſa had cunningly inſinuated into his acquaintance one *Mulearabe* of DAMASCO, a man at that time famous in CONSTANTINOPLE, for the opinion the people had generally conceiued of his holineſſe and profound knowledge in the ſecret cauſes of things, and the art of Magicke; vſing him as a prophet to fill the ambitious mind of *Solyman*, with aſſured hope of proſperous ſucceſſe: which thing the hypocriticall wiſard, after the manner of ſuch deceiuers, ſlily performed, propheſieng vnto him all happineſſe in ſo religious a warre, and ſo much (as he ſaid) pleaſing God. This the Baſſaes purpoſe was much furthered alſo by *Vlemas*, a noble and valiant Perſian, who hauing married the great Perſian king *Tamas* his ſiſter, was reuolted from him to *Solyman*, fearing to be called to account for the extorſion wherewith he had grieuouſly

oppreſſed

A oppreſſed the countries whereof he had the gouernment: and being wonderfully countenanced in *Solymans* court by the great Baſſa, did after the manner of diſloyall fugitiues perſuade *Solyman* by all meanes he could to take that war in hand, diſcouering vnto him the power, ſtrength, and ſtate of the Perſian kingdome (which he could well doe) and plotting vnto him the eaſieſt way for the conquering thereof, offering alſo vnto him the vttermoſt of his deuoire. So *Solyman* filled with the vaine hope of the conqueſt of PERSIA, yeelded fully vnto the perſuaſions of the great Baſſa, and gaue out his commiſsions into all parts of his empire for the raiſing of a mightie armie for the performance of ſo great an enterpriſe, commaunding all his captaines and men of warre to be readie at the citie of NICE in BYTHINIA at a certaine day appointed. Which his purpoſe, although it was mightily impugned by his mother, and faire *Roxalana* his beſt beloued,

Solyman reſolueth to goe againſt the Perſians.

B as that which altogether proceeded from the Baſſa; the one alleadging with what euill ſucceſſe his grandfather and father had before him attempted that ſame war; the other aſſailing him with her paſsionat affections: but both of them indeed repining at the credit of the Baſſa, and in their hearts diſdaining that ſo great a monarch ſhould at the pleaſure of his ſeruant be led vp and down the world ſo farre from their companie: for which cauſe they did what in them lay to haue ouerthrowne the purpoſe of *Abraham*, and to haue altered *Solymans* former determination. But ſo ſtrong was the Baſſaes credit with his great lord and maſter, that all theſe great ladies deuiſes and prayers were as womens affectionat paſsions rejected, and the Baſſaes counſell (to their no ſmall greefe) in all things regarded.

Abrahams credit maligned by Solymans mother and Roxalana.

The time appointed being come, and all things in readineſſe, *Solyman* ſent *Abraham* the

Abraham Baſſa ſent before with an armie into Suria.

C Baſſa, and *Vlemas* the Perſian before him into SYRIA with a ſtrong armie, to be readie with the firſt of the Spring to inuade the Perſian king. Which thing the Baſſa gladly tooke vpon him, and comming into SIRIA, wintered with his armie at ALEPPO: whither *Barbaruſſa* came vnto him for his letters of credence to *Solyman*, as is before declared. The Spring now approching, *Abraham* ſent *Vlemas* the fugitiue Perſian prince before him with the light horſemen, the forerunners of his armie, into MESOPOTAMIA as his guide, becauſe the countrey was vnto him beſt knowne; following not farre after himſelfe with all his armie. And marching ſtill forward in that manner, came at length without reſiſtance vnto the famous citie of TAVRIS in ARMENIA the greater, called in auntient time ECBATHANA, as is probably by ſome conjectured: a great and rich citie, but vnwalled and of no ſtrength; where the Perſian kings (for the pleaſant-

D neſſe of the place, and freſhneſſe of the ayre) vſed commonly to be reſiant in the heat of the yeare. From whence *Tamas* the Perſian king was as then abſent, buſied in warres with *Kezlen-baſſa*, a prince of the Coraſine Hircanians: ſo that the citizens of TAVRIS deſtitute of all helpe, yeelded themſelues and the citie vnto the Baſſa at his firſt comming. *Tamas* the Perſian king vnderſtanding what was happened at TAVRIS, drew neere with his power, warily expecting to haue taken the Turkes at ſome aduantage, and ſo by pollicie to haue defeated his enemies, whom hee was too weake to meet with in plaine battell. Which thing the warie Baſſa well perceiuing, for more aſſurance, by ſpeedie courrors aduertiſed *Solyman* of the taking of TAVRIS, and of the enemies purpoſe, requeſting him with all ſpeed to repaire with his armie to TAVRIS. *Solyman* was then come farre on his way with a ſtrong armie, not by the way of ANCYRA, SEBASTIA,

The citie of Tauris yeelded to the Baſſa.

E AMASIA, the borders of TRAPEZONDE, and ſo ouer Euphrates at ARSENGA into ARMENIA, as his father *Selymus* had done before him, becauſe that way was thought longer and more troubleſome: but quite another way, on the right hand from NICE in BYTHINIA to ICONIVM, and by CÆSARIA to MALATHIA, where is the notable paſſage ouer the riuer Euphrates, burſting out by the vallies of the mountaine ANTITAVRVS, from whence the plaines of MESOPOTAMIA, then part of the Perſian kingdome, begin to open themſelues; thorow which countrey *Solyman* marched peaceably with his armie, paying the poore countrey people for whatſoeuer he tooke: and ſo in foure and fiftie dayes march came from NICE in BYTHINIA to the citie of COIM in ARMENIA the greater, which is ſuppoſed to be built in the ruines of the famous and antient citie ARTAXATA. But hearing ſuch news as is aforeſaid from the Baſſa,

Solyman commeth to Tauris.

F he doubled his march, and ſo in ſhort time after came and joyned his forces with the Baſſa at TAVRIS. *Tamas* who yet dayly expected the comming of the Georgian light horſemen, vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was comming againſt him with a world of men, thought it not good to abide the comming of ſo puiſſant an enemie, but with delay to wearie him out that drew ſuch a multitude of people after him; and by taking of him at all aduantages, to cut off his people

ſpent with long trauell, wanting victuall, and falling into diuerſe diſeaſes; as it commonly chanceth to populous armies in ſtrange countries, where the change of the aire, with the inciuitable neceſsities alwaies attending vpon a great armie, moſt times cauſeth grieuous and contagious diſeaſes. Wherefore *Tamas* to ſhun the comming of *Solyman*, retired further off into SVLTANIA, about ſix daies journey from TAVRIS. Wherof *Solyman* hauing knowledge, departed from that rich citie without doing any harme thetin, following after *Tamas* into SVLTANIA to joine battell with him if he could poſsible: leauing behind him for haſt, a great part of his carriages and baggage, with fiue hundred Ianizaries, and three of his Sanzackes with their companies. The citie of SVLTANIA was in auntient time one of the royall ſeats of the Perſian kings, but ruinated by the Scythian *Tamerlane*, retained no ſhew of the auntient majeſtie, but onely in the churches by him ſpared. Neere vnto this citie *Solyman* lay encamped many daies, expecting that the Perſian king (in reuenge of the injurie to him done, and for the ſafegard of his honor) ſhould at length come out of the mountaines, and ſhew himſelfe in plaine field, and giue him battell: Which was a thing ſo farre from *Tamas* his reſolution, vpon the due comparing of his owne ſtrength with his enemies, that he retired in ſuch ſort, that *Solyman* could by no meanes learne what was become of him, or which way to follow him.

Solyman followeth Tamas the Perſian king into Sultania.

The counttey neere vnto the citie of SVLTANIA wherein *Solyman* lay encamped at large, is on euerie ſide enuironed with hugie mountaines, whoſe tops are to be ſeene a farre off, alwaies couered with deepe ſnow: theſe mountaines were in auntient time called NYPHATES, CASPIVS, COATHRAS and ZAGRVS, taking their beginning no doubt of CAVCASVS the father of mountaines; and joyning one to another, ſome one way, ſome another, doe diuide moſt large and wide countries. Whileſt *Solyman* in thoſe plaine fields moſt fit to fight a battell in, expected the comming of *Tamas*, ſuch a horrible and cruell tempeſt (as the like wherof the Perſians had neuer before ſeene at that time of the yeare) fell downe from thoſe mountaines; which was ſo much the more ſtrange, for that it fell in the beginning of September: with ſuch abundance of raine, which froſe ſo eagerly as it fell, that it ſeemed the depth of Winter had euen then of a ſudden been come in: for ſuch was the rage of the bluſtring winds, ſtriuing with themſelues as if it had beene for victorie, that they ſwept the ſnow from off the tops of thoſe high mountaines, and caſt it downe into the plaines in ſuch abundance, that the Turkes lay as men buried aliue in the deepe ſnow, moſt part of their tents being ouerthrowne and beaten downe to the ground with the violence of the tempeſt and waight of the ſnow, wherein a wonderfull number of ſicke ſouldiours and others of the baſer ſort which followed the campe periſhed, and many others were ſo benummed, ſome their hands, ſome their feet, that they loſt the vſe of them for euer: moſt part of their beaſts which they vſed for cartiage, but eſpecially their camels, were frozen to death. Yea *Solyman* himſelfe was in great danger to haue beene ouerwhelmed in his tent, all the tents round about him being ouerthrowne with the violence of the tempeſt. Neither was there any remedie to be found for ſo great miſchiefes, by reaſon of the helliſh darkneſſe of that tempeſtuous night, moſt of their fires being put out by the extremitie of the ſtorme: which did not a little terrifie the ſuperſtitious Turkes as a thing accounted of them ominous. And that which troubled them no leſſe than the miſeries of the tempeſt, was the fear of the enemie, whoſe ſudden comming they deadly feared: vntill that after ſo tedious a night, the Sunne breaking out the next morning, with his cheerfull beames reuiued many before readie to giue vp the ghoſt for cold, and gaue comfort to them all in generall, by diſcouering the open fields cleare of their feared enemies. It was a dreadfull thing to haue ſeene what miſerie that one night had brought into the Turkes campe: the ground lay almoſt couered with bodies of the dead; and many liued, but ſo, as that they accounted the dead more happie than themſelues. Many of the Turks vainly thought, that horrible tempeſt was brought vpon them by the charmes and enchantments of the Perſian Magicians; whereas it was vndoubtedly, by the hand of him which bringeth the proud deuiſes of princes to naught.

Solymans armie diſtreſſed with tempeſt.

Solyman troubled as well with the ſtrangeneſſe of the accident, as the loſſe he had receiued, after he had a little refreſhed his diſcouraged ſoldiors, riſe with his armie and tooke his way on the left hand into ASSIRIA: *Vlemas* the Perſian perſuading him thereunto for many cauſes, but eſpecially by putting him in hope of the taking of BABYLON; for that *Mahometes* a friend of his, was gouernour thereof. But he when the matter came to proofe, was not to be woon either by promiſe or reward to betray the citie. Wherefore *Solyman* reſolued to take it by force, neither did his

A his fortune faile him therein: for as ſoone as *Mahometes* vnderſtood that *Vlemas* was at hand with the forerunners of the Turkes armie, and that *Solyman* with all his power was comming after, who as he thought would neuer haue come ſo farre; he not prouided to withſtand ſo mightie an enemie, and not beloued of the citiſens, fled out of the citie. *Solyman* comming, in ſhort time after was of the Babylonians receiued without reſiſtance. This citie of BABYLON commonly called BAGDAT, riſe out of the ruines of the old citie of BABYLON, ſo much ſpoken of in holy writ: from whence it is not farre diſtant, ſtanding vpon the riuer Tygris, which not farre beneath falleth into the riuer Euphrates. In this famous city is the ſeat of the great Caliph, the chiefe Mahometane prieſt, whom all the Mahometane princes haue in great reuerence, & hath an old prerogatiue in the choiſe and confirmation of the kings of ASSIRIA, and the Sultans of ÆGYPT:
B of which Caliph, *Solyman* according to the old ſuperſtitious manner, receiued at his hands the enſignes and ornaments of the Aſſyrian kings, and with great bountie woon the hearts of the people: and thereupon reſolued to ſpend that Winter there, billiting his armie in diuers places of that fertill countrey. The other cities of ASSIRIA and MESOPOTAMIA alſo, namely CARAEMIDA, MERBDINVM, ORSA, and ASANCESA, hearing that *Solyman* had without reſiſtance taken BABYLON, yeelded themſelues and receiued his garriſons. Yea the fame thereof was ſo great, that embaſſadours came vnto him as farre as ORMVS, a citie in the mouth of Euphrates, where it falleth into the Perſian gulfe, famous for the great traffique out of INDIA thither, ſuing vnto him for peace. Thus the auntient citie of BABYLON with the great countries
C of ASSIRIA and MESOPOTAMIA, ſometimes famous kingdomes of themſelues, and lately part of the Perſian kingdome, fell into the hands of the Turkes, and became prouinces of the Turkiſh empire in the yeare 1534. Where *Solyman* after he had ſpent that Winter in great ioy and triumph, according to the manner of the Turkiſh gouernment, placed a great Commander, which they by a proud name call the *Beglerbeg* (which is as much as to ſay, the lord of lords) and vnder him diuers others for the gouernment of theſe countries, by parts, which they call Sanzacks, who are euer at the commaund of the *Beglerbeg*. Whileſt he thus wintered at BABYLON, he cauſed *Aſhender Zelibi* (which is to ſay, *Alexander* the noble) his great treaſurer for the warres, to be hanged, for that he had vnfaithfully dealt in his office; and confiſcated all his goods.

Babylon yeelded to Solyman.

The countries of Aſſiria and Meſopotamia poſſeſſed by the Turke.

Tamas hearing that *Solyman* was gone to BABYLON, returned to TAVRIS: of whoſe ſpeedy
D comming, the Ianizaries and other captaines there left by *Solyman* vnderſtanding, fled in haſt out of the citie, leauing all ſuch things as were committed to their cuſtodie, for a prey vnto the Perſian ſouldiors.

Tamas commeth to Tauris.

Solymans armie being mightily increaſed by the comming vnto him of the great Baſſa of CAIRE, with the Sanzacks of ALEXANDRIA, IVDEA, SYRIA, and COMAGENE; by the perſuaſion of *Abraham*, and *Vlemas*, the Spring now well come on, departed from BABYLON againe towards TAVRIS, with purpoſe either to draw *Tamas* to battell, or elſe to his eternall infamie before his face to ſacke that his regall citie. But *Tamas* aduertiſed of his comming, and knowing himſelfe too weake to giue him battell, forſooke the citie, and fled into the mountains
E of HIRCANIA: deſtroying all the countrey before him as he went, and carrying away the inhabitants, leauing nothing to relieue the Turkes, if they ſhould purſue him. *Solyman* vnderſtanding that *Tamas* was againe fled, ſent *Vlemas* with all the choiſe horſemen of his armie to ouertake him if it were poſsible, and to fight with him. But when he had followed him two or three daies journey, and ſtill found the countrey deſolat as he went, yeelding neither forrage for his horſes, nor reliefe for his men, and ſaw no hope to ouertake the king; he began as a prouident Generall to forecaſt the extremities like to befall in his returne thorow thoſe deſolat countries, with the enemie at his heeles: and thereupon in time retired backe againe to *Solyman*, declaring vnto him what had happened. Who fretting in his mind, that the Perſian king was not to be drawne to battell, marched forthwith to TAVRIS, entred it without reſiſtance, the citiſens ſubmitting themſelues vnto him: whoſe liues ſpared, he gaue that rich citie for a prey vnto his ſol-
F diors, who left neither houſe nor corner thereof vnranſacked, abuſing the poore citiſens with all manner of inſolencie; euerie common ſouldiour without controlment, fitting himſelfe with whatſoeuer beſt pleaſed his greedie deſire or filthie luſt. *Tamas* had in this citie a moſt ſtately and royall pallace; ſo had alſo moſt part of the nobilitie, their ſumptuous and rich houſes, which by the commaundement of *Solyman* were all raſed downe to the ground, and the greateſt part of

Tamas hearing of the comming of Solyman to Tauris, flieth into Hircania.

1535

Solyman ranſacketh Tauris.

the beſt citiſens and beautifull perſonages of all ſort and condition, at his departure thence carried away captiues. *Solyman* contenting himſelfe to haue done the Perſian king this diſgrace in ſpoiling this his rich and royall citie, returned againe towards MESOPOTAMIA, deſtroying the countries all the way as he went, killing the verie beaſts and cattell, thereby the more to impouerish the Perſians, wiſhing to leaue nothing vnto them but penurie and miſerie. He was ſcarcely paſt COIM and the Calderan fields, famous for his fathers victorie againſt *Hyſmaell*, but that certaine troupes of the Perſian horſemen were in the taile of his armie, and had taken away ſome of his baggage, and ſlaine diuers of the ſicke and ſtragling ſouldiours; and with their often skirmiſhes did not a little trouble his whole armie. Beſides that, it was noiſed thorow all his campe, That *Tamas* himſelfe was comming after him with a great power of horſemen, taken vp in HIBERIA, ALBANIA, PARTHIA, MEDIA, and ARMENIA, and would be at their backes before they could get out of ARMENIA: for which cauſe, hee appointed the two great Baſſaes of CAIRE and SYRIA (for ſo they were called) and *Vlemas* the Perſian with eighteene thouſand good ſouldiours to follow him in the rearward of his armie, to receiue and repreſſe the ſudden aſſaults of the Perſians, if need ſhould require: and ſo ſtill kept on his march, vntill he was come to AMIDA, now called CARAEMIDA, an antient citie of MESOPOTAMIA. In the meane time, *Tamas* the Perſian king was returned to TAVRIS with a mightie armie, in hope there to haue ſuddenly ſurpriſed his enemie, ſurcharged with the pleaſures of ſo rich a citie: but finding him gone, and beholding the miſerable ſpoile and deſolation he had made in the citie; moued with indignation, he reſolued to purſue him whither ſoeuer he were gone, and was now on his way as farre as COIM. Where vnderſtanding that *Solyman* was gone ſo farre before, that he was hardly to be ouertaken; and finding the noble gentlemen in his armie, vnwilling in their heauie armour to vndertake ſuch a purſuit, as could not be performed without the wonderfull toile of themſelues, and moſt aſſured loſſe of their goodly horſes, alleadging that they were prouided to fight a battell, and not to trauell ſo long a journey (all which *Tamas* now that his choller was ouer, knew to ſtand with good reaſon) he changed his former determination, thinking it beſt there to ſtay, and not to follow the purſuit of his enemies any further: vntill that *Delimenthes* one of his noble men, alwaies more forward than the reſt, offered with fiue thouſand choſen horſemen to ouertake ſome part of the Turkes armie, and to doe on them ſome good ſeruice. Which his offer *Tamas* gladly accepted, commending him greatly for the ſame, promiſing him moſt honourable reward: and ſo in haſt ſent him away.

Delimenthes with 5000 Perſians purſueth the Turkes.

He forthwith taking the well knowne and neereſt way, vſed ſuch expedition, that he was in hope to ouertake the rearward of the Turkes armie (marching not farre now before him) about the foot of the mountaine TAVRVS, as in deed it fell out, at a place called BETHLIS. This BETHLIS is a famous towne in the confines of the Perſian kingdome, where it bordereth vpon MESOPOTAMIA, ſtanding in a pleaſant valley, by which runneth a little riuer falling out of the mountaine ANTITAVRVS; and had a caſtle kept with a garriſon of PERSIANS. In this valley, the two Baſſaes of CAIRE and SYRIA conducted by *Vlemas*, thinking they had now beene paſt all danger of the enemies purſuit, ſtaied with the rearward of the armie to refreſh their wearied ſouldiours, vpon certaine knowledge, that *Solyman* with the reſt of his armie was alreadie come in ſafetie to AMIDA in MESOPOTAMIA; and therefore lay as men ſecure without any ſuſpition of the comming of the Perſians, whom they had not ſo much as heard any thing of in long time before. But *Delimenthes* vſing moſt faithfull and diligent eſpials of that countrey people, by that time he was come within one daies journey of BETHLIS, vnderſtood certainly where the Turkes lay, wearie of their long trauell, as men without feare, keeping little or no watch in their campe: Whereupon he determined in the dead time of the night following, to aſſaile them in their campe: and by ſecret meſſengers gaue knowledge both of his comming, and of this his purpoſe to the captaine of the caſtle of BETHLIS, requeſting him at an appointed houre vpon ſigne giuen, to be readie to ſallie out with his garriſon vpon that ſide of the Turkes campe which was towards the caſtle. Which his venturous deſignment was ſo furthered both by the darkeneſſe of the night, and the abundance of raine which fell at the ſame time, as if it had beene wiſhed for; that he was got with all his reſolute followers within the Turkes campe, before they were aware of his comming: where the Perſian ſouldiors, as wolues amongſt ſheepe, did ſuch ſpeedie execution amongſt the ſleepie Turkes, that the two great Baſſaes and *Vlemas*, had much adoe to get to horſe and ſaue themſelues by flight. And ſuch was the furie of the Perſians,

Delimenthes aſſaileth the Turks campe by night, and maketh a great ſlaughter.

A ſians, and the greatneſſe of the ſudden feare encreaſed by the darkeneſſe of the night, that the Turkes not knowing which way to turne themſelues, or what to doe, were ſlaine by thouſands, ſome ſleeping, ſome halfe waking, ſome making themſelues readie to fight, and ſome to flie, few of all that great armie eſcaped the ſword of the Perſians. Of the fiue great Sanzackes which were in the armie, three were ſlaine, and one taken. Eight hundred Ianizaries ſeeing themſelues forſaken of their cheefetaines, laid downe their harquebuſiers and other weapons, and yeelded themſelues vpon *Delimenthes* his word. The fierce mountaine people alſo, who in former time had ſuffered great injuries of the Turkes, after the death of *Aladeules* their king, had now joyned themſelues to the Perſians, and notably reuenged their wrongs; to whoſe ſhare all the baggage of the Turkes campe fell for a prey. It might then well haue beene ſaid of the Turkes
B which the Poet ſpeaketh of the night wherein TROY was ſackt:

Quis cladem illius noctis qui funera fando
explicet? ———

The ſlaughter of that night was ſuch, as that it is of the Turkes vntill this day accounted amongſt their greateſt loſſes; and the victorie ſo welcome to the Perſians, that in memoriall thereof they kept that day (which was the thirteenth of October) as one of their ſolemne holidaies for many yeares after. *Delymenthes* returning all bloudie with the ſlaughter of the Turks, and loaded with their ſpoiles, was of *Tamas* joyfully receiued and honouraly rewarded.

Solyman diſcouraged.

This ouerthrow reported to *Solyman* by the two great Baſſaes and *Vlemas*, as men that had hardly eſcaped ſhipwracke, ſo daunted his proud conceits, that he reſolued in himſelfe to returne
C home, and no further to proſecute that vnfortunat warre: the euill euent whereof his mother (as hee ſaid) had more truly preſaged, than had the cold prophet *Mulearabe*; but ſecretly in mind diſpleaſed with *Abraham* the great Baſſa, by whoſe perſuaſion he had taken in hand that dangerous expedition. By the way as he went he was met at ICONIVM by *Barbaruſſa* and *Sinan Baſſa*, ſurnamed the Iew, a man for his skill at ſea in reputation next vnto *Barbaruſſa*. Theſe two great perſonages lately come from ALGIERS to CONSTANTINOPLE with the remainder of his fleet, met him ſo farre by land, to ſhew their joyfulneſſe for the conqueſt hee had made of MESOPOTAMIA and ASSIRIA, and to excuſe themſelues for the loſſe of the kingdome of
D TVNES; which woon by *Barbaruſſa* in the beginning of the Perſian warre, was before the ending thereof againe wrung out of his hands by *Charles* the emperour, and reſtored to *Muleaſſes*, as ſhall be hereafter declared. They with great humilitie declared vnto him the whole proceſſe of that warre, and with what ſucceſſe they had endured the force of *Charles* the emperour himſelfe in perſon: ſhewing plainely vnto him, that there wanted neither valour in the ſouldiors, nor direction in them the commaunders, but onely fortune, which as it mightily raigneth in all mens actions, ſo eſpecially in matters of warre. *Solyman* gratiouſly accepted of their excuſe, and courteouſly tooke them vp, proſtrate at his feet, commending them for their valour in their euill haps, in a plot ſo well by them laid; more than he did the victorie of others, got by good fortune, not grounded vpon any good reaſon: willing them to be of good cheare, ſaying, That he would in ſhort time find occaſion for them to recompence that diſgrace, & againe to ſhew their approued valour. After long trauell he came to the ſtrait of Boſphorus, where *Abraham* the Baſſa go-
E ing before him, had in ſigne of triumph cauſed the ſhore all alongſt the place where he ſhould go abourd the gallie prouided for his tranſportatiõ, to be couered with Perſian ſilke for him to tread vpon: from whence he paſſed with much triumph ouer to his pallace at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Enuie, the fatall and cruell companion of princes immoderat fauours, had with her prying eyes quickly diſcouered in court *Solymans* changed countenance vpon the great Baſſa, and began now to ſhew her gaſtly face. They which before were moſt readie to doe him all the honor poſſible, yea to haue laied their hands vnder his feet, ſought now by all ſecret meanes to worke his diſgrace and confuſion. But of all others, the two great ladies, *Solymans* mother, and the faire *Roxolana* ceaſed not by dayly complaints to incenſe *Solyman* againſt him: the mother, for that he had by his perſuaſion, contrarie to her mind and her ſuperſtitious obſeruations drawne her
F ſonne into the dangers of the Perſian war: and *Roxolana*, for that he moſt honoured and ſought the preferment of *Muſtapha*, *Solymans* eldeſt ſonne by another woman; whereas ſhee aboue all things laboured by all ſubtill meanes to preferre *Baiazet* her owne ſonne to the empire, after the death of *Solyman* his father: Which her deſignement ſhe perceiued to be much croſſed by the credit which the Baſſa had with her *Solyman*, and therefore did what ſhee might both to bring

Abraham the great Baſſa in diſgrace with Solyman.

him out of fauour, and to worke his deſtruction. But that which moſt empaired his credit with *Solyman*, was the common report raiſed of him by his enemies, That he being in heart a Chriſtian, did in all things fauour the Chriſtians (a thing moſt odious amongſt the Turkes) and had for that cauſe craftely perſuaded *Solyman* to take in hand the vnfortunat Perſian warre. And that which more encreaſed the ſuſpition, was, That he about that time had cauſed one *Marke Nicholas*, a Venetian marchant (who had not without the ſuſpition of ſome oftentimes come vnto him with letters and ſecret meſſages whileſt he lay at BABYLON) to be taken in the night, and murdered at CONSTANTINOPLE, and caſt into the ſea, becauſe hee ſhould not diſcouer any thing that might be hurtfull vnto him. *Abraham* thus brought in diſgrace with *Solyman*, was (after the manner of the Turkiſh tyrannie) bid to a ſolemne ſupper in the court about the foureteenth of March, after which time he was neuer more ſeene. It is reported, that after ſupper *Solyman* fell into a great rage with him, charging him bitterly, That he had miſgouerned the ſtate, inuerted his treaſures to his owne priuat, and as a traitor, had ſecret intelligence with the Chriſtian princes his enemies: for proofe whereof, *Solyman* with ſterne countenance ſhewed him his owne letters, which had by chance been intercepted, oftentimes asking him in furious manner, If he knew not that hand, if he knew not that ſeale. All which the Baſſa lying proſtrate at his feet, humbly confeſſed, and with many teares craued of him pardon. But his hard heart was not by any prayers to be mooued: for the ſame night as he was ſlumbring vpon a pallet in the court, ouercome with heauineſſe, an eunuch cut his throat with a crooked knife, which *Solyman* for that purpoſe had deliuered vnto him with his owne hand. He was murdered ſleeping, becauſe *Solyman* had in former time of his fauour ſolemnely ſworne vnto him, That he would neuer kill him whileſt he liued. By which oath the great Mahometane prieſt ſaid, he was not ſo bound, but that he might kill him ſleeping, for as much as men by ſleepe depriued of ſence, are for that time not to be accounted as liuing but as dead, mans life conſiſting altogether (as he ſaid) in liuely actions. It is reported, that after *Solyman* had looked vpon the dead bodie, and bitterly curſed the ſame, he cauſed a great weight to be tied vnto it, and ſo caſt into the ſea. His treaſure and goods, which were almoſt infinit, were the next day all ceiſed vpon for the emperour, and a ſmall portion thereof appointed for his poore wife to liue vpon. His death was no ſooner known, but that the vulgar people deuiſed of him infamous ſongs and ſlaunderous reports, as of a traitour moſt juſtly condemned: and in further deſpight, with ſtones and mire defaced the trophies of the Hungarian victorie, which hee had in moſt ſtately manner erected before his ſumptuous houſe in CONSTANTINOPLE. This was the wofull end of *Abraham* the great Baſſa, who whileſt he ſtood in fauour with his prince, was of all others accounted moſt fortunat, wanting nothing but the name of the great Sultan: but after falling into diſgrace, became the ſcorne of fortune, and the lamentable ſpectacle of mans fragilitie. He was murthered the 15 day of March in the yeare 1536.

Abraham Baſſa murthered in the court by the commaundement of Solyman.

How the kingdome of TVNES was by *Barbaruſſa* (the Turkes great admirall) taken from *Muleaſſes*, we haue alreadie told: but how the ſame was againe taken from him by *Charles* the emperour a little before the returne of *Solyman* out of PERSIA, remaineth now to be declared. It was commonly reported, and not without juſt cauſe feared, that *Barbaruſſa*, poſſeſſed of the kingdome of TVNES, and ſupported by the power of *Solyman*, would the next Summer, not content himſelfe with the ſpoile of the coaſts of SPAINE, SARDINIA, and ITALIE, as he had in former time, but with all his forces inuade SICILIA, the garnerie and ſtorehouſe of ITALIE: and from thence attempt the conqueſt of the kingdome of NAPLES, which it was thought he in his immoderat deſires had longed much after. To repreſſe this his barbarous inſolencie, and to worke the ſafetie of the frontiers of the Chriſtian kingdomes (much ſubject to the rapines of the Turkiſh pyrats) *Charles* the emperour reſolued in perſon himſelfe with a puiſſant armie to paſſe ouer into AFFRICKE, whileſt *Solyman* was yet buſied in the Perſian wars, and by force of armes to diſpoſſeſſe the pyrat of his new gotten kingdome in TVNES. For the accompliſhment whereof, he cauſed ſouldiours to be leuied in all parts of SPAINE, and came downe to BARCELONA with eight thouſand footmen and ſeuen hundred horſemen, farre ſooner than was by any man expected: amongſt whom were many of the nobilitie of SPAINE, with their followers moſt gallantly appointed: but eſpecially *Ferdinand* of TOLEDO, duke of ALBA, whoſe forwardneſſe in that honorable action, with the deſire he had to reuenge the death of his father *Garzias*, ſlaine before by the Moores at GIRAPOLIS, gaue great hope euen thē vnto his countrymen, That he would

The cauſes which moued Charles the emperour to inuade Tunes.

The emperours great preparations for the inuaſion of Tunes.

A would in time prooue a worthie chiefetaine, as indeed he afterward did.

In the meane time *Andrew Auria* the great Admirall, vnto whom onely for his approoued fidelitie and long experience the emperour had fully communicated what he had with himselfe before purposed, had with wonderfull diligence and celeritie rigged vp a great fleet of ships and gallies, so furnished with all manner of warlike prouision, as might well haue suffised a great armie: whereunto he joyned also his owne fleet of seuenteene gallies and three galeasses, wherein he had embarked the flower of GENVA and LIGVRIA, who with exceeding cheerfulnesse had voluntarily offered themselues to follow him their old Generall in that sacred expedition. With this great preparation *Auria* came to the emperour at BARCELONA: Thether came also *Lewes* the king of Portingals brother (whose sister *Isabell*, *Charles* the emperour had married) with
B fiue and twentie Caruels, ships which the Portingals vsed in their Indian voyages, amongst whom was also one huge Galeon; all ships well appointed and fit for seruice, wherein were embarked two thousand Portingals, beside marriners: There also arriued sixtie saile of tall ships sent out of FLANDERS and the low countries, wherein were a great number of condemned persons, whose liues was spared that they might serue in the gallies: Vnto this warre *Paulus* the third of that name, then bishop of ROME, sent ten gallies vnder the conduct of *Virginius Visinus*: the Great Master of MALTA sent thither his fleet also. At the same time that all this preparation was in making in other places, that worthie chiefetaine *Alphonsus Daualus Vastius*, whom the emperour had appointed Generall of all his forces at land, had by the emperours commaundement taken vp fiue thousand new souldiors in ITALIE, which were led by *Hieronymus Tutauilla*, countie of SARNE, *Federicke*, *Caracte*, and *Augustina Spinula*, all famous captaines. The old Spanish garrisons which lay in LOMBARDIE, the emperour commaunded to be straightly looked vnto, that none of them should leaue their places to goe in this new expedition, but to remaine there still vnder their Generall *Antonius Leua*: which worthie captaine although he would faine haue had him with him, as of all his greatest commaunders the best; yet he thought it good to spare him, both for that he was much troubled with the gout, and also for that it was necessarie, as he thought, to leaue such a valiant captaine with his garrisons in that countrey, so neere vnto the French and Swissers, whom he durst not so well trust as to disfurnish that countrey either of so great a commaunder, or of the wonted garrisons. At the same time *Maximilian Eberstein*, an old commaunder, came to *Vastius* with eight thousand Germans,
D ouer the Tridentine Alpes to MILLAINE, and so to GENVA; amongst whom were diuers noble gentlemen, who then as voluntarie men serued of their owne charges. With these Germanes and the fiue thousand Italians, *Vastius* embarked himselfe at the port called PORTVS VENERIS, in LIGVRIA: hauing before perswaded them with patience to endure the tediousnesse of the sea, and to comfort themselues with the hope of the victorie in AFFRICKE; where they should fight in the quarrell of God, and for the emperour, who did neuer forget his religious and valiant souldiors. So sailing alongst the coast of ITALIE, he came to NAPLES, where the viceroy and diuers other of the nobilitie had of their owne charges, euery man according to his deuotion or abilitie, built or furnished some one gallie, some moe, for that seruice. It was a wonder to see with what cheerefulnesse the gallants and lustie youths of NAPLES, and all that part of
E ITALIE, came and offered themselues vnto *Vastius*, so that it seemed there was none left behind in NAPLES: for he had with singular courtesie so woon the hearts of the old soldiors and lustie youths of that kingdome, that both the one and the other thought it a most honourable thing to adorne, the one their before deserued pensions, and the other their first entrance into martiall affaires, with the participation of so notable a victorie. But whilest euery man was thus busied in setting forward, certaine mutinous souldiours (wearie of the sea, and fearing the dangers of so long a voyage) began to cast many perils, to find fault with their small wages, and to discourage the multitude, perswading them with seditious speeches to forsake their colours, & to run away: for redresse whereof, *Vastius* caused the authors of that mutinie to be taken and thrust into sacks, and in the sight of the whole fleet to be cast into the sea. So *Vastius* departing with his fleet from
F NAPLES, came in few dayes to PALERMO in SICILIE. The emperor also loosing from BARCELONA, came to the port of MAGO in the Island of MINORICA, and from thence to CARALIS in SARDINIA, whether *Alphonsus Vastius* was a little before come with all his fleet out of SICILIE. Nor long after the emperour, now that all his forces were come together, passed ouer from SARDINIA into AFFRICKE, and with a faire Westerly wind put into the port of

Andrew Auria the emperours Admirall.

Alphonsus Daualus Vastius Generall of the land forces.

The emperour passeth ouer into Affricke.

of VTICA, which is of the ſeafaring men called FARINA. In the entring whereof the admirall gallie, wherein the emperour himſelfe was, by great miſchance ſtrake vpon a ſand, and there ſtucke faſt: which ſo much more troubled the emperour, for that his father *Philip* had by like miſhap beene like to haue beene caſt away vpon the coaſt of ENGLAND, as he was ſayling out of the low countries into SPAINE: howbeit by the good direction of *Auria* ſhe was quickly got off the ſand againe, and entred with the reſt, to the great rejoycing of the whole fleet. So preſently departing againe from VTICA, and ſayling alongſt the coaſt, he doubled the promontorie of CARTHAGE, yet famous for the ruines of that proud citie, and came to anker before a caſtle, which of a well beneath it, is called by the name of AQVARIA, or the Water caſtle. The Moores, who from the hils of VTICA and their watch towers had taken view of the Chriſtian fleet and of the courſe it held, aduertiſed *Barbaruſſa*, That the Chriſtians were comming againſt him with an innumerable fleet: for there was of one ſort and other almoſt ſeuen hundred ſaile, whereof 82 were great gallies, which gallantly garniſhed with flags and ſtreamers, made a ſhew of moe than indeed they were, and wonderfully terrified the enemie. But that troubled *Barbaruſſa* moſt, that he was by meſſenger vpon meſſenger certainely enformed, That the moſt mightie Chriſtian emperour *Charles* was in perſon himſelfe in the fleet, with ſuch a world of people that it ſhould ſeeme he had left none in SPAINE and ITALIE that were able to beare armes. Which newes was brought by certaine Mahometane ſlaues, who getting looſe in the gallies, had in the night ſwum aſhore, and reported the certainetie of the emperours comming: for the proud Turke, a great contemner of the Chriſtian forces, neuer thought that the emperor would haue aduentured his perſon vnto the dangers of the ſea, and chaunces of warre, eſpecially in an vnknowne barren and ſcorching countrey, but would rather haue attempted to doe ſomething by his lieutenants; or els by *Auria* his admirall ſeeke to ſurpriſe ſome baſe places alongſt the ſea coaſt, but not to come directly for the regall citie of TVNES: in which opinion he was chiefly confirmed by *Aloyſius Præſenda*, a gentleman of GENVA, who tooken at ſea, was kept as priſoner at large in TVNES: of whom *Barbaruſſa* had learned many things concerning the ſtate of ITALIE, the manner of the Chriſtians, and ſtrength of the emperour; craftily feeding him with the hope of libertie, if he would truly declare vnto him ſuch things as he deſired to know. Wherefore now in his rage he cauſed him to be brought before him, charging him bitterly, that he had craftily and perfidiouſly told him lies for truth, concerning the emperour, and therefore commaunded him to be forthwith executed. When he had thus with the vnworthie death of a guiltleſſe Chriſtian, ſomewhat mitigated the greefe of his light beleefe, hee forthwith began to caſt with himſelfe how he might beſt withſtand his puiſſant enemie. And firſt of all calling to counſell his ſea captaines, in whom for their approued valour he repoſed moſt confidence, hee ſhewed vnto them, that they as valiant men, acquainted with the dangers attending vpon honorable actions, were not to doubt of the victorie, for ſo much as he ſaw it as good as alreadie gained; for the ſame reaſons for which he had before perſuaded himſelfe, that the emperour (if he had not beene halfe mad) would not haue vndertaken ſo deſperat and doubtfull a warre.

Barbaruſſa aduertiſed the comming of the emperour is much diſcouraged.

In his rage he executeth Aloyſius Præſenda.

Barbaruſſa encourageth his ſouldiors.

For who is there (ſaid he) *that knoweth this countrey (not to ſpeake of our owne forces) which would not reaſonably thinke our enemies ſhould in ſhort time know the price of their ambitious deſire and raſh attempt? which in a moſt vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, the dayes being now at the longeſt, and the Sunne in his greateſt ſtrength, are come to fight in a countrey ſcorched with heat, and altogether without water; where the very ſand which riſeth with euery blaſt of wind, flying into their eyes and faces, ſhall no leſſe trouble them than their enemies? Shall we thinke that they, which as I heare for moſt part are freſh water ſouldiours, and ſurcharged with heauie armour, can eaſily march forward, or retire, or yet keepe their ground, as the diuers occaſions of battell ſhall require: when as the deepe and hollow burning ſand vp to the middle leg, will not ſuffer them to keepe any order of array? How ſhall they be able by any meanes to abide the force of our Turkiſh footmen, or the often charging of the nimble Numidian horſemen? And if they be ſo many of them as they ſay there is, where can they get victuall to feed ſuch a multitude, if we doe but protract the warre? Aſſuredly (moſt valiant and courageous cheefetaines) we ſhall erect a moſt rare and incomparable trophie in this countrie of* AFFRICKE: *when as* Charles *the rich and great emperour of the Chriſtians ſhall either here be ſlaine in battell, or els fall into our hands as a moſt rich prey. For mine owne part, I will notably prouide, that you ſhall want neither weapons, victuall, nor aid, during the time of this warre: I will open the*

A *the old armories, broach my ſtore, and bring foorth my treaſures. The Numidian princes now our friends, I will without delay entertaine with great pay, and ſuch preſents as ſhall be to them moſt welcome. As for the citiſens of* TVNES, *you know how eaſily they are to be kept in obedience, and brought on againſt the enemie for a ſmall pay, and hope of reward. But this one thing is it that I moſt earneſtly require of your approoued valor, That you moſt valiantly defend the ſtrong caſtle of* GVLETTA, *as the moſt aſſured defence, not of this citie onely, but of the whole kingdome; and eſpecially of our nauie which there lieth in ſafe harbour: for that piece will our enemies with all their forces firſt aſſaile. Wherefore, as worthie men neuer to be vanquiſhed, keepe that for* Solyman *and me: ſo that it being vainly attempted by our enemies, and reſolutely defended by you, the Chriſtian emperour there failing of his purpoſe, and ſhamefully foiled, ſhall now begin to deſpaire, not of the taking of the citie of*
B TVNES, *but of his owne returne and ſafetie.*

When he had thus ſaid, the ſea captaines anſwered with one conſent, That they would moſt willingly and cheerefully performe whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe him to commaund: and in confirmation thereof, promiſed him not to doe any thing which beſeemed not moſt valiant and reſolute men. Amongſt theſe ſea captaines, *Sinan* of SMIRNA, a Iew, who had loſt his right eie, was both for his age and long experience in militarie affaires, of greateſt account: next vnto him was *Haidinus* of CILICIA, for his furiouſneſſe in fight ſurnamed of the Italians *Cacciadiabolo*, and *Salec* of IONIA; which two had before in a great battell at ſea, ſlaine *Rodericus Portendus* great Admirall of SPAINE, and taken his ſonne *Iohn* priſoner, and ſeuen great gallies: after
C theſe was *Tabacches* of LAODICIA, and *Giaffer* a valiant captaine of the Ianizaries: all which were notable pirats and then men of great fame. The ſtrong caſtle of GVLETTA ſtandeth in the bottome of the bay of CARTHAGE, vpon a point of the land, where the ſea by a narrow ſtrait runneth on the Eaſt ſide of the caſtle into the lake of TVNES, which being in a manner round, is about twelue Italian miles ouer. But now that caſtle is parted from the maine on the Weſt ſide alſo, by the ſea that way let in; which chargeable worke was by *Barbaruſſa* begun, but giuen ouer againe by him; perſuaded by ſome, That the ſea comming in that way, would in ſhort time fill vp the lake with ſand: but was afterwards for all that, perfected by others. So that now it ſtandeth in manner of an iſland, in the mouth of the lake, deuided from the firme land by two narrow ſtraight paſſages, the one on the Eaſt, and the other on the Weſt, yet ſo, that it com-
D maundeth both. This caſtle *Barbaruſſa* had before ſtrongly fortified both with men and munition, as the key of that kingdome: but now vpon the comming of the emperour, he put into it his moſt expert and reſolute captaines before named: well foreſeeing that in the defence therof, reſted the ſafetie of his nauie which then lay within the lake, as in a moſt ſure harbour; and alſo the greateſt hope he had for the holding of the citie of TVNES, whereon depended the whole ſtate of that kingdome. The emperour lying at anchor with all his fleet neere vnto the ſhoare, gaue generell commaundement, that his ſoldiours ſhould with as much ſpeed as was poſsible be landed with the long boats: which was ſo orderly done, that the Moores terrified with the hideous crie of the ſouldiours, making toward land, and not able to abide the ſhowres of ſmall ſhot, were eaſily beaten from the ſhoare, whither they were come downe in great multitudes,
E and ſo ſuffered the Chriſtian ſouldiours to land quietly. The firſt that landed were the Spaniſh companies, after them the Italians, and laſt of all the Germans, whom *Vaſtius* Generall of the armie cauſed preſently to encampe themſelues; ſtraightly commaunding, that no man ſhould ſtraggle from the campe farther into the land, vntill the horſemen and great artillerie were all landed. The emperour himſelfe bearing victorie in the cheerfulneſſe of his countenance, landed alſo. In the meane time certaine companies were ſent out by the Generall, to view the places nigh hand, and to ſeeke out the ceſterns and fountaines of freſh waters thereabout, which ſometime ſerued the famous citie of CARTHAGE; with whom the Moores, but eſpecially the Numidian horſemen, a ſwift, ſubtill, and painfull kind of ſouldiours, oftentimes and in many places ſuddenly skirmiſhed: and though they were but naked men, yet taking all the aduantages they
F could of the places to them well knowne, with their arrowes and darts furiouſly aſſailed them vnawares, and ouerloaded with armour; ſparing no mans life that fell into their hands. Amongſt whom was *Hieronimus Spinula* a Ligurian captaine, who ouerthrowne by a Numidian horſeman, had his head cut off, and carried away by the ſame nimble horſeman, before he could be reſcued. The like miſhap befell *Federicus Carectus* a noble gentleman, who going with *Vaſtius*,

Barbaruſſa his chiefe captaines.

The ſcituation of Guletta.

The Chriſtian army landeth at Guletta.

to

to view the places thereabouts, was fast by his side suddenly slaine with a small shot. All which G
nimblenesse and fiercenesse of the enemie, could not for all that stay the emperour: but that hee
would needs with a small troupe of horsemen, in person himselfe take view of the places there-
abouts, euen in the sight of the Numidian horsemen, which were in euerie place to be seene
pricking vp and downe the countrie in troupes; although he was many times requested by his
graue counsellors, to leaue that seruice for his inferiour captaines, and not to expose himselfe to
so great danger both of his person and of the common safetie. *Vastius* had now brought on
the armie neere vnto the castle of GVLETTA, still casting vp a rolling trench as he came neerer
thereunto, thereby to keepe his men out of the danger of the enemies shot: which worke was
not done only by the pioners and gally slaues, but by souldiors of all sorts; yea many of the cap-
taines themselues laid their hands to the spade and mattocke: for why, the emperour was there H
a continuall beholder, and cheerfull commender of euerie mans labour and forwardnesse, and
the busie enemie was euer readie to take the aduantage, if any thing were by negligence omitted,
oftentimes sallying out euen vnto the verie trenches of the Christians, there giuing vnto them
proud words of defiance. When the armie was to be martialed, and euerie commaunder to be
appointed to the place of his charge in this siege of GVLETTA: the countie of SARNE, a man fa-
mous both for the honour of his house, and for the good seruice he had lately done against the
Turkes at CORONA, requested of *Vastius* the Generall, to haue the charge of the mount nee-
rest vnto the castle; which as it was a place of most danger, so was it also of greatest honour.
Whereat the old Spaniards (after the manner of their proud nature) much repined. Vpon the
top of this mount, the countie set vp his rich tent in the eye of the enemie, and there lay with the I
Italian companies, ouer whom he commaunded. He had not lien there long, but *Salec* one of
the Turks famous pirats, with certaine companies of the garrison souldiors, sallied out of the ca-
stle directly vpon the mount whereon the countie lay; and by making shew as if hee would des-
perately haue assailed the same, raised a great alarum amongst the Italians: yet so, as after certaine
vollies of shot discharged on both sides, he began to retire as if he had been thereto constrained.
Salec sallieth out vpon the countie and the Italians.
Which thing the countie perceiuing, being a man of greater courage than direction, in great
rage with bitter words reproued certaine of the captaines, whom he perceiued not so forward in
pursuit of the enemie as he would haue had them: and in his furie ran downe from the mount,
the rest for shame following him, and ouertaking the enemies slew diuers of them. The craftie
pirat now seeing the countie drawne out of his strength into the plaine ground, and perceiuing K
himselfe strong enough to encounter him, suddenly turning himselfe about, said vnto his souldi-
ors: *The aduantage you wished to haue of your enemies is now offered, they are now in your danger;
wherefore now shew your selues valiant men, and suffer not one of these proud fresh water souldiors
to escape aliue or vnwounded.* Which he had no sooner said, but they presently made a stand,
and so hardly charged them whom they but euen now seemed to flie, that the Italians not able
longer to endure the fight, betooke themselues to flight. The countie himselfe with *Belinge-
rius* his kinsman, fighting valiantly in the formost of his companies, was slaine: many others
endured the same fortune: others flying backe againe to the mount, were there slaine by the
Turkes, who resolutely entred into the trenches with them so farre, that they carried away with
them the plate and riches of the counties tent. Neither was there any of the Spaniards which L
lay neerest vnto them, and might easily haue rescued them, that would once stir out of their pla-
ces to helpe them: for it is reported, that they were nothing sorie for the ouerthrow of the Ita-
lians, for as much as the countie had so arrogantly craued of the Generall the most honoura-
ble place, which he so euill held. His head and right hand was cut off, and sent by *Salec* to *Barba-
russa*. This ouerthrow much grieued the Italians whom *Vastius* comforted with cheerfull spee-
ches, imputing all that losse, neither to the valour of the enemie, or cowardise of the Italians; but
only to the rashnesse of the countie, whom he said worthily to haue paid the price of his incon-
siderate forwardnesse. But the Spaniards he sharply reproued as mercilesse men, which vpon so
light an occasion had giuen cause for the Italians to haue them in distrust. The Turkes in the
meane time by the often shooting off of their great ordinance, shewed the joy they conceiued M
of this victorie.
The countie slaine, and his head and right hand sent to Barbarossa.
The Spaniards reioicing at the ouerthrow of the Italians, are themselues foiled by Tabacches.
It oftentimes so falleth out, that whilest men laugh at their neighbours harmes, their owne is
not farre off; and so it chanced with the Spaniards: for *Tabacches* another of the piraticall cap-
taines, shortly after sallying suddenly out of the castle in the dawning of the day, was got vp to
the

A the top of the trenches wherein the Spaniards lay, before they were aware of his comming, and there slew some as they were a sleepe, some idlie sitting fearing no harme, others as they were arming themselues; and with their sudden crie, caused the rest which lay neere vnto that place shamefully for feare to flie out of their trenches: where the Turks taking such trash as they there found, and hauing slaine and wounded many, amongst whom was one *Mendosa* a captaine, and carrying away with them the ensigne of *Sarmentus* which stood vpon the top of the trench, returned with victorie. The alarum raised in the armie was such, as that the emperour himselfe came running to the place in his armour, seuerely reprouing them of cowardise which had forsaken the place, and grieuously offended with them which had kept such negligent watch, against such an enemie, as was not for wilinesse agilitie and courage, to be slightly regarded of the best
B and most expert souldiours. This disgrace of the Spaniards well comforted the Italians, to see the old souldiours no lesse ouertaken in their negligence, than they had been in their vnaduised forwardnesse.

This tumult appeased, *Vastius* called into his tent the Colonels and chiefe captaines of the Spaniards, and spake vnto them in this manner:

Vastius his speech to the Spanish captaines.

Friends (said he) *elsewhere alwaies valiant, who togither with me, haue by your inuincible prowesse gained vnto our emperour many most glorius victories. You seeme vnto me at this time to haue need to be called vpon, and to be put in remembrance of your wonted and approued valour: for as farre as I*
C *can see, the remembrance of your auntient fame, is in you growne altogither cold; your hands are become faint for feare; and that which I am sorie and ashamed to say, you are growne I know not how, altogither out of order and heartlesse, shewing no courage for the subduing of these naked pirats. Yesterday (as many say) you smiled at the vnskilfull and vnfortunate forwardnesse of your friends, which they bought deere; but to day they worthely laugh at your degenerat carelesse negligence: so that it conterneth you in honour, to blot out this so foule and publike a disgrace, by some notable and worthie exploit. Wherefore I exhort you, and I straightly charge and commaund you, that with all speed you prepare both your minds and weapons for the atchieuement of some new honour: so that if the proud enemie shall againe presume to come foorth and assaile your trenches, you shall forthwith breake out vpon him, and beat him backe againe euen to the gates of* Gvletta. *Perhaps good fortune will so attend your valiant and resolute pursuit, that you may togither with their disordred men,*
D *enter some of their rampiers, wherein we see their whole hope consisteth: which if it shall otherwise fall out than is to be hoped for, yet shall you by this your notable deuoire wonderfully content the emperour your soueraigne, and me your Generall, and withall couer your late dishonour.*

Whereunto they all answered, That they would so beare themselues against the enemie, as that he should not desire greater courage or contempt of danger in men desirous of honour and commendation.

The Turks sally againe out of Guletta.

It was not long, but that the Turks encouraged with their former successe, after their wonted manner sallied out againe, conducted by *Giaffer* captaine of the Ianizaries, a man of exceeding courage and strength of bodie: who with the Ianizaries and certaine companies of Moorish
E archers, about the noone time of the day issuing out of the castle, assailed the vttermost trenches, hoping in that broiling heat to find the Christians in their stations negligent and vnprepared. Wherein he was nothing deceiued, for the Spaniards that burning hoat time of the day, kept such negligent watch, that *Giaffer* with his Ianizaries and archers, was got vp to the top of the rampiers, and there discharged their shot and arrowes vpon the Christians in their trenches, before they were well aware of his comming. But vpon the striking vp of the drum, certaine companies of harquebusiers brake out vpon them in two places at one instant, as *Vastius* had before commaunded, whom he seconded with a companie of halbardiers, keeping in readinesse his squadrons to rescue his harquebusiers, if they should be enforced by the enemie to retire: and in that order expected the euent of the skirmish, which was most valiantly maintained on both
F sides. For the Ianizaries, although they were enforced to giue ground, yet (as men not vsed to flie, and standing vpon the honour of their order) withstood the Christians with no lesse resolution than they were by them charged; vntill that *Giaffer* their leader desperatly fighting amongst the formost of the Ianizaries, was at once shot in with two bullets, and slaine: whose dead bodie the Ianizaries labouring to carie away, endured a most cruell fight, many being on both

Giaffer capitaine of the Ianizaries slaine.

both ſides ſlaine vpon his dead carkaſſe: yet at length they were enforced to flie, and ſo fiercely followed by the Spaniards, that they of GVLETTA, when they had receiued in the formoſt, ſhut out almoſt a fourth part of their owne men, for feare the Chriſtians ſhould together with them haue entred the caſtle. *Didacus Abila*, one of the Spaniſh enſigne bearers, aduanced his enſigne vnto the top of one of the enemies rampiers, and was there ſlaine, but his enſigne ſaued by one of the ſouldiors of the ſame band. The Chriſtians receiued more loſſe in their retreat than they had in all the fight, for the Turkes from their rampiers then diſcharged their ſhot as faſt as they could vpon them, which they could not before doe, without the like danger to their owne men mingled amongſt them. This dayes worke well abated the pride of the Turkes, and gaue good hope to the Chriſtians, that the caſtle would without any great loſſe be gained: for being neere vnto it, they perceiued it not to be ſo ſtrong as they had ſuppoſed.

The emperour hauing ſpent a few dayes in conſultation about his farther proceeding, and preparing of things for the ſiege, reſolued without further delay with all his forces to aſſault the caſtle, perſuaded thereunto by many reaſons: firſt by the cheerefulneſſe of his owne ſouldiours, and the courage of his enemies ſore daunted in the laſt skirmiſh, which he was loth they ſhould againe recouer by the comming of new ſupplies; beſides that, he was informed, that diuers companies of the Numidians were comming to TVNES, entertained by *Barbaruſſa*, whoſe ſtrength was like dayly to encreaſe: but that which mooued him moſt to haſten the matter, was, for that his men began to grow ſickly in his campe, being all the day time ſcorched as it were with the feruent heat of the Sunne, and well neere ſtarued in the night with cold and exceeding dewes wherewith they were commonly wet to the skin; neither was there either good water or freſh victuall by any meanes to be had in that ſandie and barren ſoile for the releeſe of the ſicke, other than that was brought out of the fleet: for all the water thereabout was moſt vnpleaſant and exceeding brackiſh, ſo that both ſicke and whole were glad when they could get a crab to quench the extremitie of their thirſt: although the emperour did what he might to remedie theſe extremities, and much releeſe was in good time ſent both from SICILIA and NAPLES: the biſket alſo in the ſhips, eſpecially in the Spaniſh gallies, was growne hoarie and vnwholeſome. Wherfore he began to place his batterie about the fifteenth of Iuly, which was defended all alongſt with Gabions, and caske filled with ſand, for that the countrey ſoile in that place yeelded neither earth nor turfe to doe it. *Auria* appointed to batter the caſtle by ſea, deuided his gallies into three ſquadrons, which orderly ſucceeding one another, ſhould by turns beat the ſame: his great ſhips rid at anker, and out of their forecaſtles thundered with their great ordinance. And *Vaſſius* at land had deuided the armie into three battels, Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, euery nation by themſelues, in ſuch ſort, as that they might indifferently be partakers both of the danger of the aſſault, and of the glorie of the victorie. There was neuer ſtrong place in the memorie of man, ſince guns, that fatall engine were firſt inuented for the deſtruction of mankind, aſſailed with greater force, greater preparation, or greater induſtrie. The great ordinance in manner of a great earthquake ſo terribly roared and thundered, that the earth ſeemed not onely to tremble and quake vnder mens feet, but euen by and by to rent in ſunder and ſwallow them vp: and the ſea which was euen now quiet and calme, began to riſe aloft, and to rage and ſome as if it had been in a great ſtorme: at which time the aire became thicke, and the skie darkened with the ſmoke of the great artillerie: from the breake of the day vntill noone the roaring cannon and culuering neuer ceaſed: ſo that the Vamures were beaten downe, the caſtle made ſaultable, and the wals ſo ſhaken, that in many places the Turkes cannoniers, together with their cannons, lay buried in the ruines thereof. Which thing perceiued, they which were before appointed to giue the firſt aſſault, vpon ſignall giuen by the emperour, preſently vpon the ceaſing of the great artillerie aſſailed the breach, and others with their ſcaling ladders ſcaled the wals: which was done with ſuch courage and reſolution, that the Turkes when they had done what they poſsibly could for the defence of the place, by caſting downe darts, wild fire, and ſuch like things vpon the Chriſtians as they were climing vp: at length as men deſpairing longer to hold the place, and ouercome with a greater fortune, turned their backes and fled. *Sinan* and the reſt of the captaines by a woodden bridge, fled out at the farther ſide of the caſtle into the maine, and ſo alongſt the left ſide of the lake by land to TVNES, not looking behind them for haſt: which way moſt part of his men followed him alſo. The reſt were either ſlaine or driuen into the lake, where ſeeking to ſaue their liues by ſwimming, they were either ſlaine in comming to land by the Spaniſh horſe-

Guletta furiouſly battered.

Guletta aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.

men,

A men, or elſe in their ſwimming ſhot at pleaſure by the harquebuſiers, ſo that all the lake was as it were couered with the dead bodies of the Turkes and Moores. The emperour with ſmall loſſe thus gained the caſtle of GVLETTA, with all the warlike prouiſion therin, and with it all *Barbaruſſa* his great fleet & ſtrength at ſea, which he for the more ſafetie had before put into the lake: which as it was vnto the emperour a thing moſt pleaſing, ſo was it vnto *Barbaruſſa* and his pyrats the greateſt greefe and loſſe poſsible, hauing at once loſt all their power at ſea, which but a little before was no ſmall terrour to all the frontiers of the Chriſtian countries and Iſlands in the Mediterranean.

Guletta woon, and Barbaruſſa his fleet taken.

Barbaruſſa troubled and terrified with ſo great a loſſe, with a ſterne and ſcornefull counte-

Barbaruſſa flieth.

B nance receiued the Iew and the reſt of the captains fled from GVLETTA, reuiling them bitterly in his rage, and calling them faint hearted cowards, which had in ſo ſhort a time giuen ouer ſo ſtrong a place. Whereunto *Sinan* anſwered for them all in this ſort:

The ſhort anſwere of Sinan the Iew to Barbaruſſa.

Hairadin (ſaid he) *ſo long as we were to fight with armed men, we did as thou well knoweſt, and our enemies cannot denie, what well beſeemed vs and thy magnificent fortune. But when we were to withſtand the deuill and his infernall furies, which came againſt vs with flames of fire, and earthquakes, things of extreame terrour and danger: it ought not to ſeeme ſtrange vnto thee, if we ſought to eſcape the vncouth furie of the immortall enemies of mankind, to doe thee ſeruice in thy better fortune, in defence of this thy citie and kingdome. Neither doe we account it any diſgrace to haue eſcaped that danger, as men that mind againe to fight: out of which thou, a moſt antient and expert*

C *Commaunder (if I may frankely ſpeake vnto thee the truth) if thou haddeſt beene there preſent, wouldeſt haue accounted it no diſhonour, but very good diſcretion to haue eſcaped in ſafetie.*

Barbaruſſa repreſsing his furie, began in a more temperat manner to requeſt them euery one particularly, as valiant and courageous men to ſtand faſt vnto him in that warre againſt their enemies the Chriſtians: telling them, that he well hoped, that after the great ſupplie of the Mooriſh footmen and Numidian horſemen were once come, which were now at hand, the enemie ſhould not long rejoice of the taking of GVLETTA. After that, he forthwith conuerted all his ſtudie and endeuour, to prepare ſuch things as were needfull for the warre, bringing forth his treaſures, and bountifully beſtowing the ſame amongſt the Moores and Numidians, thereby to

D confirme the friendſhip of ſuch as well affected him, and with this new bountie to win the hearts of ſuch as yet ſtood doubtfull.

Muleaſſes the exiled king, with a ſmall retinue of his friends and follow-

Muleaſſes commeth to the emperour.

ers came from the fartheſt part of NVMIDIA into the emperours campe: the emperour ſitting in a royall ſeat in the middeſt of his pauillion, whereinto *Muleaſſes* was admitted, with a myter vpon his head, in a garment of greene and blew changeable ſilke: he was of a tall & manly ſtature, of colour tawnie, but ſo ſquint-eyed that he ſeemed ſpitefully to looke vpon them whom he beheld: who after he had kiſſed the emperours right hand, and had ſet himſelfe downe, with his legs gathered cloſe vnder him, vpon a carpet ſpread vpon the bare ground, after the manner of his countrey, he by an interpreter ſpake vnto the emperour as followeth:

E

The Oration of Muleaſſes to Charles the emperour.

Thou art come in armes into this countrey, and art now almoſt conquerour of the ſame (thrice mightie Emperour) prouoked thereunto not by any deſert of mine, for that our different religion ſo required: yet as I verely thinke, not without the appointment of the moſt high God, whom both thou and I doe with like deuotion worſhip, to take reuenge of the moſt perfidious and cruell tyrant and pyrat, the mortall enemie of mankind: whom I foreſee as good as already vanquiſhed, now that GVLETTA *is taken, and his nauie ſurpriſed. So that I hope he ſhall in ſhort time by thy reuenging hand, at once receiue the iuſt guerdon of all his former villanies: which ſhall be ſo much the more to my comfort, for that I hope the fruit of thy rare felicitie and glorious victorie will redound in great part to me, being reſtored by thee into my fathers kingdome: which I as a poore exiled prince moſt humbly requeſt of*

F *thy iuſtice and bountie. For it ſhall be vnto thee a thing moſt honourable and profitable, if thou ſhalt receiue into thy protection me, a king royally deſcended, of a moſt auntient progenie, ſtrengthened with the great alliance of the Numidians and Moores. Neither do I refuſe either to pay thee tribute therefore, or to acknowledge my ſelfe vaſſale vnto thee the Chriſtian emperour: Of which my fidelitie, there can be no greater aſſuance than the thankefull remembrance of ſo great a benefit receiued,*

which shall for euer remaine vnforgotten of me and my posteritie, euen for that especially, that I de- G
test and abhorre the name of an vnthankefull man, and doe well by experience find, how much my
state may be confirmed, and the minds of my people to me assured, by thy garrisons so neare at hand
in SICILIA *and* SARDINIA.

The emperours answere to Muleasses.

Whereunto the emperour answered, That hee was come ouer into AFFRICKE to bee re-
uenged of the injuries which *Barbarussa* had many times done vpon the frontiers of his domi-
nions, and to root out the pyrats, of all others most mischieuous: which his good purpose had
by the goodnesse of Christ his Sauiour taken so good effect, that he doubted not in short time by
the taking of TVNES to obtaine a perfect victorie; which once gained, hee would then kindly
graunt him all things which should stand with the conuenience of his affaires, and the vse of his H
victorie: so that he would not falsifie his faith, which he might justly suspect, if he reposed not a
speciall trust, that the remembrance of such a benefit would for euer remaine in his heroicall
mind; and was further assured, that the same power which should restore to him his kingdome of
courtesie, could also take it from him againe, if his vnthankfulnesse should so deserue.

The behauior of Muleasses.

Muleasses in presence of the emperour vsed such a grauitie and grace in his speech and ge-
sture, as well declared, that he had nothing forgotten his former estate: but towards the Gene-
rall and the other great captaines hee vsed all manner of courtesie, so that hee rid vp and downe
with them gallantly mounted, managing his horse, and charging and discharging his launce with
such agilitie and skill, as shewed him to be a very good horseman, and of great actiuitie. At other
vacant times he would subtilly reason with the learned men, after the manner of *Auerrois*, of the I
nature of things, of the motion of heauen, and power of the stars. By the emperors commaun-
dement he had a tent appointed for him, and honourable allowance for his diet. *Vastius* and the
rest of the cheefe commaunders of the armie vsed him with all honor; and at such time as he was
desirous to see the campe, courteously brought him into all places of it, that he might himselfe
see what mounts they had in short time cast, what abundance there was of great artillerie, what
strong watch and ward was kept, what a number there was of braue and warlike souldiours of
diuers nations, differing much one from another in language, countenance, and manner of furni-
ture: and further demaunded, Whether that puissant armie which the emperour had brought
ouer to his great good, were in his judgement sufficient to subdue the enemie? Where aboue all
things *Muleasses* wondered at the number and order of the great ordinance: and next vnto that, K
at the wonderfull plentie of things to be bought and sold in the market place, and at the modest
quietnesse of the souldiors in buying the same. Not long after, the expert captaines by diligent
inquirie learned of him many things well serving for their better proceeding in that warre, especi-
ally of the disposition and strength of them of TVNES, of the situation of the citie, of the nature
of the wals, and fortification of the castle, of the wels and cesternes in the suburbes, and what

His opinion and counsell concerning the present warre.

strength the Moores and Numidians were of, which *Barbarussa* had entertained. In conclusion
he assured them (as afterwards it fell out) that *Barbarussa* would neuer trust to the strength of the
wals, which would easily be ouerthrowne with the great artillerie, but would in a great brauerie
with ensignes displaied bring all his forces into the field, of purpose to terrifie the Christians with
the sight of the multitude of his rascall souldiours, and to breake their array with his Numidian L
horsemen; who with hideous and terrible cries, after the manner of that nation, would not faile
to assaile them: and yet for all that would neuer bring into the battell his Turkish footmen, in
whom he reposed his greatest confidence, and whom hee desired most to spare, but would as a
craftie and subtill Turke, by opposing of the Moores, whom he held in small regard, trie by
their bloud what might be done without the danger of his owne men. But as he told them, no-
thing could be more strange vnto the Moores his countreymen, or that they were more afraid
of, than in a set battell to fight with that enemie whose squadrons comming orderly on in glis-
tering armour with long pikes, might scorne & easily ouerthrow the naked archers of the Moores,
and the vnarmed Numidian horsemen: and that our men should find nothing more grieuous or
troublesome than the scorching heat of the Sunne, and the thirst rising thereof; which might M
easily be remedied by plentie of water, which by slaues and small boats might easily be brought
in caskes and bottels from the fleet alongst the lake, and so distributed amongst the armie: al-
though not farre from the wals of the citie, were certaine old conduit heads, which would yeeld
them great plentie of water, if the malicious enemie did not to his owne hurt and others poyson

the

A the ſame. Theſe things orderly reported to the emperour, confirmed the hope hee had before conceiued of the deſired victorie: So that wholly bent thereupon, and carefully forecaſting all things, hee reſolued forthwith to depart from GVLETTA, and with all his power to beſiege TVNES.

But whileſt he was preparing things neceſſarie, ordering his ſouldiours, and diſcouering the enemies purpoſes, his ſouldiors had daily diuers skirmiſhes with the Numidians; ſo that once the skirmiſh was like to haue come to a juſt battell, which began in this ſort. The Moores had planted certaine field pieces amongſt the oliue gardens, wherewith they ſhot continually into the campe: for remouing whereof, the emperour leauing the Italians, with certaine companies of the old Germane and Spaniſh ſouldiours, for the keeping of his campe and trenches, went forth
B with his horſemen and the reſt of his armie: ſending before him *Montegius*, Generall of the Spaniſh horſemen, who for moſt part were but raw ſouldiors, ſuch as were of the noblemens ordinarie ſeruants and followers, not before acquainted with the wars. Theſe light horſemen with diuers fortune skirmiſhed a while with the enemie, but when they ſaw themſelues to be hardly charged, and *Montegius* their Generall grieuouſly wounded, they turned their backs, and in the ſight of the emperour ſhamefully fled to the men at armes which were comming after them. The manner of the enemies fight was, to giue at the firſt a fierce and deſperat charge, and vpon the encounter giuen, of purpoſe to retire, auoiding thereby the ſudden force of their enemies, and by and by to turne againe vpon them with a freſh charge. The emperour ſeeing the flight of his light horſemen, came on courageouſly with his men at armes, by whoſe comming in and vali-
C ant encounter the Turkes and Moores were put to flight, and their fieldpieces wherewith they had before annoyed the campe, taken. In this skirmiſh the emperour in perſon as hee ſtood formoſt in his armed troupes, gaue the ſignall of battell himſelfe by crying with a loud voice, Saint *Iames*, Saint *Iames*, whom the Spaniards take for their patrone; and ſo charging the enemie, performed the part not onely of a courageous cheefetaine, but of a reſolute and valiant ſouldior alſo: reſcuing with his owne hand *Andreas Pontius*, a noble gentleman of GRANADO, whom vnhorſed and ſore wounded, the enemie was readie preſently to haue ſlaine, had not the emperour by his comming in ſaued him; deſeruing thereby the Oken garland, which the Romans by the name of *Ciuica Corona* gaue as an honour to ſuch as had in battell ſaued a citiſen.

The Spaniſh light horſemen put to flight.

The emperour reſtoreth the battell, and with his owne hand reſcueth Andreas Pontius of Granado.

About the ſame time it fortuned, that thirtie thouſand Moores came vpon the ſuddaine to
D haue ſurpriſed a little tower, ſtanding vpon a hill neere vnto the ruines of old CARTHAGE: wherein the emperour had placed certaine ſoldiors for the keeping thereof, becauſe it was neere vnto his campe. Before theſe Moores went a Numidian prieſt, who bellowing out certaine ſuperſtitious charmes, caſt diuers ſcrols of paper on each ſide the way, wherein he curſed and banned the Chriſtians: and now they had with fire and ſmoake brought the Chriſtians in that tower to great extremitie, when the emperour himſelfe comming to their reſcue with certaine companies of horſemen and footmen, ſlew the conjuring prieſt, with others, and put the reſt to flight. The diſcomfiture of the Spaniſh horſemen cauſed many men to thinke, that if the emperour ſhould come to a ſet battell with the enemie, he ſhould find his horſemen too weak, both for that they were but few in number, and not to bee compared with the Numidians. For which cauſe
E and diuers others, certaine of the emperours graue counſellors, but none of the beſt ſouldiours, wiſhed him not to proceed further in that dangerous warre, but with ſpeed to returne out of AFFRICKE, for as much as he had woon honour enough by the taking of GVLETTA, and the ſurpriſing of the enemies fleet: whereby he had to his immortall praiſe, and the common good of Chriſtendome, deliuered all the frontiers of the Chriſtian countries in the Mediterranean from the danger and feare of thoſe moſt cruell pyrats: beſides that, the flix began to rage in his campe, whereof many of his ſouldiors fell ſicke, and died dayly: whereas on the contrarie part, the mightie Numidian princes, ſuch as were *Muleaſſes* old enemies, were reported to come in dayly to the aid of *Barbaruſſa*. Theſe vnſeaſonable ſpeeches the emperour thought good to repreſſe betime; reaſoning againſt the authors thereof with great grauitie, as againſt men, who
F with more feare doubted of the ſucceſſe of things, and the euent of the victorie, than beſeemed them, whom for their conſtant reſolution and good opinion conceiued of their diſcretion, hee had choſen to be of his moſt ſecret counſell.

The emperour adviſed by his counſellours to returne home.

Saying, that he deſired not of them, that their needleſſe and diſhonourable labour, wherein they

The reſolute anſwere of the emperour.

 ſhould

ſhould ſhew themſelues more carefull of his perſon than of his honour: for as much as thoſe things G
which he now alleadged, ſhould haue been ſaid before the warre was taken in hand, now by good hap
halfe ended; before hee euer paſſed ouer into AFFRICKE. *For he might (as he ſaid) haue reſted*
quietly in SPAINE, *and haue eaſily neglected and reiected the iniuries done vpon the ſea coaſts, and*
the complaints of his ſubiects; but he was (as they well knew) for moſt vrgent cauſes come thither:
whereas hee was reſolued to ſatiſfie the expectation of the world with a notable victorie, or if God
ſhould otherwiſe appoint, there to end his daies with honour. Wherefore he willed them to ceaſe far-
ther to flatter him that was no way diſmaid, or to poſſeſſe the minds of his valiant ſouldiours with a
vaine forboding feare; and with reſolute minds, togither with him their chieftaine, againſt the next
day, to expect what the fortune of the field ſhould appoint for the full accompliſhment of that war. For
he was (as he ſaid) ſet downe to giue the enemie battell, or if he refuſed the ſame, to batter the wals of H
TVNES, *not doubting but that God would ſtand on his ſide in ſo good and ſo godly a quarrell.*

The emperour leauing a ſufficient garriſon in the caſtle of GVLETTA, commanded the breaches to be repaired, and the great ordinance there taken to be laid vpon carriages; which before, after the old rude ſea faſhion, lay bound in great vnweldie pieces of timber, with yron rings faſtned thereto, and could not handſomely be handled or remoued too or fro. After that, when he had cauſed the countrey to be well viewed all about, which betwixt the Oliue groues and the right ſide of the lake, giueth a direct paſſage vnto the citie of TVNES; he ſet forward with his armie in ſo good order, that he ſtill marched as readie to fight, for feare of the pollicies and ſudden aſſaults of the enemie. On the left hand marched the Italians next vnto the lake, on the I
The emperour marcheth toward Tunes. right hand the Spaniards neere vnto the Oliue groues, which in the manner of a great wood ran all alongſt the countrey, from the ruines of CARTHAGE almoſt to the wals of TVNES: in the middeſt betwixt both marched the Germans; next vnto them followed the great ordinance; and after it, the carriages of all the armie. In the vauntgard was *Vaſtius*, whom the emperour had made Generall of the armie, and eſpecially for that day: in the rearward was the duke of ALBA, with certaine troupes of choſen horſemen: in the middle of the maine battell was the emperour, and by his ſide *Lewes* his brother in law the king of PORTINGALES brother. The Italians were conducted by the prince of SALERN, the Spaniards by *Alarco* an auntient captaine, and the Germans by *Maximilian Eberſtein*. But the emperour in his armour ceaſed not to ride from ſquadron to ſquadron, with cheerfull countenance and full of hope, recounting vnto them the K
former victories which they had gotten for him: and telling them, that he did that day expect of them a moſt honourable daies ſeruice, for as much as they were to fight againſt the naked enemies of the Chriſtian religion: wherefore they ſhould with reſolute minds, ſet downe themſelues to endure the waight of their armour, the painfulneſſe of the march, the heat of the Sunne and ſand, and the tediouſneſſe of the thirſt ariſing therof; vntill they might joine battell with their enemies, where they ſhould vndoubtedly by the goodneſſe of God (in whoſe quarrell they fought) obtaine the victorie: in the meane time they ſhould with patience ouercome all difficulties, comforting themſelues with the vndoubted hope of a moſt rich prey, which they were to expect of the ſpoile of a rich citie. Whereunto euerie ſquadron anſwered with a great ſhout, that he ſhould not trouble himſelfe with thoſe matters which he had before rehearſed, but to aſ- L
ſure himſelfe that they his ſouldiours would moſt patiently endure all extremities, and not deceiue the expectation he had conceiued of their wonted valour, but by valiant fight to make him emperour, not of AFFRICKE, but of ASIA alſo.

Now *Vaſtius* had withdrawne two companies of harquebuſiers out of the Spaniſh ſquadron to skirmiſh with the Moores, who continually followed in the taile of the army; whom by thoſe harquebuſiers and certaine troupes of horſemen deputed to that purpoſe, the duke of ALBA notably repulſed in the rearward.

The armie was now come vnto the ceſternes of freſh water, which *Muleaſſes* and others which well knew the couutrey had before told them of; which as ſoone as the ſoldiours almoſt fainting vnder the waight of their armour, with the ſcorching heat of the ſunne and extremitie of M
The ſouldiors for greedineſſe of water diſorder their march. thirſt, deſcried a far off: they for deſire they had to quench their thirſt, forthwith forſooke their colours, and diſorderly ran as faſt as they could to thoſe ceſternes: *Vaſtius* the Generall, to the vttermoſt of his power labouring in vaine both by faire meanes and foule to haue ſtaied them; who ſaw by that diſorderedneſſe of the ſoldiors, a great aduantage offred vnto the enemie, which

then

A then was not farre off. But when the Generall could neither with words or blowes preuaile any thing with them, the emperour himſelfe was glad to haſt thither, with his preſence and authoritie to haue kept them in order: yet ſuch was the force of their intollerable thirſt, that neither the ſight of the emperour, nor all that he could doe, could remedie the diſorder; ſome fainting in the ſand for lacke of drinke, and ſome other for greedineſſe readie to burſt their bellies at the fountaines; ſo that the emperour was faine with his truncheon to beat them away. Amongſt the reſt one *Tullius Cicero* of ARPINAS a famous captaine, died at the ceſterne ſide with drinking too much. This extremitie for want of water ſeemed juſtly to haue happened vnto them, for as much as *Vaſtius* the day before, had by generall proclamation thorow the campe, commaunded that euerie ſouldiour ſhould carrie with him a bottle of wine or water at his girdle: al-
B though he cauſed ſo much water as he conueniently could, to be carried in great caskes, for the common reliefe of the armie; whereof the Germans had the greateſt part. Some almoſt readie to giue ouer for thirſt, were glad to get a draught of cold water of their fellowes which had it, for two duckats.

A draught of water ſold for two duckats.

This diſorder being with as much ſpeed as was poſsible reformed, and the armie againe brought into order, the emperour held on his march toward the enemie: for *Barbaruſſa* with a wonderfull multitude of horſemen and footmen, and a number of enſignes (the inſtruments of vaine feare and fooliſh brauerie) gallantly diſplaied after the manner of the Moores, was come about three miles from the citie, and with certaine field pieces (as *Muleaſſes* had foretold) went
C about to haue broken the battell of the Chriſtians: which pieces although they were oftentimes diſcharged, yet did they little or no harme, by reaſon of the vnskilfulneſſe of the canoniers. *Vaſtius* in like manner and for like purpoſe, had commaunded the great ordinance to be brought into the front of the battell: but perceiuing what toile and time it required to haue it done, for that it was drawne but by ſtrength of men, and the wheeles of the carriages ſunke deepe in the deuouring ſand, and the ſhot and pouder which the marriners and gallyſlaues carried altogither vpon their ſhoulders, came but ſoftly on; he ſuddenly changed his purpoſe, and told the emperour, That he thought it not beſt to ſtay for the great artillerie in that cheerfulneſſe of his armie, when euerie man deſired battell, but to commit all to the valour of his reſolute men and his own good fortune, which euer fauoured his honourable attempts: leaſt whileſt we ſtay (ſaid he) too long vpon our great ordinance, which doth not alwaies ſerue to great purpoſe in ſudden battels,
D our enemies gather courage in the time of this our vnneceſſarie delay; and this exceeding cheerfulneſſe of our ſouldiours, the moſt ſure token of an vndoubted victorie, by deferring of time grow cold. Whereunto the emperour deſirous of battell, and filled with good hope, cheerefully anſwered: *Vaſtius* if thou ſo thinke it good, which I alſo like well of, in Gods name giue the ſignall. That ſhall I by and by doe (ſaid he) but firſt it is reaſon, that you which ſway and commaund a great part of the world, learne at this time to obey him, whom to his great charge and ſhame, you laying aſide the imperiall majeſtie of your ſelfe, haue for this day made Generall and Commaunder of ſo mightie an armie: Wherefore ſaid *Vaſtius*, I will now vſe mine authoritie, and commaund you (ſith I may not ſo requeſt you) to depart from this place, and to get you in-
E to the middle of the battell neere vnto the enſignes; leaſt by ſome vnluckie ſhot, the whole eſtate of the armie be brought into extreame perill by the danger of one mans life. Whereat the emperour ſmiling, willed him to feare no ſuch thing, ſaying moreouer, That neuer emperour was yet ſlaine with a gun. For all that he departed out of the place as he was commaunded, and went into the middle of the battell. Whereupon the ſignall of battell was by the ſounding of the trumpet and ſtriking vp of the drum, preſently giuen, and the enemie (with more haſt than the extreame heat of the day required) furiouſly charged by the emperours horſemen, who to auoid the danger of the great artillerie, made all the haſt they could to come to handie blowes. In the formoſt of theſe horſemen was *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, a moſt valiant noble man, who then ſerued the emperour without charge: he being ſomewhat before the reſt at the firſt onſet, ſlew with his launce a notable captaine of the Moores, and preſently with his ſword ſo troubled them that
F were next, that he opened a way for them that followed him, to breake into the enemies battell. The harquebuſiers alſo diſcharged ſo faſt vpon the enemie, that three hundred of them lay dead vpon the ground before the joyning of the battell: which the reſt of the footmen ſeeing, forſook their great ordinance, and fled backe to *Barbaruſſa*. Who long endured not the force or ſight of the Chriſtians; but grinding his teeth for ſorrow and griefe of mind, turned his horſe, and with

Barbaruſſa in field againſt the emperour.

Vaſtius commaundeth the emperour.

Barbaruſſa fleeth to Tunis.

his Turkes retired into TVNES. For now that his deſignes had in the beginning taken ſo euill G
ſucceſſe, he thought it not beſt to aduenture all in one battell; knowing right well that the emperours armie could not long endure the inconueniences of the intollerable heat, and want of manie things, eſpecially of freſh water: which fed him with hope, that hee ſhould out of theſe his enemies diſtreſſes picke ſome fit occaſion of aduantage, if he could but a while defend the citie of TVNES. The Numidians and Moores, who in great troupes and companies had alwaies houered about the emperours armie, without doing any thing worth reporting, retired themſelues alſo into the ſuburbs, gardens, and other places neere vnto the citie.

The empetour glad of the flight of his enemies which were thought to haue been in number an hundred thouſand, encamped with his armie that night in the ſame place where they before lay; determining the next day to batter the wals of TVNES. In the meane time, *Barbaruſſa* ſur- H
priſed with an exceeding feare, and diſtracted with many cares, and now become more cruell than himſelfe, had in his mind purpoſed a fact full of exceeding and inhumane crueltie; which was at once to haue killed all the Chriſtian captiues in the caſtle of TVNES: fully reſolued to haue put the ſame in execution, had not *Sinan* the Iew diſſuaded him from that moſt execrable fact, proteſting ſuch a practiſe to be vnſeemely for a man of his valour, famous for his many victories, and carrying with him the majeſtie of a king: whereas he would ſhortly after wonderfully repent him for doing ſo ſhamefull a fact: The doing whereof, what was it elſe (as the Iew ſaid) but a manifeſt demonſtration of his extreame feare, and deſperation? which two things were moſt dangerous to him, that was to maintaine ſo doubtfull a warre, and would much deface the glorie of his former life; wherefore he ſhould doe well to beware, that by the fame of I
ſuch a moſt horrible fact, he did not prouoke *Solymans* heauie diſpleaſure againſt him: who deuoid of all humane crueltie, had vſed both to deteſt and reuenge ſuch outrages. Wherefore he ſhould ſuffer the Chriſtian captiues to liue bound in their fatall chaines, ſo long as it were their fortunes; who being well kept and vnarmed, might ſhortly after ſerue him to good purpoſe, and could no way without moſt certaine danger moue themſelues, if they ſhould vnaduiſedly luſt after their vnluckie libertie: for by them, the expected victorie could neither be giuen to the enemie, nor taken from him, or yet ſo much as hindred. At which ſpeech the tyrant was aſhamed, and ſo ſparing the liues of the poore wretches, went out of the caſtle into the greateſt church of TVNES, whither he had cauſed to be aſſembled all the chiefe men of the citie, to tell them what he would haue done for the defence of the citie, and now by perſuaſion to encourage them to K
fight: from whom as men by him holden in diſtruſt, he had but a little before the comming of the Chriſtians, taken all manner of armour and weapon.

Barbaruſſa in mind to kill all the Chriſtian captiues is diſſuaded by Sinan the Iew.

Whileſt *Barbaruſſa* was thus buſied, the moſt joyfull and happie day appeared to thoſe miſerable captiues; by fortunes change no leſſe black and diſmall vnto the Turks and Moores. For that hainous purpoſe of the cruell tyrant, could not long be couered or kept ſecret: ſo that a conſtant report of a danger ſo imminent, was run thorow the whole caſtle, euen into the deepe dungeons; by the compaſsion of certaine manumiſed ſlaues, who deteſting the ſauage crueltie of *Barbaruſſa* their maſter, and touched with deuotion, had in heart returned to their old and true Chriſtian religion; encouraging by ſecret ſpeeches the chiefe of the captiues with whom they were acquainted, to lay hand now vpon their libertie. Amongſt theſe well minded men was L
one *Francis* a Spaniard, whom *Barbaruſſa* had from his youth brought vp as his minion, hauing him alwaies in great eſteeme by the name of *Memis*; and another called *Vincentius Catareus* of DALMATIA an eunuch: Theſe two aduenturing a moſt memorable and godly attempt, ſet open the priſon doores, and gaue inſtruments vnto the poore priſoners, readie to take the occaſion offred; who boldly ſtarting vp, breake off their chaines and giues, and ſo by the great goodneſſe and mercie of God, about ſix thouſand poore naked Chriſtians, armed with that came firſt to hand, but eſpecially with ſtones, brake forth ſuddenly vpon the Turkes that were in the caſtle. *Ramadas* a renegate Spaniard captaine of the caſtle, ſtirred vp with the vnexpected and terrible noiſe of ſo many priſoners breaking their irons, with a few ſouldiours whom he had ſuddenly called vnto him, ran to the caſtle gate, where one of the priſoners (a luſtie young man M
of SICILIA) had with one of the bars of the gate ſtrucke downe one or two of the warders, and hauing bolted the gate, was become maſter thereof: him *Ramadas* ſlew, and opening the gate, made way for himſelfe and his few followers, with whom he went to *Barbaruſſa* to carrie him newes of that his hard miſchance. But the Chriſtians now loſed from their bands, and hauing ſuddenly

The Chriſtian captiues breake priſon, and driue the Turks out of the caſtle of Tunes.

A ſuddenly ſlaine diuers of the Turks, poſſeſſed themſelues of all the caſtle, brake open the armorie, and ſo ſeizing vpon the kings treaſure, armour, and prouiſion, from a high turret gaue ſignes of victorie to the Chriſtian armie by ſmoake and falſe fires made with gunpouder; and laſtly, by diſplaying of *Sarmentus* his enſigne, which (as we haue before declared) was by *Tabacches* taken from the top of the trenches at the ſiege of GVLETTA. Theſe ſignes, although the Chriſtians in the armie could not well perceiue, as being too farre off: yet by the fugitiues which came oftentimes out of TVNES to the emperour and *Muleaſſes*, they were both perſuaded, that ſome great tumult was riſen amongſt the enemies. Wherefore the emperour ſent two of his captaines with their companies, who going as neere as they could to the citie and the caſtle, ſhould diſcouer what the matter was. In the meane time, *Barbaruſſa* almoſt mad for anger, in his furie blaſ-
B pheming his vaine gods, and bitterly curſing and banning the Iew, for diſſuading him from killing the captiues, came to the caſtle gate, and with teares ſtanding in his eyes pitifully requeſted the late Chriſtian captiues (which then ſtood vpon the top of the wals and the gate with weapons in their hands) That they would forthwith let him in, faithfully promiſing them their libertie, with a generall and free pardon for all that they had done. But they mindfull both of their former and preſent fortune, and mooued with juſt hatred, caſt ſtones at him, and with many opprobrious words rejected his requeſt: ſo that hee enraged with ſorrow and madneſſe, ſhot at them with his owne hand, and ſeeing all paſt remedie, and the citie not poſsible now to bee kept, ſhamefully betooke himſelfe to flight. After him followed the Turks, in number ſeuen thouſand, with purpoſe to flie to the citie HIPPONA, now called BONA, famous with the biſhopricke of
C that reuerend Father and great Diuine *Auguſtine*. For there (as in a moſt ſure harbour) had *Barbaruſſa* left foureteene gallies in the lake neere vnto the citie, to ſerue his turne whatſoeuer miſchance ſhould happen: but the tacklings, ſailes, oares, and ordinance, he had laid vp in the caſtle faſt by, which was kept with a garriſon of his owne.

The emperour vnderſtanding that *Barbaruſſa* with his Turkes was fled, came with all his armie vnto the gates of TVNES, where the magiſtrates of the citie were readie to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, and to deliuer him the keyes of the citie, only requeſting of him that he would keepe his ſouldiors encamped without the citie, and not to ſeeke the vtter ſpoile and ruine thereof, promiſing that the ſouldiours ſhould want nothing that was there to be had. *Muleaſſes* alſo carefull of the ſafetie thereof, earneſtly intreated the emperour in the citiſens behalfe. But he, al-
D though he was of his owne honourable diſpoſition readie ynough to haue graunted what they requeſted; Yet for that he did not without cauſe doubt of the Moores fidelitie, and that the paiment of the money which they of TVNES had by *Muleaſſes* promiſed for the payment of the ſoldiors wages, was by them craftily delayed, expecting ſtill the vttermoſt deuoire of *Barbaruſſa*, he could not by any meanes be perſuaded to promiſe them any certainetie of their ſafetie: mooued alſo ſo to doe by the diſcontented ſpeeches of his ſoldiors, who ſpared not to ſay, That they ſhould bee hardly and vnkindly dealt withall, if after ſo long trauell and ſo much paines taken both by ſea and land, they ſhould be defrauded of the reward of the victorie, ſith nothing but only the hope of the preſent ſpoile did relieue and feed them, being poore and miſerable, hauing ſcarce clothes to couer their nakedneſſe, and their bodies ſpent with long labour and thirſt; ſo
E that the Moores of TVNES, enemies of the Chriſtian religion, and the perpetuall receiuers of moſt horrible pyrats, might worthily rejoice of the Chriſtian victorie, and the conquerours themſelues for euer bewaile their owne calamities and miſeries. Whileſt the emperour ſtood thus in doubt what to reſolue vpon, *Vaſtius* with a ſmall companie came to the caſtle gate, and was with wonderfull joy receiued in by the Chriſtian captiues. But as he was viewing the wealth and prouiſion laid vp in the caſtle, a Ligurian captiue diſcouered vnto him where certaine treaſure lay hidden: for *Barbaruſſa* had there caſt into a well thirtie thouſand duckats ſowed vp in bags, which *Vaſtius* getting eaſily out, obtained them of the emperour of gift, as he whoſe good ſeruice had well deſerued them. The caſtle thus woon by a moſt rare chance, and the captiues taking the ſpoile thereof, the ſouldiors could no longer be ſtayed, but that they entred into the ci-
F tie by heapes, running after the ſpoile into euery part thereof, the citiſens fearing no ſuch matter, and calling in vaine vpon the faith of *Muleaſſes*. The ſouldiors at their firſt entrance ſlew many. The Spaniards and Italians ſought moſt after the ſpoile. But the Germanes deſiring more to glut themſelues with the Mahometane bloud, filled all places with dead bodies, without regard of ſex or age; ſo that the prophane temples of their vaine prophet, ſwam with the bloud of them

Tunes yeelded to the emperour.

Tunes ſpoiled by the Chriſtians.

that

that were fled into them. Which furious execution continued vntill ſuch time as the emperour G
moued with the pitifull requeſt of *Muleaſſes*, cauſed proclamation to bee made, That no man ſhould vpon paine of death hurt any citiſen, or take any priſoners: yet for all that, it could not otherwiſe be, but that many yong men and women were by the marriners (which were come to the ſpoile of the citie) carried away to the fleet.

Muleaſſes for a little money redeemed diuers which he knew, out of the hands of ſuch as had them priſoners: amongſt others, one of his wiues, whom he ſometime held deareſt, was ranſomed for two duckats. The emperour entering into the caſtle, commended the captiues, who were the occaſion of that ſpeedie victorie: and giuing to euery one of them money, ſet them at libertie, promiſing vnto them ſhipping and prouiſion to bring them home euery man into his owne countrey. Vnto the two manumiſed ſeruants of *Barbaruſſa*, which were the authours of H
breaking the priſon, he gaue money and apparrell, and afterward learned of them many things concerning *Barbaruſſa* his purpoſes and ſecret diſpoſition. In the ſpoile of the caſtle, *Muleaſſes* la-

Three things eſpecially lamented by Muleaſſes in the ſpoile of the caſtle of Tunes.

mented the loſſe of three things eſpecially: firſt the antient Arabian bookes, containing the interpretation of the Mahometane law, and the acts of the kings his predeceſſors; the loſſe whereof *Muleaſſes* (in the hearing of *P. Iouius*, out of whom this hyſtorie is taken) ſaid (as he reporteth) that he would moſt gladly, if it had been poſsible, haue redeemed with the price of a citie: Then the precious oyntments and perfumes, with the wonderfull ſtore of ambergrize, muske, and ciuet, worth much gold: all which *Barbaruſſa* as a rude and rough man had made no reckoning of: And laſt of all, the rare and rich colours for painting, which lying by heapes, were by the ignorant ſouldiors, ſeeking for that might yeeld them preſent money, fooliſhly neglected and I
troden vnderfoot, ſeruing no man to good. In this caſtle were found diuers headpieces & other armor of the Chriſtians, namely of the French, who with *Lewes* their king had about three hundred yeares before beſieged that caſtle: which armour had beene vntill that time there kept by the Moores, in remembrance of that victorie againſt the Chriſtians.

Barbaruſſa in the meane time was come to the riuer of Bagrada, which the Moores call Maiordech, which he eaſily paſſed ouer, though he was purſued by certain Numidian horſemen, whom *Muleaſſes* had raiſed of his old friends, and of the followers of his vncle *Dorax*, and ſent them to purſue the Turks: but *Barbaruſſa* ſo marched with his harquebuſiers and archers placed in the rereward, that the Numidian horſemen durſt not come neere him, and ſo in ſafetie came to HIPPONA, as he had before purpoſed. Yet in paſsing the riuer Bagrada, he loſt *Haydin* of K
SMIRNA, that famous pyrat: who being a fat man, and wearied with the heat of the Sunne and painefulneſſe of the journey, dranke ſo much, that he preſently died vpon the banke of the riuer.

Barbaruſſa flieth to Hippona, and there comforteth his ſouldiors.

When *Barbaruſſa* was come to HIPPONA, he reſted his men two dayes: then calling them together againe, he comforted them with good words, perſuading them, that whatſoeuer miſchance had happened, they ſhould impute it not to the valour of the enemie, but to the trecherie of the ſlaues; exhorting them as valiant men patiently to endure that frowne of fortune, and by ſome notable exploit to win againe her fauour: for he was determined to put to ſea with the fleet he had, and to goe preſently from thence to ALGIERS, where after he had with new ſupplies increaſed his power, and augmented his fleet, and better aduiſed himſelfe, he would take an attempt in hand anſwereable to their deſires, and not vnbeſeeming his owne credit and eſtima- L
tion. It is reported, that neuer vanquiſhed and beaten captaine was with a more cheerefull acclamation anſwered by his ſouldiors, than hee was at that preſent; they all with one conſent moſt willingly requeſting him to commaund whatſoeuer pleaſed him, which they would neuer refuſe to vndertake, were it neuer ſo heauie or dangerous, ſo that they might be brought to ſome notable exploit. *Barbaruſſa* vſing this exceeding cheerefulneſſe and forwardneſſe of his ſouldiors, did with wonderfull celeritie weigh vp the foureteene gallies which he had ſunke in the lake, and forthwith rigged them vp, and furniſhed them for all aſſayes: and vpon the very brinke of the lake caſt vp a mount of earth, whereon he placed certaine pieces of artillerie for defence of the harbour; not vainely conjecturing, that the Chriſtian fleet would in ſhort time come thither to impeach his going out: pointing therein as it were at the purpoſe of the emperour and *Auria* M
his Admirall, who were of opinion, That by ſending part of the fleet thither, thoſe gallies might be drowned in the harbour with the great ordinance, before they could be rigged and made readie. Vnto this peece of ſeruice *Auria* appointed one *Adam*, a captaine of GENVA, a man of no great skill in matters at ſea, but yet of great wealth & credit, and the Admirals nigh kinsman:

Auria ſendeth certaine gallies to intercept Barbaruſſa.

he

A he with certaine galiots and fourteene gallies, ſet forward towards HIPPONA, promiſing vnto himſelfe a moſt certaine and eaſie victorie, hoping to purchaſe vnto himſelfe great honour of the vnprouided enemie: for that he thought to haue taken *Barbaruſſa* buſie in ſetting forth of his fleet. But after he was paſt BISERTA and come neere to HIPPONA, he was certainly aduertiſed, that *Barbaruſſa* had with incredible celeritie rigged vp his gallies, and fortified the harbour, by planting great ordinance vpon the mount he had there raiſed. With which newes he wonderfully troubled, changed his purpoſe, perſuaded by the other captaines of the gallies, in no caſe to aduenture to fight with him, becauſe the Spaniſh, Sicilian, and Neapolitan gallies were but weakly manned, many of the ſouldiors being for greedineſſe of the ſpoile gone aſhoare without leaue at TVNES: ſo that he ſhould at great diſaduantage fight with the Turkes, being
B mo in number and deſperatly bent. Wherefore he vpon good aduiſe preſently changed his former courſe, and returned to the fleet for more aid. *Barbaruſſa* (as it was afterwards known) ſtood a good while in doubt, whether he ſhould in hope of victorie purſue thoſe gallies, for as much as they were in number no more than his owne; or elſe to perſiſt in his former purpoſe of going to ALGIERS. Vnto which opinion all the vnder captaines enclined, being altogither ignorant of the weakneſſe of the Chriſtians: and ſo letting ſlip a faire occaſion, leauing a ſmall garriſon of Turkes in the caſtle, he departed from HIPPONA and ſailed alongſt the coaſt to ALGIERS. *Barbaruſſa vſeth to Algeir.*
When *Adam* was returned againe to the fleet, and had done nothing, many of the Chriſtian princes were wonderfully offended, that by the negligence of ſome who were hardly to be commaunded, and by the vnrulineſſe of others who without leaue were gone aſhoare, ſo faire an oc-
C caſion of the deſired victorie, was neglected. For this thing onely wanted vnto the emperours rare felicitie in that warre: for if thoſe few gallies had been taken from the cruell enemie, or ſunke in the ſea, there had been no meanes for him to haue eſcaped; being verily thought, that the Numidians in number infinit and deadly enemies vnto the Turks, would with often skirmiſhes out of their knowne places of aduantage, haue ſo cut him off in his long and painfull trauell by land, that they would altogither haue made an end both of him and his followers before hee could haue come to ALGIERS. *Auria* angrie both with himſelfe and thoſe whom he had put in truſt, and yet not out of hope to ouertake his enemie; with his own gallies and ſome other of the beſt ſhips went to HIPPONA: but finding *Barbaruſſa* gone, he tooke the citie and ouerthrew the wals thereof: but in the caſtle which he by force tooke from the Turks, he placed *Aluarus Gome-*
D *tius* with a ſufficient garriſon, and ſo returned vnto the emperour. This *Gometius*, although he was a moſt valiant captaine, yet became ſo infamous for his auaritious dealing both with the enemie and his friends, that for feare how to anſwere ſuch things as he knew would be laid to his charge, he became the infamous executioner of himſelfe. The caſtle was afterwards by the commaundement of the emperour, raſed downe to the ground, for that it was not without a maruellous charge to be kept. After that, a counſell was holden concerning *Muleaſſes*, whom the emperour placed againe in the kingdome of TVNES, there to raigne as his anceſtors had done before him; paying him yeerly by the name of a tribute, two faulcons and two Numidian courſers: With condition, that he ſhould for euer honour the emperour, and be a friend vnto all Chriſtians, and an vtter enemie vnto the Turkes: Beſides that, that he ſhould from time to time
E defray the charges of a thouſand Spaniards and more, to be left in garriſon in the caſtle of GVLETTA; by holding whereof, the emperour kept as it were the keies of that kingdome at his girdle. The emperour hauing thus honourably driuen *Barbaruſſa* and the Turks, pirats, out of TVNES, taken from them their gallies, deliuered the Chriſtians countries all alongſt the ſea coaſt in the Mediterranean of a great feare, and reſtored *Muleaſſes* againe to his kingdome: ſayled into SICILIA, where he was in great triumph receiued at PANORMVS and MESSANA, from whence he paſſed ouer to RHEGIVM into ITALIE, & from thence by land to NAPLES. Thus was the kingdome of TVNES taken by *Barbaruſſa* and the Turkes; and by *Charles* the emperor recouered againe out of their hands the ſelfeſame time that *Solyman* was in perſon himſelfe in wars againſt the Perſian: whom *Barbaruſſa* accompanied with *Sinan* the Iew, after this
F ouerthow met at ICONIVM in his returne out of PERSIA, well accepting of their excuſe, as is before declared. *The kingdome of Tunes is by the emperour reſtored to Muleaſſes.* *The emperour returneth with victorie into Italie.*

Solyman as well of his owne ambitious diſpoſition, as following the manner of the *Othoman* kings, deſirous by all meanes to increaſe the glorie of his name, and to enlarge his empire; determined with himſelfe to take away from the Portingales all their traffique into the Eaſt Indies. 1537

It

It grieued him to heare, that the Christian religion should begin to take root amongst those Pagan kings, which had not long before receiued the Mahometane religion: Besides that, he was credibly enformed, that the Portingales in these late wars he had against the Persians, had aided them with certaine harquebusiers, and also had sent them workmen to shew them both the making and vse of great artillerie: But that which moued him most of all, was for that the Portingales by their traffique into the Indies, had cut off all the trade of merchandise into the gulfe of ARABIA, whereby the riches of the East were woont to be transported vnto CAIRE, and so to ALEXANDRIA, from whence they were afterwards by the Venetian merchants and others dispersed into all parts of of EVROPE: but now were carried by the great Ocean into PORTINGALL, and from thence conuaied into all parts of Christendome, to the great hinderance of his tributes and customes of ÆGYPT. For these causes, and at the instance of *Solyman Bassa* an eunuch borne in EPIRVS, and then Gouernour of ÆGYPT, *Solyman* caused wonderfull preparation to be made, for the building of a great fleet in the Red sea to go against the Portingals. All the timber whereof, was cut downe in the mountaines of CILICIA, and shipped in the bay of ATTALIA in the bottome of the Mediterranian, from whence it was by sea transported to PELVSIVM, and so vp the riuer of Nilus to CAIRE: where after it was framed and readie to be set togither, it was with infinit labour, and no lesse charge, carried by land with Camels thorow that hoat and sandie countrey, from CAIRE to SVETIA, a port of the Red sea, called in antient time ARSINOE. From which place eightie miles distant from CAIRE, the antient kings of ÆGYPT seeking by vaine and wonderfull workes to eternise the memorie of themselues, had with incredible charge cut thorow all that maine land, so that vessels of good burthen might come vp the same from ARSINOE to CAIRE: which great cut or ditch, *Sesostris* the rich king of ÆGYPT, and long after him *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*, purposed to haue made a great deale wider and deeper, and thereby to haue let in the Red sea into the Mediterranean, for the readier transportation of the Indian merchandise to CAIRE and ALEXANDRIA. Which mad worke *Sesostris* preuented by death, could not performe: and *Ptolomeus* otherwise persuaded by skilfull men, in time gaue ouer; for feare least by letting in the great South sea into the Mediterranean, he should thereby as it were with another generall deluge haue drowned the greatest part of GRÆCIA, and many other goodly countries in ASIA, and with exceeding charge, in steed of honour haue purchased himselfe eternall infamie. Yet by the singular industrie of *Solyman* the eunuch, who with seuere commaundement enforced all the people of the countries therabouts to the furtherance of the building of that fleet; he had with wonderfull celeritie in short time new built eightie tall ships and gallies at ARSINOE, and furnished them with men, and all things else needfull for so long a voiage. At which time, he vpon a quarrell pickt without cause, but not without the good liking of *Solyman*, most injuriously confiscated the goods of the Venetian merchants at ALEXANDRIA and CAIRE, and thrust the marriners into his gallies as slaues. With which fleet in most warlike manner appointed, *Solyman* the Bassa accompanied with *Assan-beg*, commonly called the Moore of ALEXANDRIA, a most famous pirat and an excellent seaman, set forward against the Portingals: and sayling thorow the Red sea, and so Eastward by the gulfe of PERSIA, came at length as far as the great riuer Indus, where with all his power he assaulted DIVM a castle of the Portingals, scituate vpon the mouth of that great riuer: but in conclusion, after he had many daies besieged the castle both by sea & land, and tried the vttermost of his strength, he was so repulsed by the Portingals, that he was glad to forsake the siege, and leauing his great ordinance behind him for hast, returned backe againe to ADEN, a citie of great trade in ARABIA FELIX: Where discouraged with the euill successe he had against the Portingals, because he would be thought to haue done something, he allured the king of that rich citie to come vnto him, vpon his false faith before giuen for his safe returne: but as soone as he had him aboord, he like a periured wretch hanged him vp at the yards arme of his Admirall galley, and so surprising the citie, enriched himselfe with the spoile thereof. The like barbarous crueltie he vsed at ZIBYTH, another famous port of ARABIA, where the pilgrims of the East doe commonly land when they after the manner of their superstition come to visit the temple of their false prophet at MECHA: The king of which place, togither with all his nobilitie he cruelly murthered, contrarie to his faith giuen: and so trauelling himselfe by land to MECHA, as if he had been some deuout pilgrim, sent backe his fleet by the Moore to SVETIA, hauing performed against the Portingals nothing at all.

The Ægyptian kings about to let in the red sea into the Mediterranean.

Diuma castle of the Portingals in the East Indies in vaine assaulted by the Turkes.

The trecherous dealing of Solyman the eunuch Bassa with the king of Arabia.

At

A At the same time *Solyman* by the persuasion of *Lutzis* and *Aiax* (the Bassaes of greatest authoritie about him, now that *Abraham* was dead) turned all his forces from the Persians, as men agreeing with him in the cheefe points of his Mahometane superstition, with purpose to conuert the same vpon ITALIE: whereunto he was earnestly sollicited by *Iohn Forrest* the French kings embassadour, then lying at CONSTANTINOPLE, of purpose to incite *Solyman* against *Charles* the emperour, assuring him, that he was not of such power, as at one time to defend APVLIA against him, and the dukedome of MILLAINE against the French king: who (as he said) was determined that Summer to inuade that part of ITALIE. And to further the matter, about the same time one *Troilus Pignatellus*, a noble gentleman, sometime commaunder in *Charles* the emperours armie, but then exiled out of NAPLES, fled vnto *Solyman*; and for so much as hee B was a man of name, and like to doe him great seruice in the inuasion of APVLIA, as one which knew the countrey well, and promised vnto him good successe in that warres, was by *Solyman* honourably entertained amongst his Mutsaracas: which is a certaine companie of horsemen for their approued valour, chosen out of all nations, hauing the free exercise of their religion whatsoeuer without controulement, and are onely bound to attend vpon the person of the great Turke when he goeth to warres. The cause of his reuolt was, for that the viceroy of NAPLES had executed *Andrew* his brother, one of the knights of the RHODES. But being now grown into great fauour with *Solyman* and the Bassaes, and oftentimes called to counsell in the preparation of that warre, casting off all naturall loue of his countrey, ceased not by all meanes to perswade *Solyman* to inuade the same, assuring him, that the people of APVLIA and SALERNE oppressed with grieuous tribute and exactions by the emperours officers, would at the first reuolt, especially if they saw any of the French nation to cleaue vnto. And that which mooued him more than all the rest, the auntient Turkes told him into what a feare all ITALIE was strucken, at such time as *Achmetes* the Bassa hauing taken HYDRVNTVM, had vndoubtedly conquered not onely the kingdome of NAPLES, but the citie of ROME also, and all the rest of ITALIE, had not the vntimely death of *Mahomet* his great grandfather interrupted the course of that victorie. Which persuasions wrought such effect in *Solyman*, that he once fully resolued for the inuasion of ITALIE, made such expedition both by sea and land, that he himselfe in person was come with two hundred thousand men vnto AVLONA, the most conuenient port of MACEDONIA for the transporting of his armie, before it was thought in ITALIE that he was set forD ward from CONSTANTINOPLE: where he had not long stayed, but *Lutzis Bassa* his Admirall, accompanied with *Barbarussa*, sayling alongst the coast of PELOPONESVS and EPIRVS, and so passing by CORCYRA, where *Hieronimus Pisaurius*, Admirall of the Venetian fleet lay with his gallies (after mutuall salutation done after the manner of sea, by shooting off their great pieces in token of friendship) put into the hauen of AVLONA also. *Solyman* not purposing to lose any time, and hauing ITALIE now in his sight, commaunded *Lutzis* and *Barbarussa* to passe ouer with the fleet vnto OTRANTO, and to proue the minds of the people; that if the first enterprise fell out well, he might presently follow after with all his armie. With them went also *Troilus Pignatellus*, as forward to the destruction of his country, as any of the rest. He knowing that the great cities of HYDRVNTVM and BRVNDVSIVM were kept with strong garrisons of E *Charles* the emperour, leauing HYDRVNTVM on the right hand, directed the Turks to a towne vpon the sea coast, eight miles off, called CASTRVM, neere vnto which standeth a castle vpon a hill then belonging to *Mercurinus Catinarius*: who being a man vnacquainted with warres, and terrified with the sudden comming of the Turkes, and perswaded by *Troilus*, yeelded vp his castle, vpon condition that the Turkes should offer no violence or injurie vnto him or his, either in bodie or goods. Vpon which condition the towne of CASTRVM was also deliuered vnto them. But the Turkes, especially the greedie marriners, being got into the castle and the towne, moued neither with the intreatie of *Troilus*, nor the commaundement of *Lutzis* and *Barbarussa*, rifled the towne and castle, and carried away with them *Mercurinus* himselfe, with all the floure of the people, to their gallies as prisoners. But *Lutzis* ashamed of such faithlesse dealing, presently F set *Mercurinus* at libertie againe. At the same time also *Solyman* had by night sent ouer certaine troupes of light horsemen, in great palendars: which running all alongst the sea coast from TARENTVM to BRVNDVSIVM, carried away with them both the people and cattell, and whatsoeuer els came in their way by the space of fortie miles. So that all that countrey of SALENTINVM, now called OTRANTO, was filled with feare and danger; and had not there stayed, but was

Solyman incited by the French embassadours to inuade Italie.

Solyman with an armie of two hundred thousand men commeth to Aulona.

Solyman sendeth Lutzis and Barbarussa with his fleet to inuade Italie.

Castrum in Apulia yeelded to the Turkes, and by them contrarie to their faith spoiled.

The Turkes spoile Apulia.

was like ynough to haue ouerwhelmed all ITALIE, by the comming ouer of *Solyman* with his G
whole armie, had not the rashnesse of one Venetian captaine by vnexpected chance turned that
tempest from the Italians vpon the Venetians themselues.

Alexander Contarenus, a valiant captaine of the Venetians, meeting with certaine of the Turkes gallies, which would neither vaile their top sailes, nor in token of reuerence and friendship, discharge any of their great Ordinance, as of dutie they ought to haue done in those seas where the Venetians commaunded; offended with their proud insolencie, fiercely assailed them, and in fight sunke two of them: wherein *Vstamenes* Gouernour of CALIVODIS, a man of no small reputation amongst the Turks, was reported to haue perished. Which outrage done by *Contarenus* in a most vnfit time (to the great hurt of the Venetian estate, as it appeared afterward) H
was imputed to his owne priuat grudge which he bare against the Turks, for that they had intercepted a ship of his as she was comming out of the East countries laden with rich merchandise: so that it was thought, that he to please himselfe in reuenging of his owne priuat injurie, regarded not what might in that dangerous time ensue thereof to the common state.

A little before the comming ouer of the Turks into ITALIE, *Andreas Auria* the emperors Admirall lying at MESSANA in SICILIA, vnderstanding that *Solyman* was come with his armie to AVLONA, and that his fleet was arriued there also, put to sea, directing his course towards the Islands of CEPHALENIA and ZACYNTHVS, hoping (as indeed it fell out) to meet with the taile of the Turkes fleet: for there according to his expectation he chanced vpon diuers of the Turks victuallers, whom he easily tooke. The marriners he chained in his owne gallies for slaues, and furnishing his fleet with the victuall which was not for him prouided, fired the ships. I

Iunusbeius with two gallies driue by the Venetians vpon the Acroceraunian rocks.

Whilest *Auria* was thus beating too and fro in the Ionian sea, it fortuned that *Solyman* sent *Iunusbeius* his cheefe interpreter, a man whom he made no small account of, with two gallies on a message to *Lutzis* his Admirall. This proud Turke comming neere CORCYRA, where the Venetian Admirall lay with his fleet, offered scornefully to passe by, without vailing: which his pride tending to the disgrace of the Venetians, certaine of the Venetian captaines not enduring, set vpon him with such furie, that the Turkes were enforced to run both their gallies on shore vpon the coast of EPIRVS, neere vnto the mountaines called ACROCERAVNII, where hauing escaped the danger at sea, they fell almost all into the hands of the cruell mountaine people, liuing for the most part by theft, and waiting for wrackes, as hawkes for their prey: by these shauers the Turkes were stript of all they had, and *Iunusbeius* with much adoe redeeming himselfe out of their hands, returned to *Solyman*. *Auria* sayling alongst the sea coast, chanced vpon these gallies, and finding them sore brused, set fire on them. K

For these vnkind parts, the Turks were wonderfully offended with the Venetians, and greeuously complained of them to *Solyman*: although the Venetian Admirall laboured by all meanes he could to appease *Iunusbeius*, and to excuse the matter, as a thing done by great ouersight on both sides. Vpon these small occasions, the Turkes sought to breake off the league with the Venetians; which fell out so much the sooner, for that about the same time *Auria* sayling vp and downe in the Ionian sea, and diligently looking into euery harbour to intercept such as straggled from the Turkes fleet, happened by night to light vpon twelue of *Solymans* great gallies neere vnto CORCYRA, all filled with his Ianizaries and choice horsemen of the court, the best souldiors of the Turkes, who had by land sent their horses to the campe by their lackies, and were comming themselues with the Ianizaries by sea. *Auria* falling vpon these gallies, had with them a cruell and deadly fight: For they as resolute men, wishing rather to die than to yeeld vnto their enemies, with inuincible courage maintained a most bloudie fight against *Auria* with his thirtie gallies excellently appointed, vntill such time as most part of them were slaine, and the rest sore wounded; who seeing no remedie, but that they must needs come into the hands of their enemies, threw their scimitars ouerbourd, because those choice weapons should not come into the hands of the Christians. In this conflict *Auria* lost also many of his best souldiors: yet hauing got the victorie, and possessed of the gallies, he ankered neere vnto CORCYRA, there to take view of his owne harmes and the enemies: but whilest he rid there at anker, he was aduertised, M
that *Barbarussa* was comming against him with fourescore gallies. Wherefore knowing himselfe too weake to encounter so strong an enemie, he departed thence, and returned againe to MESSANA to repaire his fleet. *Solyman* thorowly chafed with the losse of his gallies and best souldiors, and with the double injurie done vnto him by the Venetians, fell into such a rage, that he

Auria taketh twelue of the Turkes gallies full of Ianizaries and Solymans other best souldiors.

cursed

A curſed *Barbaruſſa*, as one who in thoſe warres had done him no good ſeruice; and thundered out greeuous threats againſt the Venetians, ſaying he was vnder the colour of an auntient league by them deceiued and greatly abuſed, and that they were ſecretly confederated with *Charles* his enemie, and had for that cauſe (as they had alwaies) holpen *Auria* with intelligence, and all things neceſſarie, receiuing him into their harbours, and by their eſpials giuing him knowledge of the order of his fleet, that ſo he might at his moſt aduantage ſurpriſe his gallies, as he had alreadie done: vnto which fire, *Iunusbeius* his interpreter, *Barbaruſſa* and *Aiax* laid new coales, more and more incenſing the tyrant, who was of himſelfe ſufficiently enflamed, perſuading him by all meanes they could to breake the league with the Venetians. Wherein *Iunusbeius* ſought to reuenge his owne priuate injuries; and the other two after their greater profit and credit, gaping after the ſpoile of the Iſlands neere hand, eſpecially of CORCYRA (now called CORFV) ZACYNTHVS, and CEPHALENIA, all ſubject to the Venetian ſiegnorie, finding the warres in ITALIE more dangerous and difficult than they had before imagined. For the French king came not then into ITALIE, as was by them expected: and it was commonly reported, That *Petrus Toletanus*, viceroy of NAPLES, hauing put ſtrong garriſons into the townes all alongſt the ſea coaſt, was comming himſelfe with a great armie: beſide that, the horſemen ſent ouer from AVLONA, raunging about in the countrey of SALENTVM for ſpoile, were many times cut off by *Scipio Sommeius*, a noble gentleman, there Gouernour for the emperour. Wherefore *Solyman* changing his purpoſe for the inuaſion of ITALIE, in his mad mood proclaimed warre againſt the Venetians: and ſo riſing with his armie from AVLONA, and marching alongſt the ſea coaſt vntill he came oueragainſt CORCYRA, he encamped neere vnto the mountaines called ACROCERAVNII, where the fierce and wild people inhabiting the high and rough mountaine of CHIMERA (a part of the Acroceraunian mountaines) by the inſtigation of one *Damianus*, a notable theefe, and very perfit in the blind and difficult paſſages amongſt the rockes and woods in thoſe deſolate mountaines, conſpired to attempt a moſt ſtrange and deſperat exploit, which was, by night to ſpoile *Solyman* in his owne pauilion. Theſe beggerly wild rogues liuing moſt part by murther and robberie, altogether without law or any manner of religion, in hope of ſo great a prey, and to become famous by killing one of the greateſt monarchs of the world in the middeſt of his ſtrength, guarded with ſo many thouſands of his ſouldiors, were not afraid of any danger how great ſoeuer, hoping in the dead time of the night to ſteale into the campe vndiſcouered, and there ſo to oppreſſe *Solyman* ſleeping in his tent: Which (as was by many afterwards ſuppoſed) they were like ynough to haue performed, to the aſtoniſhment of the world, had it not been by chance diſcouered: for when they had put all things in readineſſe for their purpoſe, *Damianus* ringleader of theſe deſperat ſauage people, by ſecret wayes ſtealing downe the broken rockes of thoſe huge mountaines, and comming very neere vnto the campe, to view the ſtanding of *Solymans* pauilion, with the order of the Turkes watch, was by the cracking of a bough eſpied by the Ianizaries, where he ſtood in a tree prying all ouer the campe: and being there taken, and afterwards put to torture, and confeſsing what he had intended, was by the commaundement of *Solyman* torne in pieces. Whereupon he forthwith ſent a great part of his armie vp into the mountaines, which hunting after theſe wild people, as if they had been wild beaſts, ſlew many of them, and by *Solymans* appointment did what they poſsibly could to haue quite deſtroyed them, as an infamous people, enemie to all men.

Iunusbeius, Barbaruſſa, & Aiax, incenſe Solyman againſt the Venetians.

Solyman conueieth his forces from the Italians againſt the Venetians.

Solyman in danger to haue been ſlaine in his tent in the middeſt of his armie.

When *Solyman* had thus fully reuenged himſelfe vpon this barbarous nation, he purpoſed to inuade the Iſland of CORCYRA, now called CORFV, part of the Venetian ſieginorie: ſending before *Barbaruſſa* with his great artillerie, whom he had but a little before called out of ITALIE with his forces. *Piſaurius* the Venetian Admirall in good time foreſeeing the tyrants purpoſe, ſtrengthened the garriſons in both the caſtles of CORFV, with new ſupplies of good ſouldiors ſent out of the gallies: and knowing himſelfe vnable to encounter with the Turkes great fleet at ſea, withdrew himſelfe farther off from the iſland into the gulfe of the Adriatique, to the entent to joyne his power with *Ioannes Veturius*, who kept that ſea with another fleet of the Venetian gallies, and ſo with joyned forces to defend the Venetian coaſts againſt the Turkes: whom he thought himſelfe ſtrong ynough for, with the helpe of *Veturius* and of *Auria*, whoſe comming was dayly expected. *Solyman* ſending a great part of his armie out of the maine into the iſland, burnt and deſtroyed the countrey villages, leading away a wonderfull number of poore countrey people into moſt miſerable captiuitie. *Aiax* the Baſſa, and *Barbaruſſa* in two ſmall pinnaces

Solyman inuadeth the Iſland of Corcyra.

came as neere vnto the citie of CORFV as they posibly could, to see which way they might G
most conueniently lay siege vnto it: but perceiuing the great strength thereof, being wonderfully fortified, and thorowly manned, they aduertised *Solyman*, that it was a place inpregnable. *Aloysius Ripa*, and *Symon Leonius*, two Senators of VENICE were then gouernors of CORFV, who not without cause standing in doubt of the great strength of the Turkes both by sea and land, caused the suburbs of the citie (which were verie great and sumptuously built) to be pluckt downe, for feare that the Turkes shrowding themselues in them, should with more ease besiege the towne. This was a wofull and lamentable thing to behold, when as at the same time a man might haue seene the magnificent houses of the Venetian merchants, built in time of long peace, both for profit and for pleasure in euerie place of the island, all set on fire by the Turkes: But the regard of the publike state in so great a danger, made all those goodly things which went H
so to wracke, to be lightly accounted of in comparison of their liues and libertie; for as much as those lost things might with new charge be againe in short time recouered.

The two Venetian gouernours aforesaid, fearing a long siege, and not prouided of victuall to suffice such a multitude as were got into the citie, for any long time; vsed a heauie and sharpe remedie, by turning a great number of weake people and children vnable for seruice, out of the citie; of whom many, especially children, died in the towne ditches in their mothers armes vnder the wals of the citie, not daring to go any further for feare of the enemie, who had fast by in places conuenient cast vp great mounts, and planted his ordinance against the citie: onely the castle called S. *Angelo* standing in the middle of the island, about fifteene miles from the citie of CORFV, being valiantly defended by the inhabitants against the assaults of the Turkes, happily I
saued aboue three thousand poore people which fled thither from the furie of the Turkes, who in all other places of the island had made all desolate. The Turkes the more to terrifie them of CORFV, taking a hill not farre from the citie, couered the same with their tents, and from the rocke called MARIPETRVS, shot with their great ordinance into the towne: some of them in the meane time standing close in the ruines of the suburbs, did with their harquebusiers kill or wound them which appeared vpon the wals. The gallies also did oftentimes out of their prows discharge their great pieces against the citie, to the greater terrour than hurt of the defendants. *Solyman* perceiuing that he did but lose his labour in besieging the citie, as he was told at the first by his great captaines, *Lutzis*, *Aiax*, and *Barbarussa*; determined now to raise his siege, and to returne to CONSTANTINOPLE, greatly ashamed that he had no better sped neither in K
ITALIE, nor at the siege of CORFV. But when he was about to haue departed, it was told him how vnfaithfully some of his soldiors had dealt with them of CASTRVM in ITALIE; who yeelding themselues vpon the Turks faith to them giuen for the safegard of their libertie and goods, were neuertheless most injuriously spoiled of all that they had, and caried away into bondage. Which fact as tending to the dishonour of his name, and the deterring of others from yeelding,

Good iustice done by Solyman.

Solyman tooke in so euill part, that for amending thereof, he caused the authors of that fact to be put to death, and the captiues of CASTRVM to be diligently sought out, and sent home againe into their countrey: well deseruing therein the commendation of a most just prince. The Turks left the siege of CORFV and departed out of the island about the twelfth of September, in the yeare 1537: carrying away with them aboue sixteene thousand of the island people into perpe- L
tuall captiuitie. So *Solyman* rising with his armie, marching thorow ACARNANIA and ÆTOLIA, returned thorow MACEDONIA to CONSTANTINOPE: hauing in this his expedition done great harme both in ITALIE and CORCYRA, but yet nothing encreased his empire or honour.

The Turks depart from Corfu, and carrie away with them aboue sixteen thousand Christians into captiuitie.

Before his departure, calling vnto him *Lutzis* his Admirall, he commaunded him also to returne with his fleet to HELESPONTVS: who passing by ZAZINTHVS, and landing some of his men in the night, tooke diuers of the countrey people prisoners. But vnderstanding that the citie it selfe was both strong and well manned, he departed thence to CYTHERA, where vnfortunatly attempting to haue taken the castle, and disappointed of his purpose, he made what spoile he could vpon that island, and with eight hundred prisoners returned into ÆGEVM to ÆGINA, M
a rich and famous island, and well peopled both with marriners and other inhabitants. Approching the island, he by his messengers sent before vnto the Gouernour of the citie, attempted first by faire meanes, and afterwards by threats to haue had the citie yeelded vnto him: and not so preuailing, but perceiuing them to stand vpon their defence, he landed his men and gaue the signall

A nall of battell. Which they of the iſland refuſed not, but manfully met him, and at the firſt encounter ſlew many of his men: wherewith the Admirall grieuouſly offended, and ſtill landing freſh men, euen with his multitude oppreſſed them of the iſland, being but in number few, and wearie of long fight; and ſo enforced them them to retire into the citie.

To be reuenged of this injurie, the Baſſa cauſed certaine pieces of great ordinance to be landed, and a batterie planted againſt the citie: by force whereof, he had in ſhort time in diuers places opened the wals, and then with all his power aſſaulting the breaches, forthwith tooke the citie: which after he had rifled, he burnt it downe to the ground, raſed the wals, and put the men euerie mothers ſonne to the ſword. As for the women, he gaue them without reſpect vnto the luſt of his ſouldiors and marriners, whom afterwards togither with the boies and young chil-
B dren he ſhipped into the countrey neere vnto ATHENS, to be from thence conuaied to CONSTANTINOPLE into moſt miſerable ſeruitude.

Ægina with the other iſlands of the Ægean ſpoiled.

ÆGINA thus vtterly raſed, he with much like force and crueltie raged vpon them of PAROS, and the other iſlands thereabouts, killing the old men and ſuch as made reſiſtance, and thruſting the reſt into his gallies. Shortly after he came to the iſland of NAXOS, where all the iſland people were for feare of his comming, fled out of the country into the citie: there landing his men, he made hauocke of whatſoeuer came to his hand. And in the meane time ſent a meſſenger vnto the duke, to will him to yeeld himſelfe and his citie to the obedience of the Turkiſh emperour *Solyman*. Which meſſenger admitted into the citie, and brought before the duke, in blunt and plaine
C tearmes, without farther circumſtance, deliuered his meſſage as followeth:

The blunt ſpeech of a Turke ſent by Lutzis Baſſa vnto the duke of Naxos.

If thou wilt without more adoe, yeeld thy ſelfe, thy citie and territorie to the Conſtantinopolitane emperour, thou ſhalt deſerue his fauour, and ſo ſaue thy ſelfe with that thou haſt. But if thou otherwiſe aduiſed, ſhalt now refuſe this grace, thou ſhalt neuer hereafter haue the like offer: but for euer vndoe thy ſelfe, thy wife and children, thy citizens and ſubiects in generall. Here is preſent a moſt mightie fleet with moſt valiant and victorious ſouldiours, furniſhed with all the habiliments of war requiſite for battell or ſiege. Be warned by them of ÆGINA, PAROS, *and other thy neighbours, princes of the iſlands. Thy hap is good, if thou be not miſaduiſed; and warned by other mens harmes wilfully refuſe to remedie thine owne; and when thou mighteſt be ſafe, wilfully caſt away thy ſelfe.*

D This ſaid, he was commaunded by the duke to ſtand aſide, and a while to expect his anſwere: who with the chiefe of his ſubiects there preſent, but much troubled, and all full of heauineſſe and ſorrow, conſulted what anſwere to make. But after they had according to the waightineſſe of the cauſe and neceſsitie of the time fully debated the matter, it was with generall conſent agreed, That for as much as they were not themſelues of power to withſtand ſo furious an enemie, neither to expect for helpe from others, they ſhould therfore yeeld vnto the preſent neceſsitie, which otherwiſe threatned vnto them vtter deſtruction, and reſerue themſelues vnto better times. Whereupon anſwere was giuen vnto the meſſenger by the duke, That he was readie to yeeld himſelfe vnto *Solyman* as his vaſſaile, and of him as of his ſoueraigne to hold his ſeignorie for the yeately tribute of fiue thouſand duckats. Of which offer the Baſſa accepted,
E receiuing in hand one yeares tribute. So was that notable iſland yeelded vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance the 11 of Nouember this yeare 1537: from whence *Lutzis* the proud Baſſa laded with the rich ſpoile of the countries and iſlands he had paſſed by, returned to CONSTANTINOPLE with his fleet. Not long after, this great Baſſa then in credit and authoritie next vnto *Solyman* himſelfe, fell at ods with his wife, *Solymans* ſiſter: for that he after the vnnaturall manner of thoſe barbarous people kept in his houſe a moſt delicat youth, in whom he took more pleaſure than in his wife. Which ſhe being a woman of great ſpirit not able to endure, and knowing her husband by marrying of her to haue been from baſe degree aduanced vnto the higheſt honours that the emperour her brother could heape vpon him, in great rage reproued him with moſt bitter wordes, ſaying, That ſhe had married him to be of him beloued, and vſed as his wife, and not
F contemptuouſly abuſed by his minions. Wherewith the Baſſa moued, gaue her a blow on the eare, and cauſed her as a fooliſh and vnquiet woman to be ſhut vp in her chamber. But ſhe not brooking ſuch abuſe, came weeping to *Solyman* her brother, and complaining of her husband, requeſted to be diuorſed from him, who made no better reckoning of her: And with her complaint ſo incenſed *Solyman*, that he tooke from him his ſeale, and thruſt him out of all his hono-

Naxos becommeth tributarie vnto the Turke.

Iurys Passa dis. graced by Solyman and exiled.

rable promotions, and had vndoubtedly put him to death, had not the remembrance of his old loue and friendship staied his furie: Yet hauing vtterly disgraced him; he banished him the court into MACEDONIA, where he spent the remainder of his loathed like as a poore priuat man: of whom *Boisardus* thus writeth. G

Quæ tibi cum molli res est pollute Cynædo:
Cum cubet in Thalamis regia nympha tuis?
Ex humili fortuna loco te euexit in altum
Ex alto maior sæpe ruina venit.

On daintie boies, thou filthie man, why doest thou fix thine eye:
Whilest princely dame of roiall bloud, doth in thy chamber lie?
From base estate to honours height, blind fortune did thee call,
And set thee vp with princes great, to worke thy greater fall. H

Solyman thus fallen out with the Venetians, as is aforesaid, to entangle them at once with wars in diuers places, commanded his lieutenants in euerie place bordering vpon any part of the Venetian seignorie, to vex and molest them with all hostilitie, which they did accordingly: In PELOPONESVS, *Casimes* besieged NAVPLIVM and EPIDAVRVS, two strong cities of the Venetians: *Barbarussa* landing his men in DALMATIA, surprised the antient citie of BOTROTVS, belonging to the Venetians, carried away the citisens & rased the citie: OBROATIVM another citie of the Venetians in DALMATIA, called in auntient time ARGIRVTVM, with the castle of NADIN, were taken by *Vstref*, *Solymans* lieutenant in ILLYRIA. The Venetians thus inuaded on euerie side, requited them againe with the like: *Pisaurius* and *Veturius* (the Venetian Admirals) landing their men, besieged SCARDONA, a citie of the Turkes in the borders of DALMATIA, which they tooke by force, put the Turks to the sword, and ouerthrew the wals of the citie, because it should be no more a refuge vnto the Turks: They sent also one of their captaines called *Gabriel Ribeus* to besiege OBROATIVM; who vpon the comming of *Amurathes*, one of *Vstref* his captaines, cowardly fled, and in flight lost most of his men; for which his cowardise, *Pisaurius* caused his head to be strucke off aboord the Admirall gally: And *Camillus Vrsinus* appointed by the Venetian state Gouernour of IADERA, a strong towne vpon the frontiers of their territorie in DALMATIA, tooke from the Turkes the towne of OSTROVIZZA, which he burnt downe to the ground: He recouered also OBROATIVM, which was a little before lost; which by the commaundement of the Senat he vtterly rased, as a place not well to be kept against the enemie. *The Turks spoile the Venetians, and the Venetians them likewise.* I K

The same Autumne that *Solyman* hauing wasted CORCYRA was returned to CONSTANTINOPLE, and the Venetians held warres with the Turkes for the townes and castles in DALMATIA: king *Ferdinand* receiued such an ouerthrow at EZER by the Turkes, as a greater or more shamefull vnto the name of the Christians was hardly in that age seene; if the losse of the choise souldiors and captaines of foure great nations, with the shamefull flight of the Generall be well considered. After the battell of MOHAHZ wherein king *Lewes* was lost, the Turks hauing gotten the victorie, kept vnto themselues that part of HVNGARIE which is called POSSEGA, because thereby they had a fit passage from BELGRADE further into HVNGARIE. The two great riuers of Sauus and Dranus, running almost with equall distance from the West, taking with them diuers other smaller riuers, before they fall into the great riuer of Danubius Eastward, doe on both sides inclose this countrey of POSSEGA, being a rich and plentifull countrey, and wonderfull well peopled: It bordereth vpon the prouinces of CROATIA and CORBANIA, which in times past were at continuall warres with the Turkes garrisons thereby in ILLYRIA and BOSNA. L

Mahometes Gouernour of Belgrade.

At that time one *Mahometes* a most valiant captaine of the Turks was Gouernour of BELGRADE, to whom for his approued valour and wisedome *Solyman* had committed the keeping of those frontiers, and the protection of the kingdome of HVNGARIE in the behalfe of king *Iohn*. He the yeare before had so vsed the matter, that what by force, what by pollicie, he had taken from the Christians aboue thirtie small castles in that country (which was sometime part of the patrimonie of the Despot of RASCIA) and had joyned them to the regiment of BOSNA. M

One

A One of theſe caſtles amongſt the reſt called EXEK, for the commodious ſituation thereof hee ſtrongly fortified, as that which might giue him paſſage ouer the riuer Dranus into HVNGARIE: from whence he fet in infinit preyes out of king *Ferdinands* countrey neere vnto him. Yet was there at that time a certaine league betwixt *Solyman* and *Ferdinand*, which notwithſtanding after the old cuſtome of thoſe countries for the exerciſe of the gatriſon ſouldiors, did beare with the taking of bootie, and light skirmiſhes without any breach thereof; ſo that it were done without any great power or field pieces: which wrong named peace, *Mathias* and the auntient kings of HVNGARIE had of long time vſed with the Turks, doing them with their nimble light horſemen no leſſe harme than they receiued. But the Germans now vſing no ſuch light horſemen, but ſeruing vpon great horſes, and charged with heauie armour, receiued great hurt by thoſe B light skirmiſhes; the Turkes with their light horſes eaſily ſhunning their charge, and againe at their pleaſure charging them afreſh, when they ſaw the heauie German horſes almoſt wearie and ſpent: by which meanes the German horſemen were oftentimes by the Turkes light horſemen ouerthrowne, and ſo either ſlaine or taken. King *Ferdinand* not well brooking theſe continuall injuries, and grieued in mind with the league which *Solyman* had to his profit made with him at his going into PERSIA, finding the ſame both vnprofitable and hurtfull to himſelfe; determined to take vp armes, with purpoſe, that if he could driue the Turks out of the countrey of POSSEGA, then forthwith to paſſe ouer Dranus, and to go directly to BVDA againſt king *Iohn*. It ſtill ſtucke in his mind how that kingdome was taken from him by *Solyman*, and that more was, as it were in diſgrace of him and the houſe of AVSTRIA, beſtowed vpon a ſtranger, which had C neither right therto, nor was any way roially deſcended. Yet were there ſome which wiſhed him not raſhly to enter into armes againſt ſo mightie an enemie, as was not to be vanquiſhed but by the vnited forces of all the Chriſtian princes of EVROPE: For they foreſaw that *Solyman* ſo prouoked, would not put it vp, but for the hatred he bare againſt the Chriſtians, and for his owne honour ſeeke more cruell reuenge: as he had of late done againſt the Venetians, with whom vpon a light occaſion he had broken a moſt auntient league, for ſincking one or two of his gallies; for which he would admit no excuſe or ſatisfaction. All this *Ferdinand* knew to be true, yet all the people of his dominions lay ſo earneſtly vpon him to take that warre in hand, that they ſaid plainly, they would neuer beare armes more againſt the Turks, if he omitted that occaſion. For they of CARINTHIA, STIRIA, CROATIA, and NORICVM, ſubject to the inuaſion of the D Turks, and daily receiuing great harmes, thought the Turks might eaſily be driuen out of POSSEGA, for as much as *Mahometes* had no great power nor like to haue any greater, Autumne being now almoſt ſpent.

An euill aſſured peace.

King Ferdinand breaketh his league with the Turkes.

So, king *Ferdinand* with the wonderfull rejoycing of his ſubjects, cauſed ſouldiors to be taken vp in all parts of his kingdome, ſending for moſt of his nobilitie and beſt captaines, as to a religious warre: and in a verie ſhort ſpace had raiſed a good armie, yet ſuppoſed of greater ſtrength than number, as conſiſting moſt of ſelect men. The footmen were for moſt part Germans, to whom were ioyned as wings certaine companies of Italians, harquebuſiers, whom *Lewes Lodronius* a valiant captaine and generall of the footmen had raiſed in RHETIA, and thoſe parts of ITALIE which lie neere vnto the Alpes. The horſemen were of BOHEMIA, SILESIA, MORAVIA, E STIRIA, CARINTHIA, and ſome alſo out of HVNGARIE, all conducted by their ſeuerall captaines: all theſe horſemen were in number eight thouſand, but the footmen were ſixteene thouſand ſtrong: with great ſtore of artillerie of all ſorts. This armie for the expertneſſe and valour of the ſouldiours, was thought ſufficient to haue met the greateſt armie of the Turkes in field, if it had been conducted by a politick Generall, and (as he had at other times been) fortunat: which was one *Iohn Cazzianer* a noble man of CROATIA, whom as one of great experience and famous for the late defence of VIENNA, king *Ferdinand* had made Generall of his armie. For *Ferdinand* by the aduiſe of his beſt friends, neuer vſed to aduenture his perſon vnto the danger of any battell, eſpecially againſt the Turkes, by whom many Chriſtian kings had in former time been vanquiſhed and ſlaine, but performed all his wars by his lieutenants: which he was thought F to doe, not ſo much for want of courage, as moued with the fatall miſhap of ſo many Chriſtian kings. *Mahometes* Gouernour of BELGRADE, vnderſtanding of this preparation made againſt him, ſent for diuers companies of the garriſon ſouldiors, which lay vpon the borders neere hand; he required aid of the gouernours of the Turkes prouince thereabouts; and was eſpecially holpen by *Vſterf* Gouernour of BOSNA, who of all *Solymans* lieutenants in EVROPE, was able to

Cazzianer Generall of king Ferdinands armie.

Mahometes Gouernour of Belgrade, aided by the other Turkes captaines.

bring into the field moſt good horſemen: he ſent him *Amurathes* a famous captain with a great G
companie of gallant horſemen, vnto whom were joyned certaine companies of footmen of
the wild and mountaine people of DALMATIA, entertained for pay; which rough and rude
kind of people were gouerned and kept in order by certaine companies of Ianizaries, drawne
out of the garriſon townes as far as BELGRADE and SAMANDRIA: after them followed many
out of SERVIA & RASCIA, ſome for pay, ſome for prey. The Turks receiuers liberally paying to
ſuch as were willing to ſerue, two months pay beforehand. Neither wanted he aid of the Hun-
garians from BVDA: ſo that the Turkiſh gouernours on euery ſide putting to their helping
hands, *Mahometes* had in ſhort time gathered ſuch an armie, as for number and ſtrength was not
much inferior to king *Ferdinands*, and reſolued to expect the comming of his enemies at EXEK.
Cazzianer was now come as farre on his way as CAPRVNZA, a towne vpon the riuer Dranus; H
hauing before well and conueniently prouided for the victualling of his armie, if they whom he
put in truſt and had taken the matter vpon them, had with like ſpeed and diligence performed
their charge: for they were the cheefe men of all the countrey, who all followed the direction
of *Simon*, biſhop of ZAGRABIA: who enflamed with zeale aboue meaſure, or els for want of
iudgement deceiued, had promiſed to ſerue the whole campe with plentie of victuals at a very
low rate. Which thing the countrey people which were to bring in the victuall, ſome by wag-
gon, ſome by boats alongſt the riuers, many difficulties now ariſing, were not able to performe:
which was not to be remedied, by reaſon of the neereneſſe of the enemie, and alſo for that *Ma-*
hometes with ſmall gallies in both riuers, and his troupes of horſemen pricking vp and downe
the countrey, did either ſtay the countrey people from bringing of victuall, or els allured them I
for a greater price to bring it to his owne campe: where they receiued for it readie money. *Caz-*
zianer ſetting forward from CAPRVNZA, hardly came in ten daies to the caſtle of VERVCZA,
which is about fortie miles diſtant from CAPRVNZA, being enforced to make ſhort marches,
A ſlow march. by reaſon of the troubleſome carriage of ſeuen great peeces of artillerie for batterie. The wiſer
ſort began euen then to miſdoubt the want of victuall both for the reaſons before alledged, and
for that ſuch victuall as was looked for, came not, although they had marched very ſoftly; ſo that
they were then enforced to ſpend ſuch victuall as they had prouided, not for the beginning, but
for the difficulties of a long protracted warre. Wherefore *Cazzianer* writ ſharpely to the bi-
ſhop, and the other which had taken vpon them the charge of prouiding victuall for the armie,
commaunding them to vſe all poſsible diligence and ſpeed, and not to let the hope of a notable K
victorie to be loſt through their negligence, for want of victuall rather than the valor of the ene-
mie. In the meane time *Cazzianer* thought good there to ſtay, and to expect the comming of
the victuall, ſending before him *Paulus Bachitius* with a thouſand Hungarian light horſemen,
and certaine companies of Italian harquebuſiers, as farre as the caſtle of ZOPIA, to the intent,
that he might of ſuch priſoners as he could take, learne ſomething of the enemies purpoſe. The
Turkes in the caſtle of ZOPIA deſcrying the comming of *Bachitius*, and thinking the whole ar-
mie of the Chriſtians had beene there at hand, ſet fire on the caſtle, which they thought they
could not keepe, and by boats fled downe the riuer Dranus. Yet for all their haſt *Bachitius* took
ſome of them in their flight: of whom *Cazzianer* learned that which hee before knew by his
owne eſpials, how that *Mahometes* and the Turkes lay encamped at EXEK, with a full reſolution L
to giue him battell. *Cazzianer* ſetting forward againe, ſtill keeping alongſt the riuer Dranus, came
Cazzianer commeth to Walpo. in eight dayes to the caſtle of WALPO: where by the way he was glad to ſtay ſeuen dayes at
the riuer Craſſus, which falleth into Dranus, vntill ſuch time as a bridge was made for the tranſ-
porting of his armie, for that the riuer was not to be waded ouer: in which time *Cazzianer* en-
tred oftentimes into counſell with the other captaines, what courſe to hold for the better pro-
ceeding in that warre. Where diuers men were of diuers opinions, ſome ſaid it were beſt to
leaue EXEK, and to beſiege a caſtle of the enemies thereby, called VILLACH: others more
wearie than the reſt, were of opinion, That it were better there to ſtay, vntill the reſt of the aid
and the victuall which they dayly expected, were come. But the greater number, which alſo pre-
uailed, vrged the firſt determination of going directly to the enemie at EXEK, for that longer M
delay would but breed further danger: and there was in the campe (as they ſaid) both ſtrength
and victuall ſufficient for the obtaining of the victorie, if they would make an end of their need-
leſſe conſultations, and not protract the warre vntill Winter were come on; whereby they did
nothing els, but cauſe the ſouldiors to thinke that they were afraid to meet the enemie, and ſe-

cretly

A ctetly to ſteale away backe againe into their countries: Whereas if they would like reſolute men
march on forward againſt the enemie, who at other times truſting moſt vnto his multitudes, and
now hauing no great power, would neuer abide the ſight of the Chriſtian armie, bringing with
it ſo much artillerie, but would forthwith forſake the place, and neuer ſhew his face: for as much
as the Chriſtian men at arms would (as they ſaid) eaſily breake thorow and ouerthrow the naked
Turkiſh horſemen, if they durſt abide the field. The young ſoldiors, who as yet had neuer made
proofe of the Turks manner of fight, did with ſuch cheerefulneſſe like of this reſolution, that
they thought two dayes ſtaying a long delay of ſo readie and eaſie a victorie. Wherefore it was
reſolued vpon preſently to ſet forward, and therupon the armie was muſtered: where, vpon view
taken, there was found to be ten thouſand horſemen (for diuers troupes of Germans were come
B to the campe, after the time of the firſt ſetting forward of the armie:) a more gallant companie
of horſemen, both for the ſtrength of their horſes, and goodly furniture of the men, had ſeldome
been ſeene in an armie ſo ſuddenly raiſed. But the footmen, ſelected out of all the prouinces, was
greatly diminiſhed, being now in number ſcarce eight thouſand ſtrong: for many were ſicke in
the campe, others weatie of the long journy, lingering behind, were ſtolne away; and generally
all they which were left, moyled with dirt and myre, by reaſon of the deepeneſſe of the rotten
way, wet thorow with raine, and almoſt ſtarued with cold, and therto pincht with hunger, were
thought ſcarce able to endure the hardneſſe of the preſent war. After that, commaundement was
giuen, That euery ſouldior ſhould carrie with him three dayes victuall: and proclamation made,
That no man ſhould vpon pain of death take any Turke priſoner, although he yeelded himſelfe,
C or charge himſelfe with any ſpoile before the battell were fully ended; for as much as the cap-
taines would afterwards deuide the ſpoile of the enemie amongſt the ſouldiors. This proclama-
tion thus made thorow the campe, they ſet forward towards EXEK: & the third day they came
to a certaine valley, about three miles from EXEK, where they encamped. The next day a com-
panie of Turkes ſhewed themſelues, which was by the great ordinance repulſed. The day fol- *The Turkes Ii-*
lowing the enemie ſallied out of the towne and skirmiſhed oftentimes with the Chriſtians: in *miſh with the*
which skirmiſhes many were ſlaine on both ſides, but moe wounded of the Chriſtians, for that *Chriſtians.*
the Turkes had pollitickely mingled certaine Ianizaries harquebuſiers, and archers, with their
horſemen; who vſed to that manner of fight, ſore gauled the Chriſtian horſemen. For which
cauſe the Generall forbad all ſuch light skirmiſhes, as purpoſing to keepe his ſtrength whole a-
D gainſt the generall day of battell: commaunding his cannoniers ſo to place the great ordinance,
as might moſt annoy the enemie, if he ſhould ſhew himſelfe by troupes within the danger of the
ſhot: which was ſo well performed, that the Turkes ſallying forth, receiued thereby great hurt, the
deadly ſhot flying thorow the middeſt of their companies. The ſame day *Symon* biſhop of ZA-
GRABIA came into the campe with his horſemen, and a certaine prouiſion of victuall, whereby
the feare of the want before conceiued, was well eaſed. *Mahometes* perceiuing that the Chriſti-
ans were not longer to be drawne to thoſe harmefull skirmiſhes, but that he muſt bring his men
in danger of the great ſhot: to annoy them by another meanes, ſent many ſmall boats, manned
with harquebuſiers and ſmall pieces of ordinance, into the lake neere vnto the campe, ſo to keepe
the Chriſtians from watering there, and with thoſe ſmall pieces ſhot oftentimes into the campe.
E Neere vnto the valley where the Chriſtians lay, was a hill, whereupon ſtood a village, wherein
were placed certaine companies of Turks, to skirmiſh as occaſion ſhould ſerue with the Chriſti-
ans: for diſplacing of whom the whole armie was put in order of battell, and the great artillerie
bent vpon them, that they ſhould not with their light skirmiſhes, after the manner of the Turkiſh
fight, trouble the order of the armie. Which thing the Turks perceiuing, and that they were not
able to hold the place, ſet fire on the towne, and ſo retired to EXEK The Chriſtians keeping on *The Chriſtians*
their march, came to the top of the hill, from whence they might ſee EXEK ſtand about two *come within the*
miles off in a faire plaine, neere vnto the banke of Dranus: all which low ground betwixt the *ſight of Exek.*
hill and EXEK, was ſo ſubiect to the caſtle, that it was thought a matter too full of danger to at-
tempt that way to batter the caſtle, and to expoſe the armie to the inevitable furie of the enemies
F ſhot. Wherefore deſcrying a riſing ground on the further ſide of the citie, equall with the top of
the wals, they thought it beſt to remoue their campe thither, and on that ſide to plant their bat-
terie againſt the citie. But to come to that place, was thought a matter of no ſmall trouble; for
they muſt fet a compaſſe three miles on the right hand thorow a forreſt by a foule and trouble-
ſome way, before they could come to the place they deſired: for the armie was not ſo great, as

to

to beſiege the citie round; wherein were not(as is reported)aboue ſixteen thouſand men: neither G
was there ſuch ſtore of victuals in the campe, but that the armie was like ſoone to feele the want
thereof, without a continuall ſupplie,which would hardly be had,the enemie ſtill beſetting euery
paſſage,and with their light horſemen ſcouring about all the countrey,of purpoſe to keepe them
from victuall. For which cauſe,ſome were of opinion, That it were beſt for them there to ſtay
where they were, vntill ſuch time as both more aid and better ſtore of victuals were come vnto
them: but others of contrary mind, ſaid the enemie was but barely ſtored with victuall himſelfe,
and therefore could not long hold out, which they ſaid they vnderſtood by certaine Chriſtian
fugitiues; and that *Mahometes* had put his cheefe ſubſtance into certaine boats,to be conueyed
downe the riuer, as purpoſing to flie, and would not hold out the ſiege aboue three dayes: As
for the forreſt,they thought it would well ynough be paſſed thorow,if they would couragiouſly H
ſet forward: Beſide that, the time of the yeare ſuffered no delay, Winter comming ſo faſt on,
that except ſome notable thing were done quickly, they ſhould be enforced by the very time of
the yeare to returne with ſhame, without doing any thing. This opinion was beſt liked of, as
more honourable and better beſeeming men of valour, than to lie ſtill in one place: whereupon
the next day the armie remoued,and in good order marched thorow the forreſt. Which thing
Mahometes quickly perceiuing, preſently ſent forth a thouſand light horſemen, and certaine
companies of the Ianizaries, harquebuſiers, to trouble the Chriſtians in their paſſage: who
The Turks skirmiſh with the Chriſtians in paſſing the forreſt. by a neerer and well knowne way ouertaking the armie, ſuddenly charged the rereward,
wherein the Italians and Bohemians marched. The Bohemians quickly fled, and the Italians
with much adoe endured the charge: but being relieued by the Carinthian men at armes, they I
notably repulſed the Turks, and put them to flight. So the armie with ſmall loſſe paſſed the for-
reſt,and came to the place they deſired: where after they had encamped themſelues,and in good
order placed all things needfull for the ſiege, they in ſeemely order offered vnto the enemie bat-
tell. But he keeping himſelfe within the towne, ſhot at the Chriſtians with his great ordinance:
and they to requite him, with two great pieces which they had placed vpon the riſing of a hill,
ſhot thorow both the wals of the towne and the bulwarke alſo, to the great terrour of the defen-
dants. The Chriſtians in the meane time hauing ſtood almoſt all the day in order of battell in
the ſight of the enemie, vainely expecting when he ſhould come forth to giue them battell, re-
Mahometes wiſely refuſeth to fight with the Chriſtians, offering him battell. turned at night into their campe: For *Mahometes* vpon great conſideration kept in his ſoldiors,
although they were moſt deſirous to fight, vnderſtanding right well of the want of victuall in K
the Chriſtian campe; and beſide that (as the fugitiues reported)being ſtraightly commanded by
letters from *Solyman*, that he ſhould not vpon paine of a moſt ſhamefull death forſake the place,
but to defend it to the laſt. Now the Chriſtians deſirous of battell,being thus delaied and decei-
ued of their expectation, had in a few dayes ſpent the ſmall ſtore of victuals they had,and began
to feele a generall want: neither was there any apparent meanes how they ſhould be releeued,
ſo that euery man began to feare ſome generall miſcheefe to enſue. When *Balthaſar Pamphi-
lus*, a noble Hungarian, and a captaine of great experience, ſitting in counſell with the reſt, en-
tred into this ſpeech.

Balthaſar Pamphilus his counſell for releefe of the armie. *Captaines* (ſaid he) *we doe all that we doe, vnaduiſedly: for whileſt we conſult at large how wee* L
*may ouercome our enemies, the ſtrength of our armie is in the meane time ſo weakened for want of
victuall, that the ſouldiors are neither well able to ſtand on their legs, nor to hold their weapons in
their feeble hands: and generally, euen they which are of greateſt courage begin now to quaile,
and deſpairing of battell, ſee that they muſt miſerably and ſhamefully periſh for want. Wherefore
in my opinion, we ought firſt and aboue all things moſt ſpeedily to prouide for this want, which ſo
greeuouſly pincheth vs: and preſently to remoue hence vnto the caſtle of* Hermande, *that with
the prouiſion thereof, which is not like to be little, we may refreſh our whole armie; and ſo releeued, to
proceed further as occaſion ſhall require.*

This caſtle was about ten miles diſtant from Exek, whereinto many of the Turks had con-
ueyed their wiues and children,and cheefeſt ſubſtance,being kept with a ſmall garriſon of twentie
Turks. Faſt by the caſtle was a pretie little walled towne, without flankers, after the manner of M
the old fortifying: which towne and caſtle *Balthazer* ſaid would eaſily be taken. This his coun-
ſell was well liked of all men, and he himſelfe ſent with certaine companies of ſouldiors to take
Balthaſar taketh the towne of Hermande. the towne. Wherein fortune ſo fauoured him,that it was at his firſt comming ſurrendered vnto
him: but when he had it, he found not therin any ſuch ſtore of corne or victuall as he had hoped
for:

A for: yet he tooke there certaine veſſels of wine, to the great reliefe of the weake ſouldiors. Vpon the newes of the taking of this towne, the campe remoued from EXEK about ten a clocke in the night, but ſo diſorderly, that the ſouldiors ſcarce knowing their owne enſignes, ſeemed rather to haue fled for feare than marched for ſpoile: yet the Turkes for all that moued not out of EXEK, miſdoubting ſome deceit, and loath to attempt any thing raſhly in the night. When the armie was come to the towne, the captains tooke order, that the victuall there found, was equally deuided amongſt the ſouldiors, and the next morning batterie laid againſt the caſtle; which thoſe few Turkes valiantly defended halfe a day, and then by compoſition yeelded it. But when the caſtle was taken, there was found in it but two barrels of meale, and other two of millet. Then might a man haue ſeene the captains themſelues hanging their heads as men ſtrucken with
B a ſudden feare, who in ſteed of a great prey & victuall to haue ſerued many daies, found nothing but a few women and children, and ſcarce ſo much victuall both in the towne and caſtle, as would ſerue the army two daies. Yet they diſſembled the matter, and fed the ſouldiors with hope of better ſtore, after the bridge were once repaired, that they might paſſe the riuer of Bodrog, which ran by the town: which bridge the Turks had before (for defence of themſelues) broken, by plucking vp of certaine piles, and taking away of the planks: wherefore the Carpenters being ſet on worke and euerie man putting to his helping hand, the bridge was with continuall labour in three daies repaired. The fourth day, the wagons and ſmaller pieces of ordinance paſſed ouer the bridge, and after them ſix of the great pieces for batterie: but the bridge ouercharged with the ſeuenth, which was of a wonderfull waight, and much greater than the reſt, began to breake; ſo that the cap-
C taines were enforced to breake that faire piece of ordinance, and ſo by pieces to carrie it away, that the enemie ſhould not get ſo great a ſpoile. All things being thus well paſſed ouer, the piles were againe cut downe, and the plancks ſtrucke off, to the intent the enemie ſhould not that way purſue them: and other way was there none, but to fetch a compaſſe about the great lake which was many miles about. Here the captaines began to conſult, whether it were beſt to breake the great pieces of ordinance, that ſo they might more ſpeedily march away, or not. Of which opinion was *Cazzianer* himſelfe, promiſing of his owne charge to new caſt them. As for the ſealing ladders, and ſuch other like things prouided for the ſiege, they burnt, becauſe they ſhould not come into the enemies hand, or trouble themſelues in their march. But moſt of the captaines were opinion, that it was not beſt ſo diſhonourably to breake thoſe goodly pieces, the greateſt
D ornament and defence of their countrey; but to hold on their march thorow POSSEGA, vntill they came to IUVANCHA, where they ſhould find great ſtore both of corne and wine: which towne, with the caſtle of GARA faſt by it, ſtored with all kind of prouiſion, they ſaid would eaſily be taken before the Turkes could poſsibly come ſo far about the lake from EXEK: and that it were a great ſhame, ſo to returne without doing any thing. *Cazzianer* thus perſuaded, ſet forward, and with great toile (by reaſon of the deepneſſe of the way and heauineſſe of the great ordinance) came by night to IUVANCHA, which was but three miles off: where the Turkes hauing with incredible celeritie paſſed a long journey, arriued at the ſame time alſo. Neere vnto this caſtle was a little towne, out of which all the Turkes were fled: the townesmen being Chriſtians, opened the gates and receiued in the ſouldiors; who there filled themſelues abundantly with
E wine, and could hardly be driuen out thence by their captaines to the campe. The ſame night the Turkes burnt the ſame towne, and whatſoeuer the Chriſtians had therein left. And euerie man betooke him to his armour in the campe, for the enemie was now at hand: and in the dawning of the day began hoatly to skirmiſh in diuers places with the Chriſtians, but eſpecially in that quarter of the campe where the Bohemians lay. Wherewith *Petrus Raſchinius* Generall of the Bohemians being grieued, ſet vpon them with a troupe of his beſt horſemen, and enforced them to flie: But the Turkes after the manner of their fight, quickly returning againe, and relieued by the comming in of their fellowes, beſet the Bohemians on euerie ſide, and ſlew many of them. *Raſchinius* the Generall fighting moſt valiantly, was there ſlaine with his followers. The Chriſtian captaines purpoſing to retire home, placed on each ſide of the armie foure rankes of
F wagons for defence on both ſides: in the vauward were placed the weake and ſicke men, yet ſo, that in the front of the armie were certaine companies of luſtie tall ſouldiors: but in the rearward was placed the greateſt ſtrength both of horſe and foot. The armie thus marching as it were on both ſides intrenched, as it oftentimes met with wooddie hils which hindred their way, ſo did the ſame fitly ſerue the Chriſtians, that the Turkes could not conueniently aſſaile them in their march,

The caſtle of Hermande yeelded to the Chriſtians.

Cazzianer to retire with more heſt, would haue broken his great ordinance.

The Turkes sore troubl. the Christians in their retire.

match, both before and behind. Which thing *Mahometes* perceiuing, ſent before certaine com- G
panies of Ianizaries and nimble footmen, which knew the countrey and the paſſages well, with certaine faulconets and other ſmall pieces to take the ſtraits whereby the armie was to paſſe, and ſo to gaul them in their paſſage; and when they could keepe the place no longer, to flie backe to another, and ſo from place to place: and in the open places he had his troupes of light horſemen, which were euer buſie in one place or another of the armie. By which meanes the Chriſtians in their march receiued much harme, which grieued them the more, for that no great power of the Turkes was any where to be ſeene togither, but ſtragling companies; which as they were commaunded, ſometime would come on with a fierce charge, and by and by retire againe, and with their arrowes and faulcon ſhot, from places of aduantage aſſaile them. At one of theſe ſtraits ſomewhat bigger than the reſt, *Paulus Bachitius* one of the Hungarian captaines, in whom H
the ſouldiors generally repoſed their greateſt truſt, was ſlaine with a faulcon ſhot, with diuers other of the valiant Hungarians; who ſeeing there a greater number of the Turks than they had ſeene in other places, thought to haue done ſome good ſeruice vpon them: His death brought a generall feare vpon the whole armie, for as much as both then and at other times, without him they neuer had any good ſucceſſe againſt the Turkes. Yet in that skirmiſh, the Hungarians to reuenge the death of their captaine, did with ſuch force repulſe the enemie, that they cauſed him after he had loſt many of his men, to run away and leaue his ſmall field pieces behind him. But ſuch was the weakneſſe or cowardiſe of the Chriſtian footmen, and the agilitie of the Turks, eſpecially the Ianizaries, that they with their ſhot out of the woods, ſtaied the Hungarian horſemen from the purſuit of their fellowes, and recouered their ſmall field pieces before they could I
be carried away by the Chriſtian footmen: wherewith they did againe forerun the armie, and ſtill trouble it as before. The Chiſtians beſet with theſe dangers, and almoſt ſpent for want of victuall, ſeeing no meanes to relieue their weake bodies, nor any ſmall hope to comfort their fainting ſpirits, did generally feare ſome extreame calamitie to enſue: and ſo much the more, for that it was reported, that *Mahometes* ſtill expected freſh ſupplies from BELGRADE, SAMANDRIA and NICOPOLIS: and many of the Hungarian light horſemen ſtole away from them, as carefull of their owne ſafetie: neither did they ſee any comfort in the diſmaied captaines, who at other times were woont with cheerfull and couragious words to relieue the ſouldiors, if they ſaw them any thing diſcouraged. But when they were come into a faire open field neere vnto a towne called GARA, they were aduertiſed, That the enemie had in the woods before them K
whereby they were to paſſe, cut downe great trees croſſe the waies, ſo that neither their great or dinance nor wagons, nor yet their horſemen could poſsibly paſſe that way but that they muſt needs breake their order.

A generall feare in the Christians campe.

This once bruted thorow the armie, filled them all with heauineſſe and deſperation: and ſo much the more, for that *Ladiſlaus Moreus*, and others which knew the counrrey well, ſaid there was but two waies to eſcape: the one thorow the woods about ten miles ſpace to WALPO, which by reaſon of the trees cut downe croſſe the waies by the Turkes was not to be paſſed, but they muſt needs leaue behind them their great ordinance and carriages: the other towards the caſtle of ZENTHVERZEBETH, which was in *Ladiſlaus Moreus* his countrey, certaine miles diſtant from GARA: by taking of which way, the enemie by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the L E
paſſage, muſt of neceſsitie be enforced to giue ouer his purſuit. Yet for all that, it was in counſell reſolued vpon, to take the way thorow the woods to WALPO, for that there was there victuall enough, and in the caſtle of WALPO was kept money ſent from king *Ferdinand*, ſufficient to pay the ſouldiors for all that Winter. And ſo leauing the great ordinance behind them, and burning the pouder and whatſoeuer elſe could not well be carried on horſeback, to ſet forward with all ſpeed: As for the trees, they ſaid, they would be well enough remoued, and the way opened by the pioners and wagoners: wherefore euery captain was commanded to haue his ſoldiors in readineſſe to ſet forward vpon the ſigne giuen; which was by the ſound of a ſhalme or hoboy, which when it ſhould be giuen, was referred to the diſcretion of the Generall. There were many which wonderfully diſliked of this reſolution, and ſaid openly, that the enemie was fewer in number M F
than their horſemen, and pinched almoſt with like want of victuall: beſides that, that the Turks durſt neuer in juſt fight encounter with the Chriſtian men at armes, but like theeues aſſaile them vpon a ſudden at ſome aduantage, and by and by be gone againe: and that the towne of GARA where the enemie lay encamped, was not ſo ſtrong but that it might be woon: wherefore all

The fearefull reſolution of the Chriſtians to get from the Turks.

things

A things were to be prouerd, and ſome great matter to be attempted of valiant men, pinched with wants: for that to run away, would be not onely a diſhonour vnto the captaines themſelues, who ought alwaies to preferre their honor before their liues; but alſo dangerous to them, which reſpected nothing but life. And if they ſhould ſet forward in the night, many would be loſt in the woods; and valour in the darke could not be knowne from cowardiſe: beſides that, the Turkes (as they ſaid) lay ſo nigh, that it was not poſsible to depart without their knowledge, eſpecially if they ſhould burne the powder, or breake the great ordinance. For which cauſes, they thought it better to fight a battell with them, and not to beleeue the falſe reports of new ſupplies come vnto them; and that God would vndoubtedly giue them aid, which were readie to lay downe their liues for their religion and glorie of the Chriſtian name. After all this, they began
B to conſult what was now to be done with the ſicke and wounded ſouldiors, which were before carried in wagons or amongſt the other baggage of the armie: for it was like, that ſo great a multitude of ſicke and wounded men, vnderſtanding what was decreed concerning the departure of the armie, would as miſerable forſaken men, fill the campe with lamentation and mourning; which it was thought would be alſo increaſed by the weeping and wailing of them, which ſhould neuer afterwards ſee their brethren, kinſmen, fellowes or friends, ſo miſerably and ſhamefully left behind and forſaken: the noiſe whereof, muſt needs come to the eares of the Turkes, which lay within a ſmall gun ſhot. Wherefore it was determined, that theſe ſicke and wounded ſouldiors ſhould be carried vpon the wagon and cart-horſes; and that ſuch as were not able to ſtay themſelues, ſhould be holden vp by other of more ſtrength riding behind them vpon the
C buttocks of the horſe. In fine to colour the matter, they which were ſo deſirous to go, ſaid that this their manner of departure grounded vpon good reaſon, was not to be accounted a ſhamefull flight (as ſome would tearme it) but a right honeſt and neceſſarie manner of retiring: for as much as they were ſtronger than their enemies in horſemen, and equall alſo (if not ſtronger) in footmen, although they were ſore weakned with ſickneſſe. Whileſt theſe things were in counſell diuerſly diſcourſed, and the reſolution ſet downe as is before ſaid, the matter was brought to this paſſe, that euerie captaine with troubled judgement conceiued in himſelfe ſecret cogitations, far from the common good, and without regard of ſhame and diſhonour, bethought himſelfe how he might betake himſelfe to flight, the vncertaine hope of deſired life. On the contrarie part, *Mahometes* vſing moſt certaine ſpies, and aduertiſed euerie houre of all the diſtreſſes of the
D Chriſtians, and thereby preſaging his future victorie; did by moſt diligent watch and troupes of horſemen, beſetting the paſſages farre and neere, moſt vigilantly attend euerie motion in the Chriſtian campe: of purpoſe, that when the armie ſhould riſe and ſet forward, he after his wonted manner might in the ſtraits (fit for his purpoſe) ſet vpon them being deuided and diſperſed one from another, as they muſt needs in thoſe troubleſome paſſages: for he had ſo placed his horſemen and footmen in the knowne tracts of thoſe woods, that he had ſhut vp the Chriſtians as it were in a toile. It was now almoſt midnight, and the armie taking no reſt, ſo carefully expected the ſigne of ſetting forward, that euerie little delay ſeemed to moſt men both tedious and dangerous: ſo that many great captaines vpon a cowardly conceit would ſtay no longer, but haſted to depart, and to go before the reſt, without any leaue of the Generall. The beginning of
E this miſchieuous departure, is reported to haue been begun by the common Hungarian horſmen, which knowing the paſſages and waies thorow the woods, made moſt haſt to WALPO. *Ladiſlaus Moreus* diſhonourably following their example, went the other way to his caſtle ZENTHVERZEBETH. After them followed in great haſt the Stirian horſemen, without regard of ſhame, led by *John Hunganot* their Generall, who was appointed to haue guarded the rearward. *Symon* biſhop of ZAGRABIA fled in like manner, knowne by his great lanterne wandring in the wood: yet with leſſe ſhame than the reſt, becauſe he being a clergie man, thought it not to belong to his vocation to put on armes, or to go into battell. In the meane time it was fearefully told to *Cazzianer*, That the Hungarian horſemen were fled, and that *Ladiſlaus* and *Hunganot*, with the Stirian troupes were gone alſo; and that all the reſt of the armie not expecting the ap-
F pointed ſignall, were in like manner vpon flying: With which report, the cowardly and diſmaied Generall was ſo terrified, that he preſently got to horſe, quite forgetting the ſignall he ſhould haue giuen (for that he thought all the reſt, as he afterwards ſaid, to haue been gone before) and as he was, vnarmed, betooke himſelfe to flight, leauing behind him for haſt his tent ſtored with plate and other rich furniture. In this tumult of them which ſo diſorderly fled, *Lodronius*

The vigilancie of Mahomet.

The Chriſtian captaines ſhamefully flie, ſome one way, ſome another, in the night.

The diſhonourable flight of Cazzianer.

nius that famous captaine was called vp, and told by his ſeruants, that the Generall was fled and G
gone: to whom he anſwered againe, without doubt it cannot be ſo, that I ſhould be ſo ſhame-
fully and perfidiouſly betraied of him: and ſo as a man megred with long watching & painfull la-
bour, laid himſelfe downe againe to ſleepe. Not long after, *Mahometes* hearing the ſtir that was
in the campe, riſe with his Turks to aſſaile his enemies: yet to be better aſſuted what the enemie
did, he thought it good to ſtay for day light, cauſing his men to ſtand ſtill in order of battell, and
with wonderfull ſilence to expect the ſigne of ſetting forward, which was giuen by the ſoft ſound
of a horſemans drum paſsing thorow euerie companie. For the old captaine acquainted with
many battels againſt the Chriſtians, doubting of their faigned flight, would not vnaduiſedly be
drawne into battell, but in a place commodious for his ſouldiours; as one before fully ſet downe
(after his wonted manner) to performe that ſeruice, not by the hazard of one ſet battell, but by H
dallying off the time with often skirmiſhes, when he could take the enemie at aduantage. The
day appearing, *Lodronius* againe awaking, heard a certaine confuſed noiſe of the Turkes, and
Lodronius encou- withall, ſaw himſelfe forſaken of the greateſt part of the horſemen: whereupon he complained
rageth the foot- in vaine, that he was betraied: yet for all that he was nothing diſcouraged, but cheered vp the
men. footmen, exhorting them to remember their former valour, and to reſolue with themſelues on-
ly with courage to ouercome the danger, which hard fortune had at that time brought them in-
to; for that valiant men were rather to thinke of an honourable death than ſhamefull flight,
whereby whether they ſhould eſcape with life or not, was vncertaine: As for himſelfe, who had
been their happie Generall in many battels, he ſaid he was reſolutely ſet downe by repulſing the
enemie to bring them into place of ſafetie, or elſe valiantly fighting togither with them to end I
his daies. As *Lodronius* was yet thus encouraging the footmen, the horſemen of CARINTHIA,
SAXONIE, AVSTRIA and BOHEMIA, who mindfull of their duetie, had in vaine expected the
appointed ſignall from the Generall, came to *Lodronius* as vnto the moſt valiant captaine, be-
ſeeching him, in ſteed of their treacherous Generall, to take vpon him the place: promiſing to
doe whatſoeuer he commaunded, and to fight as men againſt thoſe infidels for their religion
and king, ſo long as they were able to hold vp their weapons. *Lodronius* would in no caſe accept
of that honour ſo franckly offered, modeſtly proteſting himſelfe vnworthie thereof: Yet as a
man of courage, and moued with the hard eſtate of ſuch an armie, he with a ſolemne proteſta-
tion promiſed to execute the place in the beſt manner he could, and ſo did as long as his fortune
gaue him leaue. K

It is reported, that as *Lodronius* was encouraging the footmen, and earneſtly inuaying againſt
ſhamefull flight, an old German ſouldior was ſo bold, as bluntly, yet ſharpely to ſay vnto him:
An old German *Worthy* Lodronius, *thou canſt neuer be thought to flie ſhamefully, with a horſe of ſuch a price vnder*
ſouldior ieſteth *thee*. *Lodronius* perceiuing the old ſouldiors meaning, alighted, and with his ſword hoxed his
at Lodronius. horſe: ſaying alowd, This day valiant ſouldiors, ſhall you haue me both your Generall and fel-
low ſouldior, fighting on foot as one of your ſelues: ſee now that you deceiue not my expe-
ctation, but let vs either with glorious victorie or honourable death end this warre togither, yet
ſo, as that we die not vnreuenged. All his other horſes he gaue away vnto ſuch ſicke and wound-
ded ſouldiors as he beſt knew, amongſt whom was one *Picenard* of CREMONA, a captaine who
was then in an extreame fit of an ague, and had hardly eſcaped the hands of the enemie. The firſt L
troupes of horſemen and bands of footmen, were ſcarcely out of the campe with their enſignes,
but the Turkes comming on with a hideous crie, aſſailed them on euerie ſide, and many ſharpe
skirmiſhes were giuen vnto the horſemen as they marched, with ſuch euent, that the Chriſtians
ſometime valiantly receiuing the enemies charge, and ſometime charging them againe, repulſed
The horſemen the proud enemie ſtill buſie with them. In theſe continuall skirmiſhes, *Antius Macer Fuchſtat*,
diſcomfited by Generall of the Carinthian horſemen, fighting valiantly, was ſlaine, being for his braue armour
the Turkes. ſuppoſed by the Turkes to haue beene the Generall of the field. And by like miſhap foure and
twentie horſemen of great name were ſlaine alſo, and their guidon taken; amongſt theſe were
three noblemen, *Andreas Reſchius*, *Chriſtopharus Hernaius*, and *Georgius Himelbergus*. In ano-
ther place was made a moſt cruell skirmiſh with the Saxon horſemen, and them of MISNIA, M
THVRINGIA and FRANCONIA, who followed the Saxons enſigne: of theſe, fighting moſt va-
liantly, was ſlaine aboue 36 worthie captaines, lieutenants, or ancients; and *Chuenrius* a princi-
pall captaine of the Saxons taken, who afterwards died in bonds. Amongſt
them which were ſlaine, *Sebaſtianus Metheſcus*, and *Iacobus Scullemburgh* were of greateſt nobi-
litie.

A litie. In like manner the horſemen of AVSTRIA couragiouſly reſiſting the enemie for a ſpace, were in the end ouerthrowne: where amongſt them was ſlaine two valiant noblemen, *Fettaius* and *Hofchirchius*, with diuers other men of great place and reputation both in their own countrey and abroad. But the greateſt ſlaughter was made amongſt the Bohemian horſemen, vpon whom (being diſordered by the Ianizaries harquebuſiers) the Turkiſh troupes of the old garriſon ſouldiors breaking in with their ſcimitars and heauie yron maſes, made a moſt bloudie execution. The battell of footmen being ſore gauled, and almoſt diſordered in their march by certaine companies of Ianizaries and archers of the Aſapi, who from a woodie banke of a marriſh diſcharged their ſhot and arrowes continually vpon them, yet neuer comming to handy blows, was on the other ſide ſo hardly charged by *Amurathes* with his troupes of horſemen of BOS- *The Chriſtian footmen ouerthrowne.*
B NA, that being not able longer to keepe order, it was at laſt by him broken and cut in peeces: where the Turks with their ſwords and hatchets ſlew the poore Chriſtians without mercie. *Lodronius* himſelfe carried away with the breaking in and force of the horſemen, was driuen into a marriſh: where after that he being ſore wounded, and almoſt faſt in the deepe mud, had done the vttermoſt of that his laſt endeuour; he by the faire entreatie of the Turks perſuading him rather to yeeld, than there to be ſlaine, ſo yeelded himſelfe, that he with three companies which were with him, after they had laid downe their weapons, were all ſaued as valiant ſouldiors: for now the mercileſſe Turkes embrued with the Chriſtian bloud, were wearie of ſlaughter, and began greedily to ſeeke after the ſpoile, hunting after them, who flying diſperſedly, thought themſelues to haue eſcaped the enemies hands; with ſuch ſucceſſe, that a great number of them was taken and
C led away for ſlaues: few of the footmen eſcaped, and almoſt all the reſt which were not fled before the battell, were to be ſeene dead vpon the ground.

This ſhamefull ouerthrow at EXEK was reported to haue exceeded the moſt grieuous ouerthrowes that the Chriſtians had receiued in any former time: for the flower both of horſe and foot there loſt by the raſhneſſe and fault of an vnluckie Generall, rather than by the valor of the enemie, ruthfully periſhed; ſo that many prouinces were filled with heauineſſe and mourning. For it neuer chanced before, as was to be ſeene by the vnfortunat battels of *Sigiſmund* the emperour, and king *Ladiſlaus*, that the Turks got ſuch a victorie without ſome loſſe: ſo that they which fell almoſt vnreuenged at EXEK, may ſeeme to haue augmented that loſſe by the great infamie thereof. *Mahometes* hauing thus almoſt without the bloud of his ſouldiors obtained ſo
D great a victorie, and taken the ſpoile of the Chriſtian campe, pitched his tents in a little meddow, being cleanſed of the dead bodies, and, after he had merrily feaſted with his captaines, commanded the cheefe priſoners, the goodly ſpoiles, and faireſt enſignes to be brought vnto him: and openly commending the captaines who had that day done any good ſeruice, commaunding diuers bags of money to be brought vnto him by the receiuers, he with his owne hand rewarded the ſouldiors, ſome with gold, ſome with ſiluer, according to their deſerts: And cauſing all the priſoners which were not common ſouldiors to be brought forth, he diligently viewed them, and preſently cauſed euery one of their names, and the office they bare, to be enrolled by his clarkes: and vnto ſuch as brought in the heads, eares, or hands of the Chriſtians with rings vpon them, he forthwith cauſed one reward or other to be giuen. *Lodronius*, when as by reaſon
E of his deadly wounds he was thought vnable to endure trauell, or to be brought aliue with the other priſoners to CONSTANTINOPLE, was ſlaine by his keepers, and his head afterwards ſent thither. *Lodronius ſlain.* For as many noble gentlemen, and amongſt others *Laurentius Streiperg* and *Dietmarus Loſenſtaine* haue reported (who raunſomed afterwards, returned home againe to their wiues and children) amongſt the priſoners which were together with the faire enſignes and other gallant warlike furniture (eſpecially gilt amour and headpeeces) preſented by *Mahometes* his meſſengers to *Solyman*, three of the greateſt captaines heads were in a ſiluer baſon there ſeene and knowne, which were the heads of *Paulus Bachitius* the valiant Hungarian captaine, *Antius Ma-* *Three of the great captaines heads preſented to Solyman at Conſtantinople.*
cer Generall of the Carinthian horſemen, and *Lodronius* Generall of the footmen: which after the tyrant had looked aſquint vpon, as abhorring that loathſome ſight, hee with ſterne counte-
F nance commaunded all the priſoners to be ſlaine. But vpon the interceſsion of the Ianizaries, who intreated for them, as valiant men, to whom they had at the time of their taking giuen their faith, and might afterwards doe him good ſeruice, he chaunged his countenance, and ſaued many of them. But *Cazzianer* flying to his owne caſtle, was of all men accuſed, as a wicked forſaker of *Cazzianer generally hated.*
his owne campe and enſignes, and commonly railed vpon, as the eternall infamie of his coun-

trey, and author of the publike calamitie: ſo that it was reported, that he durſt neither go abroad G
nor ſhew his face for ſhame. He was ſo generally hated, that infamous libels, made againſt him
and the other captaines which had ſhamefully fled as he did, were commonly ſung in the ſtreets
by boyes in all the cities of GERMANIE. Wherewith he was ſo much grieued, that he reque-
ſted of king *Ferdinand*, that he might ſafely come to the court, to anſwere whatſoeuer could be
laid againſt him: which his requeſt the king eaſily graunted, and when he came to the court
receiued him with doubtfull countenance. But when the hearing of his cauſe was by the king
ſomewhat longer protracted than he would haue had it, and he in the meane time kept vnder
ſafe cuſtodie; impatient of ſuch delay, and halfe doubtfull whether he ſhould be quitted or con-
demned, thought it better to flie than to abide the triall. So faigning himſelfe ſicke, and ſcraping
Cazzianer imprisoned, breaketh prison. vp by little and little with his knife a bricke pauement vnder his bed, and ſo in the night getting H
out firſt one bricke, and after that another, at length brake thorow the vault, and with his ſheets
letting himſelfe downe, eſcaped, hauing poſt horſes readie for him without the caſtle. Not long
after, as he was a man of a haſtie and vnconſtant nature, deſpairing of his eſtate, he fled to the
Turkes, *Mahometes* gladly receiuing him, and beſide his great entertainement, promiſing him
the gouernment of all CROATIA, in manner of a tributarie king, if he would faithfully ſerue
Solyman, and helpe him in the ſubduing of the cities of AVSTRIA. After he had agreed vpon all
the conditions of his reuolt, that he might returne to *Mahometes* with ſome more credit, he be-
gan boldly to deale with *Nicholaus Sirenus*, a noble man of CROATIA, and his deere friend as
he ſuppoſed, to reuolt with him; aſſuring him, that *Solyman* would deale as kindly with them
both, as he had before with king *Iohn* in the kingdome of HVNGARIE. *Sirenus* promiſed him I
he would, or at leaſt made as if he promiſed to do what he deſired, and ſo agreed as it were vpon
the matter, promiſing to goe ouer with him to the Turke with a troupe of his beſt and moſt tru-
ſtie horſemen. But *Sirenus* conſidering with himſelfe the heinouſneſſe and impietie of ſo great
an offence, changing his purpoſe, choſe rather to deale trecherouſly with his old friend, fearing
no ſuch thing in his houſe, than to offend both againſt God and his prince. Wherefore after he
had well feaſted *Cazzianer* at his houſe, he as a moſt cruell hoaſt, cauſed him to be ſlaine, and
Cazzianer ſhamefully murthered, and his head ſent to king Ferdinand. ſent his head to king *Ferdinand*: in reward whereof he receiued of the kings gift *Cazzianer* his
caſtle, with all his ſubſtance.

In the meane time the Venetians, prouoked by the Turks with diuers injuries both by ſea and
land (when as *Solyman* but a little before hardly beſieging CORCYRA, and with moſt barbarous K
crueltie waſting the iſland, had broken the league, and euen then by his lieutenant *Caſſemes Baſſa*
beſieged EPIDAVRVS and NAVPLIVM, two of their cities in PELOPONESVS) reſolued with-
out delay to make warres likewiſe vpon him, who for a ſmall treſpas would admit no excuſe or
recompence. Whereunto they were alſo animated both by *Charles* the emperour, and *Paulus* the
great Biſhop: who warned by the late and dangerous attempts of *Solyman* and *Barbaruſſa*,
thought it more for the ſafetie of their eſtates, by giuing aid to the Venetians to keepe the Turks
buſied farther off, than to ſuffer them to acquaint themſelues too much with the ports of ITA-
LIE or SICILIA. Wherefore all the Winter following they laboured by their embaſſadours
to ſet downe what number and what manner of ſhips, what ſouldiours, what money, was to be
prouided, and how to be according to their eſtates apportioned for the ſetting forth of a ſtrong L
The emperour, the Venetians, and the Biſhop of Rome enter into a confederation againſt the Turkes. fleet, againſt the next Summer to be ſent into GRÆCIA againſt the Turks. At laſt it was agreed
amongſt theſe confederat princes by their embaſſadours at ROME, That the emperour ſhould
furniſh and ſet forth foureſcore and two gallies, the Venetians the like number, and the biſhop
ſix and thirtie, to make vp the number of two hundred gallies; that the Venetians ſhould lend
vnto the biſhop ſo many gallies readie rigged as he ſhould deſire to be furniſhed by him with
marriners and ſouldiors; and that the emperour and the ſtate of GENVA ſhould find ſufficient
ſhipping for the tranſportation of the land forces and victuall. The Generals alſo of this great
fleet to be ſet forth, were at the ſame time appointed. *Andreas Auria* for the emperour, *Vin-
centius Capellus* for the Venetians, and *Marcus Grimmanus* patriarch of AQVILEA, for the Bi-
ſhop; to whom was joyned *Paulus Iuſtinianus*, one of the cheefe Senators, a man of great expe- M
rience in ſea matters. It was alſo agreed, that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* viceroy of SICILIE ſhould
haue the commaunding of the land forces, and that whatſoeuer was got from the Turks in that
expedition in GRÆCIA, the Iſlands, or DALMATIA, ſhould be all faithfully deliuered to the
Venetians, who had receiued ſo many injuries from the Turks. The emperour alſo of his libera-
litie

A litie promiſed vnto the other confederats, that they ſhould for reaſonable price haue as much wheat as they would out of SICILIA, without paying any cuſtome.

Solyman vnderſtanding of this confederation and preparation made againſt him by theſe Chriſtian princes, commaunded *Barbaruſſa* his Admirall to make readie his fleet to goe againſt theſe enemies, and to doe all the harme he could vpon the Iſlands ſubiect to the Venetian ſtate. Which thing *Barbaruſſa* with great care and diligence in ſhort time performed: and ſo with a hundred and thirtie gallies in moſt warlike manner appointed, with the firſt of the Spring in the yeare 1538 departed from HELLESPONTVS directly to CRETE, where hauing paſſed the promontorie of GYAMVS, which at this day is called SPARTA, he vnaduiſedly landed moſt part of his men, to haue ſurpriſed the citie CANEA, which was in auntient time called SYDO-
B NIA: For *Grittus* one of the Venetian Senatours then kept the citie with a ſtrong garriſon, who from the wals and bulwarkes thereof ſo plagued the Turkes with great and ſmall ſhot, and the ſallying out of two companies of Italians, that *Barbaruſſa* hauing loſt many of his men, was faine to retire againe to his fleet in ſuch haſt, that he left behind him a thouſand of his Turkes, which were gone further into the Iſland after bootie, who were afterwards all ſlain by them of CRETE. After that, he attempted to haue taken diuers places in the Iſland, and was euery where notably repulſed. With the citie of CANDIA, whereof the Iſland now taketh name, and was in antient time called CYTHEVM, he durſt not meddle: but ſayling almoſt round about the Iſland, tooke onely CECILIA, a little towne before forſaken of the inhabitants, which he ſet on fire, and ſo departed from CRETE: for he was aduertiſed, that *Vincentius Capellius* the Venetian admirall,
C who was now come to CORCYRA, would in ſhort time come to releeue them of CRETE. *Auria* Admirall of the emperours fleet, paſſing the ſtrait of MESSANA, came to CORCYRA alſo, and there joyned with the Venetians. The Chriſtian fleet was then ſo great, that it was thought the Turkes durſt not meet it at ſea, but by all meanes ſhun to giue battell. For *Barbaruſſa* then lay with the Turkes fleet in the bay of AMBRACIA, expecting when the Chriſtians ſhould enter the ſtraight entrance thereof, where he had on both ſides placed diuers peeces of great Ordinance, to haue ſunke them in their comming in: for *Grimanus* the Patriarch a little before departing from CORCYRA, had with the great Biſhops gallies begun to beſiege PREVESA, a towne vpon the promontorie of ACTIVM faſt by that ſtrait; and landing ſome of his ſoldiors, with three great peeces of artillerie, ſo battered the caſtle of PREVESA, that he was like ynough
D to haue taken it, had not the Turks from ÆTOLIA come to releeue it with a ſtrong power both of horſe and foot. Wherefore the Patriarch ſhipping againe his men and ordinance, returned to the fleet at CORCYRA, not repenting him of his iourney, for that he had well viewed the ſtraits of that bay, and all the enemies fleet riding at anker within it. Vpon the returne of the Patriarch, and relation made what he had both done and ſeene, the great commaunders of the Chriſtian fleet entred into counſell, what courſe were beſt to take for their better proceeding in that great act on. *Gonzaga* the viceroy, Generall of the land forces, was of opinion, That it was beſt to land the ſouldiors and great ordinance, and with all their force to aſſault the caſtle of PREVESA: which once taken, and their ordinance there placed, the enemies fleet might in the bay be vtterly defeated, for that all paſſage to ſea might eaſily be taken from them, by ſinking of one of their
E great ſhips in the mouth of the ſtrait, and by moaring there of three great galleons full of artillerie: ſo that if *Barbaruſſa* would deſperatly aduenture to come out, he muſt needs bee ſunke in the mouth of the bay. Wherevnto *Auria* replied, That *Gonzaga* his counſell was all words and ſhew glorious, but to be put in execution moſt dangerous: for that firſt to land the ſouldiors and great artillerie, hee ſaid was a thing too too full of hazard and perill: for it was to bee thought, that the Turks in ÆTOLIA would as they had before done, come with ſpeed with their horſemen to releeue the beſieged in the caſtle, whoſe force the Chriſtian footmen could hardly abide: Beſides that, if the fleet ſhould by force of weather be conſtrained to forſake that coaſt, as it well might, Autumne now comming faſt on, after the ſouldiors were landed; from whence ſhould they then get any victuall in the enemies countrey, or what releeſe ſhould they hope for, if they
F ſhould hap to be diſtreſſed, being on euery ſide beſet with their enemies, and their friends by tempeſt driuen from them. Wherefore he thought it beſt, if the enemie could not be drawn out of the bay to battell, to goe directly into the bay of NAVPACTVM, & to take that towne which was not greatly fortified, and ſo to ranſacke and ſpoile all the townes euen to the bottome of the bay of CORINTH, which the Græcians in the fleet ſaid might eaſily be done: By taking of which

1538

Solyman ſendeth Barbaruſſa againſt the Venetians.

Barbaruſſa landing in Crete, is repulſed with loſſe.

The confederate princes fleetes meet at Corcyra.

Gonzaga his opinion.

Auria of another opinion.

courſe it might ſo fall out, that *Barbaruſſa* moued with the danger of his friends, would for ſhame come out and joyne with them in battell. This counſell of *Auria* was beſt liked both of *Capellius* and the Patriarch, being farre more deſirous to fight with their enemies at ſea, than at land. G

Auria hauing put in order his fleet, came to PREVESA, and ſo to the ſtrait of the bay of AMBRACIA, where he ſo placed the whole fleet, which was in number two hundred and fiftie ſaile, that it might eaſily of the enemie be numbred. Which ſight (as it was reported) wonderfully troubled *Barbaruſſa*, who although he was of a courageous diſpoſition, and ſuch a man as greatly feared not either the valor or martiall diſcipline of the Chriſtians, yet was he exceedingly moued with the ſight of ſo great a fleet, ſo well appointed; for a greater had not of long time been ſeene in the Ionian ſea. So that an eunuch of *Solymans* court, ſent by him as *Barbaruſſa* his H companion, ſeeing him to delay the time, as a man halfe diſcouraged, did with moſt vnciuile and proud words take him vp, becauſe he would not forthwith goe out of the bay and fight with the Chriſtians which lay at the mouth thereof daring of them; wherein he was not (as he ſaid) to regard his owne ſafetie, who as a coward could not endure the ſight of the enemie, but the honour of *Solyman* his ſoueraigne, who would not take it well, to haue the glorie of his name ſtained with ſo ſhamefull a delay: for if he were a valiant and martiall man, as he profeſſed himſelfe to be, he ought neuer to deſpaire of victorie: And if it ſhould ſo fall out, that fortune ſhould frowne vpon them, and not anſwere to their deſires, yet ſhould not *Solyman* therefore want captaines and ſouldiors better than they, if they were ouercome, & the woods of PONTVS would affoord him timber ynough to build twice ſo great and ſtrong a fleet. And for a concluſion, the I inſolent Eunuch willed *Barbaruſſa* to beware, that whileſt he feared a moſt honourable death, (which was vncertaine, though the battell were loſt) he drew not vpon himſelfe the certaine danger of a moſt ſhamefull death by the diſpleaſure of *Solyman*.

Auria braueth Barbaruſſa lying in the bay of Ambracia.

Barbaruſſa reproued of cowardoſe by one of the Turkes eunuchs.

At which ſpeech *Barbaruſſa* turning himſelfe about to *Salec*, one of the arch pyrats, a famous ſea man, ſaid vnto him: Wee muſt for ought that I can ſee, moſt valiant and faithfull captaine, aduenture this battell, although it be at too much diſaduantage, leaſt happily we periſh by the complaints of this barking demie man. And ſo preſently commaunded all his fleet to weigh anker, at the ſame time that *Auria* had hoyſed ſaile and was on his way toward the bay of NAVPACTVS, thinking that the enemie durſt not for feare haue come out of the bay of AMBRACIA.

Barbaruſſa his anſwere to Salec concerning the eunuchs ſpeech.

Auria keeping on his courſe, was come to LEVCADE, when the enemies fleet was deſcried K out of the top of *Bondelmerius* great Galleon to be come out of the bay, and to make towards them, keeping cloſe by the ſhore: which manner of courſe the craftie Turke miſdoubting his owne ſtrength, held of purpoſe, that if he ſhould chance to be ouermatched by the Chriſtians, hee might turne the prow of his gallies vpon them, and running the poupes aground, ſo to land his men and great ordinance, and from land as he might to defend his fleet: accounting it a leſſe loſſe (if the worſt ſhould chance) to loſe the gallies than the men.

Barbaruſſa putteth out of the bay of Ambracia, and followeth Auria.

Auria ſomewhat troubled with this ſudden comming out of the enemie, as with a thing which he then leaſt expected, yet notably ſtaied himſelfe, and commaunded all the fleet to prepare themſelues to battell, and to follow his Admirall gallie. Now all the Turks fleet was come into the open ſea in ſuch order, that *Barbaruſſa* himſelfe was in the middle battell, where his Admirall galley was to be ſeene with many purple flags and ſtreamers flying gallantly in the wind: on his right hand was *Tabaches*, and *Salec* on the left, both men of great fame, euery one of them hauing almoſt like number of gallies, which were in all a hundred and fiftie: Vnto the middle battell were joyned the two wings, in ſuch order, that which way ſoeuer the Admirall turned, they turning alſo, ſtill repreſented the forme of a flying Eagle: ſo that (as *Auria* himſelfe afterwards confeſſed) a more firme or orderly fleet could not haue been brought out by any expert captaine. Before the fleet, came about twentie nimble gallies, conducted by *Drogut* (or *Dragut*) an arch pyrat, famous afterwards for the great harme he did vnto the Chriſtians. *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall came in his long boat to *Auria*, requeſting him, That he with his gallies might giue the firſt charge vpon the enemie: to whom *Auria* gaue great thankes, and praiſing his forward- M neſſe, requeſted him to follow him, to whom he would in good time giue a ſign what he would haue done. The formoſt of the Turks light gallies was now come to the great Galleon of *Bondelmerius*, which was the formoſt of the Chriſtian fleet, whereunto were ſent alſo certaine gallies from *Salec*, to helpe to aſſaile that tall ſhip; which ſhooting a farre off, did no harme, neither

The order of the Turks fleet.

L

Bondel-

A *Bondelmerius* them: who would not ſuffer one peece to be diſcharged, for he being an expert ſea man, and loth to ſhoot in vaine, expected that they ſhould come neerer vnto him, and then vpon the ſudden to diſcharge all his great ordinance vpon them. Neither was he deceiued in that his expectation, for the Turkes comming neere vnto him, were ſo ouerwhelmed with the great and ſmall ſhot out of the Galleon, that they were glad to ſtay their courſe, and to retire. In the meane time *Auria* called backe againe the ſhips which were gone before, and cauſed his Galleon to be towed out; and by boats of purpoſe ſent out, charged the captaines of the gallies to make themſelues readie to fight, vpon ſignall giuen by the ſound of the trumpet and the diſplaying of the Admirals enſigne: yet was not *Auria* of mind to fight with his gallies, without his ſhips: which thing the craftie enemie well perceiued, and ſought by all means to joyne battell with the gallies
B before the comming in of the tall ſhips, which were as caſtles in reſpect of the gallies: for it was then ſuch a calme, that the ſhips were not able to keepe way with the gallies, and the ſmooth water ſeemed to offer a fit oportunitie for battell; which ſo well pleaſed the Patriarch, that many heard him crying aloud to *Auria*, to giue the ſignall, and maruelled much why he deferred to giue battell. For he fetching a great compaſſe, and houering about his ſhips, with his gallies kept ſuch a courſe, that many thought he would vpon the ſudden haue done ſome ſtrange and vnexpected exploit vpon the enemie: but *Auria* held that ſtrange courſe, of purpoſe to haue drawne the enemies gallies within the danger of his great ſhips, who thundring amongſt them with their great ordinance, might haue eaſily ſore beaten and diſordered them, and opened a way vnto his gallies to haue gotten a moſt certaine victorie. But the craftie old Turk doubting by the ſtrange-
C neſſe of *Auria* his courſe, to be circumuented with ſome fineneſſe, ſtayed his courſe, and lay ſtill with his owne ſquadron of gallies, warily expecting to what purpoſe that ſtrange courſe of the enemie tended. In the meane time, both the wings of his fleet had a little before the going down of the Sunne begun in diuers places to encounter with the Chriſtians: Some were in vaine ſtill aſſailing *Bondelmerius* his great Galleon; others with their great ordinance had ſo ſore beaten two tall ſhips, wherein *Buccanigra* and *Monzaia*, two Spaniſh captaines, were imbarked with their companies, that they were giuen for loſt, many of the ſouldiors and marriners being ſlaine: Two other ſhips loded with victuall, the one of VENICE, the other of DALMATIA, were burnt by the Turkes, and ſome few of the men ſaued by their ſhip boats, and by ſwimming to the ſhips neereſt vnto them. In the ſhutting in of the euening, *Salec* tooke two gallies ſtragling behind the
D reſt of the fleet, whereof *Mozenicus* a Venetian, and *Bebiena* a Florentine, were captaines. After theſe gallies, was taken alſo the ſhip of *Aloyſius Figaroa* a Spaniard, although his ſouldiours had for a time fought moſt valiantly. In this ſhip with *Figaroa* the father, was taken his ſonne, a yong gentleman, and beautified with all the good gifts of nature; who afterwards preſented to *Solyman*, turned Turke: and growing in credit in *Solymans* chamber, after three yeares miſerable impriſonment, obtained his poore fathers libertie, and ſent him well rewarded home againe into SPAINE. Whileſt both the fleets were thus expecting how they might to their moſt aduantage joyne battell, ſuddenly aroſe a great tempeſt of thunder, lightening, and raine, with a freſh gale of Eaſterly wind: whereupon the Chriſtians ſeeing the Turks hoyſing vp their ſmall ſailes, without delay hoyſed vp both ſmall and great to cleare themſelues of the enemie, and with that
E faire wind returned againe to CORCYRA; ſo diſorderedly and in ſuch haſt, ſparing neither ſaile nor oare, that it ſeemed rather a ſhamefull flight than an orderly retreat. So that *Auria*, a man of ſo great fame at ſea, as that he was called a ſecond *Neptune*, was that day accounted no captaine. It is reported, that *Barbaruſſa* with the ſame wind purſued the Chriſtians a while, and being not able longer to ſee what courſe they held, by reaſon of the darkeneſſe of the night, to haue ſtayed his courſe: for the Admirals had cauſed their lights, which they vſed to carrie in the poupes of their gallies, to be then put out. Whereat *Barbaruſſa* heartily laughing, ſaid oftentimes in the Spaniſh tongue: Auria *hath therefore put out his light, the better in the darke to hide his flight*: noting in him ſuch a feare, as that hee without regard of honour ſought onely how by flight to eſcape. When they were come to CORCYRA, they were all generally of opinion, That by the
F. benefit of that ſudden ſtorme they had auoided a great danger. The emperials, eſpecially the Genowayes, to excuſe *Auria*, imputed the cauſe of ſo ſhamefull a flight vnto the Venetians, who would not from the beginning receiue any Spaniſh ſouldiors into their gallies, the better to haue withſtood the enemie; and that *Auria* therefore doubting of the Venetians, refrained from joyning battell, and the rather, becauſe that vpon the comming forth of the Turkes fleet, they had

Auria his politicke courſe.

The Chriſtian fleet ſhamefully flieth.

Barbaruſſa ieſted at Auria.

hoyſed vp their ſailes tied vp to the yardes with ſmall lines, which they might at their pleaſure eaſily cut, and ſet ſaile to flie which way they would. Shortly after came *Barbaruſſa* with all his fleet to the iſland of PAXVS, about foure leagues from CORCYRA Eaſtward, brauing the Chriſtians as if he would haue fought with them, if they durſt come out. Whereat *Gonzaga* the Viceroy fretting, went to euerie one of the three great commanders, requeſting them for the honour of the Chriſtians, to repreſſe that prowd Turks inſolencie. At laſt the matter was brought to that paſſe, that the Venetians hauing taken in certaine companies of Spaniards, the fleet ſhould be deuided into foure ſquadrons, and ſo to giue battell: But this conſultation was ſo long protracted, that *Barbaruſſa* fearing the tempeſtuous Autumn weather, hoyſed ſaile, and about the ſeuenth of October returned againe into the bay of AMBRACIA. After the departing of *Barbaruſſa*, the Generals of the Chriſtian fleet directed their courſe into the bay called SINVS RIZONICVS, to beſiege CASTRONOVUM or new Caſtle, a ſtrong town of the Turks ſtanding in that bay, and bordering vpon the Venetian ſeigniorie: the inhabitants were part Dalmatians, part Epirots, which had renounced the Chriſtian religion, and ſome Turks, liuing moſt part by merchandiſe: Vnto this towne the Chriſtians laid ſiege, and in ſhort time woon it, where they had a great prey, and a wonderfull number of captiues of all ſorts. Three daies after the taking of the towne, the caſtle was alſo yeelded by the Turks garriſon, couenanting in vaine to depart with life and libertie.

Barbaruſſa braueth the Chriſtians.

Caſtronouum taken by the Chriſtians.

This towne taken by common force, ought of right by the couenants of the league to haue been deliuered to the Venetians; yet was it for all that by *Auria* and *Gonzaga* reſerued for the emperour, and *Franciſcus Sarmentus* with foure thouſand Spaniards all old ſouldiors, left there in garriſon: *Capellius* the Venetian Admirall vrging in vaine the right of the Venetians. Which thing ſo much grieued the Senat, who euer had the ambitious Spaniard in ſuſpect, and now aſſured of him as an euill neighbour to their towne of CATARVM, that repenting themſelues of the league with the emperour, they decreed to ſue to *Solyman* for peace: which they afterwards eaſily obtained, for a ſhort ſpace, by *Laurentius Grittus* their dukes ſonne, and by the helpe of *Antonius Rincus* the French kings embaſſadour; who then lying at CONSTANTINOPLE, in good time told the great Baſſaes, that the league the Venetians had made with the emperour, was made without the conſent of the greateſt part of the Senat, and that warre taken in hand againſt moſt of their wils.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Barbaruſſa* put to ſea againe to haue relieued CASTRONOVUM; but being at ſea, many of his gallies were by the violence of a ſudden tempeſt driuen vpon the ACROCERAVNIAN rocks, and there caſt away. It is reported, that he loſt there twentie thouſand men, which with the broken pieces of his gallies were found almoſt all alongſt the coaſt of DALMATIA. This ſhipwracke being certainly known, *Capellius* would haue perſuaded *Auria* to haue preſently purſued *Barbaruſſa* ſo diſtreſſed: which motion *Gonzaga* well liked, as a man deſirous by ſome notable exploit to recompence the diſgrace before receiued at LEVCADE. But *Auria* for diuers cauſes not liking of the matter, was ſo ſet downe vpon his returne to ITALIE, that he preſently hoiſed ſaile: leauing the Venetian Admirall in ſuch a rage, that he deteſted himſelfe for ſubmitting himſelfe to another mans power; and wiſhed the captaines there preſent, neuer to ſubject themſelues to the commaund of a ſtranger, for as much as that Genoway, either vpon cowardiſe or malitious mind, as an old enemy to the Venetian ſtate, would not proſecute ſo manifeſt a victorie, but put vp ſo ſhamefull a diſgrace as he had before receiued. But of all this *Auria* made ſmall reckoning, referring all that he both ſaid and did, ſo far vnto the emperors commoditie, that *Valerius Vrſinus* a noble gentleman, then ſeruing in the Venetian pay, merily ſaid, That *Auria* had done nothing but wiſely and politickly, in ſetting the Venetians togither by the eares with the Turks, & opening a gate for a long war, whether the Venetians would or not, ſo as the emperour himſelfe could not haue better wiſhed, and that without the loſſe of one gallie. For it was thought by many, that the long wars betwixt the Turks and the Venetians, would ſort to the great good of the emperour; when as the Venetians worne out and ſpent with thoſe long and chargeable warres againſt ſo mightie an enemie, ſhould be ſtripped of their lands and territories, either by force, or ſome hard compoſition wrung from them by neceſsitie.

Auria neglecting to purſue Barbaruſſa, returneth into Italie, to the griefe of the Venetian Admirall.

CASTRONOVUM thus taken, and *Sarmentus* with a garriſon of foure thouſand Spaniards there placed as is aforeſaid, and the Chriſtian fleet diſſolued, *Solyman* tooke the matter ſo grieuouſly, that hee determined to beſiege it againe both by ſea and land: and in his furie, cauſed

NAVPLI-

A NAVPLIVM and EPIDAVRVS, two of the Venetian cities in the country of PELOPONESVS, to be straightly besieged. Yet tooke he singuler pleasure, that *Barbarussa* his Admirall, in all respects worse furnished, had driuen out of the Sea the great fleet of the Christians, which he before that time had made too great account of. Wherefore in the beginning of the Spring, which was in the yeere 1539, *Barbarussa* by his commaundement repaired againe his fleet, and notably furnished it with all manner of warlike prouision; manning his gallies for the most part with Ianizaries and other such select souldiors. With this fleet *Barbarussa* (Sommer now well come on) departed out of the HELESPONTVS, and came to the bay RIZONICVS; at which time also *Vlames* the Persian, then Gouernour of BOSNA, shewed himselfe with his forces vpon the mountaines as he had in charge from *Solyman*. *Barbarussa* before he entred the straits of the bay; B sent before him *Dragut* and *Corsetus*, two notable pirats, with thirtie galliots, who landing their men neere vnto CASTRONOVUM (as they were commaunded) were valiantly encountred by *Sarmentus* with his Spaniards, and forced againe to their galliots, many of the Turks being slaine and taken prisoners. After that came *Barbarussa*, with ninetie gallies, and three tall ships which carried the artillerie for batterie and other necessarie prouision for the campe; where he spent three daies in landing his great ordinance and casting vp trenches, which could not be done but by night, by reason of the continuall shot out of the towne: wherewith the Spaniards had in that three daies space slaine aboue a thousand Turkes; amongst whom was *Agis Hariadenus*, who had made himselfe as it were a king at TAIORBA, a citie neere TRIPOLIS in APRICA; whose death much grieued *Barbarussa*, as one of his most antient and best friends. At length *Barba-* C *russa* hauing cast vp his trenches, landed foure and fiftie great pieces of artillerie for batterie; whereof he gaue a fourth part to *Vlames* to batter the towne on the North side, whilest he in the mean time, in three diuers places battered the East side; and *Salec* from Sea with ten gallies, did morning and euening batter another part of the wall. Whilest *Sarmentus* was thus in so many places assailed, and did what was possible to haue repaired the breaches; the Turks by force tooke one of the towers, where after they had displaied their ensignes, they from thence with their shot sore troubled the Spaniards. At the same time also, *Vlames* had made a breach, and was readie on the other side of the citie to enter. In which extremities, *Sarmentus* seeing no meanes longer to defend the citie, commanded the hurt souldiors to get them into the castle below, and the rest with him to take the market place, there to die togither like men: where the Turks straightway D breaking in on euerie side vpon them, made a most bloudie and cruell fight, wherein the Spaniards ouerwhelmed with shot, and the multitude of their enemies, were slaine almost euerie man. *Sarmentus* wounded in the face with three arrowes, and wearied with long fight, seeing *Sancius Fria* a captaine readie to flie, sharpely reproued him, and catching him by the hand, made him there to tarrie by it, vntill they were there both togither slaine. Many valiant captaines were there lost, whose names for breuitie I omit. *Aloysius Arius*, and certaine other captaines, who togither with the wounded souldiors were got into the castle, seeing no meanes to defend the place, yeelded themselues: whom *Barbarussa* according to his promise, took to mercie in sparing their liues, yet carried them away into captiuitie to CONSTANTINOPLE. The dead bodie of *Sarmentus* could not be knowne amongst so many heapes of the dead, although *Barbarussa* had E caused most diligent search to be made for it, and offered great sums of money and libertie also, to who soeuer could discouer it; being desirous to haue sent his head for a present to *Solyman*. *Barbarussa* proud of this victorie, began forthwith to gape after CATTARVS a citie of the Venetians in the bottome of the same bay: and thereupon writ threatning letters to *Ioannes Bembus* one of the Venetian Senators then Gouernour of the citie, presently to deliuer the citie; which he would (as he said) otherwise assault by force. Whereunto *Bembus* answered againe by letters, That in so doing, he should violate the league lately made with *Solyman*, and that he should find him readie by force to repell his forces. Wherewith *Barbadussa* displeased, sent certaine gallies into the bottome of the bay; who discharging certaine great pieces at the citie, made shew as if they had come to besiege it. At whom *Bembus* as a man of good courage, caused as many F mo like pieces to be discharged, and shewed his men vpon the wals: Which thing *Barbarussa* perceiuing, staied his course, and calling backe his gallies, returned to CASTRONOVUM, from whence (better appeased with presents afterwards sent from *Bembus*) he departed out of that bay.

1539

Barbarussa sent by Solyman to besiege Castronouum.

Castronouum hardly besieged by Barbarussa.

Castronouum taken.

Sarmentus slaine.

The long warres betwixt *Charles* the emperour and *Francis* the French king, were now well pacified;

pacified, and ſuch friendſhip (at leaſtwiſe in ſhew) now growne betwixt theſe two great princes, G
that moſt men thought that all other quarrels laid aſide, they would now at length with vnited
forces go againſt the great and dangerous enemie of Chriſtendome: Which opinion not alto-
Alphonſus Vaſtius and Hanibaldus ſent embaſſadours from the emperor and the French king to the State of Venice.
gether of the wiſer ſort beleeued, was yet at this time wonderfully confirmed by many extraor-
dinarie and rare courteſies then paſsing betwixt them, which concerne not this hiſtorie: as alſo, in
that two of their moſt famous captaines, *Alphonſus Vaſtius*, and *Hanibald*, were as it were with
one conſent by them both ſent embaſſadours to VENICE, to haue drawne the Venetians into
the confederation of that warre againſt the Turke. Which two renowned captaines comming
to VENICE, moſt gallantly accompanied, were by *Landus* the duke, and the whole State, with
great magnificence receiued, the people after their wonted manner flocking together in euery
place to behold them ſo noble captaines ſent from ſuch mightie princes; but eſpecially *Vaſtius*, H
whoſe fame hauing many times before filled their eares, made them now the more deſirous to
ſatisfie their eyes alſo with the beholding of his tall and comely perſon. Which two famous cap-
taines admitted into the Senat, for that purpoſe fully aſſembled, and audience giuen: *Vaſtius* ari-
ſing from the dukes ſide, in theſe or like words deliuered their embaſſage.

Vaſtius his Oration to the Venetian Senat.

It is come to paſſe (as I ſuppoſe) by the great prouidence of Almightie God, and of all the diuine powers (moſt noble duke and honourable Senators) that two of the moſt mightie kings of EVROPE, *who of late had of long time made mortall wars one vpon another, touched with the Zeale of religion, are become great friends: Vndoubtedly to that purpoſe onely, that hauing made a firme peace, they may bring ſuch a generall quietneſſe to the long troubled and afflicted ſtate of Chriſtendome, as beſt* I
beſeemeth their greatneſſe; and taking in hand a ſacred warre, to reuenge ſo many calamities receiued from the Infidell. That this might be made knowne vnto you (moſt noble Venetians) theſe mightie Monarchs haue ſent vs hether in good time to kindle in you the like Zeale, wherewith it is well knowne you haue alwayes for the honour of your State been enflamed: for you of all others, which are of ſuch power and valour at ſea, they wiſh for, as their fellowes and confederates in this ſacred warre and hoped victorie, and thinke you worthie, which ſhould enioy the eſpeciall fruit of all that labour. For as much as the Chriſtian forces once renewed, & ſo great and ſtrong a fleet once aſſembled, euery man ſeeth that the Turkes muſt needs be too weake: although they brag, that they carried away the victo-rie of late at ACTIVM, *when as they then eſcaped the victorious hands of our men, not by their own valour, but by the vnexpected hap of a ſudden ſtorme. For all the powers of heauen and earth, and of* K
the ſea alſo, will be propitious vnto vs, vniting ſo great forces, in the regard of our ſacred religion; and will ſo take away the hearts of the Infidels, that they ſhall learne to be ouercome. As for our land forces, we are to hope nothing but well, for as much as vnto thoſe which the emperour of late brought into the field at VIENNA, *and cauſed the Turkiſh emperour to flie, ſhall be ioyned not onely all the horſemen and infanterie of* FRAVNCE, *a wonderfull ſtrength, but* Sigiſmund *alſo king of* POLONIA *will without delay bring forth his armies, wherewith he hath beene vſed in the quarrell of the Chriſtian religion happily to fight againſt the Infidels: ſo that it is not to be doubted of a moſt certain and aſſured victorie. Wherefore the victorious emperour and moſt Chriſtian king* Francis *moſt inſtantly requeſt you to enter into the like godly cogitations, conceiued for the generall good of the Chriſtian name, and religiouſly to embrace the hope of a moſt true & glorious victorie: and further exhort* L
you, by a wholeſome decree to auert your religious and courageous hearts from the friendſhip of the Infidels. For it may worthely ſeeme vnto your moſt honourable minds, a moſt foule and ſhamefull thing, to haue renewed your league, and to haue preferred an infamous and vncertaine peace before a moſt religious and iuſt warre. Neither doth it beſeeme this moſt wealthie State to be terrified from that which is good and right, with any charges of war, be they neuer ſo great: for if we ſhall once ouercome, which is incident to this preſent and long wiſhed occaſion, we ſhall by the profit of one victorie, either by ſea or land, to your incomparable praiſe recompence all the loſſes by vs in former times receiued.

The anſwere of the duke to Vaſtius.

Whereunto the duke in the name of the whole State anſwered, That there neuer happened M
any thing at any time vnto the Venetian Senat more honourable, for the manner of the embaſ-
ſage, or for the publicke ſecuritie of their eſtate, more to be deſired than the hope of ſuch a peace:
after that two moſt mightie kings by two ſuch famous captaines their embaſſadours, did certifie
them of their attonement and aſſured peace, moſt glorious to themſelues, to their eternall praiſe,
whole-

A wholeſome alſo to the Venetian ſtate, beſet with ſo many dangers, and wonderfully to be wiſhed for of all the other princes of Chriſtendome, if they would ſincerely & religiouſly with their forces by common conſent vnited, reſolue vpon that ſacred war: for then would not the Venetians be wanting to themſelues or the Chriſtian commonweale, but end the league they had with the Turke, not with a diſhonourable peace but with armes and victorie. Wherefore it was to be requeſted of Almightie God by prayer, That thoſe puiſſant kings would with religious and happie euent ſpeedily and ſeriouſly fulfill all that hope of peace, which they had by their mutuall diſcourſes and embracings in ſhew promiſed vnto the world.

In few dayes after certaine of the ſelect Senatours ſitting in counſell, after the manner of that State, called the embaſſadors vnto them and asked them, Whether they knew any thing of the
B articles and capitulations wherein that league and confederation was to be concluded? and by the way, whether they thought the emperor in regard of that peace would giue vnto the French kings ſonne the dukedome of MILLAN, as was reported? Whereunto *Hanebald* the French embaſſador anſwering nothing, *Vaſtius* ſaid, That he knew nothing more, but that the two great princes had agreed thereof betwixt themſelues, and that the emperour had deſired the peace, as one willing to helpe the afflicted and declining ſtate of the Chriſtian commonweale: which thing any man might ſee could not be effected or brought to paſſe, but that the emperour muſt in many things yeeld to the requeſts of the French king, and redeeme his good will: For the noble mind (ſaid he) worthie Senatours, can eaſily make light of the greateſt loſſe of his owne things, when it foreſeeth a large way opened thereby to eternall fame and glorie. Theſe words
C were very glorious and gracious to the hearers: but they, as men of great experience, could not let it ſinke in their minds, that the emperour whom they had often deepely ſounded, would euer depart with the dukedome of MILLAN, which only thing the French king required, and had for the recouering thereof vnfortunatly ſtriuen almoſt twentie yeares, to the trouble and diſquiet of a great part of the world. The nobilitie and authoritie of this embaſſage more mooued the Senat than did the other former embaſſadours, *Didaco Mendoza*, a Spaniard, and *Guilielmus Pellicerius*, a Frenchman, then both preſent: yet was it much ſuſpected by the Venetians, becauſe it contained no certaine reſolution, but onely the bare hope of a future peace; ſo that it was by many men ſuppoſed to be but a matter deuiſed to deceiue others and to ſerue the emperours turne to his greater profit. Yet all the cunning ſeemed to reſt in this point, That the Venetians led on
D with the hope of this league, ſhould neglect the renewing of the league they had the yeare before taken with *Solyman*, which was now almoſt expired. Vpon which vncertainetie of other mens reſolutions, the graue Senatours thought too dangerous a matter to depend.

Vaſtius his anſwere to the demaund of the Venetian Senatours.

Vpon this queſtion of this new league and confederation to be made with theſe Chriſtian princes againſt the Turke, the Senat was wonderfully deuided: ſome fauouring the emperours requeſt, inueighed againſt the renewing of that ſhamefull league with the infidels, which they ſaid was nothing els, but as much as in them lay to betray vnto them the other parts of Chriſtendome, and eſpecially ITALIE, deſtitute of their helpe, and yet not to be obtained without great charge; and with many reaſons vrged the honourable confederation with theſe Chriſtian princes: others of a deeper reach, conſidering what infinit harmes they had from time to time receiE ued by falling out with the Turks, and ſuſpecting alſo the emperours drift, and joyning thereunto the conſideration of the great dearth then raigning in the citie, which was not to be relieued but out of MACEDONIA and GRÆCIA, the Turks countries; the emperour hauing at that time as it were of purpoſe impoſed ſo great a cuſtome vpon all corne to be tranſported out of SICILIE, that the very cuſtome came to as much as both the price of the corne and the fraight together: all which miſcheefes they ſaid were to be preuented by renewing the league with *Solyman*. This matter was with great heat debated in the Senat too and fro, either part hauing great faultours: ſo that the Senatours ſpent almoſt whole Winter nights in the court in diſcourſing and conſulting what were beſt to be done. But whatſoeuer was there ſaid or decreed, was forthwith by one of the factions or other made knowne, not onely to the embaſſadours preſent in the ciF tie, but by letters alſo diſcouered into prouinces far off: a thing neuer before in that ſtate knowne, which had euer vſed as it were with a religious ſilence to keepe ſecret whatſoeuer was there decreed. Which thing *Marcus Foſcarus*, an old Senator and a man of great wiſdome, perceiuing, ſaid openly, That the ſtate was betrayed by the multitude and corruption of voices, and muſt needs ſhortly periſh, if it were not ſpeedily committed to the graue and faithfull iudgement of

The Venetian Senators diuerſly affected towards the confederation with the emperour and the French king, againſt Solyman.

Foſcarus a graue Senatour.

ſome

ſome few: for there was almoſt two hundred of them which gaue voices, reducing that multi- G
tude to the number of fiftie, who for their experience and loue toward their countrey, were hol-
den for men of greateſt grauitie and ſecrecie: ſo was the madneſſe of many ſtayed by the diſcre-
Foſcarus diſgraced by the multitude. tion of a few. But *Foſcarus* ſhortly after fell into ſuch hatred of the multitude, grieued to be as
light headed men without diſcretion, ſo excluded out of the counſell, that he was by the voices
of the multitude firſt thruſt out of the counſell himſelfe, and by them kept a great while after
from all the preferments and honours of the citie: being indeed one of the graueſt Senatours,
and a man of deepeſt judgement. Which diſgrace turned afterward to his great honour and cre-
dit, as one that had foreſeene much, after they were once found out and condemned which had
traiterouſly reuealed the ſecrets of the State.

The Venetians ſend Aloyſius Badoerius their embaſſadour to Solyman, to conclude a peace. But this long conſultation concerning the confederation, came to this end, That the Sena- H
tours doubting the vnion of thoſe two great princes, and yet willing to expect the euent, decreed
forthwith to ſend three embaſſadours; whereof two ſhould be ſent to the emperour and the
French king to diſcouer their deſignes, and the third, which was *Aloyſius Badoerius*, a wiſe and
well ſpoken man, was with all ſpeed diſpatched away to *Solyman*, to preuent the fame of the de-
ſtruſt to be conceiued of the agreement of thoſe great Chriſtian princes, and if he could by any
meanes, to ſpare for no coſt, to ſaue vnto the Venetians their cities of NAVPLIVM and EPI-
DAVRVS, which *Solyman* required of them before he would graunt them peace. Which if it
could not be obtained of the proud and craftie tyrant, than to yeeld vnto neceſsitie, and to con-
clude a peace with him vpon any conditions: which courſe the Decemviri thought to be moſt
expedient for the State: yet concerning the yeelding vp of the cities, they gaue him ſecret inſtru- I
ctions and warrant, fearing forſooth the force and tumult of the headſtrong multitude, who if
they had knowne any ſuch thing, would vndoubtedly thereupon haue taken occaſion to haue
croſſed and ouerthrowne that moſt wholeſome decree: for there was no doubt, that if they had
delayed the matter, and ſought for peace too late, but that *Solyman* would vpon another mans
weakeneſſe and neceſsitie haue encreaſed his inſatiable deſire, and not graunted them peace, be-
ing brought low & forſaken, except they would deliuer vnto him the iſlands of CEPHALENIA,
ZACINTHVS, and CORCYRA, a matter no leſſe grieuous than the deſtruction of the very citie
of VENICE it ſelfe. So that the great embaſſadours *Vaſtius* and *Hanebald*, who came of purpoſe
to haue hindered the league with the Turke, by their great diligence wrought nothing more ef- K
fectually, than that the Venetians the better foreſeeing the danger of their eſtate, ſhould as they
did, make haſt to conclude the ſame: for it falleth out in mens purpoſes and actions, That a good
and happie ſucceſſe otherwiſe well hoped for, is oftentimes marred with too much diligence and
care. Neither was it any doubt, but that *Hanebald* was ſent by the French king but for faſhion
ſake, and ſecretly vnderhand by *Pellicerius* the old embaſſadour perſuaded the Venetians to ha-
ſten the concluſion of peace with *Solyman*. Which as *Badoerius* their embaſſadour was carefully
ſolliciting the matter at CONSTANTINOPLE, and being loth to yeeld the ſtrong cities which
Solyman required, offering vnto him in ſtead of them a great ſumme of money: *Solyman* tooke
The moſt ſecret decree of the Venetian Senate made knowne to Solyman. him vp with threatening words as a ſhameleſſe diſſembler, earneſtly proteſting, That he would
neuer graunt him peace, without the yeelding of thoſe cities; rehearſing vnto him the moſt ſecre-
teſt points of his embaſſage, and how that he was authoriſed from the Decemviri to yeeld them L
vnto him: which thing the embaſſadour little thought *Solyman* had knowne. Wherefore *Badoe-*
rius ſo ſhamefully reproued, and ſtanding in doubt of his life, ſeeing the greateſt ſecrets of his
1540 embaſſage reuealed to *Solyman* and his Baſſaes, was glad to accept of peace, by yeelding vnto
A peace concluded betwixt the Venetians and Solyman. him NAVPLIVM and EPIDAVRVS, two cities in PELOPONESVS, and with them NADI-
NVM and LABRANA, two caſtles of DALMATIA, to the great greefe of the whole Senate: for
graunting whereof the common people ignorant of the ſecret decree of the Decemviri, and ſup-
poſing that *Badoerius* had giuen away that which he had no authoritie to giue, were ſo enraged
againſt him at his returne, that it was much adoe to ſaue the guiltleſſe man from exile, and his
goods from confiſcation, although the traitors were then knowne which had diſcouered the ſe-
The traitors which reuealed the ſecrets of the Venetian ſtate to Solyman, executed. crets of the ſtate vnto the Turkes. Theſe were *Mapheus Leonius* a Senatour, and *Conſtantinus Co-* M
batius, ſecretarie to the colledge of the Decemviri, and *Franciſcus Valerius*, one of the Senators
baſe ſonnes, the traiterous diſperſer of the Turks money for the corruption of others: who with
other his complices were for the ſame fact hanged in the market place, when as *Leonius* and *Co-*
batius were a little before fled into FRAVNCE.

About

A About the ſame time which was in the yeare of our Lord 1540, died *Ioannes Sepuſius* king of HVNGARIE, *Solymans* tributarie; after whoſe death enſued great warres in HVNGARIE, and the lamentable ſubuerſion of that flouriſhing kingdome: for the better conceiuing whereof, it ſhall not be amiſſe with as much breuitie as the plainneſſe of the hiſtorie will permit, to open the cauſes and grounds of the endleſſe calamities which afterwards enſued, and neuer tooke end, vntill that warlike kingdome was to the great weakning of Chriſtendome vtterly ſubuerted.

King *Ferdinand* and this tributarie king *Iohn*, had with like deſire of peace and quietneſſe, made betweene them a league; profitable to them both as their eſtates then ſtood, rather than honourable: yet moſt welcome to the Hungarians, who deuided into factions, and hauing followed ſome the one king and ſome the other, enjoyed neuertheleſſe their lands and goods by
B the benefit of this peace; the townes and caſtles being ſtill kept by them in whoſe poſſeſsion they then were at the making of the peace. In the capitulations of which peace, it was compriſed, That *Ferdinand* ſhould from thenceforth call *Iohn* by the name of a king, whereas before he had both in his common talke and letters called him by the name of the Vayuod onely: It was alſo expreſſely ſet downe in the ſame articles of peace, and ſubſcribed with the hands of diuers of the nobilitie of HVNGARIE, That if king *Iohn* ſhould die, king *Ferdinand* ſhould ſucceed him in the whole kingdome of HVNGARIE: Which condition was ſuppreſſed and kept verie ſecret for
C feare of *Solyman*, who accounted of that kingdome as of his owne, gotten by law of armes, and beſtowed vpon king *Iohn* as vpon his vaſſaile: neither was it to haue been thought, that if he ſhould haue knowne thereof (being of a hautie mind by nature, and not able to endure any injurie) he would haue ſuffered that kingdome, got and defended with ſo great danger and coſt, to be by the will of an vnthankfull man, transferred vnto his enemies.

This matter of ſo great importance, was (as it is reported) by *Hieronymus Laſcus* embaſſadour for king *Ferdinand* to CONSTANTINOPLE, reuealed vnto *Solyman* and the Baſſaes, to bring king *Iohn* into hatred. So much did this noble gentleman, for his rare vertues otherwiſe greatly to haue been commended, yeeld vnto his griefe, and deſire of reuenge: when after the death of *Aloyſius Grittus*, he fell from the friendſhip of king *Iohn*, being (as is before declared) by him committed to priſon, and hardly afterwards enlarged, at the requeſt of king *Sigiſmund*. Whereupon *Solyman* being exceedingly angrie with king *Iohn*, called him vnthankfull churle, and turning himſelfe about to *Lutzis baſſa* his brother in law, ſaid, How vnworthely doe theſe
D two Chriſtian kings weare their crownes vpon their faithleſſe heads; who as ſhamefull deceiuers are not afraid, either for worldly ſhame or feare of God, for their profit to falſifie their faith! But king *Iohn* vnderſtanding thereof, and wonderfully fearing his owne eſtate, did by good friends and rich preſents, pacifie *Solyman* againe, laying all the blame vpon king *Ferdinand*, as better able to beare it. Not long after, king *Iohn* hauing ſet his kingdome in good order, and ſtrongly fortified the citie of BVDA: being now farre ſtricken in yeares, at the earneſt requeſt of moſt of the nobilitie of HVNGARIE and other his beſt friends, married *Iſabella* the daughter of *Sigiſmund* king of POLONIA, a gratious ladie, and of great ſpirit: which king *Sigiſmund* had long
E before married *Barbara* king *Iohn* his ſiſter, after whoſe death he married the ladie *Bona Sforcia*, the daughter of *Ioannes Galeacius* duke of MILLAIN, by whom he had this ladie *Iſabella* whom king *Iohn* now married. Which marriage *Solyman* liked well of, hauing many times by way of talke before condemned the ſingle life of the king: but king *Ferdinand* liked thereof nothing at all, plainly foreſeeing, that the Hungarians (if the king ſhould chance to haue a ſonne) would forthwith looke vpon him as their naturall king, and reject himſelfe as but a ſtranger.

This young queene in ſhort time (as he had feared) conceiued with child, and was now verie
F big: when king *Iohn* was enforced to make an expedition in perſon himſelfe againſt *Maylat* (famous for the death of *Aloyſius Grittus*) and *Balaſi*, both Gouernours of TRANSILVANIA: whereof *Maylat* not contented with the name of Vayuod or Gouernour, ſought to make himſelfe king. But *Solyman* deteſting the impudent arrogancie of the faithleſſe man, and hating him for the death of *Grittus*, and the Turks ſlaine with him, aduertiſed king *Iohn* of all the matter, wiſhing him to be more circumſpect whom he truſted with the gouernment of ſo great and rich a countrey. So *Maylat* ſhamefully rejected of *Solyman*, and out of hope of a kingdome, fearing alſo to be thruſt quite out of his gouernment by king *Iohn*, thought it beſt for his owne ſafetie, to raiſe vp all the prouince into rebellion, and to take part with king *Ferdinand*: which thing *Ferdinand* by his diuers agents ſecretly furthered to the vttermoſt. For theſe two kings, although

The ſecret conſideration betwixt king Ferdinand and king Iohn reuealed.

King Iohn in his old yeares marieth Iſabella king Sigiſmund his daughter.

The Queene with child.

though they were at peace the one with the other, and in words and shew made semblance of G
friendship; yet in heart they enuied and hated each other, as if they should presently haue waged warre. At that same time king *Iohn* exacted of his subiects, and especially of them of TRANSILVANIA, a great summe of money, to pay the Turke his tribute, then two yeares behind: which thing serued *Maylat* and his complices, as a fit occasion to raise the people into rebellion; perswading them, that there was no reason to pay vnto the Turke such a tribute, as would serue well to wage ten yeares honourable warre against him: so that by that and such like perswasion, all the prouince was in an vprore, little differing from manifest rebellion. To appease these dangerous troubles thus arising, king *Iohn* sent certaine of his chiefe nobilitie and best captaines with a great power into TRANSILVANIA, following after himselfe in his chariot, not yet well recouered of his late sickenesse: These noble men entring in two places into TRANSILVANIA, and H
scouring vp and downe the countrey, had in short time so vsed the matter, that what by force what by policie, the tumult was well pacified, and diuers of the chiefe offenders worthely executed. *Maylat* the ambitious author of this sedition, not able to hold the field against the king, and seeing himselfe beset on euerie side with his enemies, retired himselfe with all his wealth into a towne called FOGARAS, a place of great strength, which the kings power shortly after hardly besieged: the king himselfe then lying at SIBYNIVM, the chiefe citie of TRANSILVANIA, about a mile distant from FOGARAS, sicke of an ague, whereinto he was againe fallen through too much care and paines taken in trauelling in that hoat time of the yeare, the daies being then

Queene Isabella deliuered of a sonne.

at the longest. Whilest he thus lay sicke at SIBYNIVM, and his armie fast by at the sige of FOGARAS, newes was brought vnto him from the court, That the queene his wife was deliuered of I
a faire young sonne: which was no sooner bruted abroad, but the Hungarians as men ouerjoyed, came flocking to the court where the king lay, discharging their pieces in triumph, with all other signes of joy and mirth they could possible deuise: the noble men came from the campe to rejoice with the king, and all the armie was filled with gladnesse. And for the greater solemnitie of this so common a joy, a royall feast was prepared, which the noble men would needs haue the king to honour with his presence, though he were thereto vnwilling, being as yet but a little recouered: Howbeit yeelding to their importunitie, hee suffered himselfe to be ouerruled and brought to the feast by them, which was vnto him the merriest and the last that euer he made: for willing to shew his inward joy, and to content his nobilitie there present, he forgot himselfe, and eat and dranke more liberally than was for the health of his weake bodie: whereby the fea- K
uer which had but a little before left him, was againe renewed, in such sort, as that he well perceiued he could not long endure. Wherefore feeling his end to draw fast on, he made his will, ap-

The death of king Iohn.

pointing his young sonne to be his heire, whom he committed to the tuition of *George* bishop of VERADIVM, and *Peter Vicche* a noble gentleman and his neere kinsman, vntill he came to age; requesting the rest of the noble men to preferre his sonne in the succession of the kingdome, before a stranger, telling them, That *Solyman* would vndoubtedly take vpon him the protection both of the kingdome and of his sonne, if they would in time send embassadours vnto him with presents, and promise for his sonne, that he should raigne as his tributarie as he had done before: and so presently after died.

This king was of a courteous and gentle nature, bountifull, and in all his doings just, of no L
fierce and rough disposition, as the Hungarians commonly are, but of a most ciuile behauiour, garnished with good letters, and thorowly schooled in the diuers chances of both fortunes, not measuring his actions by the strength of his power, but by the exact rule of discretion; for in time of businesse no man was more circumspect or vigilant than he, nor in time of recreation any

The honourable saying of king Iohn.

man more courteous or pleasant. He vsed oftentimes to say, That the fauour and loue of valiant men gotten by bountie and courtesie, was the best treasures of a prince; for that courteous and thankfull men, did oftentimes in some one worthie piece of seruice, plentifully repay whatsoeuer had been bestowed vpon them: as for such as were vnthankfull, they did to their shame beare the testimonie of another mans vertue.

The kings death was kept secret vntill such time as the noble men had agreed with *Maylat*, M
that he should take an oath of his faithfull alleagance to the king, and his sonne his lawfull heire, and so still to enjoy his former place and gouernment: which offer *Maylat* gladly accepted. Then calling togither the counsell, it was decreed to send the same embassage to *Solyman*, which was appointed the old king yet liuing. So were presently dispatched away two most honourable

A ble embaſſadours, *Ioannes Exechius* biſhop of QVINQVE ECLESIE, and *Stephanus Verbetius* the Chancelor, a man of great yeares, carrying with them ten boles of pure gold curiouſly wrought, ſix hundred of ſiluer, gilt and engrauen; fortie pieces of purple ſilke and cloth of gold for Turkes gownes, and fiftie pound of coined gold, to be paid in the name of two yeares tribute. Which embaſſadours paſsing directly from SIBYNIVM ouer Danubius into SERVIA, and ſo trauelling thorow THRACIA, came to CONSTANTINOPLE. In the meane time, the dead body of the king was with much heauineſſe carried from SIBYNIVM to ALBA REGALIS, moſt part of the armie following it, and there with great ſolemnitie buried. After this the young child was chriſtened and called *Stephen*, and there preſently crowned with the antient crowne of king *Stephen*, who firſt erected that kingdome, & without which the Hungarians neuer accounB ted their kings lawfully crowned. Yet the royall dignitie was by the common conſent of the nobilitie giuen vnto the queene, with condition, that in all publike writings the names of the ſonne and of the mother ſhould be joyned, and the kings money coined with the ſame inſcription: but the chiefeſt authoritie reſted in *George* the biſhop, for he was treaſurer, and had at his commaund the caſtles and ſtrong holds: yet were the ſouldiors with their enſignes and furniture, at the deuotion of *Valentinus Thuracus*: In the middle between theſe two was placed *Peter Vicche* the kings kinſman, and by the old king appointed for one of the tutors to his young ſonne, ſuſpected of neither part, honoured with the name of high Conſtable. But becauſe the name of this *George* the biſhop was moſt famous in this wofull warre which we are about to write, I thought it worth the labour to ſpeake ſomething of his nature and diſpoſition, that it may be knowne to C all poſteritie by what pollicie this war was managed, and how this flouriſhing kingdome by the madneſſe of the Hungarians came into the hands of the Turkes.

Embaſſadours ſent out of Hungarie to Solyman.

A young child crowned king of Hungarie.

This *George* was borne in CROATIA, and brought vp from his youth in the houſe of king *Iohn*, where vertue and induſtrie neuer wanted reliefe; when as he vnaduiſedly before, had entred into the orders of a monaſticall life, and wearie too late of the ſtraightneſſe thereof, had forſaken his profeſsion. Wherefore being of a wonderfull pleaſing nature, and ſtill following king *Iohn*, driuen out of his kingdome and long liuing in exile, he woon ſuch credit and commendation for his fidelitie, integritie, and readie counſell in the kings moſt doubtfull and dangerous affaires, that after *Sibacchus* that worthie biſhop, was by the treacherie of *Aloyſius Grittus* ſlaine at BAXOVIA, he obtained the great biſhopricke of VERADIVM. After that, when he had ſtrengD thened his credit with great wealth, he alwaies as a faithfull counſellor ſwaied and happily ruled both the court and kingdome, to the profit of the king. But he was of ſuch a diuers and pliant nature, that performing in all actions all the parts of a moſt readie and excellent man, he ſeemed to be made of contrarie qualities, and borne to doe any thing: For in ſaying of his princely ſeruice, and performing the other ceremonies of the Chriſtian religion, he ſhewed, or at leaſtwiſe counterfeited ſuch a contrition in his deuout countenance and ſpeech, that a man would not haue thought it could poſsibly be the ſame man, who in the moſt waightie affaires both of warre and peace, did moſt ſtoutly ſhew the wonderfull force of a moſt pregnant and couragious wit: For he vſed to keepe whole companies of moſt excellent and ready horſemen, and would oftentimes come forth into the battell armed: he would with often banquets and rewards win the hearts of E the ſouldiors; and after the manner of great chieftaines, maintaine the honour and credit of his name, both with puniſhment and reward, as occaſion required. Beſides that, no man looked into the wealth of the kingdome more diligently than he, no man did to more profit let to farme the cuſtomes, gold mines, feedings, and ſaltpits; no man could deuiſe finer meanes to raiſe money, of all others the readieſt way to credit: inſomuch, that king *Iohn* would confeſſe himſelfe to raign by the eſpecially induſtrie of that man: and king *Ferdinand* would many times ſay, That he enuied at K. *Iohn* for nothing he had, but for one hooded fellow which was better for the defence of a kingdome, than 10000 with helmets on their heads. Wherfore this biſhop hauing taken vpon him the tuition of the young king, was ſtill buſied in all the waightie cauſes of the kingdome, both ciuile & martiall: he laboured with great care, that the Hungarians ſhould agree togither in F loue and vnitie, and did what he might, prouidently to foreſee that no tumult or rebellion ſhould any where ariſe, wherby the beginning of the kingdome, yet but weake, might any way be troubled. But king *Ferdinand* hearing of the death of king *Iohn*, thought it now a fit time for him to recouer againe the kingdome of HVNGARIE, which he had ſo long deſired. Whereunto he was alſo the more prickt forward by the perſuaſion of *Alexius Torſo*, *Ferentius Gnarus*, *Petrus*

George biſhop of Veradium one of the kings tutors, a notable man.

The fugitiue Hungarians perſuade king Ferdinand to inuade Hungarie.

Bachit, Balthazar Pamphilus, Francus Capolnates, Ianus Caſtellamphus, and *Caſparus Seredus,* all noblemen or gentlemen of great account in HVNGARIE, who in the former troubles following the part of king *Perdinand* againſt king *Iohn,* liued now in exile: theſe all with one conſent told king *Ferdinand,* That now or neuer was the time when they might be againe reſtored vnto their countrey with honor; and that the warre might that Autumn be diſpatched, if he would make haſt: for as much as Winter comming faſt on would ſtay the comming of the Turks, and ſuch noble men of HVNGARIE as tooke part with the queene, did not verie well agree togither, being vnwilling to be commaunded by *George* the Apoſtata monke, who (as they ſaid) with great cunning and diſsimulation ſeducing the queene, and poſſeſsing the treaſure, enjoyed all alone the power of a king: and that they, which for taking part with the right had long liued as baniſhed men, might now ſafely returne into their countrey, and be honourably preferred by the queene; the Biſhop (which all commaunded) aſſuring them thereof, if they would returne vnto the young kings court, vnto their friends and auntient houſes. But they had as they ſaid, before giuen their faith vnto him as to a vertuous and faithfull prince, whom they had preferred before one that was an Hungarian borne: wherefore he ſhould doe both vnaduiſedly and vnkindly, if letting ſlip the occaſion preſented, he ſhould deferre to make warre. For what could be more diſhonour to him ſo great a king, and alſo emperour elect, than by ſhamefull delay to forſake them, being noble and valiant gentlemen, which had followed his part, and were then readie with ſtrong troupes of horſemen to doe him the beſt ſeruice they could?

The German captaines in like manner perſuaded him to take the matter in hand, who as martiall men, expecting ſome one preferment, ſome another, in the armie, were deſirous of honour, pay, and prey, the chiefe comforts of their trauell and perill.

Laſcius diſſuadeth king Ferdinand from ſeeking for the kingdome of Hungarie by force, perſuading him rather to requeſt at of courteſie of Solyman.

But *Laſcius* the Polonian, who in matters concerning peace and warre ſaw more than all they (as he that knew the diſpoſition of many princes, and had ſeene the manners and faſhions of diuers nations, hauing trauelled thorow a great part of the world, and oftentimes beene embaſſadour in the courts of the greateſt princes) was of a contrarie opinion, and told king *Ferdinand* plainly, That the kingdome of HVNGARIE was to be obtained rather by pollicie than by force, by crauing it at *Solymans* hand, to hold it of him by tribute as king *Iohn* did.

For (ſaid he) *that may by petition and faire entreatance be eaſily obtained of that heroicall prince (who in his vaine humor oftentimes fondly ſeeketh after honour) which will neuer be got from him by force of armes. I thorowly know* (ſaid he) Solymans *hautie mind, and the proud diſpoſition of his Baſſaes: he contemneth wealth, and is cloied with ſo many kingdomes: but they vpon their inſatiable couetouſneſſe and exceeding pride, deſire nothing, nor perſuade him to nothing more than warre. Wherefore it is good to beware, that with the noiſe of this ſudden warre you ſtir not vp the Turkes, which lie readie as it were expecting ſuch an occaſion, which cannot be withſtood, but by the vnited forces of the Chriſtian princes; which might by their generall conſent be done, but that their eyes blinded with fatall darkneſſe cannot ſee it, and the vnitie of the Chriſtians now deſperate, ſeemeth by God reſerued to ſome better time: ſeeing that of late the Chriſtian kings are fallen off, and cannot agree vpon the long expected peace. Is not* (ſaid he) *the French king deceiued of his hope? and as he would haue it thought, greatly diſhonored with this late vnkindneſſe? which renewing his old wound, will reuiue in him an endleſſe hatred. Away with all diſſimulations, enemie vnto graue counſels, and let plaine truth, although vnpleaſant vnto princes eares, preuent flatterie; Vndoubtedly, he being a prince of no baſe courage (as it oftentimes falleth out with men thorowly grieued) will in his anger as an enemie powre forth his gold, whereof he hath good ſtore, to croſſe the emperours deſignes, to trouble the aſſemblies of the ſtates of* GERMANIE, *to withdraw the minds of the princes, and with bountie to gaine them to himſelfe: who mightily enuying the imperiall dignitie, woont to be indifferently giuen to them that beſt deſerued the ſame, to be as it were inueſted in the houſe of* AVSTRIA; *which in this perpetuall ſucceſſion of ſo many emperours, hath as it were got a right by long cuſtome. Wherefore they will ſecretly conſpire togither, and as notable lingerers by nature, will either giue no helpe at all, or elſe too late: at ſuch time as the Turkes garriſons ſhall come flying to the ſuccour of the young king. Neither is there any cauſe why any man ſhould thinke that the gouernours of the Turks countries neere at hand, will for the approach of Winter be ſlacke in this cauſe: for they vndoubtedly making an honeſt and honourable ſhew will take vpon them the defence of the fatherleſſe child and widdow; of purpoſe, to make an entrance to the ſecret deſire they haue to gaine the kingdome to themſelues.*

A *ſelues: for if you ſhall once ioyne with them in battell, if the beſt happen, and fortune fauour our firſt attempts, truly you ſhall haue war without end, with ſuch an enemie, which will bring with him wealth that will neuer be ſpent, power not to be ouercome, and courageous ſouldiors ſworne to our deſtruction: So will it come to paſſe, and I pray God I be a falſe prophet, that in ſeeking for the kingdome of* HVNGARIE *by warre, you ſhall at length be glad to fight for* AVSTRIA *it ſelfe and your owne kingdome alſo.*

This ſpeech ſo moued king *Ferdinand*, that although he purpoſed to goe on with the warre, yet he thought it good by an honourable embaſſage to proue *Solymans* mind and purpoſe alſo; which to doe no man was thought fitter than *Laſchus* himſelfe, author of that counſell, being B vnto him very well knowne, and familiarly acquainted with all the great Baſſaes of the court: which ſeruice *Laſcus* refuſed not, but being furniſhed with all things needfull for ſuch an embaſſage, departed from VIENNA towards CONSTANTINOPLE.

Laſchus ſent embaſſadour from king Ferdinand to Solyman.

Yet for all that, king *Ferdinand* perſiſting in his former purpoſe, made withall preparation for warres, truſting vpon the aid of the emperour his brother, and the comming ouer of the Hungarians, who euer thought it cauſe honeſt ynough for them to reuolt, if it ſo ſtood with their preſent profit. But before he would enter into open warres, he ſent *Nicholas* countie of SALMA to the queene, to ſhew her the inſtruments of the laſt league betwixt the king her late husband and him, & to exhort her to yeeld vp the kingdome, which by the late league was another mans C right; and not by delaying of the matter, to hurt both her ſelfe and her ſonne: for king *Ferdinand* offered to giue vnto the child the prouince of SERVSIA, as was before agreed betwixt the two kings expreſſely in the league, and to the queene a great reuenew, and whatſoeuer elſe ſhe had in dowrie. But if ſhe would forget that lawfull league, he threatened, that neither the emperour *Charles* his brother nor he wanted force wherewith to recouer by ſtrong hand the kingdome, annexed to the houſe of AVSTRIA both by auntient right and the new conſent of moſt of the Hungarian nobilitie. The countie SALMA being receiued at BVDA, hardly obtained to be admitted to the preſence of the queene: for *George* the Biſhop, and *Vicche*, miſtruſting her womanlike courage, ſaid, ſhe was not to be ſpoken withall, by reaſon ſhe was ſo full of heauineſſe and ſorrow; and that they were of authoritie, as the kings tutors, and readie to giue him both audience and anſwere. Which opinion of her weakeneſſe, and want of judgement, the queene being D a woman of an heroicall and royall ſpirit, tooke, as tending ſo much to her diſgrace, that ſhe ſaid ſhe would kill her ſelfe, if the embaſſadors were not permitted to come into her chamber (which was a darke roome hanged with blacke, as the manner is:) and ſhe ſitting vpon a low pallet negligently attired, as one that had no care of her ſelfe, wan and pale coloured, but as then ſhedding no teares, yet with voice and countenance ſo heauie, as might ſhew her teares to be rather dried vp with long mourning, than that her ſorrow was any thing abated: for the deſire of bearing rule had now ſo poſſeſſed her mind, that ſhe contemned all the dangers of imminent warre, and for defence of her ſoueraignetie reſolued with her ſelfe to call in the Turks. After the countie admitted to her preſence, had with due reuerence and great proteſtation deliuered his meſſage, ſhe demurely anſwered, That ſuch was the fortune of her ſex and yeares, that being bereft of the king E her husband, and perplexed with the dayly greefes both of bodie and mind, ſhe could neither take nor giue counſell, but purpoſed in ſo weightie a cauſe to vſe the aduice of *Sigiſmund* her father, whoſe integritie and juſtice was ſuch, as king *Ferdinand* needed no other judge or arbitrator to end that controuerſie: Wherefore ſhe requeſted a conuenient time and ſpace, wherein ſhe might aske counſell of her father; to whoſe juſt judgement ſhe ſaid ſhe would ſtand, as ſhe thought the nobilitie of HVNGARIE would alſo. Which ſmall time of delay if it ſhould be denied, and that they would needs forthwith make warre vpon her; ſhe ſaid, that the emperor and king *Ferdinand* his brother ſhould ſurely win no great honour, if they ſhould come to oppugne her a widdow conſumed with teares, and a young child yet crying in his cradle. The countie ſo ſent away, when he was returned to king *Ferdinand*, told him, That the queene was altogether F in the power of the Biſhop, and could neither ſay nor doe any thing, but what ſhe had before receiued from him: for he only (as he ſaid) commaunded all: as for the reſt of the nobilitie, they ſhared amongſt them the honours and preferments of the realme, and as men deſirous of credit and gaine, had rather be the gouernours of the young prince, than the ſeruants and waiters of a great and mightie forraine king: all which he ſaid he had both heard and ſeene. Wherefore all

King Ferdinand ſendeth an embaſſadour to the queen to demand of her the kingdome of Hungarie.

The queenes anſwere to the embaſſadour.

the hope was in warre, wherein ſuch ſpeed was to be vſed, as that the queene with her ſonne vnprouided, and expecting the euent of their embaſſage from CONSTANTINOPLE, might be driuen out of BVDA before they could take vp armes or well aduiſe themſelues what to doe; and that the queene ſought delay but to make her ſelfe the ſtronger, and in the meane time to call in the Turke, and ſo to make a more dangerous warre. Wherefore if euer he purpoſed to reigne in HVNGARIE, he ſhould forthwith caſt off all other cogitations, and make readie his forces with all ſpeed poſsible. G

King Ferdinand inuadeth Hungarie.

Hereupon king *Ferdinand* furniſhed with money from *Charles* the emperour, without delay raiſed a great armie, which he ſent downe the riuer Danubius to STRIGONIVM, which citie had all the reigne of king *Iohn* continued faithfull to king *Ferdinand*. The Generall of this armie was *Leonardus Velſius*, a nobleman of RHETIA: who for many cauſes thought it expedient firſt to open the way to BVDA, for almoſt in the middle of the way ſtood VICEGRADE, with a goodly caſtle vpon the top of an hill by the riuer ſide; which towne (but not the caſtle) *Velſius* after nine dayes ſiege tooke, with the loſſe of about two hundred of his men, all the garriſon ſouldiors therein being either ſlaine or taken priſoners, with *Valentinus Litteratus* their captaine. H

Vicegrade taken.

Peſth and Vacia taken.

From VICEGRADE he paſſed ouer the riuer Danubius to PESTH, which he tooke, being forſaken of the enemie. With like ſucceſſe he tooke the citie of VACIA, without loſſe: and remouing thence, and croſsing againe the riuer with his fleet, came and encamped before BVDA, ſo to terrifie the citiſens, and to diſcouer as farre as he could the purpoſe of the queene. Where *Perenus*, *Stephanus Raſcaius*, and *Franciſcus Francopanes* biſhop of AGRIA, all men of great nobilitie amongſt the Hungarians, reuolted from the queene to king *Ferdinand*: the Biſhop was reputed for a man of great integritie, and vpon meere conſcience to haue gone ouer to *Ferdinand*; yet was he by letters from *George* the kings tutor challenged to haue reuolted, in hope by meanes of *Charles* the emperour to be made a Cardinall. *Velſius* lay with his armie at the hot bathes about a mile and a halfe from the citie, as if he would rather beſiege it, than aſſault it. The Germanes lying there, did fetch in bootie round about the country, which was taken in euill part by the Hungarians on their ſide; who ſeeing their owne cattell or their friends driuen away, the villages burnt, and the poore husbandmen bound and taken priſoners, fell together by the eares oftentimes with the Germanes. On the other ſide they of BVDA ſending out their troupes of horſemen, skirmiſhed with the Germanes, if they did but ſtirre out of the campe, and well defended the villages from the injurie of the enemie: for *Valentinus Thuraccus*, Generall of the queenes power, had taken into the citie a wonderfull number of light horſemen. Whileſt the armie lay thus encamped, it fortuned that *Balthaſar Pamphilus*, a noble Hungarian, ſtraying out of the campe euen to the gates of BVDA, deſired the warders at the gate to giue him leaue to talke with *Valentinus* their Generall, for that he deſired to ſee his old friend, and to conferre with him of certaine matters concerning the good of the common ſtate. Which thing being graunted by the Generall, he was immediatly receiued into the citie with his troupe of horſemen. Shortly after returning againe into the campe, he reported how he had beene entertained by his old acquaintance in the citie: where viewing the garriſon, the great artillerie and fortification of the citie, he perceiued it was not to be taken without a greater power, and in a more ſeaſonable time of the yeare. Which thing ſo moued *Velſius*, by nature ſuſpitious, and doubtfull of the fidelitie of a ſtranger, that he commaunded him in anger to void the campe, becauſe he had without his leaue gone into the citie, and vpon his owne priuat inſolencie had conference with the enemie, and by amplifying their ſtrength, to haue diſcouraged the armie, by putting them out of hope of victorie. Wherefore *Velſius* neuer attempting to aſſault the citie, returned againe to VICEGRADE to beſiege the higher caſtle (wherein the auntient crowne of king *Stephen*, wherewith the Hungarian kings were euer after him crowned, was kept) which caſtle he alſo tooke with ſomething leſſe loſſe than he had done the lower towne. Not long after he marched with his armie to ALBA REGALIS, the citie where the Hungarian kings were vſually crowned and buried, which by the meanes of *Perenus* was deliuered vnto him, and a garriſon put into it for king *Ferdinand*. Theſe things thus done, *Velſius* retired againe to STRIGONIVM, which he did the rather, becauſe the Germanes and Hungarians, two rough nations, could by no meanes agree together, inſomuch, as that *Velſius* the Generall in parting them was wounded in the thigh, and *Perenus* hurt with a ſtone; beſides that Winter was now come farre on, and the ſouldiors cried out for pay. For which cauſes *Velſius* (being alſo ſicke of the ſtone) billitted his ſouldiours for that Winter I K L M

Kirg Ferdinands armie departeth from Buda.

Alba Regalis yeelded to king Ferdinand.

about

about in the countrey. Yet before that he new fortified PESTH, and left therein a garriſon, becauſe it was reported, that the Turkes vpon their frontiers were making preparation to come to aid them of BVDA.

At ſuch time as king *Ferdinand* was leuying his forces for the inuaſion of HVNGARIE, the queene by the counſell of the Biſhop, had in good time craued aid of the Turkes lieutenants in the countries bordering vpon HVNGARIE, eſpecially of *Vſtref*, gouernour of BOSNA (a very aged man, and of great honour, who had married one of the daughters of *Baiazet* the old emperour) as alſo of *Mahomethes* gouernour of BELGRADE, and *Amurathes* who had the charge of the frontiers of DALMATIA: from whom ſhe receiued one anſwere, That they might in no caſe without expreſſe commaundement from *Solyman* depart from the places of their charge. Beſides that, *Mahometes* was by rewards ouercome by *Laſchus*, as he paſſed by BELGRADE to CONSTANTINOPLE, not to ſtirre or aid the queene. Wherefore ſhe rejected by theſe great captaines, certified *Solyman* by her embaſſadours what danger her ſelfe, her ſonne, and the kingdome was in, crauing his ſpeedie aid. *Laſchus* was not yet come to CONSTANTINOPLE, being fallen ſicke by the way, but had ſent before *Ptolomeus* his phyſition to the great Baſſaes, and eſpecially to *Lutzis* his old acquaintance, vpon whom he had beſtowed great gifts, and was in hope by him to haue obtained what he deſired: but all in vaine, for *Solyman* who thought it much for his honour to defend his owne right, and that he had before giuen vnto king *Iohn*; thought alſo, that it would redound both to his great profit and glorie, if he ſhould as it were vpon charitie take vpon him the protection of the widdow and fatherleſſe child, in their ſo great diſtreſſe and danger. Wherefore calling vnto him the embaſſadours, the three great Baſſaes ſtanding by, he ſaid, That he had of his meere bountie before giuen the kingdome of HVNGARIE vnto king *Iohn*, to deſcend to his poſteritie, ſo long as they ſhould retaine the kind remembrance of ſo great a benefit; wherefore to declare his conſtancie, inſeparable from his bountie, he ſaid he would take ſuch a courſe in the matter, as that the Germans his enemies ſhould not long rejoice of the warres they had begun. And in token of friendſhip, and that he had taken vpon him the protection of the young king, he cauſed to be deliuered vnto the embaſſadours a royall robe of purple and gold, a buckler with the boſſe moſt curiouſly wrought, a horſemans maſe with a handle of gold, and a ſcimitar with the ſcabberd richly ſet with ſtones: and afterwards writ effectually to *Vſtref* and *Mahometes*, his lieutenants, that they ſhould without delay aid the queene, and not to make excuſe, becauſe it was Winter, threatening them, that if ſhe tooke any harme through their default or negligence, it ſhould coſt them their heads. The queenes embaſſadours glad of their good diſpatch, were ſcarce departed from the Turks court, when *Laſchus* came to CONSTANTINOPLE; and vnderſtanding by his phyſition the ſucceſſe of the Hungarian embaſſadours, proceeded for all that in his buſineſſe, and deliuered his meſſage, and vpon many reaſonable conditions requeſted the kingdome for king *Ferdinand*. But when he in ſpeaking had oftentimes made mention of *Charles* the emperour, as if he would with all the power of GERMANIE aid his brother; *Solyman* was ſo mooued therewith, that he was preſently taken away and committed to priſon: the great Baſſaes, but eſpecially *Ruſtan*, *Solymans* ſonne in law, a proud and furious young man, chiding him and ſhaking him vp as worthie of death, for offending with his liberall ſpeech the majeſtie of ſo courteous a prince, and as it were mocking the king of kings, requiring friendſhip, when in the meane time his maſter moſt impudently made warres in HVNGARIE.

The queene craueth aid of Solyman againſt Ferdinand.

Laſchus king Ferdinand his embaſſador imprisoned by Solyman.

Vſtref and *Mahometes*, the Baſſaes aforeſaid, hauing receiued ſuch ſtraight commaundement from *Solyman*, aſſembled their diſperſed ſouldiors, and by ſhipping brought them downe the riuers Sauus and Dranus into Danubius, (for it is a hard matter to performe any great thing by warres in HVNGARIE, without the helpe of a great fleet, for conueying of the great ordinance, victuall, and other ſuch neceſſaries of the armie, from one ſide of the great riuers to the other, as occaſion requireth) but as then being the middeſt of Winter, and the North wind blowing hard, Danubius was ſo frozen on both ſides, that the middle of the riuer was ſcarce open: ſo that the Turkes not able to paſſe for the extremitie of the weather, nor daring to returne for the ſtraight command of *Solyman*, were enforced in their tents there to abide the hardneſſe of Winter, to ſhew their readineſſe. It is almoſt incredible to be ſpoken, with what patience and reſolution the ſouldiors endured all the extremities of the time, in ſo bare a place, their horſes which of all other things they hold moſt deare, ſtaruing for cold and want of meat.

Solyman promiſeth to protect the queene and her ſonne againſt Ferdinand, and ſendeth preſents to the yong king.

1541

The Spring at length comming on, right welcome both to the Turkes and the queene; *Mahometes* with his Turks and wild Illyrians, and *Vstref* with his ſouldiors of BOSNA, entred into HVNGARIE, with whom *Valentinus* Generall of the queens forces joyned alſo, with a ſtrong power of Hungarians brought from BVDA. And the queene to further the matter, ſent preſents to the Turks Generals, victualed the campe, and furniſhed them with great ordinance, for the beſieging of ſuch cities as were holden by king *Ferdinand* her enemie. They paſsing ouer Danubius tooke the citie of VACIA, being but badly defended for king *Ferdinand*, and putting many to the ſword (after the manner of their barbarous crueltie) burnt the citie. From thence they remoued to PESTH, which was ſo valiantly defended by *Barcocius* and *Fotiſcus*, the one a Hungarian captaine, the other a German, that the Turkes deſpairing of the winning of the citie, and not well relieued with victuall by the queene, then fearing future want, paſſed againe ouer Danubius, and faithfully reſtoring the great ordinance without any more doing, returned againe into their owne countries: but in their retiring, the Hungarians by the leading of *Ferentius Gnarus* ſlew many of them, amongſt whom was one *Achomates*, one of their beſt and valianteſt captaines.

The queene ioyneth her forces with the Turks, and burneth Vacia.

Peſth in vaine beſieged by the Turkes.

G

H

King *Ferdinand* aduertiſed of the Turks departure, returned again to his old hope of recouering the kingdome: perſuading the emperor his brother, not to giue ouer the war ſo fortunatly begun, eſpecially now that the Turkes hauing forſaken the queene, were departed and gone. Wherefore the new forces lately before raiſed in AVSTRIA, BOHEMIA, SILESIA, and MORAVIA, for the ſupply of *Velſius* his armie, were preſently ſent into HVNGARIE vnder the leading of the Lo. *William Rogendorff* ſteward of the kings houſe, who was then gone as farre as POSSONIVM to haue relieued them of PESTH, vnto whom as a more auntient and honourable Generall *Velſius* gaue place. He, furniſhed with theſe new ſupplies, three moneths victuall, and great artillerie from VIENNA, joyning with the old armie, marched directly to BVDA, and laid ſiege vnto it. Ouer againſt the ſtately caſtle of BVDA wherein the queene lay, was a great hill called S. *Gerrards* mount, ſo high, that the middle thereof was equall with the higheſt place of the caſtle, and from the top thereof they might looke into the ſtreets of the citie, betwixt which hill and the caſtle was a great valley and a deepe ditch: vpon this hill, *Rogendorff* to beat the caſtle and to terrifie the queene, planted his batterie, and ſo ſhooke a new built tower thereof, that it was thought it would haue ſuddenly fallen; which if it had, yet was it ſuppoſed a dangerous matter to aſſault it, becauſe it was walled about with a treble wall. But the ſumptuous turrets and princely galleries of the kings pallace in the caſtle, which euerie man ſaw *Rogendorff* might haue beaten downe with his great ordinance, he ſpared: but whether of himſelfe, or elſe commaunded by the king (as loath to deſtroy ſo goodly buildings, as could not without great charges be in long time againe repaired) was vncertaine. Wherfore by diuers heraulds ſent vnto the queen, he wiſhed her to breake in ſunder thoſe giues and fetters wherein the biſhop vnder the colour of protection had faſt bound her ſonne and her, and to accept of king *Ferdinands* offer, who was readie to beſtow vpon her a goodly ſeignorie, wherein ſhe might moſt honourably liue at quiet, and bring vp her ſonne in ſatetie: Which thing, if ſhe as a ſimple woman, and ignorant of her owne danger, ſhould refuſe and obſtinately contemne the perill wherein ſhe ſtood, he would forthwith in moſt terrible manner beat downe the pallace about her eares. Whereunto the biſhop in the queenes behalfe anſwered, That ſhe was not ſuch a foole as to exchange the kingdome of HVNGARIE for the principalitie of SERVSIA: and that ſhe thought *Rogendorff* a vetie doting and mad old man, who being once before well beaten in thoſe ditches, came now again like a foole to receiue his vtter deſtruction in full guerdon of his raſh folly: Wherfore he ſhould ceaſe to terrifie valiant men, fighting with diſcretion for their naturall king and countrey againſt his drunken companie, for that they were nothing troubled with the noiſe of his great ſhot: But yet he ſaid, that he would aboue all the reſt by way of priuat courteſie, gently requeſt *Rogendorff* to diſcharge his pieces with a little leſſe noiſe, becauſe he had a ſow at home great with pigs, which terrified with the thundring of his guns, would farrow he doubted before her time, to the griefe of his gueſts. For the biſhop was of a ſharpe and taunting ſpirit, and ſuch a contemner of the Germans, that when two of them were taken in the kings orchards burning certaine houſes, he in deriſion cauſed two hogs to be hanged vpon the ſame gallowes with them. Not long after, *Rogendorff* remoued his campe from the mount of S. *Gerrard* to a more conuenient place for the battering of the citie, called the Iewes graues, neere vnto the gate called the Iewes gate.

King Ferdinand ſendeth the Lo. William Rogendorff with an armie into Hungarie.

Buda beſieged.

I

K

Rogendorff threatneth the queene.

The biſhop ſcornfully anſwereth Rogendorff.

L

M

Which

A Which thing the biſhop ſeeing, after his quipping manner requeſted of *Rogendorff* to pardon him, in that he had of late wrongfully called him a doting old man; for that in remouing his campe into a more commodious place, he ſeemed to be a proper wiſe man and of good diſcretion, now that he had pitched his tents in a moſt fit place amongſt the dead, both for himſelfe being an old man and almoſt worne with vaine labour, and for his armie there condemned to die with him. *Rogendorff* thus encamped, begun in two places to batter the wals: *Perenus* and the Hungarians with the Bohemians neere vnto the gate called SABATINA in one place, and hee himſelfe with the Germans betwixt the Iewes gate and the caſtle in another: which was done with ſuch violence, that a great part of the wall was beaten downe, & another part therof ouercharged with earth, which the defendants had caſt vp on the inner ſide for the ſtrengthning ther-
B of, was at the ſame time born quite out and ſo fell downe, to the wonderfull diſmaying of all that were in the citie. Which faire opportunitie to haue taken the citie *Rogendorff* let ſlip, either not well aware thereof by reaſon of the great ſmoke of the artillerie on both ſides, and the duſt ariſing with the fall of the wall which couered all; or elſe according to his naturall diſpoſition, doing all things leaſurely and ſuſpitiouſly; ſo that a little delay bereft him of the preſent apprehenſion of ſo ſudden a reſolution: and the Germans, vſed more to ſtanding battels than to aſſault, were not to be ſo eaſily brought on to aſſault the breach vpon the ſudden, as were the Spaniards, Italians, or French. The wall was opened in that place almoſt two hundred paces in length, yet ſtanding almoſt the height of a man, which might eaſily haue been ſcaled with ſhort ladders; but night was now comming faſt on, wherein the Germans would not willingly attempt any dan-
C gerous matter: ſo that the aſſault was deferred vntill the next morning. Whereas they of BVDA in the meane time taking the aduantage of the enemies delay, with incredible diligence and labour in that night raiſed vp a new rampier in ſteed of the wall that was fallen, euerie man without exception putting his hand to the worke. In the morning the Germans comming to the breach, gaue ſuch a fierce aſſault vnto the new made rampier, that *Otho Fotiſcus* deſperatly entered into a ſhattered houſe which joyned vnto the wall; and certaine other companies, one ſouldiour helping vp another, had almoſt recouered the top of the rampier, and were there readie to haue ſet vp their enſignes. When they of BVDA with wonderfull conſtancie and reſolution withſtood the aſſailants, *George* the biſhop encouraging them and fighting amongſt them; who hauing laid aſide his hood, was now to be ſeene with his helmet on his head, running too and
D fro as need required all alongſt the rampier. At length the Germans ſeeing themſelues to ſtriue in vaine againſt reſolute men, were enforced to retire. In this aſſault *Rogendorff* loſt aboue 800. men. *Perenus* was alſo in like manner, but with leſſe loſſe, repulſed at the other breach he had made at the gate SABATINA. After that *Rogendorff* attempted by vndermining to haue taken the citie, but was by countermines diſappointed of his purpoſe. Yet for all this, they in the citie began to feele the want of many things, ſo that it ſeemed they were not able to endure any longer ſiege; the common people pinched with hunger crying openly out in mutinous ſort, that it was time to yeeld and make an end of thoſe common miſeries: but ſuch was the authoritie of the biſhop with his prouident foreſight of all vrgent euents, that once ſhewing himſelfe in the market place as if he would haue preached, he could turne the peeuiſh minded people which
E way he pleaſed.

A great breach in the wals of Buda.

The Germans aſſaulting the breach, are with loſſe repulſed.

After all this, it miſſed but a little, but that this citie which could not by enemies force bee woon, had by ſhamefull treaſon beene loſt: there was at that time in BVDA one *Bornemiſſa* a lawyer, who had in former time beene maior of the citie: this *Bornemiſſa* exceedingly hated the biſhop for taking part with a banckerout Iew againſt him, and being full of malice, and deſirous of reuenge, promiſed to *Reualius* (martiall in the enemies campe) to deliuer vnto him a blind poſterne in S. *Maries* churchyard, whereby he might enter the citie: which gate ſerued the citiſens in time of peace to go thorow to the riuer. *Rogendorff* the Generall made acquainted with the matter, ſo liked thereof, that he in himſelfe thought it not good, in a matter of ſo great importance, to vſe at all the ſeruice of the Hungarians: Quite contrarie to that *Bornemiſſa* had requeſted of *Reualius*, who deſirous to haue the matter brought to paſſe without the
F ſlaughter of ſo many guiltleſſe people as was by him to be betraied, would haue had it altogither performed by the Hungarians, who he was in good hope would ſhew mercie vnto their countrey men and kinſmen, and vſe their victorie with more moderation than the Germans, who prouoked with many deſpights, and comming in by night, were like enough to make great effuſion

Bornemiſſa practiſeth to betray the citie of Buda.

effusion of bloud. But *Rogendorff* after the manner of his nation, to be counted politicke, vsing G
to keepe promise with no man, and hoping by excluding the Hungarians to haue all the glorie
of the conceiued victorie wholy to himselfe; made as if he would haue vsed onely the Hunga-
ans, and glosed with *Reualius*, whose son for the more assurance he tooke as pledge: For against
the appointed houre, which was about midnight, hauing before giuen straight charge that no
man should stir in the campe, he sent foure select companies of Germans with great silence vnto
the posterne; at which time his sonne *Condi* stood with a strong troupe of horsemen, readie to
haue entred, at such time as the Germans (receiued into the citie) should breake open the great
gate, as was before agreed. Neither did *Bornemissa* faile to performe what he had as a traitor pro-
mised: but opening the posterne wee spake of, had with great silence receiued in most part of
those German companies. But when he still asked softly of them as they came in for *Reualius*, H
and heard them answere nothing but in the German language; although hee was otherwise a
man of a bold spirit, yet then surprised with a sudden feare (as it oftentimes chanceth in such acti-
ons to men deceiued of their expectation) he stood as a man amazed that knew not what to doe,
& forgot to conduct the Germans: who altogither vnacquainted with the citie, knew not which
way first to go; and stealing on softly in the darke, went on with no great courage, for feare of
treason, still asking of them that followed, for him that should direct them. The Germans could
not go so closely, but that they were by the clattering of their armour and the light of their mat-
ches, descried by the watch; who asking for the word, and they not giuing it, presently raised an
alarum: but now all too late, the citie being as good as halfe taken, had the Germans well con-
ducted resolutely gone on with the matter so well begun; but they ignorant of the way, and I
now descried and chased with their owne feare, ran backe againe to the posterne, in such hast, that
one of them miserably wrong another, in striuing who should get out first; and their passage out
much letted by the pikes and weapons which they which fled first had cast crosse the way to
run the lighter into the campe. The first that set vpon the Germans was *Bacianus*, who had that
night the charge of the watch; and after him *Vicche*, who kept the court of guard in the mar-
ket place, and hearing the alarum, came thither with a strong companie both of horsemen and
footmen. Many of the most valiantest Germans, who comming in first, were in flight become
last, were slaine or taken, and amongst them many of *Bornemissa* his familiars and friends (as
for himselfe, he was got out amongst the formost) from whom the bishop by exquisite torture
wrong out the whole plot of the treason, and afterwards caused them to be seuerally executed K
to the terrour of others. *Reualius* in the meane time complaining in the campe, That he was
deceiued by the Generall: and *Bornemissa* wofully lamenting, That hauing worthely got the
name of an infamous traitour, hee had thereby lost all his substance, and vndone his friends
and kindred. The Generall *Rogendorff* (condemned euen of the common souldiors, for his foo-
lish arrogancie and pride) was hardly spoken of thorow all the campe, as he that by too much
insolencie had ouerthrowne the fairest occasion of a most goodly victorie: wherefore from that
time he attempted no great matter, but set himselfe downe by long siege to tame his enemies,
and so to win the citie.

Bornemissa receiueth in the Germans by a posterne, supposing them to haue beene Hungarians.

Solyman vnderstanding of the queenes distresse in HVNGARIE, and with what desire *Ferdi-
nand* (supported by the emperour his brother) thirsted after that kingdome; consulted with his L
Bassaes of the purposes and power of his enemies, both there and elsewhere: and politikely resol-
ued at one time, with his deuided forces, to withstand their attempts in diuers places, and those
farre distant one from another, whereby the greatnesse of his power is well to be perceiued. First
he sent *Solyman Bassa* an eunuch to BABYLON, to defend the countrey of MESOPOTAMIA,
and the frontiers of his empire alongst the riuer Tygris, against *Tamas* the Persian king. *Ma-
hometes* another of his great Bassaes, he sent into HVNGARIE to relieue the besieged queene:
And after him *Vstref Bassa*, which was the fourth of his chiefe Bassaes, with another army to
stay at BELGRADE, in readinesse to aid the other Bassa sent before him as occasion should re-
quire, if he should find his enemies too strong. Vnto *Barbarussa* he committed his nauie, for the
defence of GRECIA and EPYRVS against *Auria*, who but a little before aided by the gallies M
of SICILIA and NAPLES, had driuen the Turkes and Moores (which tooke part with the
Turks) out of CLVPEA, NEAPOLIS, ADRVMENTVM, RVSPINA, TAPSVS, and all alongst
that coast of AFFRICK which the Moores call MAHOMEDIA, except the citie of LEPTIS,
and caused those cities to submit themselues to the gouernment of *Muleasses* king of TVNES.

Solyman at one time maintaineth wars in diuers places of the world farre distant.

The Germans not conducted, are discouered and discomfited.

These

A Theſe cities are at this day called CALIBIA, SVSA, MAHOMETA, MONASTERIVM, SFAXIA and AFRICA. And becauſe *Solyman* vnderſtood, that *Maylat* the Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA tooke part with king *Ferdinand*, he ſent againſt him *Achomates* gouernour of NICOPOLIS, and commaunded *Peter* of MOLDAVIA, prince of VALACAIA, to aid him: who afterwards accordingly came vnto him with thirtie thouſand horſemen. He himſelfe alſo doubting the purpoſes of the Chriſtian princes, and eſpecially of *Charles* the emperour, more than he had need, came to HADRIANOPLE, and in the countries thereabouts raiſed a third armie, to aid the two Baſſaes ſent before into HVNGARIE; keeping with him his ſon in law *Ruſtan*, whom he had made one of the foure great Baſſaes of his counſell, hauing thruſt out *Luſtibeius*, whom the Turkes call *Lutzis*, his brother in law, and exiled him into MACEDONIA for euill entreating and ſtri-
B king his wife, which was *Solymans* ſiſter, as is before ſaid, but was at this time done.

Mahometes the Baſſa deſirous to doe his great Maſter the beſt ſeruice he could, entred into HVNGARIE with his armie about the middle of Iune in the yeare 1541, taking with him in his way the other *Mahometes* gouernour of BELGRADE, who gaue the ſhamefull ouerthrow vnto the Chriſtians at EZEK; joyning alſo with him the power of BOSNA, now commaunded by *Vlamas* the Perſian, for that *Vſtref* the old Baſſa was lately dead. The captaines of the Chriſtian armie hearing of the comming of the Turks, entred into counſell, Whether they ſhould continue the ſiege, or els goe and meet them by the way and giue them battell. But the petiod of the Hungarian kingdome drawing faſt on, and the ineuitable deſtinie thereof ſo requiring, the opinion of *Rogenderff* preuailed againſt the reſt for the continuing of the ſiege, he ſeeming more wil-
C ling to die than to croſſe ouer the riuer to PESTH, or to retire to VICEGRADE or STRIGONIVM, as diuers would haue perſuaded him: wherefore he remoued from the place where he lay before, and encamped his armie on the further ſide of the citie at the foot of S. *Gerards* mount, where the hill lying betweene BVDA and the campe, and departing from the riuer leaueth a faire plaine toward the Eaſt; of purpoſe, that the Turks which he knew would not goe far from the riuer and their fleet, ſhould be enforced dangerouſly to paſſe by the mouth of his great ordinance, which he had aptly placed vpon the front of his trenches: for ſuch was the nature of the place, that the campe lay defended on the right hand with the ſteepe hill, on the left hand with the riuer, and behind toward the citie with a ſtrong bulwarke. Vpon the right hand, vpon a little riſing ground he placed the leſſer campe, wherein were the Hungarians which fauoured king
D *Ferdinand*, and then followed his enſignes. He made alſo a bridge from his campe into a little iſland which lay in the riuer, and with a fort well planted with ordinance commaunded both the riuer and the plaine, ſo to beat the enemies fleet comming vp the riuer, and themſelues alſo as they ſhould march alongſt the plaine. He was about alſo to haue made a bridge of lighters and boats quite ouer the riuer, from his campe to PESTH, and in this order to expect the comming of new ſupplies from king *Ferdinand*, and to repell the enemie who was comming, and with long ſiege to wearie them in BVDA: for there was ſuch ſtore both of victuall and all other warlike prouiſion in PESTH, as would well haue ſufficed his armie vntill Winter had beene ſpent. As ſoone as the Turks were come nigh the citie, *Valentinus* as an embaſſadour from the queene met them with two thouſand horſe, and fully inſtructed both the *Mahomets* what the
E Chriſtians did, what ſtrength they were of, and how they might moſt conueniently encampe their armie. Wherefore the Baſſa marching on boldly forward, came within halfe a mile of the Chriſtian campe, where he quickly entrenched himſelfe round with a ſtrong trench, filling a great part of the plaine with his tents. But the other *Mahometes*, gouernour of BELGRADE, a moſt polliticke captaine, tooke the higher ground towards the riſing of the hill, neerer vnto the tents of the Hungarians than of the Germanes. Vnto theſe two armies thus encamped, belonged alſo two fleets, the Chriſtian fleet conſiſted of foure and twentie galleots, about foureſcore ſmall pinnaces, and little leſſe than a hundred ſhips of burden and other great boats: whereas the Turks fleet was not thought to be paſt halfe ſo great. Neere vnto the little iſland, joyned as we haue before ſaid by a bridge to the Chriſtian campe, beneath in the riuer had the Turkes taken
F another iſland called CEPELLIA, oueragainſt their owne campe; where caſting vp a great bulwarke in the vppermoſt end thereof, and planting it with great ordinance, they from thence ſhot at the fort which the Chriſtians held in the little iſland, and at their veſſels paſsing too and fro in the riuer; as the Chriſtians did at them likewiſe. This iſland of CEPELLIA lieth ſomewhat more than fortie miles in length in the riuer Danubius, full of countrey villages, ſo commodiouſly,

Mahometes Baſſa commeth with the Turks armie to relieue Buda.

The order of king Ferdinands armie.

The Baſſa entrencheth his armie within halfe a mile of the kings armie.

ſly, that if *Rogendorff* had at the firſt taken it and fortified it, before the comming of the Turkes, G
as the Hungarians perſuaded him to haue done, the Turks could by no meanes haue encamped
in the plaine, but muſt needs haue forſaken their fleet, fetching a great compaſſe about more to-
ward the Weſt, further off from the riuer: which would haue turned to the Turks great diſad-
uantage. *But no man is ſo wiſe as to foreſee all things, when as the very euill ſucceſſe, be the plot ne-
uer ſo well laid, ſhall of it ſelfe, beſide the loſſe, leaue vnto the vnfortunate man the note of the want
of prouident foreſight and diſcretion.* But *Rogendorff* was not willing to deuide his forces, vntill he
had ſome new ſupplie from king *Ferdinand*. Whileſt the armies lay thus neere one to the other,
there were ſome light skirmiſhes made euery day, either by the horſemen or the footmen, and
ſometime one braue man challenging forth another hand to hand, whom he thought by his ar-
Skirmiſhes betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turkes. mour or ſome other ſigne of his worth, to be like to himſelfe: which was ſo pleaſant a ſight to H
behold, that both the armies vpon a militarie courteſie, as if it had been ſo agreed, would many
times for certaine houres forbeare to ſhoot any ſhot, of purpoſe to ſee thoſe gallants, with true
proweſſe to prooue their valour and manhood one vpon another with their ſpeares and ſwords
only. In which light skirmiſhes the Germane horſemen were oftentimes put to the worſt, who
mounted vpon great heauie horſes, fitter for a ſet battell, could neither ſo readily charge the ene-
mie, nor purſue him in his flight; as could the Turks with their nimble and readie light horſes, ſo
well acquainted with that manner of flying fight, that they would with wheeling about eaſily
fruſtrate the firſt charge of the heauie horſemen, and by and by come vpon them againe with a
freſh charge, & ſo often retire and come on again, vntill they had either wearied or ouerthrowne
them. But the Hungarians acquainted with that manner of fight as well as they, and alſo better I
armed, did eaſily encounter the Turks, and foile them, although they were in number moe.

Rayſchachius for ſorrow of his ſonne ſlaine by the Turks, ſuddenly dieth. There was amongſt the Germane captaines a noble man called *Eckius Rayſchachius*, whoſe
ſon (a valiant yong gentleman) being got out of the armie without his fathers knowledge, bare
himſelfe ſo gallantly in fight againſt the enemie in the ſight of his father and of the armie, that he
was highly commended of all men, and eſpecially of his father, who knew him not at all: yet be-
fore he could cleare himſelfe, he was compaſſed in with the enemie, and valiantly fighting ſlaine.
Rayſchachius exceedingly mooued with the death of ſo braue a man, ignorant how neere it tou-
ched himſelfe, turning about to the other captaines, ſaid, This worthie gentleman, whatſoeuer
he be, is worthie of eternall commendation, and to be moſt honourably buried by the whole ar-
mie. As the reſt of the captaines were with like compaſsion approuing his ſpeech, the dead bo- K
die of the vnfortunat ſonne reſcued, was preſented to the moſt miſerable father; which cauſed all
them that were there preſent to ſhed teares: but ſuch a ſuddaine and inward greefe ſurpriſed the
aged father, and ſtrucke ſo to his heart, that after he had ſtood a while ſpeechleſſe, with his eyes
ſet in his head, he ſuddenly fell downe dead. From that time the Generall commaunded, That no
man ſhould vpon paine of death go out of the armie to skirmiſh with the enemie without leaue,
wherein he was ſo ſeuere, that he hanged vp one or two which preſumed to tranſgreſſe his com-
maundement: which thing much diſcouraged his own men, and ſo encouraged the enemie, that
they would ſometime braue the Chriſtians vpon the top of their owne trenches.

Many dayes had now paſſed ſince the comming of the Baſſa, the Turkes and they of BVDA
dayly encreaſing both in ſtrength and courage: when on the other ſide, faint courage, weake L
ſtrength, troubled counſell, vncertain reſolution, the ominous ſigns of an vndoubted ouerthrow,
were eaſie to be ſeene; and hope it ſelfe, the ſtay of all human actions, eſpecially of martiall affairs,
almoſt loſt: the onely things that held their fainting hearts, was the often letters from king *Fer-
dinand*, and the firme opinion they had conceiued, That *Charles* the emperour would not in ſo
great a danger faile to aid his brother, both with men and mony: and laſt of all, the firme reſolu-
tion of the Generall, which farre paſſed all reaſon, the ſooner to draw him to his end. The armies
lying in this order, the Turkes from the higher ground, and out of CEPELLIA, perceiuing the
Germanes in the little iſland as careleſſe men to keepe but negligent watch, agreed amongſt
themſelues at one inſtant out of both their campes, to aſſaile diuers of their forts: and ſo in the
The Turks ſuddenly aſſaile the Chriſtians in the Iſland. breake of the day landed with their fleet ſo cloſely and ſuddenly to the Iſland, that they had M
ſlaine almoſt ſix hundred of the Germanes, before they were thorowly awake or could well
arme themſelues: wherewith the reſt were put in ſuch a feare, that they fled to the campe in ſuch
haſt, that many of them fell beſide the bridge and were drowned in the riuer. All the campe was
wonderfully troubled with the ſuddenneſſe of the matter, the Turks with their hideous cries rai-

ſing

A sing the alarum in diuers places at once: yet for all that, certaine German companies in one of the forts neereſt vnto the riuer, and the ſouldiors in the fleet, well declared their preſent reſolution and valiant courage, in recouering againe of the iſland. For *Herbeſtulfus* the campe-maiſter, perſuading them not to ſuffer the Chriſtian enſignes and great ordinance to be ſo ſhamefully carried away of the Turkes; and *Marius* the Admirall at the ſame time landing diuers companies in the iſland with his pinnaces and great boats: they ſo couragiouſly charged the Turkes, then buſied in the ſpoiling of the dead bodies and drawing away of the great ordinance, that they draue them againe to their boats; leauing vnto them as victors, both the iſland and the ordinance, hauing before their departure, receiued no leſſe loſſe themſelues than had the Germans before.

B It was reported, that the Turkes fleet might that day haue beene quite ouerthrowne, if the Chriſtians vſing the victorie, and holpen with the courſe of that ſwift riuer, had couragiouſly purſued them and landed with them. But many things after a matter is done are eaſily ſeene, which in the verie heat and hurle of the danger cannot well be foreſeene; for as much as ſudden accidents attended with great perill, doe oftentimes dazle the minds of right wiſe and valiant captaines: yet foure of the Turks pinnaces were ſuncke, and three taken, and many of the Turkes ſlaine or drowned in the riuer. Shortly after, the Turkes more and more encouraged with the multitude of themſelues, and the fearefulneſſe they perceiued in their enemies, did at ſundrie times ſo inſolently trouble and aſſaile the campe of the Chriſtians on euerie ſide, that they left them almoſt no time of reſt, one company ſtill ſucceeding another; ſo that they were almoſt in C deſpaire, to be able long to defend their campe, the enemie ſtill growing both in ſtrength and courage. For the Baſſa that lay at BELGRADE, ſtill taking vnto him the ſicke and wounded ſouldiors, ſent continually freſh men in their ſteed: and *Valentinus* taking vnto him a companie of the Turks Ianizaries harquebuſiers, had driuen *Perenus* with the Hungarian horſemen out of the vpper campe. So that they in the nether campe were now hardly beſet with their enemies on euerie ſide: yet were they well holpen by the great artillerie from PESTH, which much troubled *Valentinus* and his horſemen in aſſailing the campe on that ſide.

Some report that *Valentinus*, not greatly angrie with the Hungarian baniſhed men, but with the Germans, did by the way of priuat courteſie and friendſhip, by a faithfull ſouldior wiſh *Perenus* ſpeedily to prouide for the ſafetie of himſelfe and the Hungarians with him; for that there D was a great beaſt comming, which would at one morſell deuoure them all. For *Solyman* aduertiſed of the doings of the emperour and king *Ferdinand*, thinking that they would haue come downe to BVDA with a puiſſant armie, was reſolued to be preſent himſelfe at ſo notable a battell, and was therefore comming thither with his armie in all haſt. Wherefore *Perenus* thus forewarned, ſaid plainly to *Rogendorff* and the other captaines, That except they would preſently riſe with the armie and depart, he would now whiles he had yet time, make ſhift for himſelfe and his countrey men. Their opinions diuerſly deliuered, at laſt they all agreed that it was beſt the next night to paſſe ouer the riuer to PESTH: only the Generall vpon a fatall obſtinacie ſaid, He would not without king *Ferdinands* commaundement depart from BVDA: and therfore ſent countie *Salma* with a ſwift pinnace vp the riuer to VIENNA to know his pleaſure therein. In the E meane time vrged with feare, *Perenus* fretting at their long ſtay, it was reſolued vpon, that they ſhould the next night after the Moone was downe, paſſe ouer the riuer in foure conuoies to PESTH: In the firſt, were to paſſe ouer the Hungarians, with the great ordinance: in the ſecond, the German and the Bohemian horſemen: and in the other two, the footmen and the baggage of the armie. For it was not ſo eaſie a matter to make a bridge ouer Danubius, as they had at firſt ſuppoſed: for after they had begun it, and almoſt planked it, there riſe ſuch a wind and tempeſt, and the violent riuer became ſo rough, that the timber wherewith the bridge was faſtened togither was broken, the joints vnloſed, and many of the boats whereof the bridge was framed, their cables being broken, were carried away with the force of the ſtreame. The firſt and ſecond conuoy fortune ſo well fauoured, that they paſſed well ouer: for although they of BVDA and F the Turkes, ſeeing in the day time from their high places the fleet drawing togither into one place, might haue ſome ſuſpition of the matter, ſome gheſsing one thing and ſome another; yet could they foreſee nothing of the ſudden departure of the enemie: But that multitude of ſhips and boats now paſsing too and fro, could not long deceiue the attentiue and vigilant enemie; and ſo much the leſſe, for that two fugitiue Hungarians euen then diſcouered vnto the biſhop, the

Valentinus Generall for the queene in Buda certifieth Perenus of the comming of Solyman.

The Chriſtian armie departeth by night from Buda.

the flight of the Germans; who presently certified the Bassa and the other *Mahometes* thereof, G
which without farther delay came almost with all their power to assault the Christians in their
camp: the great ordinance was brought forth, and after the Ianizaries & other footmen, follow-
ed the horsemen, dismounted frō their horses to do the better seruice, who all with a horrible crie
The Turkes assaile the Christians in their camp at their departure. assailed the trenches. Then began the Germans to quaile, their flight being now discouered; yet
did they with the Bohemians for a while notably resist the enemie. All the campe was filled with
tumult and confusion, and especially at the riuer side, euerie man in that great feare striuing to
get aboord, without regard of order or shame: for the dead time of the night then couered with
darke and thicke clouds, made all things more terrible, euen vnto them which were of best cou-
rage: the authoritie of *Rogendorff* the Generall (in the darknesse of the night, and so great da-
mour both of his owne people and of the enemie, and the thundring of the ordinance) was as no- H
thing: He (besides that he was then sicke in mind) lay in his bed wounded, by a wonderfull and
fatall chance: for as he was writing letters to the king, a faulcon shot out of the enemies campe
falling in his tent, and striking in sunder a chest which stood there, wounded him grieuously in
the left shoulder with a splinter of the same. The other captaines of the footmen, enuying that
the horsemen were so well escaped, stood as men more carefull of themselues than of the com-
mon danger, faintly resisting the enemie. The vppermost tents wherein *Perenus* lay, were first
taken by *Mahometes* of BELGRADE, and *Valentinus*; and the German footmen chased all ouer
S. *Gerrards* mount. They of BVDA also sallied out, and entred the campe on that side which
was next vnto the citie, and with wild fire burnt the tents a little before forsaken by the Germans.
A mischieuous practise of the bishop. And the bishop at the same time caused a great stacke of straw standing by the kings stables neere I
vnto the riuers side, to be set on fire; which gaue such a light, that a man might haue seene all
ouer Danubius vnto the wals of PESTH, as if it had been light day: whereby the great confusi-
sion of the Christian armie by land, as well as the shamefull flight by water, was of the Turkes
plainly discouered. Then was the great artillerie from euerie place discharged vpon the flying
fleet, as well from BVDA as the Turks campe. And to encrease the feare, *Cason* the Turkes Ad-
mirall rowing with his light boats against the streame, set vpon the ships crossing the riuer to
PESTH, where he tooke certaine boats loded with souldiors, and with his great ordinance sunck
Great slaughter of the Christians. diuers others: so that the riuer was filled with dead bodies, and the miserable companie of soul-
diors and mariners labouring to saue their liues by swimming: for at such time as the Ianizaries
hauing slaine the first companies, were broken into the lower campe; and the rest of the Ger- K
mans flying ouer the bridge into the little island, were there slaine without mercie, by the
Turkes pursuing them, many of them leapt into the riuer, and there perished. Three hundred
saile of one sort of ships and other, were so confused and mingled togither, that Danubius seemed
that night to haue beene couered ouer, as if it had beene with a great bridge. But the Christian
fleet seeing all lost, cleered themselues so soone as they could of the Turks; and so beating them
backe with their great ordinance out of the poupes of their ships, got vp the riuer to COMORA.
The rest of the land forces endured the same fortune in the campe, of whom the Bohemians died
most honourably, slaine by the enemie in fight. Many falling into the hands of them of BVDA
were saued, or slaine, as was their fortune to fall into the power of a mercifull or mercilesse man.
But the sunne rising, plainly discouered the slaughter of the Christians and the victorie of the L
Turkes, not so well before knowne. There was about 3000 men of one sort and other, who
in warlike manner had taken a little hill by Saint *Gerrards* church, and there stood vpon their
guard, vntill such time as more than two thousand of them were slaine; the rest casting away
their weapons yeelded in hope of life, and were reserued for a spectacle more grieuous than
death it selfe.

At the same time *Cason* with his victorious fleet comming to the shoare of PESTH, brought
such a feare vpon them that were escaped thither, and might easily haue defended the wals (only
with the crie of his souldiors and the thundring of the artillerie) that the horsemen for hast to get
out, were like to ouerrun one another. The Germans had at that time so much forgot their
wonted valour, and so trembled at the name of the Turks, that as soone as they saw their white M
caps in their ships, they ran away as men dismaied, vnarmed, leauing behind them their plate,
their carriages, and whatsoeuer good thing they had else. Yet some of the Hungarian horsmen,
more desirous of the spoile than afraid of death, staied behind rifling the merchants shops: for
PESTH was become a notable rich mart towne for all kind of merchandise, merchants resorting
thither

A thither from all other places of the troubled countrey, as to a ſtrong and commodious citie, and of more ſafetie than the reſt. But *Caſon* now entering without reſiſtance, ſlew ſome of thoſe greedie Hungarians, and ran thorow the towne with ſuch barbarous crueltie and thirſt of the Chriſtian bloud, that he ſpared neither man, woman, nor child; except ſome few ſuch as either for their beautie or ſtrength of bodie were reſerued for the Turkes beaſtly luſt or ſlauiſh labour: ſo that in this warre it is reported, more than twentie thouſand Chriſtians were one way and other by diuers chances ſlaine. There was taken at PESTH in the campe, and in the iſland, ſix and thirtie great pieces for batterie, of wonderfull beautie; and of leſſer field pieces a hundred and fiftie. As for ſhot, pouder, armour, weapons, and victuall prouided for Winter, ſuch ſtore was found, that the Turks accounted it for the greateſt part of their victorie. *Rogendorff* the vnfortu-

Peſth taken by Caſon admirall of the Turkes fleet.

B nat Generall, at ſuch time as the Turks hauing woon the trenches were fighting in the middeſt of the campe, deſiring rather to be ſlaine in his tent, than to liue after ſo great an ouerthrow, was againſt his will by ſtrong hand carried abourd a little pinnace by his phyſition and chamberlaine, which would not in any caſe forſake him as he lay, and was ſo conueied vp the riuer to the iſland of COMARA: where he ſhortly after, partly for the painefulneſſe of his wound, but more for greefe of mind, died in a little countrey village called SAMARIVM, leauing vnto the Germans a wofull remembrance of his accurſed obſtinacie and pride. *Solyman* ſtill doubting the comming of *Charles* the emperour and king *Ferdinand* to BVDA, was comming with his armie from HA-

Rogendorff againſt his will caried away by his phyſition and chamberlaine to Comara, there dieth.

Solyman commeth to Buda.

C DRIANOPLE in ſuch haſt, that he cauſed the Ianizaries his beſt ſootmen, contrarie to their manner, to march as faſt as his horſemen: but vnderſtanding by the way of the late victorie obtained by his captaines, he tooke more leiſure, and came with a great power to BVDA in Auguſt, and there encamped on the other ſide of the citie, to auoid the noiſome ſauour of the dead bodies, which lay yet vnburied. Where calling vnto him the other armie, and making one huge campe of both, he highly commended all his captaines, but eſpecially the two *Mahometes*. And vnderſtanding that the victorie was eſpecially gotten by the meanes of *Mahometes* gouernor of BE-

D GRADE, he made him generall of all his Europeian horſemen, one of the moſt honourable preferments of the Turkiſh empire: the other captaines he rewarded according as they had deſerued, and withall augmented their pay.

After that, he cauſed the priſoners, in number about eight hundred, to be brought out: who bound in long ropes, were in deriſion led all alongſt the armie, raunged in order of battell, and afterward by his commaundement ſlaine by his young ſouldiors: ſaying with ſeuere countenance, that they were worthie of ſuch death, which by embaſſadours diſſemblingly entreating of peace, had in the meane time craftily waged warre. Amongſt theſe priſoners was one ſouldior of BA-

Turkiſh crueltie

VARIA, of an exceeding high ſtature, him in deſpight of the Germane nation he deliuered to a little dwarfe (whom his ſonnes made great account of) to be ſlaine, whoſe head was ſcarce ſo high as the knees of the tall captiue, with that cruell deſpight to aggrauate the indignitie of his death: when as that goodly tall man, mangled about the legs a long time by that apiſh dwarfe with his little ſcimitar, as if it had beene in diſport, fell downe, and was with many feeble blowes hardly at laſt ſlaine by that wretch, ſtill heartened on by others, to ſatisfie the eyes of the princes, beholding it as their diſport.

E This barbarous and cruell execution done, *Solyman* ſent his embaſſadours with preſents to the young king, which were three beautifull horſes, with their bridles of gold, and their trappings richly ſet with pretious ſtones, and three royall robes of cloth of gold, and vnto the cheefe of the nobilitie he ſent rich gownes and chaines of gold. The embaſſadours which brought theſe pre-

Solyman ſendeth for the yong king into the campe.

ſents, in courteous manner requeſted of the queene to ſend the young king her ſonne, attended with his nobilitie, into the campe, and without all feare to hope that all ſhould goe well both with her and her ſonne: for that *Solyman*, who exceeded all other kings, not in power and fortune onely, but in vertue and vpright dealing alſo, was of ſuch an heroicall diſpoſition, that he would not onely defend the child, whom in the right of his father he had once thought worthie his protection and fauour, victorie confirming the ſame, but would alſo augment his eſtate, with

F the largeſt bounds of his auntient kingdome: Wherefore he was deſirous to ſee the yong king, and to behold in him the repreſentation of his father, and with his owne hand to deliuer him to be imbraced of his ſonnes; that of his protection renewed, ſo happily begun, might be grounded a firme and perpetuall friendſhip with the *Othoman* kings: and that he would alwayes account of her as of his daughter. But the cauſe why he came not to ſee her, which he did in courteſie de-

ſire, was, for that by auntient cuſtome the *Othoman* kings were forbidden that point of courteſie, G
to viſit other mens wiues in their houſes. Beſides that, *Solyman* (they ſaid) was not ſo forgetfull
of his modeſtie and honour, as to receiue into his pauillion the daughter of a king his friend and
allie, and ſhe the late wife of a king his friend and tributarie, and the faire young mother of a ſon,
growing in the hope of like regall dignitie; for feare he ſhould draw into any ſuſpition the inuio-
late name of her chaſtitie, which in queenes was to be guarded with an eſpeciall and wonderfull
care. Whereunto the queene (a manifeſt feare confounding the tender ſences in her motherly af-
fection) anſwered very doubtfully: but the biſhop perſuading her, and inſtantly requeſting her
not to giue the Turks occaſion to ſuſpect that ſhe had them in diſtruſt, by her little and vnprofi-
table delay, ſent her young ſonne in princely ſwathing clothes, in a rich chariot, with his nurſe
and certaine great ladies in the campe, attended vpon with almoſt all the nobilitie to whom *So-* H
lyman had ſent preſents. In his comming to the campe, he was for honours ſake met vpon the
way by certaine gallant troupes of the Turkes braue horſemen: and all the way as he paſſed in
the campe, orderly ſtood the Ianizaries of *Solymans* guard. As ſoone as he was brought into the
pauillion, *Solyman* courteouſly looked vpon him, and familiarly talked with the nurſe, and com-
maunded his ſonnes there preſent to take him in their armes, and to kiſſe him, in certaine token
of the loue they would beare him, whom they were in time to haue their friend and tributarie,
when he was growne to mans eſtate: theſe were *Selymus* and *Baiazet*, begotten of his faire con-
cubine *Roxalana*, bearing the names the one of his grandfather, the other of his great grandfa-
ther. As for *Muſtapha* his eldeſt ſonne by his Circaſsian wife, he then liued in MAGNESIA, a
great way off: who though he was a prince of ſo great hope, as neuer any of the Turkiſh kings I
had a ſonne of greater, and was therefore exceedingly beloued of the men of warre; yet was he
not ſo well liked of his father, brought out of fauour with him by *Roxalana*, as if he had traite-
rouſly gone about to take the empire from him, yet liuing, as did *Selymus* his grandfather from
Baiazet: for which cauſe *Solyman* ſecretly purpoſed to take him away, as afterwards he did, and
to appoint *Selymus* for his ſucceſſor, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

The queene ſendeth the young king her ſonne to Solyman in the campe attended with the nobility.

Solyman courteouſly receiueth the young king.

But *Solyman*, at ſuch time as the noblemen of HVNGARIE were dining merrily with the
Baſſaes, had commaunded certaine companies (to whom he had before giuen inſtructions what
he would haue done) vnder the colour of ſeeing the citie, to take one of the gates called SABA-
TINA, and the cheefe ſtreets: which was done ſo quietly and cunningly, that a warie watchman
ſtanding there, and beholding the manner of the Turks comming and going too and fro, could K
hardly haue perceiued how the gate was taken, vntill it was too late. For many of the Turkes
walking faire and ſoftly by great companies into the citie, as if it had beene but for pleaſure, to
haue ſeene it: and otherſome to colour the matter, walking likewiſe backe againe, as if they had
ſufficiently viewed the citie; by that meanes they without any tumult or ſturre quickly tooke
the appointed gate, with the market place and cheefe ſtreets of the citie. Which ſo finely done,
the captaine of the Ianizaries cauſed proclamation to be made in all parts of the citie, That the
citiſens ſhould without feare keepe themſelues within their houſes, and forthwith as they would
haue their liues, libertie, and goods ſaued, to deliuer all their weapons: which they ſeeing no re-
medie, did: and hauing deliuered their armes, and taken the Turkes faith for their ſecuritie, they
receiued them into their houſes, as their vnwelcome gueſts. But ſuch was the quietneſſe and mo- L
deſtie of the Turks, by reaſon of the ſeueritie of their martiall diſcipline, that no citiſen which
tooke them into their houſes, was by them wronged by word or deed. *Solyman* vnderſtanding
that the citie was thus quietly and without reſiſtance taken, ſent the child backe againe vnto the
queene, although it was now almoſt night; but the cheefe noblemen he retained ſtill with him:
theſe was *George* the biſhop and treaſurer, *Petrus Vicche* the yong kings nigh kinſman and one
of his tutors, *Valentinus Turaccus* Generall of the queenes forces, *Stephanus Verbetius* chancel-
lor, and *Bacianus Vrbanus* gouernour of the citie of BVDA. This ſudden and vnexpected change
exceedingly troubled all their minds, and ſo much the more, for that the great Baſſaes with chan-
ged countenances began to picke quarrels with them, and as it were ſtraightly and impudently
to examine them, and to call them to account for all that they had done. The queene ſeeing the M
citie ſo craftily ſurpriſed, and the nobilitie injuriouſly detained in the campe, troubled with feare
and greefe, by humble letters requeſted *Solyman* not to forget the faith he had long before giuen
vnto her, and euen of late confirmed by his embaſſadours; but mindfull both thereof and of his
wonted clemencie, to ſend backe vnto her the noblemen, who for their fidelitie and valiant ſer-
uice

Solyman craftily taketh the citie of Buda.

Solyman detaineth the noblemen of Hungarie in his campe.

A uice had well deſerued both of him and her: this ſhe did by *Ruſtemes Baſſa*, whom ſhe had loded with gifts, and amongſt other things of great price had ſent him a faire coronet of her owne of orient pearle, and a goodly jewell ſet with rich ſtone to ſend vnto his wife (*Solymans* daughter) for a preſent.

After that, *Solyman* conſulted with his Baſſaes foure dayes what order to take concerning the kingdome of HVNGARIE. In diſcourſe whereof his great Baſſaes were of diuers opinions, *Mahometes* aduiſed him to carrie away with him to CONSTANTINOPLE both the child and all the nobilitie, and to leaue ſuch a gouernour in BVDA, as by his wiſe and moderat gouernment, rather than by rigour, might put the people out of feare of ſeruitude and bondage, by defending them from wrong, and yet by little & little lay vpon them the yoke of the Turkiſh gouernment. *The great Baſſaes of diuers opinions for the diſpoſing of the kingdome of Hungarie.*

B But *Ruſtemes Baſſa* (before corrupted, and a man in greater fauour than the reſt, becauſe he was *Solymans* ſonne in law, and therefore farther from all ſuſpition of flatterie) ſtood altogether vpon tearmes of honour, ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonorable vnto ſo great and mightie a monarch, who neuer had at any time with any ſpot or ſtaine blemiſhed the glorie of his name, than after victorie againſt all right and reaſon to breake his faith at once with a weake woman and ſillie infant, whom he had before taken vpon him to protect and defend. On the other ſide, *Mahometes* gouernour of BELGRADE (an old mortall enemie of the Chriſtians, of all the reſt beſt acquainted with the ſtate of HVNGARIE, and for his great experience and approued valour then extraordinarily admitted by *Solyman* into counſell amongſt the great Baſſaes) diſliked of both the former opinions, as too full of lenitie: and being asked his owne, deliuered it in miſchie-

C uous manner as followeth.

The Oration of Mahometes of Belgrade to Solyman, concerning the diſpoſing of the kingdome of Hungarie.

I know (ſaid he) *moſt mightie* Solyman, *that he which in conſultation of matters of ſo great conſequence is to deliuer his opinion laſt, ſhall if he diſcent from the reſt, be ſubiect to enuie and reprehenſion. And therefore it cannot be, but that I being of a quite contrarie opinion to them that haue before ſpoken, my ſpeech muſt alſo be vnto your eares both vnpleaſant and tedious. But I refuſe not to be counted by my ſelfe, yea and preſumptuous, if you will ſo haue it, rather than a ſmoother vp of other mens ſayings, as one of no iudgement; whileſt I recount thoſe things, which as the preſent caſe ſtandeth, may wonderfully profit your deſignes & the imperiall ſtate: for of right I may deſire you to yeeld a little to my yeares, and (if I may by your good fauour ſo ſay) to that I haue alreadie done: when as I*

D *now growne an old man in warres againſt theſe Hungarians, haue by experience learned thoſe things of the ſtate and ſtrength of this kingdome, and the diſpoſition of the people; which being here laid downe, may much auaile for your better determination of this ſo waightie a cauſe as amitteth no repentance, if you ſhall now be ouerſeene therein. You haue now within the ſpace of theſe twentie yeares come in armes your ſelfe in perſon fiue times into this countrey, when I as no obſcure captaine or ſouldior, was in all thoſe warres and battels euer preſent, of purpoſe as I ſuppoſe to reuenge your iniuries, to enlarge your empire, and in breefe to aſſure you of a good peace, which could neuer be but by force of armes and victorie. And therefore you valiantly woon* BELGRADE, *the infamous dwelling place and receptacle of moſt outrageous theeues and robbers, and in former time famous for the vnfortunat attempts of your aunceſtors: when as from thence the Hungarians in time of peace had at their plea-*

E *ſure, whileſt your father was then occupied in the Perſian warre, ſpoiled the borders of* SERVIA *and* ILLYRIA. *The ſame Hungarians about fiue yeares after, for that they had in cruell manner ſlaine your embaſſadours, you ouerthrew in battell, and ſlew their king: and poſſeſſed of* BVDA, *to manifeſt and make knowne by a notable demonſtration the magnificence of your heroicall mind, euen vnto the remoteſt enemies of our name, did chuſe out of the reliques of that vanquiſhed nation, one whom you might grace with the honour of the regall crowne; although not borne of royall bloud, or vnto you knowne for any other deſert, than that he was a little before both your priuat and publike enemie, and comming againſt you with a ſtrong power out of* TRANSILVANIA, *he had in the meane time loſt his brother, a better man than himſelfe, ſlaine with our ſword. After that, riſe vp the Auſtrian king,*

F *a new enemie, to expulſe this Hungarian, raigning by your courteſie, & ſo you tooke in hand the third warre againſt the Germanes, which you ſo effectually proſecuted, that hauing forthwith reſtored the king, you carried the terror of your ſelfe not onely to the wals of* VIENNA, *but into the very heart of* GERMANIE. *But two yeares yet ſcarcely paſt, the ſame king (neuer long contented with peace or warres) ſupported by the power of his brother* Charles, *and in vaine beſieging* BVDA, *defended by your garriſons, ſtirred you vp againe to reuenge the iniurie, ſlaughter, and ſpoile by his ſouldiours done:*

ſire, was, for that by auntient cuſtome the *Othoman* kings were forbidden that point of courteſie, G
to viſit other mens wiues in their houſes. Beſides that, *Solyman* (they ſaid) was not ſo forgetfull
of his modeſtie and honour, as to receiue into his pauillion the daughter of a king his friend and
allie, and ſhe the late wife of a king his friend and tributarie, and the faire young mother of a ſon,
growing in the hope of like regall dignitie; for feare he ſhould draw into any ſuſpition the inuio-
late name of her chaſtitie, which in queenes was to be guarded with an eſpeciall and wonderfull
care. Whereunto the queene (a manifeſt feare confounding the tender ſences in her motherly af-
fection) anſwered very doubtfully: but the biſhop perſuading her, and inſtantly requeſting her
not to giue the Turks occaſion to ſuſpect that ſhe had them in diſtruſt, by her little and vnprofi-
table delay, ſent her young ſonne in princely ſwathing clothes, in a rich chariot, with his nurſe
and certaine great ladies in the campe, attended vpon with almoſt all the nobilitie to whom *So-* H
lyman had ſent preſents. In his comming to the campe, he was for honours ſake met vpon the
way by certaine gallant troupes of the Turkes braue horſemen: and all the way as he paſſed in
the campe, orderly ſtood the Ianizaries of *Solymans* guard. As ſoone as he was brought into the
pauillion, *Solyman* courteouſly looked vpon him, and familiarly talked with the nurſe, and com-
maunded his ſonnes there preſent to take him in their armes, and to kiſſe him, in certaine token
of the loue they would beare him, whom they were in time to haue their friend and tributarie,
when he was growne to mans eſtate: theſe were *Selymus* and *Baiazet*, begotten of his faire con-
cubine *Roxalana*, bearing the names the one of his grandfather, the other of his great grandfa-
ther. As for *Muſtapha* his eldeſt ſonne by his Circaſsian wife, he then liued in MAGNESIA, a
great way off: who though he was a prince of ſo great hope, as neuer any of the Turkiſh kings I
had a ſonne of greater, and was therefore exceedingly beloued of the men of warre; yet was he
not ſo well liked of his father, brought out of fauour with him by *Roxalana*, as if he had traite-
rouſly gone about to take the empire from him, yet liuing, as did *Selymus* his grandfather from
Baiazet: for which cauſe *Solyman* ſecretly purpoſed to take him away, as afterwards he did, and
to appoint *Selymus* for his ſucceſſor, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

The queene ſendeth the young king her ſonne to Solyman in the campe attended with the nobility.

Solyman courteouſly receiueth the young king.

Solyman craftily taketh the citie of Buda.

But *Solyman*, at ſuch time as the noblemen of HVNGARIE were dining merrily with the
Baſſaes, had commaunded certaine companies (to whom he had before giuen inſtructions what
he would haue done) vnder the colour of ſeeing the citie, to take one of the gates called SABA-
TINA, and the cheefe ſtreets: which was done ſo quietly and cunningly, that a warie watchman
ſtanding there, and beholding the manner of the Turks comming and going too and fro, could K
hardly haue perceiued how the gate was taken, vntill it was too late. For many of the Turkes
walking faire and ſoftly by great companies into the citie, as if it had beene but for pleaſure, to
haue ſeene it: and otherſome to colour the matter, walking likewiſe backe againe, as if they had
ſufficiently viewed the citie; by that meanes they without any tumult or ſturre quickly tooke
the appointed gate, with the market place and cheefe ſtreets of the citie. Which ſo finely done,
the captaine of the Ianizaries cauſed proclamation to be made in all parts of the citie, That the
citiſens ſhould without feare keepe themſelues within their houſes, and forthwith as they would
haue their liues, libertie, and goods ſaued, to deliuer all their weapons: which they ſeeing no re-
medie, did: and hauing deliuered their armes, and taken the Turkes faith for their ſecuritie, they
receiued them into their houſes, as their vnwelcome gueſts. But ſuch was the quietneſſe and mo- L
deſtie of the Turks, by reaſon of the ſeueritie of their martiall diſcipline, that no citiſen which
tooke them into their houſes, was by them wronged by word or deed. *Solyman* vnderſtanding
that the citie was thus quietly and without reſiſtance taken, ſent the child backe againe vnto the
queene, although it was now almoſt night; but the cheefe noblemen he retained ſtill with him:
theſe was *George* the biſhop and treaſurer, *Petrus Vicohe* the yong kings nigh kinſman and one
of his tutors, *Valentinus Turaccus* Generall of the queenes forces, *Stephanus Verbetius* chancel-
lor, and *Bacianus Vrbanus* gouernour of the citie of BVDA. This ſudden and vnexpected change
exceedingly troubled all their minds, and ſo much the more, for that the great Baſſaes with chan-
ged countenances began to picke quarrels with them, and as it were ſtraightly and impudently
to examine them, and to call them to account for all that they had done. The queene ſeeing the M
citie ſo craftily ſurpriſed, and the nobilitie injuriouſly detained in the campe, troubled with feare
and greefe, by humble letters requeſted *Solyman* not to forget the faith he had long before giuen
vnto her, and euen of late confirmed by his embaſſadours; but mindfull both thereof and of his
wonted clemencie, to ſend backe vnto her the noblemen, who for their fidelitie and valiant ſer-

Solyman detaineth the noblemen of Hungarie in his campe.

uice

A uice had well deſerued both of him and her: this ſhe did by *Ruſtemes Baſſa*, whom ſhe had loded with gifts, and amongſt other things of great price had ſent him a faire coronet of her owne of orient pearle, and a goodly jewell ſet with rich ſtone to ſend vnto his wife (*Solymans* daughter) for a preſent.

After that, *Solyman* conſulted with his Baſſaes foure dayes what order to take concerning the kingdome of HVNGARIE. In diſcourſe whereof his great Baſſaes were of diuers opinions, *Mahometes* aduiſed him to carrie away with him to CONSTANTINOPLE both the child and all the nobilitie, and to leaue ſuch a gouernour in BVDA, as by his wiſe and moderat gouernment, rather than by rigour, might put the people out of feare of ſeruitude and bondage, by defending them from wrong, and yet by little & little lay vpon them the yoke of the Turkiſh gouernment. *The great Baſſaes of diuers opinions for the diſpoſing of the kingdome of Hungarie.*

B But *Ruſtemes Baſſa* (before corrupted, and a man in greater fauour than the reſt, becauſe he was *Solymans* ſonne in law, and therefore farther from all ſuſpition of flatterie) ſtood altogether vpon tearmes of honour, ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonorable vnto ſo great and mightie a monarch, who neuer had at any time with any ſpot or ſtaine blemiſhed the glorie of his name, than after victorie againſt all right and reaſon to breake his faith at once with a weake woman and ſillie infant, whom he had before taken vpon him to protect and defend. On the other ſide, *Mahometes* gouernour of BELGRADE (an old mortall enemie of the Chriſtians, of all the reſt beſt acquainted with the ſtate of HVNGARIE, and for his great experience and approued valour then extraordinarily admitted by *Solyman* into counſell amongſt the great Baſſaes) diſliked of both the former opinions, as too full of lenitie: and being asked his owne, deliuered it in miſchie-

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done: for that you thought it to ſtand with your honour to protect him with your power, whom you had of your rare bountie made a king, and then deſired aboue all things to fight a noble battell with the two brethren for the empire of the Weſt. But they at ſuch time as you with fire and ſword ran thorow their auntient kingdomes, endured not the noiſe of your commiug. After that enſued a peace between the Hungarian and the Germane, your Maieſtie permitting and approouing it, at ſuch time as you made haſt to goe againſt the Perſians: but the Germane king ſo broke that peace, that had not I in good time reuenged his trecherie by the ouerthrow of a great armie of his at Ezek, *you muſt of neceſſitie haue beene ſent for from* Babilon *your ſelfe, as but now you were glad to come in haſt by long and painfull iournies from* Constantinople, *to aid vs in time, and as I verely hope, to make an end for all; that all things ſet in firme order in* Hvngarie, *the inconueniences of ſo many labours and ſo great charge, fiue times vndertaken for another mans profit, might now at length take end: except (as I ſee ſome wiſh) you be in mind neuer to giue ouer the protection of the child & widdow, a matter full of infinit labor & perill, not to be counteruailed with that glorious ſhew of honor, which by theſe (in my opinion) too too wiſemen is pretended to your haughtie mind, euer deſirous of honor and fame. But I as a blunt man vnderſtand not this high point of wiſedome, abounding with glorie, which in the very courſe thereof cutteth in ſunder the ſinewes of victorie, and is neuer by polliticke Generals admitted into their campes. In which doing, as I wiſh you more fortunat than your aunceſtours, who haue vnited eighteene kingdomes to this your empire, ſo would I not haue you more wiſe than they: for what can be a more vnwiſe part, than alwayes to play the vnwiſe man? that is to ſay, alwayes to be carefull of other mens affaires, and in meane time oftentimes to endanger his owne eſtate, his health, his wealth, his honour. You haue ſatisfied (and that in my opinion) plentifully the duties both of charitie, fidelitie, and if it muſt needs be ſo, of honour and glorie alſo; if it be to be gotten rather by courteſie, clemencie, and lenitie, than by the inuincible ſtrength of wiſe policie, and the conſtant reſolution of a martiall mind: for by theſe inſtruments, and none other, hath worthie vertue alwayes promoted and ſupported the* Othoman *kings. Wherefore let thoſe vaine ſhowes (as ſeemeth vnto me) of counterfeit honour delight the minds of idle and ſlouthfull kings: aſſuredly, they neuer pleaſed your armed aunceſtors, but after the enemie was quite ouerthrowne, the triumph made, and the trophees of victorie erected. But let this be as beſt pleaſeth your high wiſedome and iudgement, whereunto the greateſt wits giue place. Truly I (if I well foreſee the chances of war, and the aſſured euents of things) will not follow that manner of counſell which the pleaſure of my mind perſuadeth me vnto; when as neceſſitie, which ruleth all things, preſently forceth me and ſheweth me a farre better courſe. The Hungarians aboue all other things notably warne vs not to truſt them, who infamous for their vnconſtancie, often reuolt, and trecherie, are ſtill at variance amongſt themſelues, and their baniſhed men are continually ſetting on the Germanes to inuade the countrey; and the weake power of the queene and the child is not ſuch as may withſtand ſo neere and ſo mightie an enemie: ſo that another mans kingdome muſt of neceſſitie be defended by our helpe, which may not be leſſe than a ſtrong armie, without our great perill. To be breefe, euery yeere to take in hand ſo long an expedition of ſo great labour and trauell, with an armie furniſhed with horſemen, footmen, artillerie, and a fleet of ſhips for defence of another man, as commonly we doe, ſeemeth to me meere madneſſe: Neither doe I thinke it to ſtand with the maieſtie of the* Othoman *emperours, thus to be mooued euery yeare at the requeſt of a puling woman, crying for helpe: except you thinke it more profitable and honourable to maintaine a defenſiue than an inuaſiue warre. Wherefore (in my opinion) it is beſt to turne this kingdome (ſo often conquered and defended by law of Armes) after the manner of your aunceſtors, into the forme of a Prouince: the queene I would haue ſent to her father, and the boy her ſonne brought vp in your Court at* Constantinople, *and there inſtructed in our religion: the nobilitie of the countrey I wiſh to be ſlaine, and their caſtles raſed, and the notable families which bare the braueſt minds, to be carried away out of all parts of the countrey into* Asia: *as for the baſe multitude, I would haue kept vnder with good garriſons, to till the ground, and inhabit the cities. By this onely meanes (mightie* Solyman) *ſhall both the Hungarians perceiue themſelues conquered, and the Germanes glad to forbeare comming into* Hvngarie, *vnleſſe they will raſhly and vnfortunately hazard both* Styria *and* Avstria.

Miſchieuous counſell.

Solyman entreth Buda the 30 of Auguſt 1541, and there firſt ſacrificeth after the Mahometane maner.

But *Solyman* thinking it good to doe ſacrifice before he would reſolutely determine of ſo great a matter, entred into Bvda with his two ſons, *Selymus* and *Baiazet*, the thirtith day of Auguſt in the yeare 1541: and there in the Cathedrall church dedicated to the virgin *Marie* (being before

A before by his prieſts purified after the manner of their ſuperſtition) ſacrificed the firſt Mahometane ſacrifice in BVDA. Shortly after, he as it were moderating the opinions of his great counſellors, prouided out of them all, both for his owne ſecuritie and honour, and publiſhed a decree the fatall doome of that flouriſhing kingdome, where vnder it yet groneth at this day; That BVDA ſhould from that day be kept with a garriſon of Turks, and the kingdome conuerted into a prouince of the Turkiſh empire; and that the queene with her young ſonne ſhould preſently depart the citie, and liue in LIPPA in a fertile and quiet countrey beyond the riuer of Tibiſcus, which ſomething to comfort her, was neere vnto the borders of her father *Sigiſmund* his kingdome, to be ſafely conducted thither with all hir wealth and jewels by his Ianizaries. Wherefore the queene and her ſonne according to this decree, with teares and mourning, deteſting in B her heart the tyrants perfidious dealing (which neceſsitie enforced her then to diſſemble) departed from BVDA, conſtrained by the Turkes to leaue behind her all the ordinance in the caſtle and citie, with all other the warlike prouiſion & ſtore of victuall. The noblemen went with her alſo, who although they went ſorrowfull for this wofull and vnexpected change of things, yet were they verie glad of their libertie and ſafetie, whereof they had for the ſpace of three daies deſpaired. Only *Valentinus* was kept in ſafe cuſtodie in the campe, becauſe he was a martiall man, of greateſt power amongſt the Hungarians; and beſides that, much hated of the Turkes for the hard purſuit of *Caſon*, and his horſemen, ſlaine at STORAMBERG in AVSTRIA. Thus the roiall citie of BVDA fell into the poſſeſsion of the Turkes, whereupon not long after enſued the finall ruine of that great kingdome, ſometime the ſtrong bulwarke of Chriſtendome, but loſt to the C great weakning of the Chriſtian common-weale; which may juſtly be imputed to the pride, ambition, and diſcention of the Hungarians amongſt themſelues, and the calling in of the common enemie: the due conſideration of whoſe onely comming, might well haue ſufficed to haue ſet them agreed.

The doome of Hungarie.

The queene departeth out of Buda with her ſonne.

Whileſt theſe things were doing at BVDA, king *Ferdinand* expecting the euent of this war at VIENNA, and hearing of the ſhamefull ouerthrow of his armie, and that the Generall deadly wounded was fled to COMARA, and that *Solyman* (fame encreaſing the euill newes) was comming towards VIENNA; ſent *Leonardus Velſius* (who neuer liked of the ſiege of BVDA) to COMARA to ſtay the further flight of the ſouldiors, and to gather togither ſo well as hee could the diſperſed reliques of the ſcattered armie, and to comfort againe the diſcouraged men with the D hope of new ſupplies, & of a pay. And ſomewhat to ſtay *Solyman*, who as it was thought would ſuddenly come to VIENNA, he ſent countie *Salma* and *Sigiſmund Litheſtaine*, a noble and graue counſellor, his embaſſadours, with preſents and new conditions of peace to *Solyman*. The preſents was a high ſtanding cup of gold after the German faſhion, curiouſly ſet with rich ſtones; and a wonderfull globe of ſiluer of moſt rare and curious deuiſe, daily expreſsing the hourely paſſing of the time, the motions of the planets, the change and full of the moone, the motion of the ſuperiour orbes, euer mouing by certaine wheeles and waights curiouſly conuaied within the ſame, and exactly keeping due time and motion; liuely expreſsing the wonderfull motions and conuerſions of the celeſtiall frame. A moſt curious and ſtrange piece of worke, deuiſed and perfected by the moſt cunning Aſtronomers for *Maximilian* the emperour, whoſe noble mind neE uer ſpared for any coſt to obtaine things of rare and ſtrange deuiſe. Theſe embaſſadours paſsing downe the riuer of Danubius, were at their landing, firſt receiued by *Caſon* the Admirall of *Solymans* fleet, and by him brought into a rich tent, the ground vnder their feet being all couered with rich carpets: to whom *Ruſtan Baſſa* ſent ſuch good cheere as the campe affoorded, but eſpecially moſt excellent wine, no leſſe forbidden the Turks by their law, than deſired of the Germans. The next day after, the great Baſſaes feaſted the embaſſadours, *Solyman* himſelfe dining not farre off in his pauilion: at which feaſt the Baſſaes for the more courteſie, dined with the embaſſadors, not ſitting with their legs gathered vnder them flat vpon the ground, as their manner was, but ſitting in chaires at a high table, after the manner of the Chriſtians: only *Mahometes* Gouernour of BELGRADE, for his age and valour an extraordinarie gueſt, ſat downe vpF on a cuſhion beneath the Baſſaes. Their cheere was onely rice and mutton, and that ſo plainely and ſparingly dreſſed, as if they had thereby noted our gourmandiſe and exceſſe; who meaſure not our cheere by that which nature requireth, but that which greedie appetite deſireth, as if therein conſiſted the greateſt nobilitie: And the drinke for the great Baſſaes themſelues, right eaſie to be had, was faire water out of the riuer Danubius. After dinner the embaſſadours were

King Ferdinand ſendeth embaſſadours and preſents to Solyman.

The frugall cheere of the Turkes.

brought in vnto *Solyman*, each of them lead betwixt two Baſſaes holding them faſt by the armes, as if it had been for honour ſake, and ſo brought to kiſſe his hand. For the Turks ſuffer no ſtranger otherwiſe to come vnto the preſence of their ſuperſtitious emperour, but firſt they ſearch him that he haue no weapon about him, and ſo claſping him by the armes vnder the colour of doing him honour, diſſemblingly bereaue him of the vſe of his hands, leaſt he ſhould offer him any violence: yet hath he alwaies as he ſitteth in his throane lying at hand readie by him, a targuet, a ſcimiter, an yron maſe, with bow and arrowes. The great globe was alſo brought in by twelue of the embaſſadours ſeruants, which with the ſtrangeneſſe thereof filled the mind of *Solyman*, and the eyes of his Baſſaes with admiration: for *Solyman* was of ſo ſharpe a wit, that he was not learned onely in ſuch books as contained the lawes and rites of the Mahometane ſuperſtition, but had alſo curiouſly ſtudied Aſtronomie, and eſpecially Coſmographie; in which profitable and pleaſant ſtudies, he much recreated himſelfe as his leiſure ſerued. The embaſſadours deſired, that he would giue the kingdome of HVNGARIE to king *Ferdinand*, almoſt vpon the ſame conditions that *Laſcus* had before required it for him at CONSTANTINOPLE, paying him ſuch yearly tribute as king *Iohn* had vſually paid, and promiſing farther to draw *Charles* the emperour his brother into the ſame league; ſo that *Solyman* deliuered of all feare that way, might at his pleaſure turne his forces vpon the Perſian, which it was thought he moſt deſired. Beſides that, they ſaid he ſhould deale neither honorably nor indifferently, if he ſhould preferre the young child before king *Ferdinand*, who beſide his auntient right vnto that kingdome (which they were not now to vrge, as oppreſſed by his happie victories, but might in time be reuiued) had alſo a late intereſt by a league betwixt him and king *Iohn*, wherein he had expreſſely couenanted by the ſolemne conſent of the greateſt part of his nobilitie, that king *Ferdinand* ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdome. Whereby they excuſed him of the late warre, as juſtly taken in hand againſt the queene and her ſonne vſurping vpon his right; which king *Iohn* knowing to be good, and mooued with conſcience, had by his ſolemne act acknowledged, though to the great offence and prejudice of *Solyman* his ſetter vp and defender, as alſo to the touching of himſelfe in honour, to haue ſo vnthankfully and fraudulently dealt with his patrone, to whom hee was by the oath of obedience bound. Wherefore they requeſted, That ſith he being a prince of all others moſt mightie and magnificent, ſtanding vpon his vpright dealing both in peace and warre, had ſo lightly regarded the ſlie dealing of ſo ingratefull a man: he would rather accept of king *Ferdinand* ſo many waies injured, as his friend and tributarie, than to haue him his perpetuall enemie. Concluding, that nothing could be vnto him for the good report of his juſtice more commendable, or for the aſſurance of a perpetuall peace more profitable, or to the immortall praiſe of his bountie more honourable, than to call a king of a moſt auntient diſſent, famous for his vertue and fidelitie, choſen for a king by the Bohemians, deſired for a king by the Hungarians, emperour elect of the Roman empire by the Germans, and the naturall brother of the great emperour, his tributarie king of HVNGARIE. *Solyman* with cheerefull countenance accepting and commending of the preſents, anſwered them two daies after by *Ruſtan* the Baſſa his ſonne in law, that this was his reſolute condition of peace and friendſhip: If king *Ferdinand* would forthwith reſtore all the cities towns & caſtles which were before belonging to K. *Lewes*, and for euer after abſtaine from HVNGARIE: and whereas he had beene ſo often prouoked by him to warre, and had therein beſtowed ſo great charges, and taken ſo much trauell, he could for that be content with an eaſie paine (which ſhould be for his greater honour) to impoſe an eaſie tribute vpon AVSTRIA: vpon which conditions he was content to enter into league with them: but if ſo be that thoſe conditions ſeemed vnto them too heauie, and that they would rather make choiſe of warre than peace, hee would bring to paſſe by continuall warre, that ſuch things as they had taken from the kingdome of HVNGARIE, ſhould be requited with the deſtruction of AVSTRIA. But the embaſſadours, although they were much moued at the proud demaund of tribute for AVSTRIA, as that wherein the two brethren of mightie power, *Charles* the emperour and king *Ferdinand* were diſdainfully abuſed: to keepe the beſt courſe of their negotiation, and to win ſome time in ſo hard eſtate of things; required a truce, vntill ſuch time as king *Ferdinand* and the emperor his brother might be made acquainted with the matter. Which their requeſt (the Turke perceiuing their drift and purpoſe) would in no caſe grant, for Winter was now faſt comming on. It was lawfull for the embaſſadours, all the time they were in the Turks campe, to view euerie part thereof, *Ruſtan Baſſa* conducting them from place to place: where

The requeſt of the embaſſadors in the behalfe of king Ferdinand.

Solymans proud anſwere to king Ferdinands embaſſadours.

A where aboue all things, they moſt wondred at the perpetuall and dumbe ſilence of ſo great a multitude, the ſouldiors being ſo readie and attentiue, that they were no otherwiſe commanded but by the beckning of the hand, or a nod of their commaunders: They maruelled alſo at the exquiſite order and ſweetneſſe of the Turkes campe, finding therein nothing diſordered or noiſome; ſo that it ſeemed not the campe of ſuch a rude and barbarous nation, but rather of them which were the authors of martiall diſcipline. The embaſſadours being rewarded and ſo ſent away, *Solyman* commaunded the old Gouernour of BELGRADE to ſpoile the bordets of AVSTRIA all alongſt Danubius: *Caſon* alſo Generall of the voluntarie horſemen, he ſent into MORAVIA for like purpoſe; who neither of them did any great harme, by reaſon of the ſudden riſing of the great riuers, with the aboundance of raine then falling in Autumne. After that, *Solyman* appoin-
B ted one *Solyman* an Hungarian (who taken priſoner in his youth by the Turkes, had from that time followed the Mahometane ſuperſtition) gouernour of BVDA: who by the vpright adminiſtration of juſtice, and courteous vſing of the people, with *Verbetius* the old chancellor, ſhould doe what was poſsible to put the people in hope of long peace and tranquilitie. Which things done, after he had ſtaied about twentie daies at BVDA, hee determined to returne againe into THRACIA, becauſe the raine of Autumne, and the cold of Winter was now come in: and was alſo in doubt to be ſhut in with the riſing of the great riuers, wherwith the countrey of HVNGARIE is in euerie place ſo watered, and on euerie ſide ſo compaſſed, that it is a hard matter to paſſe. By the way he ſet *Laſcus* king *Ferdinands* embaſſadour againe at libertie, whom he had left in priſon at BELGRADE: but he long enjoyed not that benefit, for ſhortly after returning in-
C to POLONIA, he died of the flix; which cauſed many to ſuppoſe, that he was poiſoned by the Turkes. A man for his vertue and learning famous, worthie of a longer life, whoſe death the king himſelfe much lamented.

The Turkes campe well ordered.

Solyman returneth towards Conſtantinople.

Laſcus ſet at libertie by Solyman, ſhortly after dieth.

As *Solyman* was returning into THRACIA, and was come to the riuer Dranus, it was told him, that *Stephen Maylat* Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA, who tooke king *Ferdinand* his part, a profeſſed enemie of the Turks, was taken, by the cunning of *Peter* of MOLDAVIA, and prince of VALACHIA; and that all the country of TRANSILVANIA was well pacified and yeelded to his
D obedience. Of which newes *Solyman* was paſsing glad, for he exceedingly hated *Maylat*: a martiall man of a froward nature, deſirous of rule, and readie vpon any occaſion to reuolt; foraſmuch as he remembred *Grittus* his legat, and the Turks by him ſlaine; and knew alſo, that the Tranſiluanians, an inuincible people, borne to trouble, and more delighting in vncertaine warre than aſſured peace, was by him ſtirred vp; whom he wiſhed rather by gentleneſſe to appeaſe, than by force of armes and ſtrong hand to ſubdue. But becauſe we haue oftentimes before made mention of this *Maylat*, of whoſe taking *Solyman* ſo much rejoyced, it ſhall not be amiſſe in few words to declare by what fineneſſe he fell into the hands of this treacherous and bloudie man, *Peter* of MOLDAVIA.

This Moldauian by the commaundement of *Solyman* (as is aforeſaid) had joyned his forces with *Achomates* Gouernour of NICOPOLIS, againſt *Maylat*; which being vnited, were in number fiftie thouſand horſemen, beſide footmen, which after the manner of thoſe countries were not many, euerie man almoſt in the countrey be he neuer ſo poore, keeping a horſe to
E ſerue vpon. *Maylat* beſet with the multitude of his enemies, and finding himſelfe too weake to encounter them, deſpairing alſo of aid from king *Ferdinand*, whom he knew to be buſied in a greater warre; forſooke the field, and fled againe into the ſtrong towne of FOGARAS, as he had done the yeare before, when he was ouercharged by king *Iohn* his power: for there as in a moſt ſtrong place both by nature and fortification, he had laid vp his greateſt ſubſtance and prouiſion for the wars, but eſpecially the rich ſpoile he had long before taken from *Grittus*. *Achomates* comming thither with his power, and perceiuing the place was not to be battered or taken by force, but with much labour and long time: thought it beſt, to aſſay if he could ouercome him by craft and deceit. Wherefore he ſent a meſſenger vnto *Maylat*, to perſuade him to yeeld himſelfe vnto *Solyman*, and to make choiſe rather to be called of him his friend, than to be judged
F his enemie; of whom he might well hope of all goodneſſe, which had giuen whole kingdomes vnto his enemies: promiſing, that he would vſe the vttermoſt of his credit, which was not ſmall, and labour for him as his friend, that he might feele the fruit of his clemencie and bountie, and ſtill enjoy the gouernment of TRANSILVANIA, paying him ſome ſmall yearely tribute, as he had before requeſted: for as much as he could take no courſe better, being beſet with ſo many enemies,

Maylat the Vayuod not able to keepe the field againſt Achomates, & the prince of Moldauia flieth to Fogaras.

enemies, than to make his peace vpon reasonable conditions, and that with as much speed as were possible: in which doing, besides that he should well prouide for his owne safetie, he should also saue both his wealth and honour; for *Solyman* was comming (as he said) with his victorious armie, who would with assured death reuenge his vaine hope of holding out the siege, if he should vpon a stubborne and obstinate mind then refuse to obay his commaund. Whereunto *Maylat*, who foresaw that it was better for him to make a certaine peace, than to endure an vncertaine warre, answered, That he could be content to conclude a peace, so that it were not vpon any hard conditions; and would not greatly refuse *Solymans* commaund, which was wont to be both reasonable and just: wherefore vpon sufficient pledges he would come into the campe, in presence to agree vpon the conditions of the peace, and demaunded to haue *Achomates* his sonne, a valiant young gentleman, deliuered in hostage. Which thing *Achomates* denied, for that he had (as he said) before giuen him to *Solyman*, as the manner was, and therefore had ouer him no more power: but he promised for him, that was but one, to giue foure of his best captaines. Which offer *Maylat* (misdoubting no deceit) accepted, and with a great and gallant retinue attended vpon, came into the enemies campe, where he was courteously and honourably receiued. But the parley, as it could not be conueniently begun immediatly after their first salutation, so could it by no meanes be then ended, but was defetred vntill the next day: to the intent, that the treacherous Moldauian might take his well acquainted and well knowne guest, whom he had against that time inuited to a solemne banquet. By that meanes, the next day about the middest of dinner, fortune so fauouring the intended treacherie, *Maylat* who was ofso proud and colericke a nature that he could not well brooke the least indignitie, was by occasion of some insolent speech of purpose ministred by the Moldauian guests, put into such a fret, that laying his hand vpon his sword, he in a rage flung from the table: at which time all the other guests starting vp also, laid hands vpon him and tooke him, fuming, and in vaine crying out, that he was shamefully betraied. His followers were all forthwith stript of all their brauerie by the needie Moldauians, and their horses and armour taken from them. Whilest *Maylat* was yet furiously exclaiming of this treason, in came *Achomates*, who to seeme guiltlesse of the matter, with deepe dissimulation sharpely reproued the false Moldauian, that he had in doing so foule a fact shamefully violated the lawes of hospitalitie, reuerenced of all nations, falsified the faith which he had giuen him for his safetie, and betraied the liues of such notable captaines as lay in hostage for him. Whereunto the Moldauian (as if it had been in contempt) scornfully answered, That he had vpon good cause taken *Maylat* prisoner, and so would in safetie keepe him for *Solyman*, vnto whom it onely belonged to judge, whether he had justly or vnjustly detained him.

Maylat commeth into the Turkes campe.

Maylat treacherously, taken prisoner by the Moldauian.

Not long after, the strong towne of FOGARIS was deliuered, with the hostages; but whether by feare or by corruption of *Maylats* lieutenant, is vncertaine. So *Valentinus Turaccus*, and *Maylat*, two of the greatest noble men of HVNGARIE, sufficient of themselues to haue restored the Hungarian kingdome (first rent in sunder with ciuile discord, and afterward with the inuasion of the Turkes) fell into the hands of the enemie, not vanquished in battell, but deceiued by treason. The towne being thus surrendred, almost all the countrey of TRANSILVANIA, was by *Solymans* consent deliuered to the young king, vnto whom all the people most willingly submitted themselues, and tooke the oath of obedience, remembring that his father had almost for thirtie yeares space with great justice and quietnesse gouerned that prouince; and with manie presents honoured the young king lying in LIPPA, with the queene his mother, and his two tutors, the bishop, and *Vicche*.

Transiluania giuen by Solyman to the young king.

At the same time, *Charles* the emperour at the importunat sute of his subjects of SPAINE, had prepared a great force both by sea and land for the conquering of ALGIERS: from whence the Turkish pirats did so infest all that coast of the countrey, from GADES to the mountaines PYRENEI, that the Spaniards (all trade of merchandise being set apart) were glad to keepe continuall watch and ward all alongst that coast for defence of the countrey. Wherefore although he well knew of the comming of the Turks to BVDA, and how hardly he was by the Lantgraue and others spoken of, for leauing his brother so hardly bestead, to go against a sort of pirats in AFFRICKE; yet persisting in his former determination, he departed out of GERMANIE into ITALIE, where by the way hee was met by *Octauius Farnesius* his sonne in law, *Alphonsus Vastius* his lieutenant, by the Venetian embassadours, neere to VERONA, and so brought to MIL-

Charles the emperour returneth out of Germanie to inuade Algiers.

A MILLAINE, where he was with great ſolemnitie joyfully receiued of the citiſens, and vnder a canopie of gold brought vnto the pallace: he himſelfe going in a plaine blacke cloake, and a homely cap in mourning wiſe; when as the women and vulgar people, vpon a curious ſimplicitie, expected to haue ſeene ſo great an emperour in his royall robes, gliſtering with gold and pretious ſtone, and the imperiall crowne vpon his head. His heauie countenance anſwerable alſo to his attire was much noted, as preſaging the wofull ouerthrow which was the day before receiued at BVDA, but not yet knowne in ITALIE. From MILLAINE he departed to GENVA, where he was aduertiſed by letters from his brother king *Ferdinand*, of the ouerthrow of the Germans, of the victorie of the Turkes, and the comming of *Solyman*. Vpon which newes, *Vaſtius* and *Auria*, his two chiefe commaunders, the one at land, the other at ſea, would haue perB ſuaded him to haue deferred his intended expedition for AFRICA vntill the next Spring: and with ſuch power as he had alreadie raiſed in ITALIE, & brought with him out of GERMANIE, to ſtay ſtill in ITALIE, ſo to make ſhew vnto the Turks as if he would haue returned and holpen his brother: and in the meane time to aſſure himſelfe of his ſtate in ITALIE againſt the French, who (as it was thought) would be readie to take all occaſion of aduantage, if any miſhap ſhould befall him, either by the force of the enemie, or violence of tempeſt. But he conſtant in his former reſolution, anſwered them as they ſate in counſell, that they had perſuaded him for great reaſons to ſtay in ITALIE; but that he was for farre greater to paſſe into AFFRICKE: for if he ſhould then ſtay in ITALIE, it would be thought, that he was for feare of the Turkes fled out of GERMANIE: which diſgrace could no otherwiſe be preuented, but by the preſent proſecuting C of his former determination for ALGIERS, and ſatisfying the expectation of his ſubiects of SPAINE; and ſo by ſea valiantly to proue their better fortune, which had of late not ſo euill fauoured them at land, in hope that ALGIERS might be woon before the ſeas ſhould grow rough and dangerous with Winter tempeſts: which if it ſhould fall out according to his mind, hee would not, as he ſaid, greatly care what the French could doe. Yet was it thought, that the diſſembling friendſhip betwixt the French king and him, would not long endure: and the rather, for that there was a new grudge riſen betwixt them about the death of *Antonius Rinco*, who for certaine yeares had lien embaſſadour for the French king at CONSTANTINOPLE to *Solyman*, and was a few moneths before ſent backe againe by him into FRANCE to the king: but returning back againe with new inſtructions from his maſter, for the confirmation of a further league D betwixt the Turkiſh Sultan and him, he was by certain Spaniards of the emperors old ſouldiors, who had knowledge of his comming, belaid vpon the riuer Padus as he was going down to VENICE, ſo to haue paſſed into EPYRVS, and ſlaine, togither with *Cæſar Fregoſius*: or as the common report went, firſt taken and tortured, to get from him the ſecrets of his negotiation, and afterwards ſlaine. Which report ſo much touched *Vaſtius* in credit, that in purgation of himſelfe, he offered the combat to any man of like qualitie to himſelfe, that durſt charge him with the truth thereof. But many were of opinion, that he was well and worthely taken away, for vndertaking ſo odious a charge, as to ſtirre vp the Turkes againſt the Chriſtians, and to ſhew vnto them ſuch opportunities as might beſt ſerue their purpoſe, by diſcouering vnto them the emperours deſſeigns, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian commonweale. But were it well, or were E it euill; as *Paulus* the third of that name then biſhop of ROME, meeting the emperour at LVCA as he came from GENVA, could not, or would not determine; ſure it ſerued as no ſmall occaſion to ſet thoſe two great princes againe at ods, whereby the wiſhed vnitie of the Chriſtian ſtate was ſore ſhaken, and a way opened for the Turke. The emperour at his comming to LVCA, was honourably receiued by the cardinals and biſhops, and lodged in the court: the great biſhop was before placed in the biſhops pallace, whither the emperour came thriſe to talke with him, and the biſhop to him once. But the biſhop hauing nothing at all preuailed with the emperour and the French embaſſadour, for the appeaſing of the troubles euen then like to ariſe betwixt him and the French king: did what he might to perſuade him to employ ſuch forces as he was about to paſſe ouer with into AFFRICKE, againſt the Turkes in defence of his broF ther *Ferdinand*, and of the countrey of AVSTRIA, if *Solyman* ſhould happely purſue his late obtained victorie at BVDA. But hee ſtill reſolute in that fatall determination of inuading of AFFRICKE, rejected that the biſhops requeſt alſo. So the great biſhop hauing mooued much, and preuailed little, in the greateſt matters which moſt concerned the common good, taking his leaue of the emperour, returned by eaſie iournies to ROME.

The French kings embaſſador ſlaine by the imperials.

The emperour and the biſhop of Rome meet at Luca.

The

The emperor in the meane time with certain bands of Italians, vnder the leading of *Camillus Columna* and *Auguſtinus Spinula*, and ſix thouſand Germanes, came from LVCA to the port LVNE, and there embarking his ſouldiours in certaine marchant ſhips prouided for the purpoſe, and fiue and thirtie gallies, departed thence, commaunding the maſters of the ſhips to direct their courſe to the iſlands of BALEARES: but after they had put to ſea, they were by force of tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing, brought within ſight of CORSICA: where after they had beene toſſed too and fro two dayes in the rough ſeas, and put out of their courſe, the wind ſomething falling, they put into the hauen of SYRACVSA, now called BONIFACIVM. The diſperſed fleet once come together into the port of SYRACVSA, and the rage of the ſea well appeaſed, he put to ſea againe for the iſlands BALEARES, now called MAIORCA and MINORCA: where in his courſe he met with a tempeſt from the Weſt, more terrible and dreadfull than the firſt: wherein diuers of the gallies hauing loſt their maſtes and ſailes, were glad with extreame labour and perill in ſtriuing againſt the wrought ſea to get into a harbor of the leſſer iſland, taking name of *Barchinus Mago* the famous Carthaginenſian, whoſe name it retaineth vntill this day. From hence the emperour with all his fleet paſſed ouer to the greater iſland, being wonderfull glad that *Ferdinand Gonzaga* his viceroy in SICILIA was in good time come with the Sicilian gallies and ſhips of ITALIE, in number a hundred and fiftie ſaile, wherein he had brought ſuch ſtore of bisket and victuall, as might haue ſufficed for a long warre. *Mendoza* was alſo expected to haue come thither with his fleet from SPAINE, but he by reaſon of contrarie winds being not able to hold that courſe, altered his purpoſe according to the tempeſt, and ſo happily cut ouer directly to ALGIERS. So the emperour nothing miſdoubting the carefull diligence of *Mendoza*, and thinking that which was indeed alreadie chanced, and the wind now ſeruing faire, by the perſuaſion of *Auria* his Admirall hoyſed ſaile, and in two dayes came before ALGIERS, and there in goodly order came to anker before the citie in the ſight of the enemie. Whileſt the fleet thus lay, two of the pyrats which had beene abroad at ſea ſeeking for prize, returning to ALGIERS, not knowing any thing of the fleet, fell into the bay amongſt them before they were aware: the bigger whereof *Viſcontes Cicada* ſtemmed with his gallie and ſunke him, the other with wonderfull celeritie got into the hauen. In the meane time *Mendoza* with his gallies had paſſed the promontorie of *Apollo*, now called the cape of CASSINEVS, and in token of honour ſaluting the emperour after the manner at ſea, with all his great Ordinance, gaue him knowledge that the Spaniſh fleet was not farre behind. In this fleet was aboue a hundred tall ſhips of BISCAY and the low countries, and of other ſmaller veſſels a farre greater number. In theſe ſhips beſides the footmen was embarked a great number of braue horſemen out of all parts of SPAINE: for many noble gentlemen had voluntarily of their own charge gallantly furniſhed themſelues with braue armour and courageous horſes, to ſerue their prince and countrey againſt the Infidels. Ouer theſe choice men commaunded *Ferdinand* of TOLEDO, duke of ALBA, for his approoued valour then accounted a famous captaine. Theſe ſhips going altogether with ſailes, were not yet able to double the cape, as did *Mendoza* with his gallies, for now it was a dead calme: howbeit the billow of the ſea went yet high, by reaſon of the rage of the late tempeſt, and did ſo beat againſt the plaine ſhore, that it was not poſsible to land the ſouldiors, but that they muſt needs be waſhed vp to the middle: which thing the emperour thought it not good to put them vnto, and ſo to oppoſe them ſeaſicke and thorow wet againſt the ſudden and deſperat aſſaults of their fierce enemies. He alſo ſtayed for the comming of the Spaniſh ſhips for two cauſes: firſt, that he might with his vnited power more ſtrongly aſſault the citie, and terrifie the enemie; then, to communicat the whole glorie of the action with the Spaniards, at whoſe requeſt and forwardneſſe and greateſt charge he had vndertaken that warre. Which fatall delay of two dayes, although it was grounded vpon good reaſon, did not onely diſturbe an aſſured victorie, but to the notable hurt of the whole armie, opened a way to all the calamities which afterwards enſued.

The emperour driuen by tempeſt into Sicilia.

The emperour commeth to Algiers.

The emperours fleet out of Spain and the low countries.

The duke of Alba.

Delay in great actions hurtfull.

In the meane while the emperour ſent a conuenient meſſenger to *Aſanagas*, otherwiſe and more truly called *Aſſan-Aga*, or *Aſſan* the eunuch; who with a little flag of truce in his hand making ſigne of parley, and anſwered by the Moores with like, as their manners is, went on ſhore, and was of them courteouſly receiued and brought to *Aſſan*. This *Aſſan* was an eunuch, borne in SARDINIA, brought vp from his youth in the Mahometane ſuperſtition by *Barbaroſſa*, a man both politicke and valiant, and by him left for the keeping of his kingdome of ALGIERS in his abſence with *Solyman*. This meſſenger brought into his preſence, required him forth-

The emperour ſendeth a meſſenger to Aſan aga gouernour of Algiers for Barbaroſſa.

A forthwith to deliuer the citie (first surprised by force and trecherie by *Horruccius*, and afterwards to the destruction of mankind, fortified by *Hariadenus Barbarussa* his brother) to *Charles* the mightie emperour, come in person himselfe to be reuenged on those horrible pyrats: which if he would doe, it should be lawfull for the Turks to depart whether they would, and for the natu-
rall Moores to abide still, with their goods and religion wholly reserued vnto them vntouched, as in former time: and for himselfe, he should receiue of the emperour great rewards both in time of peace and warres, so that he would remember himselfe, that he was born in SARDINIA, and was once a Christian; and accept of the faireſt occasion which could possibly be offered for him to returne againe to the worshipping of the true God, and to enjoy the fauour and bountie of the most mightie emperour, and withall to reuenge himselfe of the cruell tyrant *Barbarussa*,
B for the vnnaturall villanie done vnto his person. But if he would needs dallie on the time, and make proofe of the strength of so great a preparation, he should vndoubtedly with the rest of his followers receiue the same reward of his obstinacie, which they had to the example of others receiued at TVNES. Whereunto the vngratious eunuch answered, That he thought him altogether mad, that would follow his enemies counsell: and with a grinning countenance asked him, Vpon what hope the emperour trusted to be able to win the citie? the messenger point-
ting with his finger directly to the fleet, told him, That which you see, with his great artilletie, and valour of his souldiors, both horse and foot: Whereat the eunuch scornefully laughing, replied, And we with like force and valour will defend this citie, and make this place, alreadie famous for your ouerthrowes here twice, now the third time of all others most famous by the
C emperours discomfiture. It is reported, that there was in ALGIERS an old witch, famous for her predictions, who had (as it was said) foretold the shipwrackes and miserie of *Didaco Verra* and *Hugo Moncada* to them of ALGIERS; and also prefixed a time when as the Christian emperour aduenturing to besiege that citie, should there receiue great losse both by sea and land: The fame of which blind prophecie seruing fitly to confirme the hope of good successe in the minds of the vulgar multitude, *Assan* so fed and augmented (although hee himselfe being a craftie wise fellow, beleeued no such vanitie) that he did therewith not only encourage his owne souldiors, but also strucke a terror into the minds of the weaker sort of his enemies, seeing themselues cast vpon so dangerous a coast vpon the approch of Winter. There was in garrison in the
citie but eight hundred Turkes, and most of them horsemen, but such, as whose valour and reso-
D lution farre exceeded their number. For *Assan* had lost many of his best men, some in fight against *Mendoza*; and othersome at sea, slaine or taken by *Auria* in CORSICA; and in other places by the Rhodian, Neapolitane, and Sicilian gallies; but many moe were by his leaue gone to aid the Moores against the Portingals: the other multitude did scarce make vp the number of fiue thousand; which were partly naturall Moores borne in that countrey, and partly such as were born in GRANADO; to whom was joyned many fugitiues out of the ilands of MAIORCA and MINORCA, who in former time hauing entred into rebellion, and fearing condigne punishment, were fled to ALGIERS, and there reuolted to the Mahometane superstition. But the captaines of the wild Numidians made vp a great number both of horse and foot: which lying stragling without the citie in the open fields, should night and day vex and molest the Christi-
E ans. This brutish people, naturally enemies vnto the Christians, had *Assan* with rewards and hope of a rich spoile, allured out of the countries thereabout to aid him: neither was it lawfull for any man to carrie his wife or children out of the citie into places of more safetie farther off, or to shew any small token of feare, paine of death being by the imperious eunuch proposed to whosoeuer should but looke heauily for feare of danger, or speake a word sauouring of cowardise. The emperour by *Auria* making choise of a most conuenient place for landing his men, laid his gallies so close vnto his tall ships, that his armed souldiours might with ease come out of the high built ships into them, and so out of them into the long boats, to be forthwith set on shore. And such was the speedie diligence of them that had the charge of that matter, and the plentie of boats still readie to receiue the souldiours as fast as they could come out of the gallies,
F that the footmen were in a very short time all landed. The emperour hauing a little rested and refreshed his souldiors, deuided his armie into three equall battels, which was in number about twentie thousand footmen, besides horsemen, and others who of their owne voluntarie will then followed the emperours fortune. Vnto euery battell he appointed three field pieces, to terrifie the Numidian horsemen, which were still pricking vp and downe about them, readie to charge,

The scornefull answer of Assan the eunuch to the emperours messenger.

The emperour landeth his armie at Algiers.

if

if they could take them at any aduantage. And ſo ſetting forward a few furlongs, encamped in a ſtrong and conuenient place, neere vnto the citie betweene two deepe ditches, which the water falling from the mountaines had naturally worne ſo deepe, that neither horſeman nor footman could well paſſe ouer, but by bridge: and faſt by vpon the left hand was a hill, from the top whereof it ſeemed the citie might with great ordinance well be battered. G

The deſcription of Algiers.

The citie of ALGIERS, ſometime the royall ſeat of the great king *Iuba*, called of the Romans IVLIA CÆSAREA, is in forme of a triangle, ſcituat faſt by the ſea towards the North, hauing a hauen, but neither great, neither ſafe from the North wind. The houſes farther off from the ſea, ſtand in ſeemly order vpon the riſing of a ſteepe hill, as it were vpon degrees, in ſuch ſort, that the windowes of one row ſtill ouerlooke the tops of the next beneath it, into the ſea, moſt beautifull to behold. The emperour hauing deuided his campe into three parts, euerie nation by themſelues, lying on the Eaſt ſide of the towne, was in great hope to win it; and the rather, for that whileſt he aſſaulted it on that ſide, his ſhips and gallies from the North ſide, might in time of the aſſault with their great ordinance beat the enemie all alongſt the wall: which ſtill riſing higher and higher according to the riſing of the ſteepe hill, could not conueniently be defended with one bulwarke, as we ſee it may in plaine ground. Neereſt vnto the riſing of the hils, lay the Spaniards; in the middeſt, the Germans with the emperour; and in the plaine neereſt vnto the ſea, the Italians. In the meane time whileſt the great ordinance was landing and the horſes vnſhipping, the Numidians with a hideous outcrie ſhewed themſelues vpon the tops of the mountaines aboue the Spaniards, and from thence eaſily gauled them with their darts and ſhot: for they nimbly running too and fro in the knowne paths of the rough mountaines, would ſuddenly and fiercely aſſaile them, but after the manner of their nation skirmiſhing a far off, rather than neere at hand. In which manner of light skirmiſhes, all that day was ſpent vntill night with ſmall danger, but much trouble to the Spaniards. And when night was come, theſe wild people, one companie ſtill ſucceeding another in the place they had before taken, neuer left ſhooting; for whereſoeuer they ſaw any fire in the Spaniſh campe, thither came arrowes, darts, and ſtones flying as thicke as haile: for remedie whereof, the Spaniards were glad to put out their fires, and with ſilence to expect the day, that they might come neerer vnto them. Wherefore as ſoone as the ſunne was vp, the Spaniards by the perſuaſion of *Aluares Sandes*, maſter of the campe, valiantly climing vp the high mountaines, repulſed and put to flight the Numidians, and tooke the top of the hils, and there lay as it were incamped in the poore ſhepheards cottages. But the ſame day ſuch a multitude of the wild people was flockt about them, that they were compaſſed in round, and glad to fight on euerie ſide in a ring. Yet this fierceneſſe of this barbarous people, was by the valour of the Sicilian companies quickly repreſſed, whoſe pikemen gliſtering in their bright armour, made ſmall account of the Numidians arrowes and darts, but orderly ſtepping forwards with their pikes, and the harquebuſiers cloſe by their ſides, eaſily repulſed their naked enemies. The Numidian footmen are for moſt part youths halfe naked, with long haire not vnlike the Iriſh, vſing no other weapons but darts: they fight mingled with their horſemen, truſting the one to the other, and are of a wonderfull ſwiftneſſe and agilitie of bodie. Their horſemen vſe long ſpeares, armed at both ends, which they with a marueilous dexteritie vſe to the endangering of their enemie purſuing them: they vſe alſo long and light targuets made of leather, wherewith they ſo cunningly defend themſelues and their horſes, both in their charge and retrait, that for a ſmall trifle, in reſpect of the danger, they will giue a man leaue to caſt ſeauen darts at one of them, which they will all moſt ſurely auoid, either with their ſpeare, or receiue them without harme in their targuet. In the mean time, whileſt this wild people thus skirmiſhed all the day, at night a ſudden miſchance ouerthrew all the emperors hope: for as he ſtood beholding the vnſhipping of his great ordinance, his horſes, victuall, and other neceſſaries of the armie, a ſtorme of wind and raine began about ſix a clocke in the afternoone, holding on all the night without intermiſsion, with ſuch rage, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue gone togither: wherewith the whole armie at land was wonderfully troubled, and a great part of the fleet at ſea by force of tempeſt driuen aground, periſhed. That night three companies of the Italians, by the appointment of their Generall, lay without the trenches againſt the ſudden aſſault of ſo vncertaine an enemie, who when they had all the night endured the vehement raine and extreame cold, were ſo ouercome with the extreamitie of the weather, that neither was their minds able to relieue their weake bodies, neither their feeble bodies their diſcouraged minds: for they could neither

The Numidians skirmiſh with the Spaniards.

The Spaniards put the Numidians to flight, and gaine the hils.

The deſcription of the Numidian footmen and horſemen.

A marueilous tempeſt.

A neither conueniently ſtand nor lie downe, all the ground being ſo mirie, that at euerie ſtep they ſunke vp to the calfe of the legge. Vpon theſe ſtaruen companies, the Turkiſh horſemen and Moores footmen, who diligently obſerued the watch of the Chriſtians, perceiuing their diſtreſſe, ſuddenly ſallied out in the dawning of the day; and ſo fiercely charged them, their match and pouder being now ſo wet that they could not vſe their pieces, that they all fled, except a few pikemen, who made a ſtand, and were all quickly ſlaine by the Turkes: who ſo deſperatly purſued the reſt in chaſe, that they followed them ouer the trench into the campe. This alarum being heard, *Camillus Columna* the Italian Generall came preſently thither, being ſent by the emperor, who with certaine companies iſſued out ouer the bridge againſt the enemy: who now in ſhew diſcouraged with the comming out of this new ſupply, did in deed, or at leaſtwiſe made as if they
B did diſorderly retire for feare. At which time *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, viceroy of SICILIA, a man of greateſt account in the armie next vnto the emperour, comming in alſo, and angrie with them which had before fled; perſuaded them as valiant men, to recompence their ſhamefull flight with a freſh charge, by driuing the enemie home to his owne doore: which thing *Columna* ſaid could not be done without great perill: But *Gonzaga* being a man of noble courage, deſired to haue the diſgrace which the Italians had receiued, ſalued ſome way, although it were with neuer ſo great danger; thinking alſo that it might happely fall out, that the enemie being put to flight, and haſtily purſued, they might togither with them enter the citie, without danger of the artillerie. So without farther delay, the reſt of the Italian companies were fled forth of their trenches with great cheerefulneſſe by *Auguſtine Spinula*, who ſo valiantly charged the enemies
C that they put them to flight, and purſued them ſo hard, that they came with them to the verie gates of the citie: where many ſhut out for feare of letting in the Italians togither with them, eſcaped by knowne waies, ſome to another gate, and ſome into the mountaines. But then theſe barbarous people, with darts and ſhot from the wals, began to ouerwhelme the Italians which were vnaduiſedly come within their danger, and with terrible outcries to terrifie them: and they which before were fled without the wals, returned againe to fight. They alſo which had ſhut the gate, ſallied out againe, and hardly charged the Italians, who alreadie galled with ſhot from the wals, and rent in ſunder with the great ordinance, fled moſt diſorderly; for why, they were but raw ſouldiors taken vp in haſt, little or nothing acquainted with the wars. At which time *Aſan* alſo ſallying out, who was eaſily knowne by his countenance and rich attire, purſued the chaſe
D with his troups of Turks and Moores footmen. Only certaine knights of the RHODES fought valiantly, and retired orderly: and *Spinula* with ſome other gentlemen making a ſtand at a little woodden bridge, ſomewhat ſtaied the enemie and ſaued the liues of many. So the Italians which firſt charged moſt valiantly, being in the flight become hindermoſt, the enemie ſtriking them downe as they fled, couered the fields with their dead bodies by the ſpace of halfe a mile, eſpecially they which fled towards the ſea: for there they were circumuented and ſlaine by the mercileſſe Numidians, who beholding the ſhipwracke, were come downe to the ſea ſide for prey. But the formoſt companies of the Italians which firſt fled into the campe, fled in ſo much haſt and ſo great feare, that none of the leaders in ſo great and ſudden a perplexitie, remembred either the common ſafetie, or performed the duetie of an aduiſed captaine; ſo that all ſeemed at
E once loſt, both by ſea and land. Only the emperour, armed with an inuincible courage againſt all the chances of fortune, and not to be diſmaied with any miſhap, was both vnto himſelfe and others that day the greateſt captaine; for when as all was almoſt loſt, he in good time ſtaied the matter by comming on with the ſquadron of Germans, whereof he ſent before three enſignes to ſtay the flight, and with them as a ſure and freſh ſupply to guard his campe beyond the bridge which was ouer the ditch, ſeruing his armie for a trench as we haue before ſaid. But ſuch a feare had poſſeſſed the minds of the flying Italians, and ſuch was the fierce purſuit of the enemie, that thoſe Germans (not before woont to turne their backs) as if they had been afraid of the Turkes white caps, or not able to abide their ſight, or to hold vp weapon againſt them; by and by turned their backs, and ſhamefully fled for companie with the Italians. Then the emperour gallo-
F ping forth with his horſe, and his ſword in his hand drawne, reprouing them of cowardiſe that fled, ſet forward with the German ſquadron, and with a ſtout and manly courage ſpake to them theſe few words in their owne language: *When will you (fellow ſouldiors) ſhew your faces to your proud enemies; if now when you ſhould fight for the honour of the Chriſtian name, for the glorie of the German nation, for the ſafegard of your owne liues, in the preſence of your emperour, you feare a*

The Moores put to flight by the Italians.

The Italians diſcomfited by the Moores flie, and endanger the whole campe.

The notable courage of the emperour in ſtaying the flight of his armie.

few disordered and naked Barbarians? Immediatly when he had thus said, the Germans touched with shame, and disdaining that it should be thought they needed any exhortation to performe the parts of valiant souldiors, issued out against the enemie: who moued with their comming, and seeing the Italian battell againe restored by the valour and trauell of certaine valiant and expert captaines, stood still a while, and began to retire; whether it were because they feared the great artillerie & assault of the Germans, or that they thought they had done enough for that sally: when as for the full accõplishment of the victorie they saw the Christian fleet ouercome with a most horrible tempest, miserably to perish before their faces; and many of their men, especially the Moores hasted to the sea side in hope of a more certaine prey, whereas was no enemie to be feared. For the blustring winds blowing from diuers quarters, as if they had conspired to raise a most horrible tempest, had made such a wrought sea, and the hugie billowes went so high, that the ships by the violence of the weather, and rage of the sea, put from their anchors, fell foule one of another, and were so lost; or else driuen vpon the maine, were there beaten in pieces in the sight of the armie: so that all the sea coast Westward, from ALGIERS to CERCELLO, lay full of dead men and horses, and the ribs of broken ships. The Numidians beholding this miserable wracke, came downe by great companies from the mountaines, and without mercie slew all that came aliue to land. In the space of a few houres was lost about an hundred and fortie ships, and all the small boats and caruels, which were in number many. Some of the gallies, when they had from midnight to the next day at noone, by the painfull labour of the marriners and skilfulnesse of the masters, rid it out; being no longer able to endure the rage of the tempest, and fearing to be eaten vp with the sea, with sailes and oares ran a ground: but the souldiors and marriners swimming to land in hope to saue their liues, and thinking that the greatest danger had been now past, were by the Numidian horsemen which ran vp and downe the sea side, slaine. There might a man haue seene free men of all sorts, with teares commending their liues and libertie to their owne gally-slaues; that by the speech and intreatie of them, which by the sudden change of fortune had but euen now shaken off their yrons, and with merrie hearts swam out to their libertie, they might be saued from the cruelly of the fierce Numidians. It was a most grieuous and wofull sight for diuers hard extremities; when as euerie man according to the disposition of his mind and skill in swimming, standing doubtfull in most assured death, which to receiue or refuse, was by fatall destinie drawne to his end, and either drowned in the sea, or thrust thorow with the enemies launce: yet most made choise to abide the danger of the sea, and to expect the euent of the tempest, rather than to hasten their end by the enemies mercilesse hand. By that meanes it came to passe, that that barbarous crueltie of the enemie (as a thing most feared of the marriners and souldiors) saued many gallies, which by the appointment of the fearefull marriners and passengers should otherwise haue been run on ground. But after that, a notable gally wherein *Iannettin Auria* went, was seene to come neere vnto the shoare, and to be driuen vpon the sands by force of weather and the beating of other gallies. The emperour not enduring to see so valiant a young gentleman, captaine of many gallies, slaine without helpe by the Moores in the sight of *Auria* his vncle; sent by and by one of his captaines called *Antonius of* ARAGON, with three bands of Italians to the sea side: by whose comming the Moores were put to flight, and he with the rest in the gally saued; but so, that the sauing of him was the losse of diuers other gallies. For many deliuered of the feare of the Numidians, and trusting to the rescue of the souldiors come downe to the sea side, desiring to saue themselues from the rage of the sea, ran their gallies on ground; and had not some bold captaines (grieued to see so great a losse) run vp and downe the bankes with their drawne swords in their hands, and by threatning death vnto the gally-slaues and martiners, staied their rowing, most part of the gallies had by the example of the other perished. *Auria*, not so angrie at himselfe as at the emperour (who, contrarie to the obseruation of skilfull seamen, could not be dissuaded from taking in hand that great expedition in so suspitious a time of the yeare) with an inuincible courage striue against the violence of the tempest, and rage of the sea: insomuch, that being requested by some of his friends, to saue himselfe whatsoeuer became of the gally; he was so angrie thereat, that he commaunded them to be bestowed vnder the hatches. Foure gallies also of *Virginius Vrsinus*, earle of ANGVILLARIA, and as many of the Rhodians, after his example rid it out, the reputation of their honour exceeding the feare of death. Certaine gallies also of SICILIA, NAPLES, and SPAIN, happily endured all the rage of the tempest: yet was there fifteene great gallies cast away; with the

An horrible tempest.

The Christian fleet perisheth by shipwracke.

A hard choise.

Many gallies lost by sauing of one man.

G H I K L M

A the losse whereof, besides the losse of so many ships, the tempest still enduring, so great sorrow and desperation in the wofull expectation of the wracke of all, possessed the whole armie, that not onely the young souldiors regarding onely their owne liues, but euen the most valiant captaines, carefull of the common estate, were vtterly discouraged: for neuer was armie in any memorie, ouerwhelmed with a greater concourse of calamities, when as all their victuals being lost in three daies, nothing was left to relieue them withall, and they wanted tents wherein to shroud and rest the souldiors spent with labour, hunger, cold, and wounds, in such perpetuall raine and so durtie a countrie. In which so great miseries, a wonderfull care heauier than the former feat exceedingly troubled the minds of all men, to thinke vpon that horrible wracke; when as hauing lost so many ships, & they poore men landed in AFRICK, were in doubt how euer to return again into
B their natiue countries. Yet the notable courage of the emperour still kept the distressed men in hope, which neuer altogether forsaketh wretched men in the midst of their calamities: for he with a courageous heart & cheerfull countenance performed all the parts of a prouident & courteous Generall. For when he had againe made sure his campe against the assaults of the Barbarians, he commanded the wearied captains, especially the duke of ALBA (wonderfully wearied in the late skirmish) and dung wet, to spare themselues, and take their rest: he comforted the wounded men, and caused them to be carried and cherished in the tents which by chance yet stood (for the tempestuous wind had almost ouerthrowne them all) and so not sparing himselfe for any paines, being in his armour and thorow wet, woon the hearts of all his souldiors the more. In this conflict he lost about three thousand men, amongst whom was fiue of his forward captaines, and
C three knights of the RHODES: but many moe were hurt. The greatest losse was thought to be in losse of the ships and of the marriners, which was also encreased by the losse of a wonderfull deale of great ordinance, reckoned so much the greater, for that it would come into the hands of the Moores, to the common harme of the Christians, so soone as the sea would giue them leaue to diue for it. Shortly after, *Auria* (as he was to foresee a tempest, a wonderfull obseruer of the sea, of the heauens, and of the clouds) mistrusting that place, departed with the remainder of the fleet to the cape called METAPVSIVM; because it was a place of safer riding for his gallies, and better for the taking in of the souldiors: aduising the emperour to march thither by land. Which his counsell the emperour liking well of, to relieue the hunger of his souldiors, commanded first
D all the draught horses which were first vnshipped for the drawing of the great Ordinance, and after them the horses for seruice, to be killed, and deuided for meat amongst the souldiors: As for wood to make fire of, they had plentie of the plankes and ribs of the broken ships, fortune as it were with that one poore benefit recompensing so many calamities. The next day the emperor departed from ALGIERS, with his armie deuided into three battels, the sicke and wounded men being receiued into the middle: and when he had marched seuen miles (the enemies horsemen still houering about him) he came to a headie brooke, which the Moores call ALCARAZ: which was growne so high with the abundant raine and the checke of the wind and of the sea, that being but a shallow thing before, it was not now to be passed ouer by a good horseman. Wherefore the emperour of necessitie there encamped, in such sort, that lying with his armie in forme of a triangle, two sides of his armie was defended with the sea and the brooke, and the other with
E a strong guard of armed men, for he thought it not good to depart from the sea, a sure defence for his armie on the left hand, to seeke a fourd further of: many aduenturing to swim ouer, were by the violence of the streame carried away and drowned. Wherefore the emperour caused a bridge to be made ouer it, of the masts and saile yards of the broken ships, which were by chance there taken vp, and so passed ouer the Italians and Germanes. The Spaniards marching higher vp the brooke, found a fourd whereby they passed ouer. After which time the Turkes pursued them no further, being called backe againe by *Assan* their gouernour: as for the Moores and Numidians which still followed at hand, alwayes readie to skirmish, they were easily repulsed by the harquebusiers, and field pieces appointed to euery nation: but vpon such sicke and wounded
F men as were not able to keepe way with the armie, they exercised all manner of cruelties: for there was none which in that small hope, possessed with feare of their owne safetie, was greatly moued with the compassion of their fellowes miserie. The next day passing ouer another little riuer, which the souldiors waded ouer vp to the breasts, they came in three dayes march to the rode where the fleet lay, and encamped in the ruines of the old citie TIPASA, neere vnto the sea side, which serued them in stead of a fortresse against the Barbarians. The sea was now calme, the

The miserie of the Christian armie.

The cheerefulnesse of the emperour comforteth the whole distressed armie.

Horses good meat in the emperours armie.

The emperour departeth from Algiers.

He embarketh his armie.

wind laied, and the weather ſo faire that all men thought the ſouldiours might now well be em- G
barked and tranſported into EVROPE; wherefore the emperour to the great joy of the whole
armie commaunded euery man to make himſelfe readie to goe abourd, in ſuch ſort, that firſt the
Italians, next the Germanes, and laſt of all the Spaniards ſhould be embarked: but ſo many ſhips
and gallies as is before ſaid, being loſt by ſhipwracke, it was thought that thoſe which were left
were not able to receiue the whole armie, although it were crouded together as cloſe as were
poſsible. Wherefore the emperour commanded the maſters and owners of the ſhips to caſt all
the horſes ouerbourd into the ſea, reputing it an vnmercifull part to preferre the ſafegard of thoſe
horſes, although they were of great worth, before the life of the baſeſt common ſouldiour or
horſeboy in his campe; which thing much grieued the minds of the noblemen and owners of

Horſes of great price drowned by the emperours commaund to make roome for the common ſouldiors.

thoſe goodly beaſts, not only for that they were (not without extreame neceſsitie) for the preſent H
depriued of ſuch an ineſtimable treaſure, but ſhould for euer, as they ſaid, loſe the moſt notable race
of horſes in SPAINE: there, with greefe and vaine compaſsion, was to be ſeene goodly horſes of
ſeruice, bearing high their proud heads, ſwimming all about the ſea vnto the ſhips neereſt vnto
them for ſafegard, as if it had beene to the ſhore, and in the end wearied with long ſwimming to
be there drowned. But ſcarce halfe the ſouldiors were yet embarked, when the Eaſt and North-
eaſt wind, and ſtraightwaies after, diuers contrarie winds almoſt as great as the firſt, roſe: where-
upon the ſhips which had alreadie taken in the ſouldiours, not expecting any commaund, for
feare of being driuen vpon the rockes, directed their courſe according as the wind carried them
with full ſailes alongſt the coaſt: They were quickly out of ſight and diſperſed with the tempeſt,
ſome into one countrey, ſome into another, carrying the fame of that ſhipwrack, and the report I
that all was loſt, into all the Iſlands of the Mediteranean and ports of ITALIE. The force of this
tempeſt was ſo great, and the billow went ſo high, that ſome of the ſhips were in the ſight of
their fellowes ſwallowed vp of the ſea. But amongſt the reſt two Spaniſh ſhips full of ſouldiors
were by wonderfull miſhap by contrarie winds driuen againe to ALGIERS, and there ſet faſt

Two Spaniſh ſhips full of ſouldiors driuen by tempeſt to Algiers.

vpon that fatall ſhore, where the Numidian horſemen with a multitude of Moores following
them, came running downe to the ſea ſide, to kill them as they ſhould come to ſhore: for the
barbarous people thirſting after Chriſtian bloud, would not receiue them to mercie, although
they were readie to yeeld themſelues, and couenanted nothing but the ſafegard of their liues. At
which their crueltie the Spaniards diſdaining, with their weapons in their hands got to ſhore, and
ſtanding cloſe together as deſperat men, withſtood them who had with their multitude quickly K
compaſſed them in round: yet in deſpight of what that barbarous multitude (without regard of
humanitie or law of armes) could doe, they made way thorow the midſt of them, from the place
where they were caſt on ſhore, vnto the very gates of the citie. But ſeeing the Turkes ſallie out,
they called vnto them, offering to yeeld themſelues priſoners to *Aſſan*, without further reſiſtance,
if they would aſſure them their liues, which they were in good hope of, for that he was borne of
Chriſtian parents in SARDINIA, and was attended vpon with many renegate Spaniards. So

Aſſan taketh the Spaniards to mercie.

Aſſan comming forth of the citie, gaue them his faith for their ſafetie, and beating away the
Moores and Numidians, courteouſly ſaued them all, wiſely making great account of ſo great
a gaine as would redound vnto him by ſo many priſoners, joined with no ſmall commendation
of his clemencie in ſauing them. Of the Germans the third part neuer returned home, but were L
either loſt with ſhipwracke, or els dead of the ſickneſſe enſuing ſo great miſeries. The emperour
perſuaded (or rather ouertruled) by *Auria* to auoid the violence of the tempeſt, ſailed alongſt the
coaſt of AFFRICKE Eaſtward to BVZIA, the caſtle whereof was kept with a ſmall garriſon of
Spaniards: where the emperour landing, found ſome freſh victuall, though not much, yet ſuch as

The emperour commeth to Bugia.

did both him and the other noblemen no ſmall pleaſure. Whilſt the emperour lay at BVZIA
expecting fairer weather, a great ſhip of GENVA, laded with victuall, chanced to come into the
bay, to the great rejoycing of the hungrie ſouldiours: but ſuch was the violence of the tempeſt,
that her ankers came home, and ſhe driuen vpon the flats, was caſt away; yet ſo, as that part of
the victuall driuen to ſhore, and halfe ſpoiled with the ſalt water, well relieued the encreaſing
want. In the meane time the emperour when he had long looked for the aſſuaging of the tem- M
peſt, and was now out of hope of any new ſupplie of victuall, ſent away *Gonzaga* with the Sici-
lian and Rhodian gallies: for the wind before at North was now come to Northweſt, and put
them in hope to aduenture againe to ſea, rather than to ſtay there longer. So although with a
troubleſome yet a proſperous courſe they came in ſhort time into the port of VTICA, now cal-

led

A led FARENAS: where *Muleasses* king of TVNES bountifully relecued *Gonzaga* and his fleet with all kind of victuall and other neceſſaries. From whence they afterward departed, and landed all in ſafetie at DREPANVM in SICILIA. The bluſtering winds were now at length wearie of blowing, and the raging ſea became calme, ſo that the skilfull ſea men for feare of new dangers, and wearie of thoſe that were paſt, thought it beſt to aduenture againe to ſea. Almoſt euery houre they were reaſoning in counſell, What courſe they were for moſt ſafetie beſt to take: when ſome were of opinion, that it was beſt to beare for SARDINIA or CORSICA: and otherſome would haue had them to haue kept alongſt the coaſt of AFFRICA, and ſo directly for SICILIA. But the wind comming faire at Eaſt, the emperour directed his courſe to the iſlands BALEARES, and from thence at length arriued at the port of new CARTHAGE in *The emperour arriueth in Spaine.*
B SPAINE, greatly commended euen of his enemies for his wonderfull courage and conſtancie in paſsing thorow ſo many extremities, in ſuch ſort, as if he had triūphed ouer the malice of fortune.

About this time the diſſembled friendſhip betwixt *Charles* the emperour and *Francis* the **1542**
French king brake out into open hatred. The king firſt thinking himſelfe deluded by the empe- *The French king the more to trouble the emperor, ſollicieth Soliman to inuade his countries.*
rour, who had long time fed him with the vaine hope of the reſtitution of the dukedome of MILLAN, when as he meant nothing leſſe; and of late abuſed by the death of *Rinco* his embaſſadour, ſlaine by the Spaniards in paſsing downe the riuer Padus, as is before declared. In reuenge whereof he raiſed a great power in FRANCE, and at ſuch time as moſt men thought he would haue inuaded ITALIE, ſent *Charles* his ſonne with the one part of his forces into the low countries, which were then gouerned by *Marie* queene of HVNGARIE, the emperours ſiſter; and
C *Henrie* his other ſonne with the other part of his forces to inuade SPAINE, both yong princes of great hope. And not ſo contented, but deſirous by all meanes to trouble and moleſt the emperor, as he did in the low countries by ſetting on the duke of CLEVE: ſo by *Antonius Polinus* his embaſſadour, a man of great diſcretion, he earneſtly ſollicited *Solyman* the great Turke, with whom he was then in league, to ſpoile the borders of SPAINE with his gallies, at the ſame that *Henrie* his ſonne was beſieging PERPENNA in SPAINE. For which practiſe he was of moſt men diſcommended, as too much fauoring his owne greeſe; and eſpecially by ſuch as affected the emperour. But how this matter, which drew vpon the French king no ſmall enuie, was carried in the Turks court, ſhall not (as I hope) be vnto this hiſtorie impertinent to declare.

After the death of *Rinco* ſlain by the Spaniards, *Francis* the French king ſent *Antonius Polinus*,
D a man of great dexteritie, his embaſſadour to *Solyman*: who paſsing by many by-wayes to VENICE, and ſo ouer the gulfe to SIBINICVM, croſsing ouer ILLYRIA, met with *Solyman* in MISIA, as he was comming from BVDA: and there firſt offered vnto him the preſent ſent from the king his maſter (for with emptie hands no man might preſume to come to thoſe barbarous kings *Polinus the French embaſſadour meeteth Solyman cōming from Buda, and offreth vnto him preſents from the French king.*
of the Eaſt) which preſent was a cupbord of plate, curiouſly wrought, in weight 600 pounds; and 300 rich garments of all ſorts of ſilke and ſcarlet to be beſtowed vpon the Baſſaes and other great courtiers. *Solyman* after he had read the French kings letters, and heard what he had further to ſay, ſeemed to be greatly moued with the death of *Rinco*, and promiſed *Polinus* not to be wanting vnto the French king, by ſea or land to giue him aid in his juſt wrares againſt *Charles* his enemie,
E for breaking of the league: but for as much as nothing could be well determined of ſuch matters in his journey of ſo great haſt, he told him, that as ſoon as he was come to CONSTANTINOPLE, he ſhould then haue anſwer by his Baſſaes of all his demaunds. The embaſſador aboue all things *The requeſt of the French embaſſadour to Solyman.*
deſired, That he would ſend *Hariademus Barbaruſſa* with his fleet againſt the next Summer into PROVINCE, there to be receiued into the French harbors, & to be employed againſt the emperor as occaſion ſhould require: and further, That he would requeſt the Venetians, with whom he was able to doe much, to joine in league with the king his maſter againſt *Charles* the emperor, whoſe power began now to be dreadfull to their eſtate. *Polinus* was not ſlacke in his buſineſſe, but all the way as he went ſought to win the fauour of the Baſſaes, ſtill giuing them one preſent or other, & filling their minds with the hope of greater. But when they were come to CONSTANTINOPLE, in the latter end of December, *Solyman* promiſing what he had before ſaid, aduiſed
F *Polinus* to returne into FRANCE with his letters, & to bring him certaine word back againe from the king of the determinat time and full reſolution of taking thoſe wars in hand: & that he would in the meane time ſend *Iunusbeius* his embaſſador to VENICE, who had been there diuers times before, & would prouide to haue ſuch a fleet in readineſſe, as he deſired. *Polinus* exceeding glad of that anſwer, with wonderfull ſpeed returned back again to the king, bringing with him as preſents

Polinus returneth into France.

from *Solyman* two goodly Turkiſh horſes, and a ſword richly ſet with ſtones of great price. The French king hauing by his embaſſadour receiued *Solymans* letters and preſents, and three dayes together diſcourſed with him at large of the manner of his proceeding in the Turkes court, in ſhort time after ſent him backe againe to *Solyman* with full inſtructions both of the time and places, and other circumſtances of the intended warre. *Polinus* comming to VENICE, found not *Iunusbeius* there, as he had well hoped: yet to loſe no time in expecting his comming, he with *Pellicerius* embaſſadour Legier for the French king, and other of the French faction, laboured the Senatours in the behalfe of the king. For it was thought likely ynough, that the Venetians ſtill meaſuring all their counſels by their profit, would eaſily conſent to that league, eſpecially being requeſted thereunto by *Solyman*, and put in hope to haue the port towne MARANVS deliuered vnto them in reward thereof; which otherwiſe the French, in whoſe poſſeſsion it was, threatened to deliuer to the Turkes, and to make them their euill neighbours, rather than to haue it taken from them by the Germanes. Wherefore *Polinus* hauing audience giuen him in the Senat, notably pleaded the French kings cauſe, grieuouſly lamented the death of the embaſſadour ſlaine by the Spaniards, and bitterly enueighed againſt the ambition of the emperour, who as he ſaid aſpired to the whole monarchie of all ITALIE, not by true vertue and valour, but by meere craft and deceit, encroching ſtill vpon the liberties of the free ſtates, and by little and little impoſing vpon them the yoke of bondage: In confirmation whereof, hee produced many examples, to them well knowne, requeſting them, as antient friends and confederats of the French, to joyne their forces with the kings, in which doing, they ſhould aſſure themſelues of ſuch rewards of the vndoubted victorie, as they could not deſire greater. Wheras if they ſhould refuſe ſo to doe, and would rather ſit ſtill and looke on as neuters, they ſhould vndoubtedly, fortune hauing decided the quarrell, grieuouſly offend both, and might worthely expect of the vanquiſhed, hatred; and of the conqueror, injurie: Beſides that, in taking vp of armes they ſhould highly gratifie *Solyman*, who prouoked with late injuries, had determined with a puiſſant armie to inuade HVNGARIE, and at the ſame time to ſend *Barbaruſſa* with a great fleet againſt the Spaniards their common enemies: for the imparting of which his deſignes, he would ſhortly ſend vnto them *Iunusbeius* his embaſſadour: As for the euent of the warre, they needed not to doubt, when as they of themſelues were ſtrong ynough quickly to thruſt the emperour out of the dukedome of MILLAN, being generally hated of the people, feeding his ſouldiors with the ſpoile of the countrey, and on euery ſide beſet both by ſea and land by two of the greateſt monarchs of the world. Whereunto the Senat delaying the time for certaine dayes, that *Iunusbeius* might in the meane time come thither, grauely anſwered, That the amitie they held with king *Francis*, ought to be vnto them an ornament, but no burthen: the like alſo they held with the emperour, whom they would in no caſe ſeeme to caſt off, although they had beene by him ouerraught: Wherefore the Senators and all the citiſens generally were of opinion to preſerue their peace, as they which in the hard times of war had endured great extremities, which would hardly be recouered with long peace: But if they did once ſee the enſignes diſplayed, and the wars begun, they would then take further aduice, Whether it were good for them to thruſt themſelues into thoſe warres or not, when as they were in league and friendſhip with three of the greateſt princes of the world. In the meane time *Iunusbeius* arriued at VENICE, and was there honourably receiued. He requeſted, that the league before made at CONSTANTINOPLE by *Badoerius* their embaſſador, might by the authoritie of the Senat be confirmed: & ſo cõmended the French kings cauſe to the Senat, that he requeſted no more, but that vnto that amitie which they alreadie held with the French, they would joine further courteſies, the rather for that *Solyman* had accounted him for his brother, and had vndertaken to aid him againſt *Charles* king of SPAINE: but as to joine in league with him, or in his quarrell to take vp armes, he requeſted nothing. Which was quite beſide the expectation of *Polinus* and *Pellicerius*, who by vrging of the matter, and by telling of all, had thought eaſily to haue perſuaded the Senat to haue graunted what they requeſted, and therefore thought the Turke who had ſo coldly ſpoken in the cauſe, to be ſome way corrupted. But as it afterward appeared, there was ſuch equitie and modeſtie in *Solymans* letters, who was otherwiſe of a proud and inſolent nature, that he would not as then exact any thing of them, which ſhould not ſtand with the good of their eſtate. Wherfore *Polinus*, hauing in vaine ſtaied certaine daies at VENICE, was in one of their publike gallies tranſported to RAGVSIVM, and from thence trauelled by land to CONSTANTINOPLE, where he found all things more difficult than

Polinus ſent backe againe to Solyman, cõmeth to Venice, and notably ſolliciteth the Venetians to take vp armes with the French king againſt the emperour.

The craftie anſwere of the Venetians to the French kings embaſſadour.

Solymans embaſſadours commeth to Venice.

Polinus comming to Conſtantinople, findeth not the Turke ſo readie to ſend his fleet to aid the French king, as he had hoped.

A than euer he dreamed of. For the great Baſſaes ſaid, There could no fleet be ſet out that yeare, by reaſon that he was come too late to ſue for ſuch a matter, the Spring of the yeare being now paſt, of all other times moſt fit for to take in hand ſo long a voyage. So that *Polinus* was aboue meaſure vexed with care and griefe, that he had ſo euill ſped, and was come ſo out of ſeaſon both to VENICE and CONSTANTINOPLE. *Dixius* alſo, one of the maſters of the Rhodian gallies, was come to CONSTANTINOPLE, to carie newes into FRANCE of the comming of the Turks fleet: who told *Polinus*, That the kings ſonnes were with ſtrong power far entred into the low countries, and had alreadie inuaded SPAINE, expecting nothing more than the comming of the Turks gallies. Wherefore *Polinus* (as it eaſily chanceth to men deceiued by truſt repoſed in any other mens promiſes, and bewailing the euill ſucceſſe of their vaine trauell) wonderfully tor-
B mented himſelfe, curſed the froward and vnconſtant manners of the Baſſaes, called vpon the faith of *Solyman*; and beſought the great Baſſaes one by one, that they would not contrarie to their promiſe, forſake the king, who vpon the hope of the comming of the Turks fleet, had now inuaded both the low countries and the kingdome of SPAINE: for as much as by that delay, which was vnto them neither honourable nor profitable, was (as he ſaid) betraied the majeſtie of his king, and a moſt aſſured victorie now as good as gotten, quite marred. In which his obteſtations, he was ſo importunat and tedious, that he became vnto thoſe proud Baſſaes rather loathſome than gratious; inſomuch that to end his ſute, they thought it beſt ſharply to take him vp, and ſo for that time to ſhake him off. And therefore ſending for him and the other French gentlemen which followed him to the court, the great Baſſaes then ſitting in counſell, and *Bar-*
C *baruſſa* with them for the honour of his place: as ſoone as they were come into the counſell chamber, *Solyman Baſſa* the eunuch, turning himſelfe about, ſpake vnto them in this ſort.

Frenchmen (ſaid he) *this place for diſpatch of moſt waightie affaires, appointed by the graue iudg-*
ment of our moſt mightie emperor to vs his faithfull ſeruants, doth (as it beſt beſeemeth) receiue vs,
daily comming vnto it, void of loue and hatred: and withall doth notably put vs in remembrance, to
ſpeake our minds freely. Neither would I, that this frankneſſe of ſpeech (the meſſenger of truth, and
therefore the faithfull keeper of friendſhip) ſhould be vnto your eares vnpleaſing or troubleſome: for
ſithence your king hath beene called the friend and fellow of the Othoman *name, we may not now ei-*
ther forget the duties of loue, or loath your friendſhip: ſeeing that our emperour doth maruellouſly
D *affect you, and is not a little deſirous to ſtrengthen you with his power, and by ouercomming your ene-*
mies to increaſe your power and honour. But in your demaunds is no equitie, no modeſtie, ſo that wee
tearme you vnmodeſt and importunat: and others which fauour you not ſo well, call you plainly by your
right names, vnreaſonable and ſhameleſſe men; who as too too forgetfull of your dueties, doe moſt
fondly trouble the lawes of amitie and friendſhip. For leagues are confirmed by like profit, by making
euen the charge and mutuall dangers: but if neglecting your friends kindneſſe and courteſie, you will
make no requitall, they will quickly grow wearie of you. So happeneth it vnto you Frenchmen, who
euer forgetfull and negligent in our dangers, but in your owne alwaies mindfull and diligent, haue
ſhewed your ſelues friends vnto vs when need was, not in deeds and certaine aid, but onely in bare let-
lers and embaſſages. Tell me I pray you, where euer you ſhewed any ſigne or token of your good will or
E *aid? whereby the minds of our enemies might at the leaſt wiſe haue but beene kept in ſuſpence of ſome*
doubtfull feare, when as Charles *with all the power of the Weſt came into* HVNGARIE; *and* CO-
RONE *and* PATRAS *were in the meane time ſhaken in* GRÆCE *with the enemies fleet; and laſt of*
all TVNES *taken with ſo great a fleet? But all this we pardon you: yet this it is which is hardly to be*
endured, that you did not ſo much as once grieue at our ſo great iniuries, as you ought to haue done; but
ſent your gratulatorie embaſſadours vnto the bloudie common enemie, who had but euen then ſlaine
ſo many of our people. At length our emperour came to AVLONA *to your great profit, about to paſſe*
ouer into ITALIE: *but neither then in the arriuall of your fleet appeared the good wils of the Apuli-*
ans towards you, which were of you ſo vainly promiſed, neither did you ſo much as once moue to inuade
the vpper part of ITALIE: *ſo neither ſeruing our turne, nor well fitting your owne, you haue alwaies*
F *loſt the occaſion of the good ſucceſſe of your affaires. But neither then, neither at any time afterwards*
needed we your counſell or vnited forces: for the Venetians to their paine felt both our forces and our
faith: as for the reſt, warre, the notable reuenger of our wrongs, moſt happily brought to paſſe, at ſuch
time as you of your owne voluntarie made peace with the common enemie, to inuade vs; and did as vn-
kindly as impudently as it were blow wind in his ſailes. But we, without your helpe, haue notably re-

The ſharpe ora-
tion of Solyman
the eunuch baſſa
to Polinus the
French embaſ-
ſadour.

preſſed

preſſed ſo great aſſaults of our enemies: when as this ſame Hariaden Barbaruſſa *put to flight their fleet at* Amberacia, *and happily ſlew the ſpaniſh pirats of* Castrvm, *and hauing againe recouered our owne cities, tooke alſo from them ſome of theirs: wherefore we are bound vnto you for no deſert, but we had rather forget theſe vnkindneſſes, than to faile you whom we haue once receiued into our friendſhip. For we performe our fidelitie in deeds: but it is his part to regard the time, to way the danger, to wait occaſion; which will not raſhly commit his actions to the hazard of fortune. You are come later than you ſhould haue done for the ſetting forth of our fleet: for Sommer now well ſpent, followeth the peſtilent time of Autumne, ſo that marriners cannot in conuenient time be taken vp, or ſafely thruſt into the gallies: for in long ſailing, who would not thinke, but that ſuch a companie of ſaylers vſually ſicke at the change of an vnacquainted ayre, would be in danger of their liues? who would not feare ſhipwracke in their returne, when as this ſame* Hariaden *ſo great a maſter at ſea, driuen vpon the Acroceraunian rockes in the moneth of Auguſt, loſt ſo many gallies? A fleet would be rigged in Winter, furniſhed and ſet forward in the Spring; in Sommer is ſafe ſailing and making warre. Which that it may be ſo done, we will for the common wealth ſake perſuade the emperour: for the nauie once loſt, cannot vpon the ſudden be againe reſtored for much gold, whereof the* Othoman *emperour wanteth no ſtore, heaped vp by many ages. If thou be wiſe take theſe things in good part as friendly ſpoken: but whether the emperor will pardon thy boldneſſe or not, let himſelfe conſider, truly we haue ſatiſfied both him and our ſelues in ſpeaking to thee ſo plainly.*

Theſe things ſeuerely ſpoken by the eunuch Baſſa, did ſo much the more trouble *Polinus*, for that they ſeemed to haue been ſent from the mouth of *Solyman* himſelfe, who was thought to haue heard all that was ſaid. For behind the Baſſaes as they ſate in counſell, was a window with a braſen grate, and a cutten drawne before it, that the emperour when he pleaſed, might vnperceiued heare the complaints and ſutes of all nations, and note the manners of his great counſellors; whoſe care for the adminiſtration of juſtice was ſo much the greater, for feare of his preſence. Yet did not *Polinus* for this repulſe, deteſting the double dealing of the Baſſaes, ſo giue ouer his ſute; but winning by gifts the fauour of the *Capiaga* or chiefe porter, a man euer of great authoritie in the Turks court, laboured by him to be brought to the ſpeech of *Solyman* himſelfe: who faithfully performed what he had vndertaken. So the French embaſſadour brought by him into the ſecreteſt place of the court, which few Chriſtians had euer been, and ſo vnto the preſence of *Solyman*, recounted vnto him how all matters had before paſſed, and moſt earneſtly beſought him not to faile the kings expectation of the fleet he had before promiſed, who at that preſent was inuading his enemies in three places. Whereunto *Solyman* courteouſly and expreſſely anſwered, That the opportunitie of ſending out of his fleet was paſt; not by his will, which was alwaies immutable and firme, but by his late comming, and the time of the yeare halfe ſpent: but promiſed, the next Spring without doubt to ſend vnto the king his friend and brother, twiſe ſo great a fleet as he had deſired againſt *Charles* their enemie. With which anſwere, the embaſſadour diſpatched away *Dixius* into France, vpon whoſe arriuall, king *Francis* called backe againe *Henrie* his eldeſt ſonne with his armie, from the ſiege of Perpenna in Spaine.

Polinus by the meanes of the Capiaga is brought to the ſpeech of Solyman himſelfe.

Solymans anſwer to Polinus.

The Princes of Germanie ioine their forces with king Ferdinand againſt the Turk in Hungarie.

The princes and States of Germanie, at the requeſt of king *Ferdinand* and the nobilitie of Hvngarie, about this time decreed with one conſent, to take vp armes againſt the Turks, for the recouering againe of Byda, and other the loſt parts of Hvngarie. For beſides the diſhonour done to their nation at Exek vnder the leading of *Cazianer*, and againe at Byda vnder the leading of the Lo. *Rogendorff*; they well ſaw, that if they did not ſpeedily relieue the Hungarians ouerwhelmed with the calamities of the Turks forces, they ſhould in ſhort time be enforced to fight for their religion, children, wiues, and liues againſt the ſame mightie enemie, at their owne doores. For preuenting whereof, the princes and free cities of Germanie ſent out thirtie thouſand footmen, and ſeauen thouſand horſemen: amongſt whom was *Mauritius*, afterwards duke of Saxonie, then a young gentleman about twentie yeares old. But the Generall of theſe German forces, was *Ioachimus* Marqueſſe of Brandenvrg, a man more for the honour of his houſe than the valour of himſelfe preferred to that place: yet ſo, that vnto him was joyned eight others, men of great yeares and experience, by whoſe counſell he was to be directed. When they were come to Vienna, king *Ferdinands* power met them: where, beſide ſuch as were taken vp in Avstria, *Huganot* Gouernour of Stiria came in with ten thouſand horſemen.

A horſemen. Vnto theſe the noble men of HVNGARIE, *Gaſper Seredius*, *Andreas Bathor*, and *Petrus Perenus*, a man of the greateſt authoritie power and experience amongſt the Hungarians, joyned themſelues, with fifteene thouſand horſemen; whither alſo *Paulus* the third of that name then biſhop of ROME, ſent three thouſand choſen footmen out of ITALIE, conducted to VIENNA by *Alexander Vitellius*, a moſt famous captaine. The Marqueſſe with this great army marched from VIENNA alongſt the riuer Danubius, but ſo ſoftly, that the Hungarian and Italian captaines ſaid plainly, That the beſt part of the Sommer, and fitteſt time for wartes, was paſſed ouer in loitering and dallying out the time to no purpoſe: eſpecially *Iacobus Medices*, who had long before perſuaded the king, to be readie to ſet forward his forces with the firſt of the Spring, before the Turks could either augment their garriſons, or put in any new forces; for that
B by ſuch reſolute and ſpeedie inuaſion, it was like enough hee might recouer both PESTH and BVDA. Which politike and wholſome counſell ſo well giuen, king *Ferdinand* too much crediting the great men of his court (liking nothing but what proceeded of themſelues) rejected, expecting the full aſſembly of all his forces, before the ſetting forth of his armie. At length the Marqueſſe was by ſoft marches come to STRIGONIVM (king *Ferdinand* himſelfe ſtaying behind at VIENNA) where it was commonly reported, That *Solyman* fearing to loſe BVDA, was either in perſon himſelfe comming into HVNGARIE, or elſe ſending downe the Generall of his Europeian horſemen, who might neuer ſet foot forward to warre without ſixtie thouſand horſemen. Which newes ſo troubled the Germans, that they made no great haſt forward, doubting how they ſhould returne againe if they chanced not to get the victorie: Beſide that, it was
C thought, that the Marqueſſe neuer purpoſed to fight a battell, or endanger himſelfe or his armie for the kingdome of HVNGARIE, but only to defend the bounds of AVSTRIA, and by ſhewing the ſtrength of GERMANIE, to terrifie (if he could) the Turks, if they not contented with HVNGARIE, ſhould alſo prouoke the Germans. But after it was by certaine eſpials from SAMANDRIA, knowne that all that report of the comming of the Turks great armie was but vaine, and that there was ſcarce a thouſand Ianizaries and twiſe ſo many horſemen come to BVDA, and that the Turks fleet was both for number and ſtrength farre inferiour to the kings, they ſet forward againe with more cheerfulneſſe, much encouraged by the forwardneſſe of the Hungarians, eſpecially of *Perenus*; aſſuring them, that if they would without delay march on, and ſpend no more time in vaine, they ſhould not find at BVDA any ſuch number of Turks as was worth the name
D of an armie: for that *Solyman* vſing but euerie ſecond yeare to make war, did that yeare take his reſt, and was not like to vndertake any great expedition. For theſe reaſons all men being readie cheerfully to ſet forward, the Marqueſſe appointed to paſſe ouer Danubius: which this *Perenus*, *Huganot* and *Medices*, all expert captaines, liked not of; wiſhing him rather to hold on his way directly ſtill on that ſide the riuer to BVDA, the chiefe citie of the kingdome. But it was the mind of the Generall and all his counſellors, firſt to beſiege PESTH, which might be done with leſſe labour and danger, and there hauing made proofe of the enemies ſtrength and purpoſe, to come to the ſiege of BVDA: for then would the ſouldiors with much more courage and cheerfulneſſe endure the ſiege of BVDA, if they had by good fortune firſt beaten them out of PESTH: Which counſell was both beſt liked and followed, and the armie by two bridges with great and painfull
E labour made ouer Danubius (which was in that place deuided into two parts) tranſported. At the ſame time *Medices* an Italian captaine, Admirall of the kings fleet, came downe the riuer, and in deſpight of the Turks tooke the iſland of Saint *Margaret*, lying in the riuer a little aboue BVDA, and by force repulſed the Turkes fleet vnto the ſuburbs of the citie. The Marqueſſe to auoid the danger of the great ſhot from BVDA, after he was paſſed the riuer, fet a great compaſſe about, and ſo came to the North ſide of PESTH: for on the South it was defended with the riuer Danubius, running betwixt it and BVDA; and on the Eaſt and Weſt the great ordinance on the one ſide from the caſtle of BVDA, and on the other from mount S. *Gerrard*, did ſo ſcoure all alongſt the wals, that no man could without moſt manifeſt danger there abide. For BVDA
F ſtanding vpon the hill, and deuided from PESTH onely with the riuer, ſo ouerlooketh and commaundeth all the plaine countrey about PESTH, that without perill no man can ſtir on any ſide of the citie, but Northward towards AGRIA, couered by the citie from the ſhot out of BVDA. As the Marqueſſe was comming thither, he was told by certaine fugitiues, that *Balis* Gouernour of BVDA (who in that place ſucceeded *Solyman* the Hungarian renegate, lately before dead of the plague) had in garriſon in BVDA two thouſand horſemen: and that *Vlames* the Perſian Gouernour

The Marqueſſe of Brandenburg commeth to Peſth, with his armie.

uernour of BOSNA, was come vnto him with three thousand mo: whereunto *Amurathes* had G
also joyned another thousand which he brought out of DALMATIA: and that *Segemenes* was
come thither also with a thousand Ianizaries from CONSTANTINOPLE: as for the rest of the
footmen, that they were but wild countrey people, fitter for labour than for seruice in warres.
They told him also, that the enemies fleet consisted of sixtie small pinnaces, ten gallies, and a few
other great boates: and that *Solyman* had commaunded his captaines in any case to defend BV-
DA and PESTH to the last man, without regard of any other place. And had proposed vnto the
valiant, great rewards; and to the cowardly, extreame punishment: charging them further, that
if need were, they should in time send for *Achomates* the Generall of his Europeian horsemen to
SOPHIA, to aid them. The Turks vpon the approach of the Christians, issued out at one of the
gates of the citie, and skirmished with the Hungarians: but after they had sufficiently proued one H
anothers strength, and some few were on both sides slaine, they retired into the citie, and the
The Turks sally out of Pesth, and put the Christians to the worse. Hungarians to the campe. The next day after, *Vitellius* going out of the campe neere the citie
with fiue companies, to chuse a place for planting the batterie; the Turks at one instant sallying
out at two gates of the citie, gaue him a hoat skirmish, where at the first, the fight was begun
with like courage and force: but the Turkes still sending forth new supplies both of horse and
foot, first the Christian footmen, and after that the horsemen, not able longer to endure the force
of the Ianizaries, were constrained disorderly to retire, hauing lost in that retrait foure of their
captaines and two ensignes: and had not *Vitellius* with one companie of horsemen serred togi-
ther, valiantly repulsed the insolent Ianizaries, the losse had beene much greater. *Vitellius* ex-
ceedingly grieued with this losse, and perceiuing the manner of the enemies fight, encouraged I
his souldiors, purposing if he could to be fully reuenged: and aboue all others, requested *Pere-
nus* to be readie to joine with him as occasion should require. *Vitellius* lay encamped in the kings
orchards, walled about as it were a mile, equally distant both from the great campe and from the
citie; out of these orchards he went with twelue companies vnder their ensignes, commaunding
the rest to stand still within the wals, in readinesse at all assaies: and so fetching a great compasse
The Turks sallying out againe are discomfited by Vitellius and Perenus. about, marched alongst the riuer side towards the citie: Neither did the proud enemie (brag of
the former daies victorie) make any delay, but brauely sallied out at the east side of the citie, and
couragiously charged them. But *Vitellius* warned of his former harme, and seeing his enemies
come on as he desired, couered his shot with his pikes, and standing close, receiued the enemies
charge: his shot still playing vnder the pikes, oftentimes vpon their knees: many of the Turkes K
were there laid on ground, whilest they desperatly fought to haue broken the order of the Chri-
stians. In the meane time, when many of the Turks horsemen and Ianizaries comming out of
the gates, and diuers others beholding the fight were come ouer the riuer from BVDA, to be par-
takers of the victorie, had filled the hithermost banke; *Vitellius* in good time, of purpose by little
and little retired, as if he had been ouercharged: Then began the enemie to giue a great shout,
and more fiercely to assaile the Christians: their horsemen also clapt behind them, to haue there
charged them. Which thing *Perenus* diligently noting, and that the Turks in following of *Vi-
tellius* were drawne a great way from the gates, he suddenly with his light horsemen clapt in be-
twixt the citie and the Turks at their backs, after whom followed also *Mauritius* (afterwards duke
of SAXONIE) with a strong troupe of German horsemen, of purpose to haue shut them in for L
retiring backe againe into the citie. But then the Turks perceiuing the danger, and finding them-
selues shut in, stood as men more than halfe dismaied, bethinking themselues which way to take,
and so began to retire. When *Vitellius* comming on couragiously with his pikemen and his
harquebusiers, deuided into two wings, charged them fiercely; and the Hungarian and German
horsemen breaking in amongst them on the other side, made great slaughter of them, and
strucke such a feare amongst the flying Turkes, that many of them in running to the gate,
thrust one another thorow with their pikes: diuers other were also by the horsemen driuen in-
to the riuer, and there drowned. That day *Segemenes* lost aboue an hundred of his Ianiza-
ries, and foure hundred others. The chiefest commendation for this piece of seruice was gi-
uen to *Vitellius*, who had so well and so quickly reuenged himselfe of the Turkes: and next him M
to *Perenus*, who as a skilfull captaine had so well awaited the time to entrap the enemie: nei-
Mauritius in danger to be slaine. ther is *Mauritius* the young Saxon prince vnworthie his due praise, who valiantly charging
the Turkes, and hauing his horse slaine vnder him, was in danger to haue beene there lost him-
selfe, had not *Nicholas Ribische* one of his followers, couered him with his owne bodie, vntill
such

such time as that hee was reſcued by others, *Ribiſche* himſelfe preſently dying of his wounds. This little victorie ſo encouraged the Germanes, that the Marqueſſe commaunded the great ordinance to be preſently brought forth, and the batterie planted, which was at the firſt placed ſo farre off, that it did little harme, although the wall were both old and thin, not aboue fiue foot thicke: and the ordinance laied either a little too low, or mounted too high, either ſhot ſhort, or quite ouer the citie into BVDA: which fault once perceiued, the batterie was remooued neerer, and a faire breach ſoone made in the wall, with the continuall beating of fortie great pieces of artillerie. *Vitellius* was the firſt that offered to aſſault the breach, ſo that the Germanes would preſently ſecond him, which thing they all by holding vp of their hands promiſed courageouſly, but cowardly about by and by to breake that promiſe: for oftentimes it chanceth, That they which before the danger are readieſt to promiſe their helpe, are in the very danger it ſelfe of all others moſt ſlacke. The Hungarians alſo for their parts promiſed not to be behind. The ſilence of the enemie at the breach and in the citie, was wonderfull, ſo that many thought he had beene fled backe ouer the riuer to BVDA: for *Segemenes* captaine of the Ianizaries, an old beaten ſouldior, ordered all things with as little ſtir as was poſsible: He had receiued new ſupplies from *Vlamas*, and had caſt a deepe countermure within the wall againſt the breach, and on the inner ſide of the ſame had made a ſtrong barricado, with gabions and wine veſſels filled with ſand and earth: behind which ſtood the Ianizaries, & next vnto them the Turkiſh archers, and laſt of all the horſemen who had left their horſes to ſerue on foot. The ſignall for the aſſault once giuen, foure Italian captaines ran deſperatly with their companies by the ruines of the wall to the breach: but whileſt they there ſet vp their enſignes, and wondering at the enemies fortification, were readie betwixt hope and feare to leape downe, they were ſuddenly ouerwhelmed with a ſhoure of arrowes and bullets. Yet *Vitellius* ſtill encouraging them, brought them ſtill on, who did what they might to haue entred: but the Germane footmen with their Generall ſtood ſtill vnder the wals, looking on, as men nothing moued either with the hope of victorie or danger of their friends: and the Hungarians not ſo much as once looking vpon the enemie, retired: two of the Italian captaines, *Rufus* and *Fiolla* were there ſlaine, and *Carolus*, *Vitellius* his nephew, ſhot in the ſhoulder. The Turks with ſhot and ſtones ſtill repulſed and beat downe the Italians, whereof the Germanes alſo ſtanding ſtill, felt part, and were more gauled than a man would haue thought men could haue beene, that did nothing: for there they ſtill ſtood for ſhame, leaſt if they ſhould haue alſo firſt retired, they ſhould haue incurred a ſecond infamie as bad as the firſt. Which thing *Vitellius* perceiuing, would in no caſe depart from the breach, but wiſhed rather to loſe his men by whole companies, than to leaue the leaſt colour of excuſe to the Germanes, or that they ſhould ſay they ſtayed longeſt, of whom he with greater anger than greefe complained, that he was forſaken and cowardly betrayed. In time of this aſſault one of the Turks was heard to ſpeake aloud in the Italian tongue, *Why doe not you valiant Italians ſpare your ſelues, and giue place to thoſe laſie Germanes. We all wiſh to ſpare you, and to beat the drunkenneſſe out of their moſt cowardly heads, that they ſhould no more hereafter prouoke vs.* At length the Germanes wearie of their hot ſtanding and nought doing, got them farther off, after whom the Italians forthwith retired: but ſo diſorderly, to be quickly out of the danger of the enemies ſhot, that if the Turks had at the ſame time ſallied out at all the gates, it was thought that the whole campe had beene greatly endangered. In this attempt rather than aſſault, ſeuen hundred Chriſtians were ſlaine outright, and many moe hurt, who died afterwards of their wounds.

A breach made in the wals of Peſth.

The breach aſſaulted by the Italians.

The Germanes ſtand ſtill as lookers on, whilſt the Italians giue the aſſault.

The contumelious ſpeech of a Turke againſt the Germanes.

The Germanes and the Italians retire with loſſe.

All this while the Marqueſſe and *Hugonot* the great commaunders of the armie, kept themſelues ſo farre from gunſhot, that they were no where to be ſeene, vntill that *Torniellus* and *Fotiſcu*, two valiant captaines, finding them out, wiſhed them for ſhame to ſhew themſelues for the comforting of the armie. A little before night they conſulted with the other captaines, Whether they ſhould forſake the ſiege, or continue it ſtill: whereof moſt of the Germanes beſt liked to be gone, as the ſafeſt way: though *Vitellius* & ſome others ſpake earneſtly to the contrarie. At which time a ſpie comming in, brought newes that *Achomates*, *Solymans* lieutenant of the Europeian horſemen, had paſſed ouer the riuer Sauus at BELGRADE, and was comming to Dranus: whoſe comming either cunningly fained, or vainly beleeued, cauſed the Germanes to make a ſhort concluſion, and to reſolue flatly to returne to VIENNA, fearing that if they ſhould longer continue the ſiege, they ſhould be ſtayed againſt their wils by *Achomates*. Which thing made many of the old Germane ſouldiors to hang their heads for ſhame, and the Hungarians to curſe both the Ger-

Germanes and the hard fortune of their nation, vainely wiſhing for a Generall in courage anſwerable to the ſtrength of that great armie. *Segemenes* perceiuing how much the Chriſtian armie was diſcouraged by the laſt dayes euill ſucceſſe, early in the morning courageouſly ſent out all the horſemen, and after them certaine companies of footmen, to relieue them in their retire; who in many places skirmiſhed with the Hungarians, being nothing inferiour vnto them either in courage or skill: and the matter was brought to that paſſe, as if it had beene ſo agreed vpon, that many of the moſt notable and expert ſouldiours on either ſide encountered together hand to hand in the ſight of the Italians and Germanes, the Hungarians mixt with the Turks, and the Turkes with the Hungarians, with ſuch fidelitie, that they regarded no other enemie but him whom euery one had ſingled out for himſelfe, as if it had beene in a triumph for exerciſe hand to hand. It happened, that a notable captaine of the Turks, deſired to ſee *Vitellius*, who being ſhewed vnto him (for he was eaſie to be knowne by his armour) the Turke ran vnto him to embrace him for his honour, and ſo departed. About fiue hundred horſemen ſo encountered one another hand to hand that day, of whom many were ſlaine or hurt. The night following the batterie was remoued, and the armie matched towards the riuer to the fleet. The Turks perceiuing the Chriſtians to be departed, ſallied out of the citie on all hands, and with a great crie vpbraiding them of cowardiſe, hardly purſued the rereward of the armie. *Vlamas* was come ouer himſelfe from Bvda, and ſo eagerly followed the armie, that it could hardly haue eſcaped without great danger, had not *Vitellius* with his Italians made a ſtand, and requeſted the Hungarian & German horſemen to turne backe vpon the enemie: which they at his requeſt did, and not onely repulſed the enemie, but alſo put him to flight, and in the chaſe ſlew many. After which time the armie paſſed on quietly; yet ſeuen hundred Germanes which were ſicke and ſtragled behind the armie, were by the Turks horſemen miſerably ſlaine in the ſight of their fellowes. The Germans thrice foiled by the Turks, firſt at Exek, then at Bvda, and now at Pesth, returned full of heauineſſe and greefe, as they which were now to forget the ſubduing of Hvngarie, and to become carefull of Germanie it ſelfe. The armie comming to Vienna, was there broken vp, and the Italians ſent home into their countrey, who for moſt part died by the way, of infection taken in the campe in ſtrange aire, and a moſt queaſie time of the yeare.

A notable skirmiſh betwixt the Turkes and the Hungarians.

The Chriſtians remooning from Peſth, are aſſailed by the Turks.

The Chriſtian armie broken vp at Vienna.

But to couer the ſhame of this vnfortunat expedition, and to turne mens talke another way by ſome notable accident: *Petrus Perenus* the noble Hungarian was the man pickt out for the purpoſe to fill mens mouthes. He, belayed with the enuie of the court, was for ſuſpition of aſpiring to the kingdome of Hvngarie, by the commaundement of king *Ferdinand* apprehended by *Liſcanus*, a Spaniſh captaine, in the caſtle of Strigonivm as a traitor, and preſently deliuered to *Medices* the Admirall, to be conueyed vp the riuer to Vienna. *Liſcanus* at the time of his apprehenſion moſt couetouſly and vncourteouſly tooke from him his chaine, and a rich cloke lined with ſables: which indignitie done to ſo noble a gentleman, ſo much offended the minds of the reſt of the Hungarians, that aboue twelue thouſand of them thereupon preſently returned home to their owne dwellings, curſing the Germanes to the diuell. This *Perenus* was one of the greateſt peeres of Hvngarie, but of a moſt haughtie and magnificent mind, ſo that hee would ſometime haue almoſt an hundred goodly ſpare horſes fit for ſeruice led before him without their riders; & would ſometime ſpeake too liberally againſt the bateneſſe of king *Ferdinands* court, who polled by his courtiers, hardly maintained his ſtate: which his ſurpaſsing magnificence and princely port was cauſe ynough for the other great courtiers to enuie at his eſtate, and to ſeeke his ouerthrow; who as men ouercharged with the burthen of another mans vertue, whereof they neuer bore the leaſt part, and alwayes gaining by the deprauing of other mens perfection, conſpired together his ouerthrow, and oftentimes pointing at him with their fingers, would ſay, That he ſauoured of a crowne. This notable man, as he had many worthie vertues, ſo was he not without cauſe noted of ambition and vnconſtancie: For after that king *Lewes* was loſt, he diſdaining the preferment of *Iohn* the Vayuod to the kingdome of Hvngarie, tooke part with king *Ferdinand* againſt him, in hope as it was thought to be next in honour vnto himſelfe: but after he ſaw king *Iohn* againe reſtored, and his ſtate ſtrongly ſupported by *Solyman*, and that all things ſtood doubtfull and tickle with *Ferdinand*, he with like leuitie ſought meanes by *Abraham* the great Baſſa to be reconciled to king *Iohn*; which was hardly obtained of him by the interceſsion of *Solyman* himſelfe (as is before declared) to whom he gaue his ſonne as pledge of his fidelitie. After which time he liued in great honour and loyaltie all the raigne of king *Iohn*: but

Perenus the noble Hungarian apprehended vpon ſuſpition of treaſon.

The vncourteſie of Liſcanus the Spaniard in the apprehenſion of Perenus.

A but after he was dead, and ſaw *George* the biſhop the kings tutor, doing what he liſt to raigne like a king, he diſdained his gouernment, and ſollicited by king *Ferdinand*, reuolted again vnto him, and furthered him in what he could for the obtaining of the kingdome. But now falling into the enuie of the court, mallice found out matter ynough to worke his confuſion. Firſt it was giuen out, That his ſonne, who had many yeares beene detained in *Solymans* court, as pledge of his fathers faith, was euen then vnder the colour of a faigned eſcape come into TRANSILVANIA; when as he had ſecretly agreed with *Solyman*, that his father being a man much fauoured of the people, ſhould by promiſing them all poſsible freedome, allure them to the Turkiſh ſubjection: in reward of which good ſeruice he ſhould be made gouernor of the kingdome of HVNGARIE, and put in hope alſo to be made the tributarie king thereof, if it ſhould fortune the yong king to B die: Beſides that, it was accounted a thing very ſuſpitious, that hee had the Winter before vſed great kindneſſe and friendſhip toward the Turkiſh captaines, by ſending them great preſents, and receiuing the like againe: And laſt of all, his letters directed to certaine Hungarian captaines were produced, wherein he ſeemed to promiſe them, as his friends and followers, greater entertainment than agreed with his preſent eſtate: All which things king *Ferdinand* (of his owne diſpoſition, not eaſily to be perſuaded to conceiue euill of the Germanes his countreymen, were it neuer ſo apparant or true, but of ſtrangers any thing) quickly beleeued, and therefore cauſed him (as is beforeſaid) to be apprehended. But *Perenus* as he was brought by *Medices* the Admirall to VIENNA, when he was come neere vnto the gate of the citie, and heard that *Phillippus Tornitellus*, with certaine other braue captaines of his acquaintance, were come to meet the Admirall; C he requeſted that the cloſe coach wherein he rid might be opened, and that he might haue leaue to ſpeake to thoſe noble and valiant gentlemen. Which thing was eaſily graunted, for that the nobilitie and approoued valour of the man ſeemed vnto them which had the charge of him, vnworthie of ſuch reſtraint of libertie or impriſonment, yea or of the leaſt ſuſpition thereof. So he turning himſelfe towards them, ſpake vnto them in this ſort.

Matters ſurmiſed againſt Perenus.

Wretched I, noble gentlemen (ſaid he) *whom deſpightfull enuie hath circumuented guiltleſſe: but much more miſerable king* Ferdinand, *whom domeſticall theeues bereaues of ſubſtance, friends, and honour all at once. For ſo it commeth to paſſe, that by this inconſiderat wrong done vnto me, he ſhall vtterly loſe the loue and fidelitie of the Hungarian nation, and may therefore for euer not without* D *cauſe deſpaire for the obtaining of the kingdome of* HVNGARIE, *ſithence that it is not lawfull for me (inferiour to none of my nation in birth, and hauing for my good and faithfull ſeruice well deſerued reward of a iuſt king) ſo much as to reioice for the deliuerance of my ſonne from the captiuitie of the Turks, but that by my ſiniſter fortune, dreadfull death in ſtead of incomparable ioy muſt be preſented to mine eyes. For will theſe malicious pick-thanks, guiltie of their owne cowardiſe, the wicked contriuers and witneſſes of my wrongfull accuſation, ſpare me, being laid faſt and in durance, which neuer ſpared the kings honour? For euerie man of what nobilitie ſoeuer, be he neuer ſo guiltleſſe, when he is once in hold, muſt be content to endure, not what he hath deſerued, but what his hard fortune aſsigneth. Yet my vpright mind and cleare conſcience, which onely thing God the moſt iuſt iudge leaueth as a comfort to men in miſerie wrongfully accuſed, deliuereth me of this care: and ſo will the* E *Marqueſſe our Generall, to whom I before vpon a miſtruſt foretold, that ſuch a danger would ſhortly befall me, and that I had rather be ſlaine guiltleſſe, than to withdraw my ſelfe from triall: which thing I told him at ſuch time as I was ſo guarded with mine owne ſtrength, that I feared no mans force. I beſeech you, doe me this honourable fauor, as to requeſt king* Ferdinand *in my behalfe quickly and honourably to proceed to the triall of my cauſe, and according to his owne princely diſpoſition, and not the will of others, to diſcerne betwixt his faithfull friends and faigned flatterers. Truly wee are too too vnfortunat captaines, if for a little euill ſucceſſe we ſhall be ſo adiudged as men that had ouerthrowne their fortune.* Cazzianer *peraduenture receiued the iuſt puniſhment hee had deſerued for the ſhamefull forſaking and loſing of the armie at* EXEK, *when as he poſſeſſed with an vncouth feare forgot the dutie of a Generall, more afraid of death than diſhonour: for when he had voluntarily committed himſelfe to ſafe cuſtodie, be was ſo generally condemned of cowardiſe, that deſpairing* F *to defend his cauſe, he brake priſon, and as wickedly as vnfortunatly reuolted to the Turkes: But neither was I of late the Generall, neither were we vanquiſhed, although we preuailed not, but honourably retiring, valiantly repreſed the inſolencie of the purſuing enemie. As for the kingdome of* HVNGARIE, *I might then well haue affected the ſame, and eaſily haue deſerued it at* Solymans *hands,*

The lamentable ſpeech of Perenus to Tornellus and the other captaines, concerning his apprehenſion.

Perenus his requeſt of the Admirall and the reſt of the captaines.

when as king Ferdinand, *after the death of king* Iohn, *was making his preparation for that warre: at which time my friends and followers at my deuotion, with the loue of the Hungarians towards me, seeming of no small importance for the obtaining of the victorie, might haue ministred no vnreasonable or vnseasonable hope to haue drawne a man into courses not altogither beseeming a Christian. Wherefore I haue, and will so long as I liue, fight against the Turkes, if king* Ferdinand *shall shew himselfe an indifferent iudge in this accusation, falsely surmised against me by the malice of mine enemies.* G

When he had made an end of speaking, the Admirall courteously perswaded him to haue good hope in the clemencie of the most just king; and shortly after performed his request: for he and *Torniellus* taking the king as he was hunting, entreated him to deale fauourably with *Perenus*. H For all that, *Perenus* could not obtaine that his cause might be openly heard; but was committed to safe keeping, there to remaine in perpetuall prison: but whether it was for the misprision of new treason, or for reuenge of his old inconstancie, is vncertaine. Thus, three the only great princes left of the Hungarian bloud, equally worthie of the kingdome, *Valentine*, *Maylat*, and *Perenus*, snarled almost in like snares of enuie, cut off all hope of raising a king to their seditious and therefore miserable countreymen: when as *Perenus* lay too late bewailing his vnconstancie in perpetuall prison; and the other two fast in chaines neere vnto the Euxine sea, expected death the end of their miseries. This end had the wars, taken in hand against the Turks by the generall consent of the Germans in the yeare 1542; which many thought, might worthily be compared with the greatest losses of those times: When as king *Ferdinand*, hauing in vaine I spent a great masse of treasure, the fittest stay for the imminent warre; and lost the opinion before conceiued of the strength of GERMANIE; had now as a weake prince, and subiect to injurie, prouoked against him the Turkes, bold enough otherwise, but as then insolent for their late victories.

Perenus, Valentinus, and Maylat, three of the greatest nobilitie in Hungarie kept in perpetuall prison.

1543 *Polinus* the French kings embassadour still following the Turkes court, ceased not by all meanes to solicite *Solyman*, with his gallies to aid the king his master in the inuasion of the dominions of *Charles* the emperour, in ITALIE, SICILIE, and SPAINE. In which suite, he was so crossed by *Solyman* the eunuch Bassa, then Vesier, that he was almost in despaire of speed: for the malitious eunuch, being himselfe a great sea man, and enuying the honor of *Barbarussa* (who was to be imploied in that seruice) sought by keeping him out of all honourable actions, to diminish his former glorie; and concerning the present, protested openly as he sat in counsell, that he saw no other cause why the Turkish emperour should to his great charge and the common danger, send out such a fleet, but to serue *Barbarussa* his own turne. But *Solyman* hauing diligently heard, and deeply considered of that the Bassaes had said; rejected their opinions, who would not he should haue giuen the French king aid: and honorably decreed, according to his promise, whatsoeuer should ensue thereof, to send his fleet vnto the king by *Barbarussa*. Two daies after, the French embassadour before in dispaire, but now reuiued with that decree, was solemnly feasted by *Rustan Bassa*, *Solymans* sonne in law, and by *Solyman* the eunuch Bassa: for so it was their Great masters pleasure, both of them joying of him for the friendship confirmed betwixt the two princes by sending this fleet. After which, diuers gifts were bestowed vpon the embassadour L and his chiefe followers; and at such time as he was to take his leaue, *Solyman* gaue him great charge of his nauie, that it might be safely kept, and so after the seruice done, againe returned: and withall, deliuered him letters vnto king *Francis*, wherin after the glorious rehearsall of his proud titles, he writ vnto him as followeth: K

Solyman granteth to send his fleet by Barbarussa to aid the French king against the emperour.

Solymans letters to the French king.

We haue vpon a brotherly bountie, granted vnto Polinus *your embassadour, such and so great a fleet as you haue desired, thorowly furnished for all assaies: whose direction we haue commaunded* Hariaden *our Admirall to follow, and by your appointment to proceed against the enemie. But you shall doe well and friendly, the wars once happily ended, to send backe againe my fleet to* CONSTANTINOPLE. *All things shall vndoubtedly fall out according to your owne desire and mine, if you shall* M *carefully take heed, that* Charles *the Spanish king, your perpetuall enemie, doe not againe deceiue you with the motion of a deceitfull peace. For then shall you bring him to a most indifferent peace, when you haue before brought vpon his countries all the calamities of warre.*

Polinus

A *Polinus* taking his leaue of *Solyman* then lying at HADRIANOPLE, returned to CONSTANTINOPLE, where he found *Barbaruſſa* with an hundred and ten gallies, and fortie galliots readie to put to ſea, which he had with incredible celeritie rigged vp and furniſhed. And ſo ſetting forward the eight and twentith of Aprill, in the yeare 1543, and paſsing the ſtraits of HELESPONTVS, he arriued firſt at CARISTIVS in EVBŒA; and from thence to MALEA, where he was by contrarie winds caſt into the bay of LACEDEMON, and there ſtaied nine daies before he could double the cape of METAPANIVM, called in auntient time TENARVS: After that he came to METHON, and from thence croſsing the Ionian, came to the ſtrait of MESSANA; where the Turkiſh pirats being come with their galliots within the ſight of RHEGIVM, began to land their men. They of RHEGIVM ſeeing ſo great a fleet, and the Turkes alreadie landing, fled out
B of the citie for feare: but the caſtle was ſtill kept by *Didacus Gaietanus* a Spaniard, who refuſed to haue any parley with *Polinus* the French embaſſadour, and with ſhot out of the caſtle ſlew certaine of the Turks: wherewith the reſt being enraged, brake into the citie, and finding it deſolat, ſet it on fire; ſore againſt the will of *Polinus* and *Barbaruſſa*, who ſought to haue found out the authors thereof, and to haue puniſhed them accordingly.

After that, certaine pieces of great ordinance were landed and planted againſt the caſtle, which with a few ſhot ſo terrified the captaine, alreadie troubled with the crying out of his wife, that he without any more adoe yeelded himſelfe and the caſtle with all therein, into the hands of the enemie: vnto whom with his wife and children, *Barbaruſſa* at the requeſt of the French embaſſadour, granted both life and libertie: the reſt he ſhut vp in a church, and gaue the ſpoile of the
C caſtle to his ſouldiors. There was in the garriſon of the caſtle about ſeauentie Spaniards, but many mo citiſens, which were all carried away priſoners. One of the captaines daughters, a young gentlewoman of exceeding beautie, had with her good grace ſo warmed the withered affection of the old pirat *Barbaruſſa*, that he now fitter for the graue than for marriage, became amorous of her perſon: ſo that taking her from her father, and entring her into the Mahometane ſuperſtition, he made of her as of his wife: Inſomuch, that certaine moneths after, he welcomed and bountifully entertained the captaine as his father in law, comming to ſee his daughter at the port called PORTVS HERCVLIS in TVSCANIE, where the Turks fleet then lay. *Barbaruſſa* ſayling alongſt the coaſt of ITALIE, came to OSTIA, in the mouth of the riuer Tibur, and brought ſuch a feare vpon the citie of ROME, that the citiſens were readie generally to haue forſaken the
D citie; had not *Polinus* by his letters to *Rodolphus* the cardinall, then the great biſhop *Paulus* his legat in the citie, in part ſtaied the ſudden tumult. The biſhop himſelfe was then at BVXETVM, a towne betwixt CREMONA and PLACENTIA, trauelling (in ſhew) with the emperour, to haue made a peace betwixt him and the French king: but labouring in ſecret to haue bought of him the dukedome of MILLAN, for *Octauius* his kinſman, the emperours ſonne in law. *Polinus* his letters written to the cardinall at ROME, and ſent by the Gouernour of TARRACINA, were to this effect.

Barbaruſſa entiſed of the captaine of Rhegium his daughter.

The fleet which is by Solyman *ſent for the defence of* FRANCE *by* Barbaruſſa *his Admirall, is by his appointment at my commaund: ſo that it is not to hurt any but our enemies. Wherefore make*
E *it knowne to the Romans, and others dwelling alongſt the coaſt of the Popes territorie, that they feare of vs no hoſtilitie. For the Turkes will neuer violat the faith of their emperour ſolemnly giuen vnto me: and you know moſt aſſuredly, that the French king deſireth nothing more, than that the eſtate of* ROME *might not only be kept in ſafetie, but alſo flouriſh moſt glorioufly, and be therefore preſerued from all iniurie. Fare you well.*

The French embaſſadours letters to comfort Rodolph the cardinall, the Popes legat in Rome.

In like manner he alſo comforted vp them of NEPTVNIANVM and OSTIA, ſo that they brought vnto the Turks all manner of victuall; and ſometimes for foure ſheepe or a couple of oxen, redeemed a good priſoner taken in ſome place of the kingdome of NAPLES. Yet for all this, the Romans did not ſo much credit the embaſſadours promiſe in the behalfe of the Turkes
F good dealing, but that many of the weaker ſort fled out of the citie into the countrey by night, although the chiefe magiſtrates did what they might to haue ſtaied them. When *Barbaruſſa* had thus lien three daies in the mouth of the riuer of Tiber, and there watered, he paſſed alongſt the coaſt of ETRVRIA and LIGVRIA, without doing any harme; and ſo ſailed directly to MARSEILLES. Where leauing him with his fleet for a while, expecting the French kings

farther pleasure; we will againe returne vnto *Solyman*, who at the same time that *Barbarussa* was spoiling the frontiers of the emperours dominions in ITALIE, came with a great armie into HVNGARIE, for the more assured possession of that kingdome, whereafter he saw king *Ferdinand* so much longed. And because he would make all sure before him, he sent *Amurathes* Gouernour of DALMATIA, and *Vlamas* the Persian gouernour of BOSNA, to besiege WALPO; a strong town scituat vpon the riuer Dranus, not far from EXEK, famous for the ouerthrow of the Christian armie vnder *Cazzianer*: after whom followed also *Achomates* the great commaunder of his Europeian horsemen. This towne (part of *Perenus* his possessions) was against all these forces kept and worthily defended by *Perenus* his wife (her husband then lying in prison at VIENNA) and her friends, by the space of three months: but was at last by the trecherous souldiors deliuered to the enemie, togither with their Generall; whom when they could by no means persuade to consent to the yeelding vp thereof, but that he would needs hold it out to the last, they tooke him perforce, and so deliuered him with the towne to the Turkes: who receiued him with all courtesie, and vsed him honourably: but those traiterous souldiors, whether it were in detestation of their treacherie, or for the spoile of them, were all put to the sword; the just reward of their treason. The rest of the citisens were by the Turks taken to mercie, and well vsed. The bishop and chiefe men of QVINQVE ECLESIE, a famous citie not far off on the other side of Dranus, hearing of the losse of WALPO, and terrified with the greatnesse of the Turkes armie, fled for feare, leauing none but the meaner sort of the people in the citie, who willingly yeelded the same vnto the Turks. The next towne of any strength was SOCTOSIA, belonging also to *Perenus*, which for a while held out against the Turks, for that diuers gentlemen of the countrey which were fled into the citie, encouraged the citisens to stand vpon their defence. But after much harme done on both sides, when they were no longer able to hold out, they retired into the castle in hope to haue so saued their liues and libertie by yeelding: but *Amurathes* was so offended with them, that he would come to no reasonable composition, or promise them any thing more than that they should at their pleasure come forth: and so as they came out at the gate, slew them euerie mothers sonne, thereby to terrifie others from making like resistance.

Solyman commeth with a great armie into Hungarie.

The castle of Walpo treacherously yeelded, & the traitors iustly rewarded.

Solyman vnderstanding all these things, gaue those townes which were taken, to *Amurathes* the Generall: and hauing put all things in readinesse, departed from BVDA with all his armie to besiege STRIGONIVM; which was then kept by *Liscanus* and *Salamanca*, two proud couetous Spaniards, with a garrison of thirteene hundred souldiors, whereof some few were Spaniards and Italians, and the rest Germans. *Paulus* bishop of STRIGONIVM, got himselfe out of the citie betimes, despairing of all mercie if he should haue fallen into the power of *Solyman*, by whose intermission he had been once before reconciled to king *Iohn*, and had againe reuolted from him to king *Ferdinand*. The castle of STRIGONIVM was scituat vpon a high hill, ouerlooking Danubius running vnderneath it, the wals were built euen without any flankers, after the old manner of building before the inuention of guns: For which cause, *Vitellius* and *Termellus*, two expert captaines (the yeare before sent from the king to view the place, and the manner of the fortification) were of opinion, that the citie could hardly be defended, if it were besieged by any strong enemie: being subject also vnto a hill not far from the gates of the citie. Against which inconueniences, the old garrison souldiors which wintered in STRIGONIVM, cast vp new bulwarks and fortifications, and after the manner of windie headed men, making great boast before the danger, what they would do, seemed to wish for the comming of *Solyman*. But after that the barbarous enemie had with his tents couered the fields and mountains round about the citie, and withall brought a gallant fleet vp the riuer, all those brags were laid in the dust, & euery man began to grow doubtfull of his owne safetie: for that they being but few (although men of good worth) were to withstand the infinit number of such enemies, as oftentimes vsed most desperatly to expose their liues to all maner of dangers. This their feare was also increased by the comming of certaine messengers from *Solyman*, who vnderstanding of what nations the garrison consisted, sent vnto the citie three of his owne guard, one a Spaniard, another an Italian, and the third a German, all renegate Christians; that euerie one of them might without an interpretor, speake vnto their countreymen in their owne language: These men admitted into the citie, offered great rewards and large entertainment in the name of *Solyman*, to such as would in time yeeld; denouncing all torture and extremities vnto them which should endure the summons of the cannon. Whereunto it was answered by the captaines, That those faithfull and valiant souldi-

Solyman commeth with his army to Strigonium.

ors,

A ors, who had repoſed their laſt hope in their armes, were neither to be woon by gifts, nor terrified with threats. With which anſwere the meſſenger returned, and the ſame day the Turkes great ordinance was planted vpon the hill before the gate of the citie, and the weakeſt parts of the wals round about the citie, ſo well pickt out by the Turks to be aſſaulted; as that they could not more skilfully or commodiouſly haue been choſen out of them which had within moſt diligently viewed euerie thing: ſo that it is to be thought, that the Chriſtians wanted not onely fortune againſt the Turks, but alſo faith amongſt themſelues. *Salamanca* diſtruſting the fortifications of the ſuburbs, retired into the citie, contrarie to that he had before vainly boaſted. *Achomates* Generall of the Europeian horſemen, laid ſiege to that part of the wall which was next to the biſhops gardens: *Vlamas* the Perſian beſieged the towre neere vnto the gate towards B v-
B DA: The Aſapi or common ſouldiors were by their captaines brought on to dig trenches and caſt vp mounts, as was thought moſt conuenient. It is incredible to be ſpoken with what furie the great ordinance was diſcharged, without ceaſing; inſomuch that the towre with a great part of the wall neere vnto it, ſhaken with continuall batterie, fell downe with ſuch violence, as if all had been ſhaken with a moſt terrible earthquake: neither was any man able to ſtand vpon the wals, but that the Ianizaries with their harquebuſiers out of their trenches and from their mounts, would moſt certainly fetch him off: and many which ſtood within farther off, were with the Turkes arrowes falling from high, as if it had beene out of the ayre, grieuouſly wounded. But that which moſt troubled the defendants, and did them greateſt harme, was the ſtones, which beaten in ſunder with the great ſhot, and not to be auoided, did with their pieces kill or
C maime the ſouldiors neere hand: With which dangers they were enforced to forſake the vttermoſt wall, and to caſt vp new fortifications within, that they might with leſſe danger defend the place. Neither in the enemy wanted courage to aſſaile the breach: thrice they deſperatly attempted to haue entered, and were alwaies with loſſe repulſed. In which aſſaults amongſt others, *Bultaces* Sanzacke of SELYMBRIA, a man of great account among the Turkes, was loſt. Whileſt the defendants were thus buſied, many of the ſouldiors and marriners which came vp the riuer, with all things neceſſarie for the armie from BVDA, went on ſhoare and lay in the ſuburbs of the citie, in ſuch ſecuritie, as if there had been no enemie nigh: which thing they in the citie perceiuing, ſuddenly ſallied out vpon them fearing no ſuch matter, and ſlew many of them before they could arme themſelues, and draue the reſt to their fleet: ſo that betwixt fighting and flying
D there was about two hundred of them ſlaine. *Zymar* a Perſian, Admirall of the fleet, in reſcuing of them which to ſaue their liues fled vnto the riuer, was ſhot thorow with a ſmall ſhot, and ſlaine. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, and the Turkes hauing in many places ſore ſhaken the wall, did with greater force daily aſſaile the citie, and the defendants with their continuall loſſes and out of hope of all reliefe were more and more diſcouraged: an old Calabrian enginer, which had long time ſerued king *Ferdinand*, fled out of the citie to the Turkes, who being courteouſly entertained by *Solyman*, and examined by the Baſſaes of many things concerning the ſtrength and ſtate of the citie, ſatisfied them in all that they deſired; and farther, directed them in planting their batteries in places moſt conuenient for the ſpeedie taking of the towne. In the meane time, whileſt the Turkes were with reſtleſſe labour battering the wals, and working in
E their mines, it fortuned that a gilt braſen croſſe which ſtood vpon the top of the ſteeple of the Cathedrall church, was by the continuall ſhooting of the Turkes thereat, at length beaten downe: at the ſight whereof, it is reported that *Solyman* after the ſuperſtitious manner of that nation, taking the chance as a token of his good lucke, cried out preſently, STRIGONIVM is woon.

The ſtout anſwer of the captaines.

The terrible batterie of the Turks at Strigonium.

The Turks repulſed thrice at the aſſaults of the breach.

A fugitiue Chriſtian diſcouereth the ſtrength and ſtate of the citie to the Turks.

Liſcanus and *Salamanca* fearefully conſulting of the euent of the ſiege, and ſecretly conferring together, reſolued to ſaue themſelues, and to giue vp the towne. *Liſcanus* was no great ſouldior, and yet by continuall ſpoile growne exceeding rich, and therefore thought it but follie to buy the name of a reſolute captaine at too deare a price, with the loſſe of his life and wealth. The like
F feeling was alſo in *Salamanca*, who preferred the ſafetie of himſelfe and of that which he had got in long ſeruice, before all credit and honour, were it neuer ſo great. This their purpoſe was not kept ſo ſecret, but that it was noiſed abroad amongſt the common ſouldiours, of whom almoſt the third part was now either ſlaine, or with wounds or ſickneſſe growne weake: yet were they all of opinion generally, That they were ſtill ſtrong ynough to defend the towne. But the vnder captaines and auntients vſing to flatter their Generals, liked well of the motion, to yeeld vnto

Solyman vpon reasonable conditions, rather than to expose themselues to most certaine death, G
which should nothing better king *Ferdinands* cause. Not long after, an Auntient was by night
let downe ouer the wall: and hauing by an interpreter receiued the Turks faith, called forth *Sa-*
lamanca, that he might vpon better conditions goe thorow with them for the yeelding vp of the
towne. Who without further delay comming out, went to *Achomates*; commaunding before
he went them which defended the water tower next vnto the riuer side, a place of great danger,
for safegard of their liues to get themselues into the citie: who terrified with that newes, and ha-
stily retiring, were by the vigilant Turks which lay at the siege thereof, perceiued, who suddenly
breaking in, slew such as were not yet gone, & possessed the castle. But *Salamanca* being brought
before the great Bassaes, when he had stood vpon many nice tearmes, and required many things
to haue beene graunted him, obtained no more, but that they should without delay yeeld vp the H
citie, and put themselues wholly to the mercie of *Solyman*. So the Spaniard being there stayed,
himselfe writ to *Liscanus*, how he had sped; willing him forthwith, if he loued his owne saletie,
to yeeld the citie, without standing vpon further tearmes. *Liscanus* vpon receit of these letters
comming forth to the souldiors, declared vnto them the necessitie of yeelding vp of the towne,
and what hope there was to escape with life and libertie. But whilest the souldiors filled with in-
dignation, stood as men in doubt what to doe, *Halis* commaunder of the Ianizaries came vnto
the gate, and with cheerefull rather than sterne countenance required to haue it opened vnto him
according to the agreement made by *Salamanca* in the campe; which was forthwith opened by
Liscanus, and the keyes deliuered vnto him: the Ianizaries entring peaceably into the citie, posses-
sed themselues of the wals and fortresses round about, commaunding the Christian souldiors to I
giue place, out of whom they chose all the beardlesse youths, and commaunded the rest to cast
downe their harquebusiers and other weapons in a place appointed, which they all for feare did,
expecting nothing but some cruell execution to be done vpon them by the barbarous enemie.
Which their feare was the more encreased by a strange accident, then vnluckily chancing: For
whilest the souldiors did as they were commaunded, with their harquebusiers cast their flaskes
full of pouder also, one of them suddenly tooke fire of a match, which was by chance cast in a-
mongst them with fire in it, which firing the rest, blew abroad all that heape of weapons amongst
the Turks, which so filled them with anger and feare of some sudden trecherie, that they fell vp-
on the Christians, & slew diuers of them: vntill such time as *Halis* persuaded that it was a thing
happened rather by chance than mallice, commaunded his Ianizaries to stay their furie. This tu- K
mult appeased, *Halis* caused proclamation to be made, That all such Christian soldiors as would
serue *Solyman* in his warres, should haue such place in his armie as their qualitie required, with
bountifull entertainement: yet of all the Christian souldiors were found onely seuentie, which
carefull of their liues, accepted the offer; fearing that the Turkes would vpon such as refused ex-
ercise their wonted crueltie. *Halis* entertaining them courteously, sent them away with the other
youths whom he had before culled out, downe the riuer to Bvda: the other souldiors he tooke
into his protection, and vsed their labour to helpe the Turks to make cleane the castle. But *Lis-*
canus, who to saue his gold, had made shipwrack of his honour and reputation, was glad to giue
vnto *Halis* the faire chaine of gold, which he had most couetously and insolently before taken
from *Perenus*; when as *Halis*, who would otherwise haue taken it from him by force, by way of L
militarie courtesie, now craued it of him, as a strange kind of ornament amongst the Turks: with
which gift he was in hope to haue saued the rest of his coine. But fortune fauoured not so much
the couetous coward: For when he was about to depart away with his horses of seruice, which he
kept very good, and had cunningly stuffed the saddles full of gold, thinking so slyly to haue con-
ueyed it; the Turke laughing at him, tooke from him his horses furnished as they were, saying,
That he which was to goe by water, needed no horses. So was the couetous wretch at once quit
of the great wealth which he had in long time euill gotten. The captaines, with the rest of the
souldiors dispoiled of their armes, were conueyed ouer the riuer of Danubius, and so trauelled
on foot to Possonivm: where the countie *Salme* by the commaundement of the king ap-
prehended *Liscanus*, *Salamanca*, and some other of the captaines for suspition of treason, and M
committed them to safe custodie, there to answere for their cowardly yeelding vp of the citie.

Solyman entred into Strigonivm the tenth of August in the yeare 1543, and there con-
uerting the Christian churches into temples for the Mahometane superstition, first sacrificed for
his victorie, as he had before done in Bvda: and after with all speed so strongly fortified the citie,

as

Salamanca goeth out of Strigonium to parley with the Turks about the yeelding vp of the same.

Strigonium yeelded to the Turks by Liscanus the Spaniard.

Liscanus the couetous Spaniard merrily stript of all his wealth by Halis, captaine of the Ianizaries.

Solyman entreth into Strigonium, and there setteth vp the Mahometane superstition.

A as if he would thereby for euer haue taken from the Christians all hope of recouering the same againe; deriding the slouthfull negligence of the Germans, who possessed of it foureteene years, had neglected all that time to fortifie it. Not long after, *Solyman* leauing *Ossainus* a valiant captaine gouernour of STRIGONIVM, and sending his Tartarian horsemen to spoile the countrey on the left hand, as farre as ALBA REGALIS; went himselfe to besiege the castle of TATTA, called in auntient time THEODATA. The garrison souldiours terrified with the losse of STRIGONIVM, and the sight of the Turkes armie, vpon the first summons yeelded the castle without resistance, and were so suffered quietly to depart. That castle after the manner of the Turkish discipline (who with few and those very strong holds keepe their prouinces in subjection) was by *Solymans* commaundement presently rased downe to the ground. *Torniellus* Generall of the Ita-

B lians, caused *Hannibali*, captaine of the castle, to haue his head strucke off for his cowardly yeelding vp of the peece he had taken charge of: thereby to admonish others, which had the charge of strong places, not to refuse an honourable death in defence of their countrey, for feare of an ignominious death attending their cowardise.

A cowardly captaine worthely rewarded.

TATTA thus layd in the dust, *Solyman* marched with his armie towards ALBA, surnamed REGALIS, for that the kings of HVNGARIE by an auntient custome vsed to be there crowned, and also buried. BVDA, STRIGONIVM, and ALBA REGALIS, three principall cities of the kingdome of HVNGARIE stand in manner of a triangle, almost equally distant one from another, about a hundred miles in compasse. BVDA and STRIGONIVM are situat vpon the riuer of Danubius: but ALBA standeth more into the land, strongly seated in the midst of a great lake,

C but not so wholesomely, especially in the Summer time, the Winter waters then decreasing, and grosse vapours arising with the heat of the Sunne. From the citie thorow the marrish or lake vnto the firme land, lie three broad and high causeyes (in manner of the strakes of a cart wheele) well built with faire houses and gardens on either side, and a broad way in the middle whereby men passe in and out of the citie. At the end of euery causey towards the land were cast vp strong bulwarkes, which the citizens vsed not to watch but in dangerous times of warre: so that by these bulwarkes, the houses of the suburbs standing vpon these causies, were safe from the danger of the enemie, the lake filling vp all the spaces betwixt the causies: which, what for the depth, what for mud, flaggs, and bulrushes growing in it, was not by horse or man to be passed thorow. And the citie it selfe standing in the middest of the lake, compassed round about with a

D strong wall, and a deepe ditch alwayes full of water, was hardly to be besieged: for which causes a great number of the countrey people vpon the comming of *Solyman*, fled into it with their cattell, as vnto a most sure hold. In the citie lay in garrison two companies of Germans, and two hundred horsemen, vnto whom were joyned fiue hundred Hungarian horsemen, such as in time of peace liued by robbing, and are by an infamous name called *Vsarous*: vnto these, the Italian countie *Torniellus*, who with his Italians was come as farre as IAVARINVM, or RAB, sent foure captaines with their companies, such as were most forward in that seruice: after whom followed *Barcocius*, captaine of the kings guard, with a companie of horsemen, appointed by the king for Generall. Who was no sooner come into the citie, but news was brought of *Solymans* approch. Whereupon he in hast called together the other captaines, with *Birrous* then maior of the citie,

E and other the cheefe citizens, to consult with them, What was best to be done for the defence of the citie, but especially, Whether the suburbes of the citie, standing vpon those three broad causies, were to be destroyed or not? that so the citie standing in the middest of the great marrish, might both with lesse labour and danger be defended. This question was seriously debated, and great reasons alleadged on both sides: at last the citizens cried out with one voice against the matter, and said, That they would neuer suffer those goodly suburbs, wherein were so many churches and faire buildings as might compare with the citie it selfe, to be so shamefully destroied, to the vtter vndoing of so many rich citizens: for what could be (said they) more dishonourable or lamentable, than to the encouraging of the barbarous enemie, to shew such a token of extreame feare; and with their owne hands to burne and destroy those stately buildings, which might by

F strong hand be well enough defended against the enemie, if they did not play the shamefull cowards. Of which opinion with the citizens was also *Octauianus Serosactus* an Italian captaine, alleadging that both the citie and the suburbs might both with like danger be defended: forasmuch as they were equally fortified with the benefit of the marrish; and if the worst should happen, the defendants might yet safely enough retire into the citie. At last standing vp as one thrust forward,

Solyman goeth to Alba Regalis.

The description of Alba Regalis.

The citizens of Alba will not suffer the citie to be destroyed.

ward, both with the publicke hard fortune and his owne, said, *Valiant gentlemen, what shew will you giue of your valour, or what honour shall you haue of your seruice? If you shall defend so famous a citie, by deforming of it your selues, and cutting off the suburbes, as it were the armes thereof, before the danger, vpon too hastie desperation? Verily you shall doe nothing, either in the seruice of the king or the honour of your selues, except this citie (if God so please) be of you whole and sound valiantly defended.* Vpon this speech they all arise, the wiser sort and of greatest experience giuing place to the importunitie of the ignorant and simple. *Barcotius* himselfe full of care, and ouercome with the vaine opinion of the greater part, yeelded also vnto that fatall resolution of sauing the suburbes. *For it often falleth out, that they who wisely weighing dangers in the ballance of reason, and doe therefore fearefully resolue of the euent of things, and doe thereupon oftentimes giue more hard and resolute iudgement of things than men of greater courage; yeeld neuertheless to be partakers of other mens follies, yea euen to most assured death, rather than by maintaining their fearfull opinion to be deemed cowards.* So fell it out with *Barcotius* the Generall, who setting a good countenance on the matter which nothing liked him, went out to the souldiours, declaring vnto them the reasons why the suburbes were to be defended: exhorting them with like valor on their parts to answere that honourable resolution, promising to prouide whatsoeuer should be necessarie for the obtaining of the victorie; assuring them of great rewards and preferment, which should by their good seruice deserue the same. Hereupon the suburbes were by the common labour of the souldiors and the citisens quickly fortified, the great ordinance in places conuenient orderly planted, and watch and ward kept by the captaines and their companies by their turnes day and night. But the Turks drawing neere to the citie, bent their forces onely against the suburbes of the gate leading towards BVDA: for that they perceiued the marrish was in that place drier than in the other, and the sandie ground more vnfit for the making of bulwarkes and other fortifications for the safetie of the defendants, than in the other places where the ground yeelded better turfe. *Barcotius* perceiuing the enemies purpose, drew all the Italians and Germanes from the other gates into the suburbes of the gate of BVDA, leauing the countrey people which were fled into the citie, and the citisens, in their places. At the first comming of the Turkes, the Hungarian and Germane horsemen, with the Italian footmen, sallied out of the suburbes, and after certaine light skirmishes retired. Which manner of fight was continued by the space of three daies without any great harme done on either side: for the captaines had warily commaunded, That the souldiors should not aduenture out too farre. But after that *Solyman* himselfe was come, and had with the multitude of his tents beset the citie farre and neere, to the terrour of the beholders; the Christians shut vp all the gates, and sallied out no more. Which thing caused the wild Hungarian *Vsarous*, vsed to open skirmishes, to prouide for themselues in time, and not to suffer themselues to be coupt vp (as they tearmed) within the wals of the citie: So for fashion sake, asking leaue to be gone (who were not against their wils to be stayed) they by night departed, being not to bee entreated by the Generall or citisens to stay, and by knowne wayes escaped thorow the woods from the enemie. In the meane time the Turkes were come with their winding trenches within shot, and with their arrowes and small shot so scoured the top of the bulwarke, that no man could there possibly appeare but he was straight wounded: and such was the furie of the great artillerie, that it had in short time battered in sunder the plankes and timber which kept in the sandie mould, whereof the fortresse was made, more for shew than for strength; in such sort, that the great shot flying quite thorow all, slew and wounded many that were a far off: in which distresse of the defendants, the Turkes Asapi with small danger filled vp the ditches of the bulwarke, and diuers places of the marrish with earth and wood, which they brought continually from a wood thereby with six hundred waggons, so that in the space of twelue dayes they had made a firme way for them to passe ouer vpon, both to the bulwarke and the suburbes; a worke before thought impossible to haue been performed. The ditches thus filled vp, the Turkes valiantly came on, seeking by plaine force to enter the bulwarke. First came on the Asapi, whom as men of least worth the Turks captaines vse to thrust to the first danger: After whom followed the horsemen, now on foot, with swords and targuets, or else their horsemens staues, couering the Ianizaries, who vpon their knees with their harquebusiers sore gauled the defendants. This hot fight endured aboue three houres with equall hope and courage: but the Turkes still relieued with fresh souldiors, repulsed the Christians, and gained the vttermost bulwarke: neuertheless, the Italian fort was that day valiantly defended, the very women and religious helping to defend it:

The Turks with incredible labour fill vp the ditches and lake, and by plaine force assault the bulwarke of the suburbes towards Buda.

A it: in which assault a tall Hungarian woman, whose courage farre exceeded the weakenesse of her sex, thrusting in amongst the souldiours vpon the top of the fort, with a great sythe in her hand, at one blow strucke off two of the Turks heads, as they were climing vp the rampier. This assault was giuen the nine and twentieth of August, on which day the Turkes had before taken BELGRADE, and also slaine king *Lewes* at the battell of MOHACHZ; and were therefore after their superstitious manner in obseruation of their fortunat and vnfortunat dayes, in good hope to haue then taken the citie: wherein they were much deceiued, being not able at that time further to enter, but enforced againe to retire. Wherewith *Solyman* offended, sent for *Abraham*, *Achomates*, and *Halis* (the cheefe captaines in that assault) into his tent, and reproued them sharpely, for that the bulwarke being so valiantly and fortunatly woon, they had not with more
B courage prosecuted the victorie, but cowardly (as he thought) giuen it ouer, being in a manner alreadie woon: and therefore with sterne countenance commaunded them to prepare all things readie within three dayes for a fresh assault, and neuer to returne vnto him, except they did win the citie. Whereunto the captaines answered no more (for were they neuer so guiltlesse, they might not before him stand to excuse themselues) but that they would in short time accomplish his desire. Wherefore hauing made all readie, and encouraged the souldiors to this last assault, they terribly assailed the rampiers, and brought a great feare vpon the defendants: for taking the benefit of a thick mist (as it oftentimes chanceth in marrish grounds) they were with great silence (contrarie to their manner) got vp to the top of the rampiers, and come to handy blows, before they were well discouered. The fight was for the time fierce and terrible: but the Ianizaries pre-
C uailing, at length put the Germanes to flight, and after them the Italians also, so that now well was he that could run fastest towards the citie. But that their hastie flight little auailed, when as they were to passe out by a little narrow gate in manner of a wicket: and they in the citie, without regard of them that fled, had plucked vp the draw bridge ouer the ditch. For naturally it commeth oftentimes to passe, that the feare of the present danger, without blushing excuseth our foule dealing. So the barbarous and fierce enemie pursuing the flying Christians at the heeles all the length of those suburbes with most cruell execution, many notable men, some fighting, some flying, were there slaine: amongst whom was *Octauianus Serosactus*, author of the euill counsell whereof ensued that calamitie. *Barcotius* the Generall flying on horseback to the little gate, which was not to be passed thorow, and crying in vaine to them that fled, to haue the great
D gate opened, was by the comming in of Ianizaries slaine: whose head and right hand full of rich rings, was by the barbarous enemie carried about in derision vpon a launce. The rest of the flying multitude finding the little gate shut vp with the bodies of the dead, and the bridge maliciously drawne vp, desperatly threw themselues into the deepe ditch; where some of them labouring to swim out, were caught by the legs and armes by other that could not swim, and both together drowned. Some hardly crauling ouer, were shot in the head or backe with the Turkes arrowes: othersome sticking fast in the mud, were as if it had beene in sport shot to death by the Turkes: some few there was which got ouer, and were saued.

A notable act of an Hungarian woman.

The suburbes of Alba Regalis woon by the Turkes.

The miserable slaughter of the flying Christians.

There was yet left in the citie the Generall of the German horsemen, and *Vscasades* of CREMONA, an Italian captaine; these two gathering the remainder of the souldiors which were left,
E placed them vpon the wals: but the citisens were strucke with such a feare, that they could not tell which way to turne themselues. For now *Birrous* the maior, with the aldermen and other chiefe citisens, seeing the slaughter of the Italians and Germans, were so ouercome with despaire, that they thought no hope of their well doing was to be reposed in making of any farther resistance, but onely in the mercie of *Solyman*. Wherefore *Birrous* spake vnto the Turks from the wall, That he might safely send embassadours to *Solyman*, to intreat with him vpon reasonable conditions, for the yeelding vp of the citie: which thing *Achomates* easily granted. With these embassadours for the citisens, went also the generals of the German horsemen, and *Carolus Rufus* an Italian captaine (who of all others had borne himselfe most valiantly in all the assaults, to
F the great admiration of the Turks) to intreat for the safetie and libertie of the souldiors. The embassadours being brought before the great Bassaes, requested, That yeelding the citie, the citisens might enjoy their liues and libertie: whereunto they were so answered, as that it seemed they should not all be pardoned; yet was the generall feare well diminished, for that the punishment respected but some few. *Rufus* was courteously entertained; and easily obtained, that the Italians might in safetie depart with bag and baggage to VIENNA: the like grace also obtained the

Embassadours sent to Solyman, to entreat vpon conditions for the yeelding of the citie.

Gene-

Generall of the Germans for his ſoldiors. *Solyman* the eunuch Baſſa, offered vnto *Rufus* honourable entertainment, if he would haue ſerued *Solyman*: which when he refuſed as bound to king *Ferdinand* by oath, in honour of his valour he gaue him a rich cloake wrought with flowers of gold. The embaſſadours returning into the citie, and telling how they had ſped, deliuered the citiſens of a great feare. Shortly after the citie being yeelded, *Achomates* by open proclamation in the market place, commaunded the Italians and Germans to make themſelues readie againſt the next day to depart, and to take good heed that no Hungarian went with them: hee alſo ſtraightly charged the citiſens to keepe their houſes, vntill the ſtrange ſouldiors were departed. At the time appointed, the Italians and Germans ſet forward, conducted by *Homares* with a companie of the Turks horſemen, who faithfully defended them againſt the Tartares, running vp and downe the countrey after ſpoile: neither was any thing taken from them but their dags, which the German horſemen after a new faſhion carried at their ſaddle bowes; theſe the Turks greatly deſired, delighted with the noueltie of the inuention, to ſee them ſhot off with a fire-locke without a match. But after the departure of *Homares*, they were in their trauell ſet vpon by the Hungarians, with whom they had many hoat skirmiſhes, and had hardly eſcaped vnſpoiled, had they not been reſcued by the kings ſouldiors lying in garriſon in the caſtles as they paſſed alongſt the countrey. The few which remained, after many troubles came at laſt to VIENNA, more like ghoaſts than men.

Solyman entreth into Alba Regalis.

Solyman cauſeth the chiefe citiſens of Alba Regalis to be ſlaine.

Solyman entring quietly into the citie, firſt viſited the ſepulchers of the Hungarian kings, and gaue out proclamation, That the Hungarians ſhould feare of him no harme; for that he was not come to conquer them, but to deliuer them from the bondage of the Germans, and ſo to reſtore againe that entire kingdome vnto *Stephen* the right heire of king *Iohn*. But within three or foure daies after, he called out the chiefe citiſens into a field not farre off, wherein the bodies of condemned men were woont to be buried, as if he would haue there taken an oath of them for their fidelitie: whither, after they were all aſſembled in the beſt manner they could, as to ſome ſolemn feaſt, the cruell tyrant (without regard of his faith or promiſe) cauſed them all to be ſlaine. Howbeit ſome report, that he cauſed them onely to be put to death which bare office in the citie, at ſuch time as they reuolted from the obedience of the queene and the infant king, vnto *Ferdinand*, and had then brought in German ſouldiors; and that he ſent the reſt into exile to BVDA and BELGRADE. So *Solyman* leauing *Balibeius* gouernour of ALBA REGALIS; and *Mahometes* ſometime gouernour of BELGRADE, his lieutenant generall for the whole gouernment of that kingdome, returned againe toward CONSTANTINOPLE, Winter now beginning to approach: after he had that Sommer woon STIGONIVM and ALBA REGALIS, two of the chiefeſt cities of HVNGARIE. All this while king *Ferdinand* had raiſed no power worth the ſpeaking of, to withſtand ſo mightie an enemie; onely at VIENNA lay ſeauen thouſand Germans and foure thouſand Italians, at ſuch time as *Solyman* departed from ALBA REGALIS, which were ſhortly after diſcharged.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

Whileſt *Solyman* thus lay at the ſiege of ALBA REGALIS, he ſent his Tartarian horſemen which ſerued him to ſmall purpoſe in the ſiege, to ſpoile the countrey round about: theſe ſauage people doing much harme, were in diuers places circumuented by the Hungarians, and about three thouſand of them ſlaine: one of them being taken priſoner, had found in his knapſacke halfe a child, of about two yeares old, the loathſome remainder of his barbarous feeding. *Barbaruſſa* all this while lying with his fleet (as we haue before ſaid) at MARSEILLES, fretted exceedingly, that he had to his diſhonour vndertaken ſo long a voyage by ſea, to pleaſure him which was not able (as he ſaid) to direct his owne deſignes to any certaine reſolution, but ſhamefully ſuffered the beſt time of the yeare for ſeruice, negligently to paſſe away without any thing doing; the blame whereof would (as he ſaid) be imputed to him at CONSTANTINOPLE: and that *Solyman*, who deſired to aid the king his friend and confederat, and by all meanes to annoy his enemies, would take in euill part to haue it reported, that he had with ſo great charge ſet out ſo great a fleet, and ſo far off, to helpe his friend hardly beſet with his enemies, and to haue done nothing: beſides that, he tooke on like a Turke, that he, who in time of ſeruice, neuer vſed negligently to let ſlip the leaſt opportunitie, ſhould now blemiſh his former credit and eſtimation, by lying ſtill all that Sommer in the harbour of MARSEILLES, where his ſouldiors grew lazie with doing nothing. Wherefore *Polinus* going to the king, told him of the proud Turkes great diſcontentment for lacke of imploiment; and returning to *Barbaruſſa*, brought order from the

A the king, that he ſhould lay ſiege to NICE a citie of PROVINCE, then holden by the Duke of SAVOY. This citie ſtanding vpon the ſea, was by one of the French kings for a great ſum of money pawned vnto the duke: which money king *Francis* had many times offered to haue repaid, but could neuer get the citie out of the dukes hands. Vnto which ſeruice, the French king ſent alſo his fleet of two and twentie gallies and eighteene ſhips, wherein were embarked eight thouſand footmen, and victuall for many daies. This fleet departing from MARSEILLIS, keeping cloſe by the ſhoare, came to the port called MONOC; whither two daies after came *Barbaruſſa* alſo with an hundred and fiftie gallies. From thence *Polinus* by commandement from the king, writ vnto the State of GENVA, That they ſhould not feare of that great fleet any hoſtilitie, which was not to hurt any but them of NICE, and not them neither if they would yeeld themſelues.
B For more aſſurance whereof, he obtained of the Turks diuers GENVA captiues, which had long time been chained in their gallies, and courteouſly ſet them at libertie, and ſent them home without raunſome. After that, he friendly exhorted the citiſens of NICE, to yeeld themſelues againe vnto their auntient and lawfull prince, renowned for his bountie and power; rather than to aduenture their ſtate to all extremities for that poore and diſtreſſed duke, who betweene the emperor and the French king, deſpoiled of the greateſt part of his dominions, ſaw no other end of his miſeries, but to leaue that little which yet remained, as a prey to the one or the other that ſhould firſt lay hand thereon. Whereunto the magiſtrates of the towne anſwered, That they knew no other prince or ſoueraigne, but *Charles* their duke: wherefore he ſhould deſiſt farther to ſolicite them by letters or meſſengers, whom they would make no other account of but as of their
C enemies. Wherefore the Frenchmen and Turks landing their forces, laid ſiege to the towne in three places. The citiſens had but a little before newly fortified their wals, by the direction of *Paulus Simeon*, captaine of the caſtle, and one of the knights of the RHODES, a man of great experience; who long before taken at ſea by pirats, had ſometime ſerued *Barbaruſſa*, and therefore perſuaded the citiſens as reſolute men to withſtand the Turks. Which, that they ſhould more conſtantly performe, he tooke their wiues and children, and weaker ſort of the people into the caſtle; and from thence furniſhed the citiſens with all things neceſſarie for their defence. The citie was at once in diuers places battered by the Turks and French, both by ſea and land: ſo that at laſt the Turks had beaten downe one of the new built bulwarks, and made ſo faire a breach, that with their enſignes diſplaied, they attempted to haue entred: whoſe forwardnes *Leo Strozza*
D (then ſeruing the French king with a band of Italians) imitating, ſought to haue entred alſo: but the citiſens ſtanding valiantly vpon their defence, manfully repulſed both the Turkes and Italians, and cauſed them with loſſe to retire. In this aſſault were ſlaine about an hundred Turkes; and of *Strozza* his ſouldiors two and twentie. Preſently after, *Barbaruſſa* with all his force began afreſh batterie, in ſuch terrible manner, that the citiſens ſeeing their wals in diuers places opened, and the few ſouldiors they had, ſore wounded, and no hope to be in conuenient time relieued; began to parley with the French Generall from the wall, concerning the yeelding vp of the citie; vpon condition, that they might in all reſpects liue vnder the French king as they had done vnder the duke: for performance whereof, the Generall gaue them his faith. But *Polinus* fearing leaſt the Turks ſhould violate this compoſition, and for greefe of the loſſe of their fellowes, or
E for hope of the ſpoile breake into the citie, entreated *Barbaruſſa* to recall his ſouldiours, and to cauſe them to goe abourd his gallies. For which cauſe not long after, the Ianizaries, as men deceiued of their hoped prey, were about to haue ſlaine both *Polinus* and *Strozza*, as they came from talking with *Barbaruſſa*.

Nice in Prouince beſieged by the French and the Turkes.

The citiſens craue parley, and after yeeld the citie.

The citie thus yeelded, they began to conſult for the taking of the caſtle: the performance whereof conſiſted firſt in the aſſailing of the caſtle it ſelfe, and then in defending of the citie from the ſudden ſallies of them in the caſtle; and likewiſe in defending of them which beſieged the caſtle, ſo that no enemie ſhould come to raiſe the ſiege: of which two things, *Barbaruſſa* put the French to choice which they would take, ſhewing himſelfe readie either to beſiege the caſtle, or to keepe the field. The French ſtanding in doubt of which to make choice, the proud old Turk
F ſcorning their ſlow reſolution, and them alſo, as men vnfit for the readie accompliſhment of any martiall exploit; cauſed ſeuen pieces of batterie, whereof two were of wonderfull greatneſſe, to be placed in a trice in place moſt conuenient, and the ſame quickly entrenched and fortified, to the great admiration of the French: with which pieces he had quickly beaten downe the battlements of the wals, and centenell houſes, ſo that no man was able to ſhew himſelfe vpon the wals.

The caſtle beſieged.

The

The Frenchmen likewiſe on the other ſide did with their great ordinance continually batter the caſtle: but with long ſhooting they came to ſuch want of ſhot and pouder, that *Polinus* was glad to requeſt, that he might either borrow or buy ſome of *Barbaruſſa*: whereat the Turke fretted and fumed exceedingly, That they ſhould in their owne countrey ſtand in need of his prouiſion, who at MARSEILLES had better fraughted their ſhips with wine, than with neceſſaries for the warres. For the rough and ſeuere old Turke could not forbeare to taunt them, and oftentimes complained, that he was deluded with the hope of great matters which *Polinus* had promiſed at CONSTANTINOPLE; and that in ſuch a rage, that he would threaten to lay hands vpon *Polinus*, who had brought him from CONSTANTINOPLE thither, whereas he muſt either loſe his honour, or hauing ſpent his ſhot and pouder, expoſe himſelfe and his fleet to all dangers. Wherefore being exceeding angrie with the French, he ſuddenly called a counſell of his captaines & other cheefe officers, giuing it out, That he would preſently return toward CONSTANTINOPLE, ſeeing that among theſe cowardly and vnskilfull men (as it pleaſed him to tearme them) he found nothing readie or according to promiſe. Yet for all that, when he had chafed his fill, by the faire entreatance and large promiſes of the French Generall and *Polinus* together, the wayward old man was perſuaded to change his mind, and to continue the ſiege. But he was yet ſcarcely well pacified, and his mind ſet againe vpon the ſiege, but letters were intercepted from the great captaine *Alphonſus Vaſtius*, to *Paulus* captaine of the caſtle, wherein he requeſted him to hold out a while againſt the enemie, vntill that he, who had alreadie ſent before his light horſmen, might come alſo himſelfe with his men at armes, who were vpon the way alongſt the Alps by the ſea ſide, and would in two dayes with the ſlaughter of the Turkes put him and his caſtle out of all feare and danger. Which thing once bruted in the campe, ſuch a great and ſudden feare came vpon the Turks and Frenchmen, the night following (the more to terrifie them) prouing by chance very rainie and tempeſtuous; that they all forſooke their trenches and great ordinance, and laying downe their weapons, by narrow pathes climing ouer the top of the high mountaine, came downe headlong to the ſea ſide to the fleet. But the day appearing, and no enemie to be ſeene, they were aſhamed of that they had done, and came againe to the ſiege. Not long after, when as the caſtle in all mens iudgement was hardly to be battered, and ſtanding vpon a firme rocke, was not but in long time with hard labour and doubtfull ſucceſſe to be vndermined, it was generally thought good to raiſe the ſiege. The Turkes vpon their departure brake into the citie, and when they had taken the ſpoile thereof, ſet it on fire.

Barbaruſſa in his rage threateneth to lay hands on Polinus, and to returne forthwith to Conſtantinople.

The Turkes and French giue ouer the ſiege of the caſtle of Nice, and ſet fire on the citie.

Barbaruſſa retiring with his fleet to ANTIPOLIS, came to anker at the Iſland LERINA, called of the marriners MARGARITA; at which time *Vaſtius* and the duke of SAVOY, with *Auria* his fleet arriued at VILLA FRANCA: in the entrance of which hauen, the gallie wherein *Vaſtius* went, was like to haue beene loſt. Foure other gallies by force of ſudden tempeſt were driuen vpon the rockes, and ſo ſuddenly beaten in peeces with the ſurge of the ſea, that the gally-ſlaues had not leiſure to ſtrike off their yrons, but were there all drowned, and all the ordinance loſt. *Polinus* vnderſtanding this diſtreſſe of the enemie, ſent one *Petrus Angelus* to *Barbaruſſa*, to ſhew him the occaſion offered, and to perſuade him with all ſpeed to haſt thither with his fleet, as to a moſt aſſured victorie. *Barbaruſſa* ſeemed to like well of the motion, and promiſed to goe, yet he mooued not, letted as it was thought with the contrarie wind, which then blew hard at Eaſt, and with the roughneſſe of the ſea. But the wind being fallen, and the ſea become calme, and he contrarie to his wonted manner making no haſt, ſet ſlowly forward, and being a little on his way, came againe to an anker, and went no further; the Sanzackes and other captaines firſt matuelling, and afterward laughing thereat, ſcoffingly ſaid, That *Barbaruſſa* did but reaſon to deale kindly with *Auria*, as his brother and friend of his owne profeſsion, for that he had ſome yeares before receiued the like friendſhip at his hands, in letting him eſcape at HIPPONA, which he now honeſtly paid him againe. Whereunto *Barbaruſſa* both then and afterwards at CONSTANTINOPLE anſwered no otherwiſe, but, That he being an old commander, and halfe blind, ſaw more in the matter than all thoſe greene captaines with their ſharpe ſight. Not long after, he returned againe towards MARSEILLES, and put into the hauen of TOLON, called in antient time TAVRENTA. *Vaſtius* and the duke comming to NICE, commended the captaine of the caſtle, and wondering at the cunning manner of the Turks fortifications, preferred them in that point before the Chriſtians. *Barbaruſſa* lying with his fleet at TOLON, and by the kings officers entertained with all poſsible courteſie, deliuered fiue and twentie gallies to *Salec* the famous py-

Barbaruſſa derided by the Turks captaines.

His anſwere to their taunts.

rat,

A rat, and *Assanes* his nigh kinſman, who paſsing the bay of NARBONA, rifled certaine townes in SPAINE, ſtanding vpon the ſea coaſt, and about the promontorie of *Venus*, called of the mariners CREVM, tooke great prize, and in the hauen of PALAMOS tooke one marchant ſhip and a gallie: with which prey they paſſed ouer to ALGIERS, as they were commaunded, there to winter, and with the firſt of the Spring to returne againe to *Barbaruſſa* in PROVINCE. That Winter *Barbaruſſa* repairing his fleet; was furniſhed with many neceſſaries by the Genowayes, and eſpecially by *Auria* himſelfe, who vnder the colour of redeeming of priſoners, willingly furniſhed the Turke with ſuch things as he wanted: for although he profeſſed himſelfe one of the emperours captaines, yet would he not ſhew an enemies mind by the vnſeaſonable deniall of a little ſea furniture, leaſt in ſo doing he ſhould haue hurt his natiue country of GENVA, which he
B ſaw then ſubject to the injurie of ſo great a fleet ſo nigh at hand. But leaue we now *Barbaruſſa* to Winter in PROVINCE, and with the courſe of time turne a little out of the way, to ſee in *Muleaſſes* king of TVNES the ſmall aſſurance the greateſt haue in higheſt place of worldly honour.

This Mahometane king once before thruſt out of his kingdome by *Barbaruſſa*, and reſtored againe by *Charles* the emperour (as is before declared) hearing of his comming with this great fleet, and imagining nothing leſſe than that he ſhould come to the aid of the moſt Chriſtian king, doubted (not without cauſe) leaſt it was prepared againſt himſelfe. Beſides that, diuers great cities of his kingdome, namely CONSTANTINA, MAHOMEDIA, and MAHOMETA (called in auntient time CYRTHA) LEPTIS, and ADRVMENTVM, were then holden by the Turkes; *Barbaruſſa* his fauourits: wherefore fearing the worſt, about the ſame time that *Barbaruſſa* was
C ſayling alongſt the coaſt of ITALIE, he paſſed ouer into SICILIE, to haue met the emperour at GENVA, and to haue obtained of him greater aid againſt the Turks. At his departure out of AFFRICKE, hee committed the tuition of his kingdome to ſuch valiant men as hee ſuppoſed would haue beene vnto him moſt faithfull: Firſt he appointed *Mahometes*, then Maniphæt, to gouerne the citie; and *Corſus* otherwiſe called *Fares*, his old ſeruant, to keepe the caſtle; leauing *Mahometes* his brother and *Fares* his ſonne, with *Touarres* a Spaniard (captaine of the caſtle of GVLETTA) as pledges, the one of his brothers, the other of his fathers faith: but vnto *Amida* (his ſonne) he committed the leading of his men of war for the defence of his kingdome againſt the Turks and Numidians. As hee was paſsing out of SICILIA to haue met the emperour at GENVA, he was by contrarie winds driuen firſt to CAIETA, and afterwards to NAPLES, where
D he was by the viceroy honourably entertained, and a houſe appointed for him richly furniſhed. The Neapolitanes wondering at the ſtrange attire of the people, with the manner of their feeding, and curious plentie of all manner of ſweet perfumes: for into euery diſh they put in odors of exceeding price; ſo that it was well knowne, that a peacocke and two feiſants, dreſſed after the manner of the kings kitchin, coſt aboue an hundred duckats: ſo that not onely the dining chamber, when they were carued vp, but all the houſe was ſo filled with the ſtrange and fragrant ſmell, that all they that dwelt neere thereabouts, were partakers of the pleaſure of that vnuſuall and delicat perfume. From NAPLES he was about to haue trauelled by land to the emperour, being then in conference with the Pope at BVXETVM (fearing to aduenture the ſea, poſſeſſed by his enemies fleet) had not the emperour by his letters willed him to ſtay ſtill where hee was. But
E whileſt he made his abode at NAPLES, and carefully attended what courſe *Barbaruſſa* would take, who furniſhed with ſo great a fleet was departed from NICE, diſappointed of his purpoſe, he was by certaine meſſengers aduertiſed out of AFFRICKE, That *Amida* his ſonne was riſen vp againſt him, and poſſeſsing himſelfe of the kingdome, had ſlaine his captaines, polluted his wiues, and taken the caſtle of TVNES. With which newes he being exceedingly troubled, determined without delay to paſſe ouer into AFFRICKE, and though late, yet as he might to remedie his domeſticall troubles, in hope to oppreſſe that rebellion in the beginning, and his ſonne alſo, before he could gather any ſtrength to reſt vpon. Wherefore he with all the haſt hee could opened his cofers, and entertained ſouldiors, the viceroy giuing leaue to all ſuch baniſhed men as would to come and giue their names, to paſſe ouer as ſouldiors into AFFRICKE: vpon report
F whereof, ſuch a number of malefactors & condemned perſons came flocking to NAPLES, that it was thought a ſufficient armie might haue beene made of ſuch kind of men; euery one of them chuſing rather to enter into pay, and blot out the infamie of baniſhment, and proue the fortune of warres, than to liue wandering vp and downe in the woods, and in danger euery houre to be hanged. Of theſe infamous men, one *Ioannes Baptiſta Lofredius* (a man well borne, but of a

Muleaſſes fearing the cõming of Barbaruſſa, departeth from Tunes into Italy to crane aid of Charles the emperour.

Coſtly diſhes.

Amida riſeth againſt Muleaſſes his father, and uſurpeth the kingdome of Tunes.

fierce and couetous diſpoſition) vndertooke the leading: he couenanting with *Muleaſſes* to haue three moneths pay before hand, leuied eighteene hundred men, which he preſently ſhipped; and keeping the greateſt part of their pay to himſelfe, paſſed ouer with the king into AFFRICKE, and landed at GVLETTA. But how *Amida* riſe vp againſt his father, and what was the end of that bloudie rebellion, ſhall not be amiſſe briefely to rehearſe. There were certaine noble men of great authoritie about *Amida* when *Muleaßes* departed, which at their pleaſure ruled the young prince, who eaſily harkened vnto their counſell, and followed the ſame: the chiefe of theſe was one *Mahometes*, ſonne of *Bohamer*, who in the raigne of *Mahometes*, *Muleaßes* his father, was Maniphet, whom *Muleaßes* (poſſeſſed of the kingdome) put ſhamefully to death by cutting off his priuities, becauſe he had by haſtie marriage deceiued him of *Rhahamana*, a maiden of incomparable beautie, the daughter of *Abderomen* captaine of the caſtle, whom he moſt paſsionatly loued: for which cruell fact, *Mahometes* his ſonne had of long time conceiued a deadly hatred againſt *Muleaßes*, which he had many yeares diſſembled, that he might as occaſion ſerued be the more cruelly reuenged. Next vnto him was another *Mahometes* ſurnamed *Adulzes*, whom *Muleaßes* was wont commonly to call his worſt ſeruant. Theſe two with a few others conſpiring togither, gaue it out, that *Muleaßes* was dead at NAPLES, and before his death had moſt irreligiouſly (as they accounted it) reuolted to the Chriſtian religion. With which report they perceiuing *Amida* moued, came vnto him and perſuaded him quickly to enter into his fathers ſeat, leaſt *Mahometes* his younger brother then lying in hoſtage with the Chriſtians at GVLETTA, ſhould by the fauour and helpe of *Touarres*, whoſe garriſon was euer readie, be preferred before him. For *Mahometes* was eighteene yeares old, reſembling his grandfather in name, fauour, and diſpoſition, and therefore of the citiſens of TVNES beſt beloued: wherefore *Amida* came in poſt haſt out of the campe to TVNES, to lay firſt hand vpon his fathers kingdome. The people which as yet had heard nothing of the kings death, receiued him with doubtfull countenance: and as many ſtood maruelling that he was ſo raſhly come into the citie without his fathers commaundement, *Mahometes* (appointed by *Muleaſſes* to gouerne the citie) came out and ſharpely reproued him as guiltie of high treaſon, perſuading him to returne againe vnto the campe: and ſeeing him ſtay, by force of the multitude thruſt him out of the citie. *Amida* deceiued of his expectation, got him out of the way into the pleaſant country of MARTIA, betweene VTICA and the ruins of old CARTHAGE. But *Mahometes* Gouernour of the citie, after he had repulſed *Amida*, got him with all ſpeed by water to *Touarres* at GVLETTA, to know of him more aſſuredly, if any ſuch euill newes were brought from SICILIE of the death of the king; and to complaine of the raſhneſſe and intollerable preſumption of *Amida*. Where ſtaying ſomewhat long in diſcourſing with the captaine, and afterwards returning to the citie, he was ſuſpected to haue practiſed with the captaine, to make *Mahometes* (the pledge in GVLETTA) king in his fathers ſteed; for ſo the common voice went. The Moores are by nature a faithleſſe people, vnconſtant, haſtie, ſuſpitious, deſirous of newes, which true or falſe, they for the time interpret as ſerueth beſt their factions, whereunto they are exceedingly giuen: So at the firſt there riſe in the citie a doubtfull rumour of the making of a new king; the ſuſpition wherof more and more encreaſing, ſet all the citie on an vprore. By occaſion whereof, certaine of the citiſens to whom the verie name of *Muleaſſes* was odious, ſpeedily certified *Amida* (then in the gardens of MARTIA, ſighing and grieuing at his hard fortune) how all ſtood, and that now was the time to doe himſelfe good. He reuiued with that vnexpected newes, and encouraged by the perſuaſion of *Bohamar* and *Adulzes*, and other his followers; reſolued to take hold vpon that good offer of fortune which would not alwaies frowne, and to follow his good hap. So in haſt returning to TVNES, and entring in at the gate which he then found open, ran preſently to the gouernours houſe; and finding him not at home, cruelly ſlew all his houſhold, and with his bloudie companie went preſently to the caſtle: where *Fares* the captaine ſeeking to haue kept him out, and boldly laying hands vpon his horſes bridle to haue thruſt him backe, was by a deſperat Ethiopian, one of *Amida* his followers, thruſt thorow with a ſword and ſlaine: ouer whoſe bodie yet ſprawling, *Amida* forcing his horſe, brake into the caſtle with his friends; and finding *Mahometes* gouernour of the citie, preſently ſlew him alſo. And ſo by this meanes *Amida* in the ſpace of an houre (a little before, a man in deſpaire) obtained the citie, the caſtle, and the kingdome togither. After that, he murthered his younger brethren; and embrued with bloud, without ſhame polluted his fathers concubines. *Muleaßes* landed (as we haue before ſaid) at GVLETTA,

Muleaſſes returneth into Affrick to Guletta.

Amida thruſt out of Tunes.

Amida returneth, and poſſeſſeth the kingdome.

A LETTA, with ſuch forces as he had brought with him out of ITALIE; was aduiſed by *Touarres* the Spaniard, not to aduenture with ſuch a handfull of men to go to TVNES, before he were well aſſured of the good diſpoſition of the citiſens towards him: And was the more earneſt with *Lofredius* not to go, becauſe the Viceroy had expreſſely written, that he ſhould in no caſe go any further than GVLETTA, except the king according to his promiſe, had a good ſtrength of Numidians to joyne with him. But certaine of the noble men amongſt the Moores, which vnder the colour of friendſhip were fled out of the citie, and had after the ſolemne manner of their nation put their ſwords vnto their throats, and ſworne to be faithfull vnto him; wonderfully prickt forward both the king and *Lofredius*, too haſtie of themſelues to their owne deſtinie, bearing them in hand, That *Amida* vpon the firſt ſight of his father, would forſake the citie, and betake
B himſelfe to flight: ſo without more ſtaying, *Muleaſſes* with enſigne diſplaied ſet forward towards TVNES, *Lofredius* cheerfully following him, *Touarres* requeſting them in vaine to beware of the Moores treacherie. *Muleaſſes* marching ſtill forward, was come ſo nigh the citie, that they might from the wals deſcrie him: when ſuddenly a ſtrong troupe of Moores ſallied out of the gate with a terrible crie, and fiercely aſſailed him, whom the kings horſemen valiantly receiued: many falling on both ſides. *Muleaſſes* in this hoat skirmiſh, fighting couragiouſly againſt his enemies, was wounded in the face and bled exceedingly; which diſcouraged them about him, that they doubting of his life, turned their backes and fled: when preſently a wonderfull number of horſe and foot, ſuddenly iſſuing out of the oliue gardens, had beſet *Lofredius* and his ſouldiors round: vpon whom the Italians diſcharged certaine field pieces, but after they
C had once diſcharged them, they had no leiſure to charge againe; for the barbarous enemie came on ſo thicke and ſo faſt, that the Italians ſeeing themſelues too weake, and compaſſed in round, let fall their weapons as men diſcouraged, and caſt themſelues into the lake, ſo by ſwimming and taking hold of the little boats to ſaue themſelues from the enemies ſword: which boats ſtood thoſe diſtreſſed men in great ſteed, for being furniſhed with ſmall pieces, they did beat backe the Moores, who eagerly purſued them euen into the lake with their horſes. *Lofredius* as a man amaſed with the ſudden comming of the enemie, tooke the lake with his horſe, and was there vnhorſed by the enemie and ſlaine, as were diuers with him. Some few there were that fought couragiouſly, chuſing rather honourably to die in the middeſt of their enemies, than ſhamefully to be ſtrangled in the ſtincking lake. *Muleaſſes* ſoiled with his owne bloud and with the duſt,
D flying amongſt the reſt, was knowne and taken: nothing more bewraying him than his odoriferous perfumes. In this conflict thirteene hundred Italians were loſt; the reſt which eſcaped *Touarres* relieued, and ſhortly after ſhipped them ouer into SICILIE, from whence they trauelled home to NAPLES, but ſo poore, as well ſhewed the miſerie of their fortune. *Amida* hauing thus obtained the victorie, was more carefull of nothing than to make his father vnfit for gouernment, which he did by cutting the ſight of both his eyes with a hoat penknife: the like crueltie he vſed vpon *Nahaſar* and *Abdallas* his brethren, then taken with his father. After that, he certified *Touarres* captaine of GVLETTA, That he had taken a few youths priſoners, which he would deliuer vnto him; and that he had bereft his father of his ſight, who had deſerued a worſe puniſhment, as he that had long before done the like to his brethren; but had yet left him
E his life, as an example to other tirants, and to ſhew that he dealt not altogither vnmercifully with ſo perfidious a father: Laſt of all, he confirmed (vpon certaine conditions) the ſame league which his father had with him: which he well ſaw was to great purpoſe, eſpecially in that newneſſe of his kingdome. Neither did *Touarres* refuſe the ſame, as ſtanding with his preſent profit: for vpon this agreement, *Amida* was to giue him certaine money to pay his ſouldiors, and to deliuer him the priſoners he had taken, with the enſignes and bodie of *Lofredius*: For more aſſurance wherof, he gaue *Sehites* his ſonne, then nine yeares old in hoſtage; yet vpon condition, that if an aſſured peace could not be agreed vpon, but that they muſt needs enter into warre, then *Touarres* ſhould forthwith reſtore him his ſonne *Sehites* in ſafetie. Theſe capitulations, although they ſeemed not vnreaſonable, and were of them well liked; yet *Touarres* thought it not altogither
F agreeing with the honour of the emperour, that he ſhould enjoy the kingdome who by moſt horrible treaſon and deteſtable villanie had thruſt himſelfe thereinto without the emperours leaue. Wherefore he entred into a new deuiſe, to call in the rightfull heire, who might at the emperours pleaſure (offended with the injurie done by *Amida*) raigne in TVNES.

Muleaſſes going to Tunes, by the way ouerthrowne

Lofredius ſlaine.

Muleaſſes taken.

Amida put out his fathers and brethrens eies.

There was in exile amongſt the Numidians one *Abdamælech*, euer ſince the time that *Roſ-*

Touarres sendeth for Abdamelech, Amida his elder brother.

ceetes fled to *Barbaruſſa*. Him, becauſe he was *Muleaſſes* naturall brother, *Touarres* ſent for, put- G
ting him in hope of the kingdome, ſupported by *Anemſeha*, a great prince amongſt the Numi-
dians, who had all that long time courteouſly entertained him. Neither was *Abdamælech* ſlow
to accept the occaſion preſented, eſpecially encouraged thereunto by the Numidian prince his
good friend, and the predictions of the Aſtrologers, who had foretold him, That he ſhould die
king of TVNES. Which vaine kind of diuination hauing in it no manner of aſſurance, yet cau-
ſeth great minds oftentimes to vndertake great attempts beyond reaſon, which falling out with
more hap than they were with reaſon foretold, giueth ſome credit to that vanitie, and cauſeth
thoſe cold prophets to be of ſome accounted as great wiſards. And to worke this feat, ſuch a time
was offered, as a better could not be wiſhed: for *Amida* hauing ſet all things in order as he plea-
ſed in the citie, and caſting no perill, was gone to BISERTA, to take order for his cuſtomes, which H
was there great vpon fiſhing. Wherefore *Touarres* to keepe his promiſe, ſent backe *Sehites*,
Amida his ſonne, in a boat to TVNES, and receiued *Abdamælech*: who trauelling moſt part by
night, was ſecretly come to GVLETTA, and there reſting himſelfe and his horſes a few houres;
to preuent the fame of his comming, poſted in haſt with a troupe of his Numidian followers to

Abdamelech by policie obtaineth the kingdome of Tunes.

TVNES, and paſsing thorow the citie, went directly to the caſtle, which he entred without reſi-
ſtance of the warders, ſuppoſing him to haue beene *Amida* come from BISERTA: for *Abda-*
mælech had after the manner of the Moores couered his face with a ſcarfe, as if it had beene to
haue kept him from the Sunne and the duſt, and by that happie ſleight got into the caſtle, before
it was knowne who he was. The warders perceiuing their error, began as men amaſed now too
late to betake themſelues to their weapons, for in making reſiſtance, they were quickly ſlaine by I
the Numidians which came in with *Abdamælech*: who thus poſſeſſed of the caſtle (the cheeſe
ſtrength of that kingdome) let in his friends, which were many in the citie, by whom he was pre-
ſently ſaluted king, the reſt of the citiſens either well liking of the matter, or at leaſt not daring for

Abdamelech diuiſeth, and Mahometes his ſonne is choſen king in his place.

feare to ſtirre. But as in theſe worldly things, for which men ſo vainely toyle, is no aſſurance: ſo
this new king ſhortly after fell ſicke and died, when he had raigned but ſix and thirtie dayes, and
was afterwards royally enterred. After whoſe death, his nightie friends, with the cheeſe of the
citiſens (perſuaded and encouraged by *Touarres* the Spaniard) choſe *Mahometes* his ſon, a child
ſcarſe twelue yeares old, to reigne in his fathers place: appointing *Abdalages Maniphat* (brother
to him whom *Amida* ſlew) *Abdelchirinus Meſuar*, *Schyriffus* (a great man in their Mahometane
ſuperſtition) & *Perellus* a Chriſtian knight, to be his directers and gouernours: which foure ſway- K
ed all at their pleaſure. But *Abdelchirinus* tendering the welfare of his countrey, and deuiſing out
of ſeaſon how to ſet vp one of the royall bloud, that were of himſelfe able to gouerne the king-
dome, ſaying, That it was not for the common good to be ruled by a child: was for his labor by
his other three fellowes ſuddenly ſlaine, with all his kindred and knowne friends. After whoſe
death the other three erected a manner of Triumvirat gouernment, euery one of them laying
hand vpon one part of the ſtate or other, as liked him beſt. *Amida* thus ſhut out of TVNES, and
hauing loſt his kingdome, wandered vp and downe to LEPTIS, CYRAPOLIS, and many other
places, crauing aid of euery man to recouer his kingdome, miſerably rent in ſunder (as he ſaid) by
moſt wicked men, who inſolently triumphed ouer the boy king. Which they of TVNES knew
well to be true, and daily complained of the death of *Abdelchirinus*, whom they called the faith- L
full counſellor and father of his country. Whileſt *Amida* is thus trudging vp and down, crauing
helpe of this and that prince, prouing his friends, and ſounding his ſubjects affection towards
him; *Muleaſſes* growne miſerable with long impriſonment and the calamitie of his diſaſter for-
tune, obtained of the young king his nephew ſo much fauour, as that hee might ſometime goe
out of the caſtle to the church: vnder colour whereof hee tooke ſanctuarie, a place in TVNES
holden in ſuch reuerence amongſt the Moores, as that it was a moſt inuiolate refuge to all ſuch
as fled thereunto. Not long after, at ſuch time as *Bernardinus Mendoza*, the Admirall of SPAIN,

Muleaſſes at the requeſt of Touarres is ſent to Guletta.

came to GVLETTA with the Spaniſh fleet, *Muleaſſes* at the requeſt of *Touarres* was conueyed
out of the Sanctuarie to the lake, and ſo by water to GVLETTA, there to be preſent at the con-
ſultation there holden for the vtter ſubuerſion of *Amida*, and the driuing out of the Turks out of M
ſuch cities as they yet held alongſt the ſea coaſt in APFRICA. *Muleaſſes* had hardly before eſca-
ped the hands of certaine of his enemies in TVNES, who ſought after his life, preſerued by an old
woman, who mooued with pitie, hid him from their furie vnder a great heape of garlike: and
had he not now in good time eſcaped to GVLETTA, he had againe fallen into the hands of his
merci-

A mercileſſe ſonne *Amida*, who ſhortly after recouered againe his kingdome, and would not as he ſaid himſelfe haue ſpared him for the reuerence of any ſanctuarie. For the citizens of TVNES, wearie of the euill gouernment of ſuch as were in authoritie about the yong king, and not a little offended with the king himſelfe, for eſpouſing *Melucca* his couſin, one of *Muleaſſes* his daughters, ſecretly encouraged *Amida* by letters to repaire to the citie, promiſing to aid him in recouering his kingdome. Whereupon he came in ſuch haſt, that the young king had ſcarce time to get out of the citie: and *Amida* entring without reſiſtance, and holpen by his friends, eaſily obtained againe the kingdome, and exerciſed moſt exquiſit crueltie vpon his enemies: of whom he cauſed ſome to be torne in peeces, and deuoured of fierce maſtiues, kept hungrie for that purpoſe. *Perellus* he cauſed to be tortured, his ſecrets to be cut off, and himſelfe afterwards
B burnt to aſhes in the market place.

Amida recouereth the kingdome of Tunes, and taketh ſharp reuenge vpon his enemies.

But *Muleaſſes* ſtayed not long at GVLETTA, offended with the couetouſneſſe of *Touarres*, who (as he ſaid) had not faithfully reſtored ſuch things as he had before put him in truſt withall, but had auaritiouſly in his miſerie deceiued him of part of his rich houſhold ſtuffe, with certaine notable pretious ſtones, & ſome of his treaſure: wherof the blind king ſo greeuouſly complained to *Charles* the emperour, that for deciding the matter, they were both commaunded to repaire vnto him into GERMANIE: where in concluſion to end the ſtrife, *Touarres* was diſcharged of his gouernment, and *Muleaſſes* ſent into SICILIE there to be kept of the common charge of that rich iſland. *Muleaſſes* by the way comming to ROME, was honourably feaſted by Cardinall *Ferneſius*: at which time he ſhewed himſelfe both in his apparrell and behauiour not for-
C getfull of his better fortune: and being brought vnto the preſence of *Paulus* the great biſhop, would doe him no greater honour but to kiſſe his knee, accounting it too great an indignitie to haue kiſſed his foot. He was of ſtature tall, and of a princely diſpoſition, vnworthie of ſo hard a fortune, had he not in like manner before vnmercifully dealt with his owne brethren.

Muleaſſes diſdaineth to kiſſe the Popes foot.

Barbaruſſa wearie of his long lying to ſo ſmall purpoſe in PROVINCE, requeſted the French king either thorowly to employ him, or els to giue him leaue to depart: offering if he ſo pleaſed, to ſpoile all alongſt the coaſt of SPAINE, from the mountain PYRÆNEI to CADIZ But he not ignorant what hard ſpeeches ran of him alreadie in all parts of Chriſtendome, for bringing in the Turkes, was loth to leaue vnto the memorie of all poſteritie the foule remembrance of ſo wofull a ſlaughter: beſides that, he was aduiſed to diſburden his countrey of ſuch troubleſome
D gueſts, who rouing about, did much harme in the prouince where they lay, and as it was reported, now and then ſnatcht vp one countrey peiſant or other, and chained them for ſlaues in their gallies. Wherefore in ſupplie of the Turkes that were dead, the king gaue vnto *Barbaruſſa* all the Mahometane ſlaues in his gallies, to the number of about foure hundred, and furniſhing him with all kind of prouiſion, and beſtowing great gifts vpon him and his captaines, ſent him away; and with him *Strozza* with certaine gallies, his embaſſadour to *Solyman*. So the Turkes departing out of PROVINCE, kept alongſt the coaſt, vntill they came neere vnto SAVONA, whither the Germanes ſent diuers preſents and freſh victuals to *Barbaruſſa*, which he tooke ſo thankfully, that he proteſted not to hurt any of their territorie. From thence he kept a right courſe to the iſland of ELBA, belonging to the duke of FLORENCE, oueragainſt POPVLONA; where vn-
E derſtanding that one of the ſonnes of *Sinan* his old friend was there kept priſoner, he writ vnto *Appianus* gouernour of the iſland for his deliuerance to this effect:

1544

I know, that a young man a Turke ſerueth thee, the ſonne of Sinan *ſurnamed the Iew, a famous captaine, taken of late at* TVNES: *him I would haue thee friendly to reſtore: which gift I will make thee vnderſtand to be vnto me moſt acceptable; for this our great fleet in paſſing by you, ſhall faithfully forbeare to vſe any hoſtilitie. But if thou ſhalt in this ſo ſmall a matter refuſe to gratifie me, expect vpon the coaſt of thy countrey all the harmes which an angrie enemie can doe.*

Barbaruſſa his letters to Appianus, Gouernour of Elba.

Whereunto *Appianus* ſhewing his men vpon the wals, in token that he was not afraid, an-
F ſwered, That the young man was become a Chriſtian, and therefore might not in any caſe bee deliuered to the Turkes: but that he would in any other thing gratifie him in what he could, and for his ſake vſe the young man as his ſonne. And to mollifie the vnkindneſſe of his anſwere, he ſent him freſh victuall with other preſents. But *Barbaruſſa* offended with the anſwere, landed his men round about the iſland, and commanded them to make what ſpoile they could: which they

performed accordingly, hunting the iſland people vp and downe the rockes and mountains like Hares, vntill that *Appianus* not without cauſe doubting the vtter ſpoile of the iſland, redeemed his peace by deliuering the young man to *Salec* the pyrat, who brought him to *Barbaruſſa* gallantly apparrelled after the Italian manner, of whom he was joyfully receiued, as the ſonne of a moſt valiant captaine, his old friend: and thereupon *Barbaruſſa* ſtayed his ſouldiors from doing any further harme vpon the iſland, and gaue *Appianus* great thanks for him. This young man *Barbaruſſa* honoured with the commaund of ſeuen gallies, and afterwards ſent him to his father then lying at SVETIA, a port of the red ſea, Admirall for *Solyman* againſt the Portingals, who greatly troubled thoſe ſeas. But the old Iew, ouerjoyed with the ſudden and vnexpected returne of his ſonne, whom he had for many yeares before giuen as loſt, in embracing of him fainted, and ſo preſently for joy died.

Appianus glad to deliuer the captiue whom Barbaruſſa required.

Sinan the Iew dieth for ioy.

This man for valour was accounted little inferiour to *Barbaruſſa*, but for diſcretion and juſt dealing farre beyond him, nothing of ſo furious and wayward a diſpoſition as was he. *Barbaruſſa* departing from ELBA, came into the bay of TELAMON in TVSCVNIE, and in ſhort time took the citie, which he ſpoiled and burnt, but eſpecially the houſe of *Bartholomeus Telamonius*; whoſe dead bodie but a little before buried, he cauſed to be pluckt out of the graue, & his bones to be ſcattered abroad, becauſe he being Admirall of the biſhop of ROME his gallies, had in the iſland of LESBOS waſted *Barbaruſſa* his fathers poore poſſeſsion: and marching by night eight miles further into the land, ſurpriſed MONTENVM, and carried almoſt all the inhabitants away with him into captiuitie. The like miſcheefe he did at the port called PORTVS HERCVLIS, but purpoſing to haue taken ORHATELLO, and there to haue fortified, he was by *Luna* and *Vitellius* (two valiant captaines before ſent thither, the one by the State of SIENA, and the other by the duke of FLORENCE) repulſed. So though diſappointed of his purpoſe, yet hauing done great harme, and put the whole countrey of TVSCANIE in exceeding feare, he departed thence and landed againe at IGILIVM, now called GIGIO, an iſland about twelue miles diſtant from PORTVS HERCVLIS, where he quickly battered the towne, and caried a wonderfull number of all ſorts into miſerable captiuitie: keeping on his courſe, he paſsing the cape LINAR, & comming ouragainſt CANTVMCELLE, had burnt that citie for the ſame reaſon he did TELAMON, had he not been otherwiſe perſuaded by *Strozza* the French embaſſador, fearing to draw the French king into further obliquie. From thence he came with a direct courſe to the iſland of ISCHIA; where landing in the night, he intercepted moſt part of the inhabitants of the iſland, as they were flying into the mountaines: and in reuenge of the hatred he had conceiued againſt *Vaſtius* at the ſiege of NICE, he burnt FORINO, PANSA, and VARRANIVM, three cheefe townes of that iſland: but PITHACVSA, the dwelling place of *Vaſtius*, ſtanding vpon a broken rocke, ſomewhat diſtant from the ſea, he durſt not aduenture vpon. Then ſcraping along the iſland PROCHITA with leſſe hurt, becauſe moſt part of the inhabitants were before fled to PITHACVSA, he put into the bay of PVTEOLI, and ſent *Salec* the pyrat with part of his fleet to make proofe if the citie of PVTEOLI, might from ſea be battered. *Salec* drawing neere the citie, ſhot into it with his great ordinance, and by chance ſlew one *Saiauedra*, a valiant Spaniard, vpon the wals, and put the citiſens in a great feare leaſt the whole fleet ſhould haue landed, they themſelues as then vnprouided: but the viceroy came preſently with a power both of horſe and foot from NAPLES, which *Barbaruſſa* diſcouering from ſea as they came downe the mountaines, called backe *Salec*: and leauing the Iſland of CAPRI, and paſsing by the promontorie ATHENEVM, was about to haue ſeiſed vpon SALERNVM, when a tempeſt ſuddenly ariſing, diſperſed his fleet, and driue him beyond the promontorie PALINVRVS vpon the coaſt of CALABRIA, where he did exceeding much harme, eſpecially at CARREATO. From thence he departed to the iſland of LIPARI, betwixt ITALIE and SICILIE, which iſland he miſerably ſpoyled, and with fortie great pieces ſo battered the citie, that the citiſens were conſtrained for feare to yeeld, whom he carried away all priſoners about the number of ſeuen thouſand, of one ſort of people and other, and burnt the citie. So loaded with the rich ſpoile of ITALIE and the iſlands vpon the coaſt, he returned towards CONSTANTINOPLE with ſuch a multitude of poore Chriſtian captiues, ſhut vp ſo cloſe vnder hatches amongſt the excrements of Nature, that all the way as he went almoſt euery houre ſome of them were caſt dead ouer boord: euery man deteſting the endleſſe hatred betwixt the emperour and the French king, the very ground of all this and many thouſand other moſt wofull and vndeſerued calamities of their poore ſubjects. With this rich prey and an infinit

Barbaruſſa in his returne toward Conſtantinople, doth much harm vpon the coaſt of Italie.

A finit number of captiues, *Barbaruſſa* arriued at CONSTANTINOPLE in the beginning of Autumne, in the yeare 1544: where he was honourably receiued of *Solyman*, and highly commended for his good ſeruice both by ſea and land. *Barbaruſſa* arriueth at Conſtantinople.

Solyman triumphing at CONSTANTINOPLE of the good ſucceſſe he had in HVNGARIE, in the middeſt of all his glorie, was aduertiſed of the death of *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne, whom of all his children he held deereſt: whoſe dead bodie was ſhortly after brought from MAGNESIA, and with wonderfull ſolemnitie, and no leſſe mourning, buried at CONSTANTINOPLE. How entirely *Solyman* loued this his ſonne, well appeared by the great ſorrow he conceiued of his death; and not contented to haue built him a ſtately tombe, erected alſo in memoriall of him a Mahometane church, called the church of *Mahomet* the leſſer: for the difference of *Mahomet* B the great, who woon CONSTANTINOPLE. Whereunto he alſo annexed a monaſterie and a colledge, with many things mo after the groſſe manner of their ſuperſtition, for the health of his ſoule, as he vainly ſuppoſed. After that, *Solyman* according to his wonted manner, which was but euery ſecond or third yeare to take in hand ſome notable expedition, ceaſed from warres by the ſpace of two yeares: in which time many of the great princes and worthie men of that age died; amongſt whom was *Francis* the French king. *Hariadenus Barbaruſſa* that famous Turke of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken, who being of great yeares and no leſſe fame, left this life in the yeare 1547, and was buried at a houſe of his owne called Beſictas, neere vnto BOSPHORVS THRACIVS on EVROPE ſide, not farre from the mouth of Euxinum, about foure miles from PERA, where he had but few yeares before at one time ſold about ſixteene thouſand Chriſtian C captiues, taken out of CORCYRA: and to make famous that place appointed for his buriall, he of his owne coſt built there a Mahometane temple, there yet with his ſepulchre to be ſeene: that place was in auntient time called IASONIVM. About which time alſo, died of conceit that famous captaine *Alphonſus Daualus Vaſtius*, taken away by vntimely death when he had liued but fortie fiue yeares. At which time, *Charles* the emperour by his embaſſadour *Gerardus Veltunich*, concluded a peace with *Solyman* for fiue years, wherein king *Ferdinand* was alſo included: which peace was afterwards before the expiration thereof, by *Solyman* (at the requeſt of *Henrie* the French king) broken. *Mahomet* Solymans eldeſt ſon dieth. *The death of the famous pirat Barbaruſſa.* *Vaſtius dieth.* 1548

Solyman had now almoſt three yeares taken his reſt, when it fortuned that *Ercaſes Imirza* king of SIRVAN, moued with the often injuries of *Tamas* his brother the great Perſian king, D fled to *Solyman* at CONSTANTINOPLE, to craue aid of him againſt his brother. *Solyman* glad of ſuch an occaſion to worke vpon, entertained him with all courteſie, and promiſed to take vpon him his quarrell, and to protect him againſt his vnnaturall brother. And when he had made all things readie for ſo great an expedition, paſſed ouer into ASIA; and after long and painefull trauell entred at laſt with a puiſſant armie into ARMENIA, and there in the borders of the Perſian kingdome, firſt beſieged the citie of VAN, which after ten daies ſiege was yeelded vnto him, vpon condition, that the Perſian ſouldiors there in garriſon, might with life and libertie depart with their armes as ſouldiors: which was at the firſt by *Solyman* granted, and ſo the citie ſurrendred. From thence *Solyman* ſent his chiefe commanders with a great part of his armie, to burne and ſpoile the enemies countrey, which they for a time cheerfully performed; and running farre E into the countrey, ſtriue as it were amongſt themſelues who ſhould doe moſt harme: where *Imirza* amongſt the reſt, for whoſe ſake *Solyman* had vndertaken this warre, was as forward as the beſt to waſt and ſpoile his brothers kingdome, ſparing nothing that came to hand; the beſt and richeſt things he got, he preſented to *Solyman*, to draw him on ſtill in that warre. But that ſerued not his turne to recouer againe his kingdome of SIRVAN: for *Tamas*, without ſhewing any power to withſtand the Turks, had after his wonted manner, cauſed his people to withdraw themſelues far into the mountaine country, leauing nothing behind them in that waſt countrey to relieue them, but the bare ground: ſo that the farther the Turks went, the more they wanted, without hope of better ſucceſſe than ſuch as they had before to their loſſe made proofe of, in their former expeditions into that great kingdome. The conceit whereof ſo much pierced not F the common ſouldiors onely, but euen the captaines themſelues; that to make an end of that long and vnprofitable warre, taken in hand for another mans good, they conſulted amongſt themſelues, either to kill *Imirza*, or elſe to diſgrace him with *Solyman*: Which they ſo cunningly wrought; ſome ſuggeſting falſe ſuſpitions of his treacherous dealing in the proceeding of that warre; and others with like craft, vnder colour of friendſhip giuing him warning in ſecret of the danger *Van yeelded to the Turkes.* 1549

danger he was in: the one filling *Solymans* head with diſtruſt, and the other *Imirzas* with feare: briefly to ſhut the matter vp in their owne tearmes, *They perſuaded the hare to flie, and the hounds to follow*. *Imirza* doubting ſome ſudden miſchiefe, fled for ſuccour to an old acquaintance of his, one of the princes of CHALDEA, who moſt treacherouſly ſent him in bonds to *Tamas* his brother, his moſt cruell enemie, who glad to haue the author of all his troubles with the Turks, deliuered into his hands, caſt him in priſon: and that *Solyman* nor any other ſhould in his behalfe further proſecute the warre, or by his meanes hope for victorie, cauſed him to be in priſon murthered. In this expedition againſt the Perſian king, *Solyman* was occupied a yeare and nine moneths; all which time the Turks endured great troubles, and were oftentimes hardly diſtreſſed by the Perſians: vntill at laſt *Solyman* himſelfe wearie of that tedious warre, wherein he had got neither honour nor profit, thought it beſt ſo to make an end; and thereupon returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE in the yeare 1549.

Imirza murthered in priſon.

Solyman returneth to Conſtantinople.

1550

In the meane time it fortuned, that one *Dragut Raiſes* a notable pirat of the Turks, had craftily ſurpriſed the citie of AFRICA in the kingdome of TVNES (called in auntient time APHRODISIVM) and alſo LEPTIS PARVA (and now of the Moores called MAHAMEDIA) and there ſetling himſelfe, as in a place both commodious and of good aſſurance, exceedingly troubled the Chriſtians both by ſea and land, eſpecially ſuch as traded in the Mediterranean. So that the emperour, moued as well with the manifold injuries done by that arch-pirat vpon the frontiers of his dominions, as by the daily complaint of his poore ſubjects, commaunded the Viceroy of SICILIE, and *Auria* his Admirall, to leauie a ſufficient power in time to repreſſe that pirat, before he grew to farther ſtrength. Whereupon, they with a ſtrong fleet well manned and thorowly appointed for that purpoſe, and aided by the knights of MALTA, paſſed ouer into AFRICKE; and landing their forces, by the ſpace of three moneths beſieged the citie before poſſeſſed by the pirat, which with continuall batterie they had at length made faultable. And hearing that *Dragut* was comming with a new ſupply to relieue it, they with all ſcelerite aſſailed it both by ſea and land, and in the ſpace of a few houres tooke it by force the tenth day of September in the yeare 1550: in which aſſault many of the enemies were ſlaine, and the reſt taken. *Auria* hauing thus diſpoſſeſſed the pirat, and aduiſedly conſidering that the citie was not without an infinit charge to be holden by the Chriſtians, among ſo many of the infidels, raſed it downe to the ground, carrying away with him ſeauen thouſand captiues and all the ſpoile of the citie. And not ſo contented, did all the harme he could with fire and ſword all alongſt that coaſt of AFRICA, to the intent that the Turks ſhould there find no reliefe; and tooke 12 priſoners out of MONASTERIVM, a towne not far from the citie of AFRICA: and ſo hauing done that he came for, returned againe into SICILIE. *Dragut* thus at once thruſt out of all he had, with a few of his friends fled to *Solyman* at CONSTANTINOPLE, and ſo incenſed him with the grieuous complaint of the wrong done vnto him by the Chriſtians; that in reuenge therof, he reſolued to make warre both vpon the emperour and king *Ferdinand*, notwithſtanding that the fiue yeares league he had before taken with him at his going into PERSIA, was not yet expired. So with cheerfull words and courteous entertainment comforting vp the deſperat pirat, the Spring following (which was in the yeare 1551) he furniſhed him with a great fleet in moſt warlike manner appointed, to reuenge the injurie done to him by *Auria* in AFRICKE. With this fleet in number one hundred and fortie ſaile, *Sinan* one of the Turks great Baſſaes, accompanied with *Dragut* the pirat, by the appointment of *Solyman*, departed from CONSTANTINOPLE: and cutting thorow the ſeas, arriued at length in SICILIE, where they ſuddenly ſurpriſed the towne and caſtle of AVGVSTA, which they preſently ſacked. Departing thence, they came to the iſland of MALTA, and there landed their men in the port of MARZA, otherwiſe called MOXET, neere vnto the caſtle, which they battered with certaine pieces of great ordinance, but ſo as was to no great purpoſe. At which time diuers companies of the Turkes running farther into the iſland, made hauocke of whatſoeuer came in their way. After they had thus few daies in vaine battered the caſtle, and ſaw themſelues both there valiantly repulſed, and in other places by ambuſhes and ſuch like meanes cut off by the ſouldiors and inhabitants of the iſland, they remoued thence to the road of S. *Paul*, where they landed their ordinance, with purpoſe to haue beſieged the citie; but perceiuing by a little, what ſmall hope there was to preuaile, and ſeeing diuers of their men dying thorow the extreamitie of the heat, they forſooke the iſland and went to GAVLES now called GOZA, a little iſland about thirtie miles in compaſſe, fiue miles diſtant from MALTA Weſt-

Dragut a famous pirat of the Turks, poſſeſſeth certaine cities in Affricke.

1551

Malta attempted by the Turks.

A Westward, subject vnto the knights of the religion: and there landing their men, miserably spoiled the island and whatsoeuer they light vpon, and carried away with them of one sort of people and other six thousand and three hundred captiues into most wofull bondage. With which bootie they put againe to sea, and sailed directly to TRIPOLIS in BARBARIE, called of old LEPTIS MAGNA: which citie *Charles* the emperour had before giuen to the knights of MALTA, and was at that time by them kept. This citie was the marke whereat the Bassa and the pirat shot; for taking whereof they landed their forces, and by long and winding trenches approched as neere the same as they could: which they did not without great losse of their people; for they of the castle hauing good store of great ordinance, and most expert canoniers did with continuall shot so annoy the Turks, that they were oftentimes enforced to retire; yet with
B much troublesome labour and no lesse perill they came at last within eight hundred paces of the wals: where the Bassa caused his gabions made of thicke plankes, to be placed in the night, and his batterie planted. And the next day (which was the eighth of August) the cannon began to play, which was againe answered from the castle with like, and euerie houre some of the Turks slaine, the great shot still flying into their trenches, so as that day foure of the best canoniers in the armie were slaine, with certaine other men of good account also: and the cleatke generall of the armie, a man of great estimation and welbeloued of the Bassa, had his hand shot off, and many other of the Ianizaries and common souldiors either slaine or hurt: moreouer they brake one of their best pieces, and dismounted foure others, which for that day made them to leaue the batterie. The next night the Turkes approached yet neerer vnto the castle, vpon whom the Christi-
C ans in the breake of the day sallied out euen vnto their verie trenches, and afterwards retired. With the rising of the sunne (which the Turkes haue in great reuerence) they renued their batterie with greater force than before; yet with such euill successe, that the Bassa was almost mad for anger: for about the euening the fire by mischance got into their pouder, wherewith thirtie of the Turkes were burnt, many hurt, and one piece broken. At length the Turks were come so neere, that they had planted their batterie within an hundred and fiftie paces of the wall; which they continued with such furie, that they had made a faire breach euen with the ditch: but what was beaten downe in the day time, the defendants repaired againe by night, in such sort, as that it was not to be assaulted. Yet in conclusion, a traiterous souldior of PROVINCE, before cor-
D rupted by the Turkes, found meanes to flie out of the castle into the campe, where he declared vnto the Bassa the weakest places of the castle, by which it might be most conueniently battered and soonest taken: and especially one place aboue the rest which was against the gouernors lodging, which standing towards the ditch, and hauing vnderneath it sellars to retire the munition into, could not if it were once battered well be repaired againe or fortified. Which the Bassa vnderstanding, caused the batterie there to be planted, laying the pieces so low, that they did easily beat the sellars and vaults in such sort, that in short time the wals were so shaken, that the rampiers aboue thorow the continuall batterie, began greatly to sinke: which so amased the souldiors, seeing no conuenient meanes to repaire the same, that setting all honour aside, they requested the Gouernour, That sithence the matter began now to grow desperat, and that the place was not longer to be holden, he would in time take some good order with the enemie for their
E safetie, before the wals were farther endamaged. With which motion, *Vallier* the Gouernour (an antient knight of DAVLPHINIE, and one of the order) was exceedingly troubled: which *Peisieu* another of the knights perceiuing, he as a man of great courage, and of all others there present most antient, in the name of the other knights declared vnto them, That the breach was neither so great nor so profitable for the enemie, but that it was defensible enough, if they would as men of courage repaire the same; saying, That it was more honourable for worthie knights and lustie souldiors, to die valiantly with their weapons in their hands, fighting against the infidels for the maintenance of their law and Christian religion, than so cowardly to yeeld themselues to the mercie of those, at whose hands nothing was to be looked for but most miserable seruitude, with all kind of crueltie: and therefore persuaded the Gouernour to hold it out to the
F last. For all that, he ouercome with the importunitie of such as would needs yeeld, who with all vehemencie vrged the imminent danger wherewith they were all like to be ouerwhelmed, and finding himselfe bereft both of heart and fortune, and forsaken of his souldiors; without farther consideration, consented that a white ensigne should be displaied vpon the wals, in token that they desired parley: when a Turke presenting himselfe, they requested him to vnderstand of the

The Turks fleet arriueth at Tripolis in Barbarie.

Tripolis battered by the Turks.

the Bassa, if he could be contented that some of them might come to intreat with him of some good order to be taken for the yeelding vp of the castle. Whereunto the Bassa willingly consenting, two of the knights were forthwith sent out, to offer vnto him the castle with the artillerie and munition, so as he would furnish them with ships to bring them with bag and baggage safely to MALTA. Wherunto the Bassa briefly answered, That (forasmuch as they had as yet deserued no grace, presuming to keepe so small a place against the army of the greatest prince on earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the armie, he would condiscend to their request; or if they would not thereunto consent, that for recompence all they within the castle should continue his slaues and prisoners: notwithstanding if they incontinently and without delay did surrender the place, he would exempt out of them two hundred. Whereupon the messengers returning in dispaire, were staied by *Dragut* and *Salla Rais*, with flattering words and faire promises, That they would so much as lay in them, persuade the Bassa to condiscend to a more gratious composition: fearing indeed that the besieged through dispaire would resolue (as their extreame refuge) to defend the place euen to the last man. Wherfore they went presently to the Bassa, to declare vnto him his ouersight in refusing them who voluntarily would haue put themselues into his hands, whom reason would he should with all courtesie haue receiued: for that after he had the castle and the men in his power, he might dispose of them as he should think good. The Bassa liking well of his counsell, caused the messengers to be called againe, and with fained and dissembling words told them, That at the instance of *Dragut* and *Salla Rais* there present, he did discharge them of all the costs and charges of the armie, swearing vnto them (the better to deceiue them) by the head of his lord and his owne, inuiolably to obserue all that he had promised vnto them: which they (too easily) beleeued, and forthwith went to declare the same vnto the Gouernour and others within the castle. The Bassa, the better to come to the effect of his desire, after these messengers sent a craftie Turke, whom he charged expressely to persuade the Gouernour to come with him into the campe, for the full conclusion of the giuing vp of the castle, and for the appointing of such vessels as should be needfull for their safe conduct to MALTA; and that if he made any doubt to come, he should make shew as if he would there remain in hostage for him: but aboue all things, to consider of the strength and assurance of the besieged, and of the disposition of all things there. Which the subtile Turke so finely handled, that the Gouernour by the counsell of those who had persuaded him to yeeld, notwithstanding the reasons of warres and dutie of his office forbad him in such manner to abandon the place of his charge, resolued vpon so small an assurance of the Bassa, and gaue eare to the miserable end of his fortune. So taking with him a knight of his houshold (to send backe vnto those of the castle, to declare vnto them how he sped in the campe) vnder the conduct of the Turke that was come to fetch him, he went straight to the tent of the Bassa: who by the Turke that went first in, was aduertised of the small courage of the defendants, which he assured him to be no better, but that if he thought it good, he might bring them to such order and agreement as he would himselfe. Vpon whose persuasion calling in the Gouernour *Vallier*, after he had rigorously reproued his rashnesse, said vnto him, That forasmuch as he had once giuen his word, if he would pay the charges of the armie, he was content to let them go with bag and baggage, otherwise he would discharge but two hundred. Whereat the Gouernour greatly moued, answered, That that was not according to his last promise vnto the knights before sent. But when he saw it would be no better, he requested him that he might againe returne to the castle to know the minds of the rest: which the false Bassa would by no meanes grant, but only permitted him to send backe the knight that he had brought with him, to make report of these hard newes to the besieged: as for the Gouernour, he was sent to the gallies with yrons on his heeles. When they of the castle vnderstood what had passed betwixt the Bassa and the Gouernour, they began exceedingly to feare the mischiefe then at hand: yet tooke no other resolution, but to returne the said knight to the Bassa, to know whether they should expect from him no better answere. Who as soone as he was come before him, the captaine of the castle was brought in, of whom the Bassa asked, Which of the two he would chuse, either to pay the expences of the armie, or else both he and all the rest to remaine his prisoners? Whereunto the Gouernour answered, That a slaue had no other authoritie than that which by his master was giuen him; and that hauing lost (besides his libertie) the power to command, if any thing were yet reserued in him, could not counsell him to command others to agree vnto any thing, but that which was concluded with them which were before sent.

Hard conditions offered by the Bassa to the besieged.

More easie conditions offered by the Bassa, which he confirmeth by his oath.

The wise answere of the Gouernour to the Bassa.

A sent. Which thing the Bassa hearing, for feare that such a resolute answere should come to the knowledge of the besieged, and cause them to become desperat; hauing taken counsell with his other captaines, hee tooke the Gouernour by the hand, and with a smiling and dissembling countenance told him, That he would without any doubt let them depart as he had promised; and that therefore without fearing any thing, hee should cause them all to come out of the castle. But the Gouernour, because he had beene before deceiued, would not trust to his word, but said vnto him, That he might commaund him that was come from the castle, for that he knew they would now doe neuer a whit the more for him. So the Bassa turning towards the other knight, commaunded him forthwith to goe vnto them in the castle, and to cause them to come forth, swearing againe as before, by the head of his great lord, and his
B owne, That they should all be deliuered and set at libertie, according to the conuentions first agreed vpon. Which the knight beleeuing, went to report to them this good newes: which they receiued with such joy, that without further care or consideration of their mishap so neere, they ran in preasse with their wiues children and best mooueables, striuing who should first get out. But they were no sooner issued, but they were by the enemies spoyled of all they had, and taken prisoners; part of the knights were sent to the gallies, and the rest to the Bassa. Who being by the Gouernour put in remembrance of his faith twice giuen, answered, That there was no faith to be kept with dogs, and that they had first violated their oath with his great lord, vnto whom at the giuing ouer of the RHODES, they had (as he said) sworne neuer more to beare armes against the Turkes. The castle was forthwith taken and spoiled, and about
C two hundred Moores of that countrey that had serued the knights, cut in peeces, and thereupon a great peale of ordinance discharged, with great cries and shouts in signe of their victorie. Thus the strong castle and auntient citie of TRIPOLIS in BARBARIE was deliuered to the Turkes the fifteenth day of August, in the yeare 1551. Whilst the Bassa lay at this siege, the lord of ARRAMONT, who had many yeares lien embassador from *Francis* the French king at CONSTANTINOPLE, and was now sent againe by *Henrie* the second, came to the Turks campe, being requested so to doe by the Great Master of the RHODES, to haue dissuaded the Bassa from that siege: wherein he nothing preuailed. Yet now greeued to see how the faithlesse Turke, contrarie to his oath, most villanously entreated the Gouernour and the other knights, lying at his feet as men halfe desperat, was so bold as to put him in mind of his promise, confirmed by his oath;
D which if he would not keepe, that yet at the least according to his own voluntarie offer, he would release two hundred of them: but he excused himselfe as before, saying, That no faith was to be kept with dogs, which had first broken their owne faith. Yet afterwards he condiscended, that two hundred of the eldest and such as were most vnfit for seruice (amongst whom was comprehended the Gouernour and certaine other old knights) should be set at libertie, who were forthwith sent aboord the French embassadours gallies, and by him transported to MALTA: where they were but hardly welcome, for that they had so cowardly surrendered a place, which they might much longer haue defended. The next day after the castle was deliuered, which was the 16 of August, the proud Bassa for joy of this victorie made a solemne dinner, whereunto he inuited the French embassádour, and *Vallier* the late Gouernour: which they refused not to come
E vnto, in hope to recouer some moe prisoners. This great feast for the more magnificence was kept in the castle ditch against the breach, where were set vp two stately pauillions, the one for the Bassa, and the other for the embassadour and his companie, where he was honourably feasted with wonderfull plentie both of flesh and fish and good wines, which they had found in the castle; which seruice was done with musicke of diuers sorts, and officers in number aboue a hundred, apparelled for most part in long gowns of fine cloth of gold, tuffed or fringed; and the other of veluet or damaske. The Bassa was no sooner set downe, but all the ordinance of the fleet was discharged with such a noise and thundering, that it seemed the heauens and skies did shake. The table being taken vp, the embassadour and the late Gouernour *Vallier*, entred into the pauillion of the Bassa, and beside the two hundred men which he had promised, obtained twentie moe,
F vpon the embassadors promise, That he should for them cause to be released thirtie Turks taken at MALTA, at the landing of the armie there. The Turkes hauing in their hands an antient gunner of the castle, called *Iohn de Chabas* borne in DAVLPHINE (to the end that this triumphant feast should not be vnfurnished of some cruell sacrifice of the Christian blood) for that he had in time of the siege shot off the hand of the clarke generall of the armie, brought him into the towne,

The castle yeelded.

The shamelesse answere of the faithlesse Bassá to the French embassadour.

The Turks triumph for the winning of Tripolis.

A shamefull cruelitie of the Turks.

towne, and when they had cut off his hands and his nose, put him quicke into the ground to the waist, and there for their pleasure shot at him with their arrowes, and afterward to make an end of him cut his throat. The Bassa shortly after departing out of BARBARIE, left *Dragut* the pyrat Gouernour of TRIPOLIS, honouring him with the title of the Sanzacke of that place: from whence he many yeares after grieuously molested the Moores neere vnto him by land, and the Christians by sea. The same yeare 1551, *Solyman* notwithstanding the fiue yeares peace before taken with king *Ferdinand* at his going into PERSIA, sent *Achomates* his lieutenant in EVROPE with a great power into HVNGARIE, who with *Haly* the Bassa of BVDA inuaded the vpper part of HVNGARIE, and first tooke the citie of TEMESVVARE, and contrarie to their faith giuen, slew the garrison souldiours: after that they tooke also the castle of ZOLNOK, forsaken by the Christians, and certaine other small castles. But laying siege to ERSAM, they were partly by the valiantnesse of the defendants, and partly by the comming on of Winter enforced to forsake the siege, and to get themselues into their wintering places.

Temeswre and Zolnok taken by the Turks.

Queene *Isabell*, king *Iohn* his widdow, seeing the Turkes dayly encroching vpon that little they had left her, and that she was not able by any meanes to defend TRANSILVANIA against them; by the aduise of *George* bishop of VERADIVM her old counsellor, agreed with king *Ferdinand* to deliuer vnto him the gouernment of the countrey, with all the royall dignitie of HVNGARIE, for which she was to haue of him CASSOVIA, and a yearely pension of an hundred thousand duckats. Which agreement made and thorowly concluded by *Baptista Castallius* (an Italian, whom *Charles* the emperour had but a little before sent to aid king *Ferdinand*) the queen returned into POLONIA, her natiue countrey: and so king *Ferdinand* by that meanes obtained almost all the prouince of TRANSILVANIA, and what els the queene had in HVNGARIE. But the bishop, a little before made a cardinall, being suspected by *Baptista* the Italian, that he fauoured the Turks faction more than king *Ferdinand*, and by that meanes sought to get the gouernment to himselfe, was by the Italians deuice suddenly murthered in his owne house at VERADIVM: an end good ynough for so troublesome a prelat.

George bishop of Veradium murdered in his owne house.

1552

Haly the Bassa of BVDA proud of the good successe he had the yeare before, vnderstanding that diuers of the cheefe Hungarians had withdrawne themselues into the castle of AGRIA, purposed in himselfe with all his power to besiege it, and there to take them. So aided by *Achomates*, *Chasan*, and other of the Turks Sanzackes and captaines by *Solymans* appointment readie at his call, he came with an armie of fiue and thirtie thousand Turkes, and the 10 of September in the yeare 1552, encamped round about the castle: where after he had placed his artillerie, he began a most furious batterie. But doubting to preuaile that way, he attempted also to vndermine the castle, omitting nothing that could be deuised for the taking thereof: but all in vaine, for the Hungarians by the good direction of *Stephanus Dobus* their captaine, couragiously endured the siege, and very manfully repulsed the enemie. At length, the nine and twentieth of September the enemie with eight and twentie ensignes of select souldiours gaue a fresh assault to the castle, and were by the defendants enforced shamefully to retire: at which time foure and twentie barrels of gunpouder by mischance caught fire, and besides that it blew vp diuers captains and souldiours, did much harme in the castle, to the great dismaying of the defendants. After that, the Turkes with incredible pertinacie the twelfth of October fiercely assaulted the castle from morning vntill night, and for desire of reuenge and hope of spoile left nothing vnattempted for the gaining of the place; but were by the greater valour of the Hungarians beaten backe, and with great losse enforced at last to giue ouer the assault. Thus the Bassa nothing preuailing by force, attempted by great promises and large offers to haue bought them out: which he vnderstanding to be nothing regarded, and his letters scornefully burnt, brought on his souldiors again, and gaue vnto them in the castle a most furious assault, but with no better successe than before: for hauing lost many of his best souldiors, he was enforced to retire. So after he had in vaine six weekes besieged the castle, he was glad to raise his siege, and to retire to PESTVM. After whose departure there was found twelue thousand great shot, wherewith he had battered the wall. In this siege six thousand Turkes were slaine, and of the Hungarians but three hundred. King *Ferdinand* glad of this victorie, made *Stephanus* the worthie captaine, Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA, and bountifully rewarded the other captaines and souldiors as they had well deserued.

Agria besieged by the Turks.

The Turks giue ouer the siege of Agria.

1553

Henrie the French king, who together with his kingdome had as it seemed receiued the hereditarie quarrels of *Francis* his father against *Charles* the emperour, had by his embassadour the lord

A lord of ARAMONT ſo wrought the matter with *Solyman*, that the more to trouble the emperour, he ſent a great fleet into the Tyrrhenum or Tuſcane ſea, which in the yeare 1553 and the yeare following, did great harme vpon the coaſts of CALABRIA, SICILIA, SARDINIA, as alſo in the iſlands of ELBA, CORSICA, GERBE, and MAIORCA, and ſuch like places on the frontiers of the emperours dominions: yet were the Turkes in moſt places notably againe repulſed by the people of thoſe countries. The ſame yeare *Solyman* ſeduced by *Roxolana* (ſometime his faire concubine, but then his imperious wife) and *Ruſtan Baſſa* his ſonne in law, moſt vnnaturally murdered his eldeſt ſonne *Muſtapha*, the mirrour of the *Othoman* familie: Which tragicall fact, the like whereof both for the trecherous contriuing and inhuman execution hath ſeldome times beene heard of, I haue thought good here in due time to ſet downe, in ſuch ſort as it is by moſt
B credible writers of that time reported.

Solyman after the manner of the *Othoman* kings, who to auoid the participation of their ſoueraignetie, vſe not oftentimes to marrie (but otherwiſe to ſatisfie their pleaſure with ſuch beautifull concubines as it pleaſeth them to make choiſe of, out of the faireſt captiues of all nations, moſt daintily brought vp for that purpoſe in the court) had by a Circaſsian bondwoman, a ſonne called *Muſtapha*; who for his wonderfull towardlineſſe and rate perfection was amongſt the Turks had in ſuch expectation and admiration, as that they in nothing accounted themſelues more happie, than in the hope laid vp in him: whoſe noble carriage was ſuch, as that thereby he ſo poſſeſſed the minds of all men in generall, but eſpecially of the men of warre, that he was reputed the glorie of the court, the floure of chiualrie, the hope of the ſouldiors, and joy of the
C people. Whileſt he thus grew, encreaſing both in yeares and fauour: it fortuned with *Solyman* as it doth with men delighting in change, that he became amorous of *Roxolana*, of ſome called *Roſa* (but more truly *Hazathya*) by condition a captiue, but ſo graced with beautie and courtly behauiour, that in ſhort time ſhe became miſtreſſe of his thoughts, and commaundreſſe of him that all commaunded: And that which more eſtabliſhed her in poſſeſsion of his loue, ſhe had in time made him father of foure faire ſonnes, *Mahomet*, *Selymus*, *Baiazet*, and *Zihanger*, and one daughter called *Chameria* married to *Ruſtan* or *Ruſtemes* the great Baſſa. In this height of worldly bliſſe nothing troubled her more than the exceeding credit of *Muſtapha*, *Solymans* eldeſt ſonne by the Circaſsian woman; who honoured of the greateſt, and beloued of the reſt, ſtood onely in her light, embarring her and hers (as ſhe thought) of the hope of the empire, which ſhee now
D aboue all things ſought to bring to one of her owne ſonnes: which the better to compaſſe, ſhe vnder the colour of great good will and loue, procured that *Muſtapha* the young prince and his mother ſhould as it were for their greater honour and ſtate with a princely allowance be ſent into CARAMANIA to gouerne that great country, far from the court. Which was no great matter for her to bring to paſſe: for that the Turkiſh emperors vſually ſend their ſonnes after they come to any yeares of diſcretion vnto ſuch prouinces as are farre from the court, attended vpon with one great Baſſa and ſome graue doctor of their law, ſo to acquaint them with the manner of gouernment; the Baſſa inſtructing them in matters of ciuile policie, and the doctor in matters concerning their ſuperſtition: and yet by ſending them a farre off, to keepe them from aſpiring to the empire by the fauour of the court (a thing by the Turkiſh emperors not vnworthely feared, euen
E in their own and beloued children.) *Roxolana* hauing at once thus cunningly rid the court of the great competitours both of her loue and of the empire (things of all others enduring no partners) reſted not ſo, but began ſtraightway to plot in her malitious head the vtter deſtruction of him, to whom all others wiſhed all happineſſe. This ſhe ſaw was not to be brought to paſſe without ſome complices: wherefore after ſhe had in her ſecret conceit diſcarded many, of whom at firſt ſhe had reaſonable good liking; at laſt ſhe made choice of *Ruſtan Baſſa* her ſonne in law, vpon whom ſhe would ſet vp her reſt. This *Ruſtan* was a man baſely borne in EPIRVS, altogether compoſed of diſsimulation and flatterie, euer ſeruing his owne turne, were it neuer ſo much to the hurt or greeuance of others; by which meanes he, although none of the beſt ſouldiors, was yet by many degrees growne vp to be the greateſt man in the court, and *Solymans* ſonne in law:
F him ſhe probably thought to wiſh the ſucceſsion of the empire to one of her owne ſonnes, his wiues full brethren, rather than to *Muſtapha* her halfe brother. Beſide that, ſhe was not ignorant how that *Ruſtan* as one carefull of the emperors profit, the readieſt way to preferment, had abridged the penſions and fees of the officers and ſeruitours in court: which he perceiuing to pleaſe the emperour, proceeded ſo farre therein, that he attempted to haue cut off, if it had beene poſsi-

Muſtapha eldeſt ſonne in great eſtimation with the people.

Solyman becommeth amorous of Roxolana.

Muſtapha ſent to gouerne Caramania.

The mallice of Roxolana againſt Muſtapha.

ble, ſome part of *Muſtapha* his princely allowance: for which doing, ſhe knew how odious he G
was to all the courtiers (whereof he made ſmall reckoning) but eſpecially to *Muſtapha*, inſomuch
Roxolana conſpireth with Ruſtan Baſſa her ſonne in law againſt Muſtapha. that it was thought he would not forget ſo notorious an injurie, if euer he ſhould obtaine the empire. Hereupon ſhe brake with *Ruſtan* vpon the matter, whom ſhe found readie ynough of himſelfe, to doe what in him lay to further her miſchieuous deſire.

Roxolana fayneth her ſelfe religious. To begin this intended tragedie, ſhe vpon the ſudden became very deuout, and being by the fauour of *Solyman* growne exceeding rich, pretended as if it had beene vpon a deuout zeale, for the health of her ſoule, after the manner of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition to build an Abbey with an Hoſpitall and a Church: which ſo godly a purpoſe ſhe imparted to the Muphti or cheefe Mahometane prieſt, demaunding of him, If ſuch workes of charitie were not acceptable vnto God, and auaileable for her ſoules health. Whereunto the Muphti anſwered, That thoſe works were H
no doubt gracious in the ſight of God, but nothing at all meritorious for her ſoules health, being a bondwoman; yet very profitable for the ſoule of the great emperour *Solyman*, vnto whom as vnto her lord both ſhe and all ſhe had appertained. With which anſwere of the great prieſt ſhe ſeemed to be exceedingly troubled, and thereupon became wonderfull penſiue and melancholie, her cheerefull countenance was replete with ſadneſſe, and her faire eyes flowed with teares, her mirth was mourning, and her joy heauineſſe. Which thing *Solyman* perceiuing, and ſorrie to ſee his loue vpon conceit ſo to languiſh, ſent her word to be of good cheere, and to comfort her ſelfe, promiſing in ſhort time to take ſuch a courſe as ſhould eaſe her of all her greefes: which he forth-
Solyman manumiſeth Roxolana with did, ſolemnely manumiſing her from her bond eſtate. So great a fauour obtained, *Roxolana* with great cheerefulneſſe began thoſe meritorious workes by her before intended, as if ſhe had I
thought of nothing but heauen, whereas indeed her thoughts were in the depth of hell. When ſhe had thus a good while buſied her ſelfe in pauing the way to heauen, as was ſuppoſed, *Solyman* not able longer to forbeare the companie of her, in whom his ſoule liued, after his wonted man-
Solyman ſendeth for Roxolana. ner ſent for her by one of his eunuchs, who ſhould haue brought her to his bed chamber: to
She excuſeth her ſelfe, and refuſeth to come. whom ſhe with her eyes caſt vp to heauen, demurely anſwered, That her life and whatſoeuer els ſhe had, was at her dread ſoueraignes commaund, but againe to yeeld her bodie vnto his appetite, ſhe might not in any caſe do, without the great offence of the high God, and manifeſt breach of his ſacred lawes, which permitted her not now voluntarily to yeeld him that, being free, which he before without offence might commaund of his bondwoman: and becauſe ſhe would not ſeeme to vſe this as an excuſe, ſhe referred her ſelfe in all things to the graue judgement of the lear- K
ned and reuerend Muphti, with whom ſhe had before at full conferred. This ſhe did, preſuming of the ſoueraignetie ſhe had ouer that great Monarch, whom ſhe right well knew ſhe had ſo faſt bound in the pleaſing fetters of his affection towards her, as that ſhe was ſure ynough of him without a keeper. *Solyman* rauiſhed with her loue, and well the more for her deniall, ſent for the Muphti, requiring his judgement in the matter; who before inſtructed in all points, agreed with that *Roxolana* had ſaid, agrauating the heinouſneſſe of the fact, if he ſhould proceed to enforce her as his ſlaue, whom being now free, he might not without great offence touch vnmarried. Whereupon *Solyman* more and more burning in his deſires, became a freſh ſuter to her for ma-
Solyman marrieth Roxolana. riage, whom he had ſo often before commaunded: which his ſute eaſily obtained (as the marke ſhe had all this while aimed at) he with all ſpeed to the great admiration of all men, and contrarie L
to the manner of the Mahometane emperors, ſolemnely married her; appointing for her yearly dowrie fiue thouſand Sultanyns. But here before we proceed any farther, ſtay a while and take the view of that faire face whereon this great Monarch ſo much doted, as it is by the skilfull workemans hand moſt liuely expreſſed.

M

ROXOLANA, Solyman his beſt beloued wife.

Frontis nulla fides, nulla eſt fiducia formæ:
Pectore dum ſæuo dira venena latent.
Philtra viro miſcet fallax, miſerumq́ coegit
Sanguine natorum commaculare manus.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

To faireſt lookes truſt not too farre, nor yet to beautie braue:
For hateſull thoughts ſo finely maskt, their deadly poiſons haue.
Loues charmed cups, the ſubtile dame doth to her husband fill:
And cauſeth him with cruell hand, his childrens bloud to ſpill.

This woman of late a ſlaue, but now become the greateſt empreſſe of the Eaſt, flowing in all worldly felicitie, attended vpon with all the pleaſures her heart could deſire, wanted nothing ſhe could wiſh, but how to find means that the Turkiſh empire might after the death of *Solyman*, be brought to ſome one of her owne ſons. This was it that had (as we haue before ſaid) long troubled her aſpiring mind; and in the middeſt of all her bliſſe, ſuffered her yet to take no reſt. Noble *Muſtapha*, *Solymans* eldeſt ſonne, and heire apparant of the empire, although farre abſent, was yet ſtill before her eies preſent; his credit, his valour, his vertues, his perfections were all bars to her deſires; he was the onely cloud that kept the ſunne from ſhining on her; if

Roxolana plotteth the confuſion of Muſtapha.

any meanes might be taken away, then wanted nothing that ſhe deſired. Which to bring to G
paſſe, the wicked woman laboured cunningly by little and little to breed in *Solymans* head no
ſmall ſuſpition of *Muſtapha*, That he being a young man of a hautie ſpirit, deſirous of ſoueraign-
tie, generally beloued, and ſwelling with the immoderat fauor of the men of warre, which were
all at his deuotion, left nothing elſe to be expected of him, but when he ſhould (as did his grand-
father *Selymus*) lay hand vpon the empire, and worke his aged fathers deſtruction. This miſ-
Ruſtan the great Baſſa furthereth the deuiſes of Roxolana. chieuous plot by her deuiſed, was not a little furthered by *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa, by whom paſ-
ſed all great matters: who nothing omitted, that could be ſlily deuiſed for the diſgrace or con-
fuſion of the young prince. For he, as a great ſecret, craftily told all them that were ſent gouer-
nours into SYRIA, that *Muſtapha* was ſecretly ſuſpected by his father of aſpiring to the king-
dome; and therefore charged them particularly, carefully to obſerue all his actions, with the H
manner of his life and gouernment, and by their letters diligently to aduertiſe him of whatſoeuer
they ſhould ſee or heare; bearing them in hand, that the more ſuſpitiouſly or odiouſly they
ſhould write of him, the more gratious and acceptable it would be vnto the great Sultan. Wher-
fore he by theſe men, oftentimes certified of the princely diſpoſition, courage, wiſedome, valour,
and bountie of *Muſtapha*, whereby he had woon all mens hearts; ſaw plainly, that he would at
length be vndoubtedly preferred to the empire: yet durſt he not for all that, aduenture to temper
with *Solyman* about that deteſtable conſpiracie againſt the inocent prince, but ſtill deliuering the
letters to the malitious woman, left the reſt by her vngratious head to be wrought. And ſhe ſtill
as occaſion beſt ſerued her purpoſe, ceaſed not with pleaſing allurements and flatterie (wherein
ſhe was moſt excellent) to infect *Solymans* mind, that whenſoeuer he ſhould chance to haue any I
ſpeech of *Muſtapha*, ſhe might take the fitter occaſion to bring forth thoſe letters. Neither was
ſhe in her drift deceiued, but hauing found a fit opportunitie, with teares trickling downe her
cheekes (which to ſerue their turns ſubtile women ſeldome want) ſhe told the emperour in what
danger he ſtood, recounting amongſt other things, how *Selymus* his father had by ſuch meanes
depriued *Baiazet* his grandfather, both of his life and empire together: and therefore moſt in-
ſtantly beſought him, as if it had altogither proceeded of a carefull loue, by that example warned
to looke to himſelfe. But theſe light arguments of ſuſpition, ſeemed as they were indeed vnto
Solyman ſcarce probable; ſo that ſhe little preuailed thereby. Which thing ſhe well perceiuing,
and inwardly grieued thereat, conuerted her cruell mind to other miſchieuous deuiſes, and ſought
Muſtapha in danger to haue been poiſoned by Roxolana, by all meanes how to poyſon the young prince: neither wanted there wicked men (as it were K
vowed to all kind of miſchiefe and villanie) readie to haue performed what ſhe deſired, had not
Gods prouidence withſtood ſo horrible a practiſe. For whereas certaine rich apparell was by
her ſent vnto him in his fathers name, he fearing the worſt, would not touch it before he had
cauſed it to be worne by one of his ſeruants; by which curious warineſſe (as it was thought) he
for that time preuented the treaſon of his wicked ſtepdame, and made her malitious practiſe ma-
nifeſt to the world. Yet reſted ſhe not ſo, but was ſtill plotting new deuiſes tending all to one
purpoſe: for being growen to that height of honour and power as neuer was woman in the
Othoman court, and by the meanes of *Trongilla* a Iew (as it was thought) hauing bewitched
the mind of the Turkiſh emperour, ſhe ſtill grew more and more in fauour, and obtained that
her ſonnes might by turnes be ſtill preſent in the court: of purpoſe, that by their daily preſence L
and continuall flatterie, they ſhould more and more procure their fathers loue; and if by chance
Muſtapha ſhould come thither, ſhe might haue the better meanes to diſpatch him: if not, to ex-
pect ſome other fit time, when ſhe might by ſome one or other meane take him away. But *Mu-
ſtapha* neuer comming (for why, the emperors ſons vſe not without their fathers leaue to go out
of the prouinces aſsigned vnto them, or to come to CONSTANTINOPLE, but after the death of
their father to receiue the empire, attended vpon with a number of ſouldiors) ſhe eaſily deuiſed
another practiſe: that her ſonnes ſhould wait vpon their father, not in the citie only, but in the
prouinces alſo; ſo that *Tzahanger* ſurnamed *Crouchbacke*, alwaies followed his father in the
campe. Certaine yeares thus ſpent, and ſhe ſtill hammering her miſchieuous deuiſes: at length
fortune fauouring her wicked deſire, got from the Baſſa which had the gouernment of *Muſta-* M
pha and the prouince of AMASIA (for as we haue ſaid, euerie one of the kings ſons hath with him
one Baſſa, which is as it were his lieutenant in adminiſtration of juſtice and martiall affaires) cer-
taine ſuſpitious letters; wherein was contained, that there was a ſpeech of a marriage to be made
ixt *Muſtapha* and the Perſian kings daughter: which thing he thought good to giue know-
ledge

A ledge of to the Counſell, that if any harme ſhould enſue thereof, he might be out of all ſuſpition. Theſe letters being brought to *Ruſtan*, he thought he had now as good as halfe brought to end the long deſired ruine of *Muſtapha*: ſo making no ſtay, he opened the matted to *Roxolana*, and afterwards both togither went to the court, and declared all the matter to the emperour; in doing whereof, they forced both their vngratious wits to fill his head, yet doubtfull with ſuſpition, and to poſſeſſe his mind with the feare of his owne moſt dutifull ſonne: ſaying, That he as a proud and ambitious young man, rauiſhed with the deſire of ſo glorious an empire, ſought againſt the lawes both of God and nature, to take his father out of the way, that ſo he might with more ſpeed ſatisfie his aſpiring mind. And to giue the more credit to this their moſt falſe ſuggeſtion, they warned him of the alliance by him purpoſed with the Perſian king, the auntient ene-
B mie of the *Othoman* emperours; wiſhing him to beware, leaſt *Muſtapha* ſupported by the ſtrength of PERSIA, and the fauour of the Sanzacks and Ianizaries, whoſe loue he had by bountie purchaſed, ſhould in ſhort time when he feared leaſt, togither depriue him both of his life and empire. With theſe and ſuch like accuſations, they ſo preuailed with the aged man whom they neuer ſuffered to reſt in quiet, that he at length reſolued to worke his ſafetie (as he ſuppoſed) by the death of his owne ſonne, in this ſort.

Roxolana and Ruſtan together put Solyman in feare of his ſonne Muſtapha.

In the yeare 1552 he cauſed proclamation to be made almoſt in all the prouinces of his empire, That for as much as the Perſians without reſiſtance with a great armie inuaded SIRIA, burning and deſtroying the countrey before them, he to repreſſe that their outragious inſolence,
C was enforced to ſend thither *Ruſtan Baſſa* with an armie: which according to his appointment was in ſhort time raiſed. Now when all things were in readineſſe, as if it had beene for ſuch a warre as was pretended, he commaunded *Ruſtan*, with as much ſecrecie and as little tumult as was poſsible, to lay hands vpon *Muſtapha*, and to bring him bound to CONSTANTINOPLE: which if hee could not conueniently effect, then, by any other meanes to take him out of the way.

Solyman ſendeth Ruſtan Baſſa with an armie to take Muſtapha.

With this wicked and cruell charge *Ruſtan* with a ſtrong armie marched towards SIRIA. *Muſtapha* vnderſtanding of his comming, without delay with 7000 of the beſt horſemen in all Turkie made towards SIRIA alſo: whereof *Ruſtan* hearing, and perceiuing that he could not (as he deſired) conueniently execute the cruell commaund of the vnnaturall father, forthwith turned his backe, and treading the ſame ſteps he came, returned with his armie to CONSTANTINOPLE
D with ſuch ſpeed, that he endured not to behold the very duſt raiſed by *Muſtapha* his horſemen, much leſſe his preſence: giuing it out, That he certainely vnderſtood, that the prouince was in quiet (as indeed it was) and that he thereupon returned. But vnto *Solyman* he told another tale in ſecret, which he maliciouſly had deuiſed, That he by moſt apparent ſignes and maniteſt preſumptions had perceiued the whole armie ſo enclined towards *Muſtapha*, that if hee ſhould haue attempted any thing againſt him by plaine force, hee ſhould haue beene vtterly forſaken, and had therefore in ſo dangerous a caſe left the matter as it was to his graue further direction. This tale ſuſpitiouſly told, raiſed in the wicked and vnnaturall father (nothing degenerating from the naturall crueltie of his auncеſtors) new and great ſuſpitions, whereof to disburden his diſquieted mind, he conceiued with himſelfe a moſt horrible deuice. Wherefore the yeare fol-
E lowing, which was the yeare 1553, he raiſed a great armie, giuing it out, That the Perſians had with greater power than before inuaded SIRIA, and that therefore he for the loue of his countrey and defence of his empire was determined to goe thither with his armie, and in perſon himſelfe to repreſſe the attempts of his enemies. Wherfore the armie being aſſembled, and all things neceſſarie orderly prouided, he commaunded to ſet forward, and in few dayes after followed himſelfe: who comming at length into SIRIA, preſently by truſtie meſſengers commaunded *Muſtapha* to come vnto him at ALEPPO, for there he lay encamped. And yet for all theſe ſhaddowes, the matter was not ſo cloſely by *Solyman* conueied (although he was exceeding carefull thereof) but that his mortall and deadly hatred againſt his ſonne was perceiued by the Baſſaes
F and other great men about him: inſomuch, that *Achmat Baſſa* by a ſecret and truſtie meſſenger gaue him warning thereof, that ſo he might in time the better prouide for the ſafegard of his life. Neither could *Muſtapha* himſelfe but maruell, that his aged father without any apparent reaſon ſhould come ſo far with ſo great an armie: yet truſting to his owne innocencie, though wonderfully troubled and perplexed in mind, he reſolued (although it were with the extreame danger of his life) to obey and yeeld to his fathers commaund: for he thought it more commendable and

The malicious deuice of Ruſtan.

Solyman goeth himſelfe with an armie to kill his ſonne.

He ſendeth for Muſtapha.

Muſtapha perplexed in mind.

honourable to incurre the danger of death, than liuing, to fall into the foule ſuſpition of diſloy- G
altie. In ſo great a perplexitie of mind, after he had with himſelfe much diſcourſed too and fro
what courſe hee were beſt to take, at length he boldly and reſolutely asked the doctor whom
(as we haue before ſaid) he had alwaies with him in his court, Whether the empire of the world
or a bleſſed life were of man more to be deſired? to whom the doctor frankely anſwered, That
the empire of the world, to him that would enter into the due conſideration thereof, brought
with it no felicitie, more than a vain ſhew and vtter apparance of good, nothing being more fraile
or vncertaine than worldly honour, bringing with it feare, vexation of mind, tribulation, ſuſpiti-
on, murder, wrong, wickedneſſe, ſpoile, ruine and captiuitie, with infinit miſcheefes of like nature
not to be deſired of him that would attaine to true felicitie, by which meanes the bleſſed life was
to be loſt and not gained: But they vnto whom God had giuen the grace, rightly to conſider and H
weigh the fragilitie and ſhortneſſe of this our eſtate (which the common ſort deemeth to be the
onely life) and to ſtriue againſt the vanities of this world, and to embrace and follow an vpright
kind of life, had vndoubtedly a place aſsigned for them in heauen, and prepared by the great God
where they ſhould at length enjoy life and bliſſe eternall. This anſwere of the great doctor won-
derfully ſatisfied the troubled mind of the young prince, foreſeeing as it were the approch of his
owne end: and ſo ſtaying not any longer diſcourſe, forthwith ſet forward towards his father, and
making great haſt, came at length to his fathers campe, and not farre off pitched his tents in the
open field. But this his ſo haſtie comming the more encreaſed the ſuſpition in the mind of his
wicked father: neither ſpared *Ruſtan* in the meane time with his craftie and ſubtile deuices to aug-
ment the ſame: for by a ſigne giuen he cauſed the Ianizaries and cheefe men in the armie to goe I
as if it had beene for honours ſake to meet *Muſtapha*; which they all without delay preſently
did at his commaund, and ſo all together ſet forward. In the meane time, he the moſt craftie var-
let with troubled countenance (for he could notably diſſemble) as a man halfe diſmayed came
in haſt into *Solymans* pauillion, and falſely told him, That the Ianizaries and almoſt all the beſt
ſouldiors of the armie were of themſelues without leaue gone to meet *Muſtapha*, and that he
feared what would enſue thereof. Which newes ſo troubled the old tyrant, that he became pale
for feare, and going out of his tent, and finding them gone, eaſily beleeued all to be true that the
falſe Baſſa had told him. Neither wanted *Muſtapha* ſtrange warning of his end ſo neere at hand,
for the third day before his ſetting forwards towards his father, falling aſleepe in the euening, he
thought he ſaw his prophet *Mahomet* in bright apparrell to take him by the hand and lead him K
into a moſt pleaſant place, beautified with moſt glorious and ſtately pallaces, and moſt delicate
and pleaſant gardens; and pointing to euery thing with his finger, to ſay thus vnto him, Here
reſt they for euer, which in this world haue led an vpright and godly life, following vertue and
deteſting vice: and after that turning his face to the other ſide, to haue ſhewed him two great and
ſwift riuers, whereof the one boyled with water blacker than pitch, and in them appeared (as he
thought) numbers of men wallowing and tumbling ſome vp, ſome downe, crying horribly for
mercie; And there (ſaid he) are puniſhed all ſuch as in this fraile life haue been the malicious wor-
kers of iniquitie, the cheefe of whom (as he ſaid) were emperours, kings, princes, and other great
men of the world. *Muſtapha* awaking, and troubled with this melancholie dreame, called vnto
him his doctor: and hauing told him all the matter, asked him what the ſame might ſignifie? who L
ſtanding a great while in a muſe (for the Mahometanes are exceeding ſuperſtitious, attributing
much vnto dreames) full of ſorrow and greefe, at length anſwered, That this viſion (for ſo it plea-
ſed him to tearme it) was vndoubtedly to be feared, as preſaging vnto him the extreame perill of
his life, and therefore requeſted him to haue great care both of his life and honour. But *Muſtapha*
as he was of a notable ſpirit and courage, regarding nothing that anſwer, ſtoutly replied: What,
ſhall I ſuffer my ſelfe to be terrified and ouercome with childiſh and vaine feare? why rather haſt
I not courageouſly and reſolutely to my father? and ſo much the more boldly, becauſe I know
aſſuredly I haue alwayes (as reaſon was) reuerenced his majeſtie, that againſt his will I neuer tur-
ned mine eyes or foot againſt his moſt royall ſeat, much leſſe affected his empire, except the moſt
high God had called him to a better life, neither then without the generall good liking & choiſe M
of the whole armie, that ſo I might at length without murder, without bloud, without tyrannie,
well and juſtly reigne, and in loue and peace inuiolate liue with my brethren: for I haue ſet
down with my ſelfe, and choſen, if it be my fathers pleaſure ſo, rather to die in his obedience, than
reigning many yeares, to be reputed of all men, eſpecially my competitours, a rebell or traitor.

Hauing

His talke with his doctor.

Muſtapha commeth to his fathers campe.

The exceeding trecherie of Ruſtan againſt Muſtapha

The melancholie dreame of Muſtapha in comming to his father.

A Hauing thus ſaid, he came vnto his fathers campe, and pitching his tents (as we haue before ſaid) ſuted himſelfe all in white, in token of his innocencie, and writing certaine letters (which the Turkes when they are about to go to any place of danger, vſe to write, and alwaies to carrie with them, for they are wonderfull fooliſh in their ſuperſtition) and putting them in his boſome, attended vpon with a few of his moſt truſtie followers, came with great reuerence towards the tent of his father, fully reſoluing to haue kiſſed his hand, as their vſuall manner is. But when he was come to the entrance of the tent, remembring that he had yet his dagger girt to him, hee entered not vntill he had put it off; becauſe he would not come into his fathers ſight with any weapon, if happily ſo hee might cleere himſelfe of his fathers needleſſe ſuſpition. So when he was come into the more inward roomes of the tent, he was with ſtich honour as be-
B longed to his ſtate cheerfully receiued by his fathers eunuchs. But ſeeing nothing elſe prouided but one ſeat whereon to ſit himſelfe alone, he perplexed in mind ſtood ſtill a while muſing, at length asked where the emperour his father was? Whereunto they anſwered, That he ſhould by and by ſee him: and with that caſting his eye aſide, he ſaw ſeauen Muts (theſe are ſtrong men, bereft of their ſpeech, whom the Turkiſh tyrants haue alwaies in readineſſe, the more ſecretly to execute their bloudie butcherie) comming from the other ſide of the tent towards him: at whoſe ſight ſtrucken with a ſudden terrour, ſaid no more, but *Lo my death*; and with that, ariſing, was about to haue fled: but in vaine, for he was caught hold on by the eunuch and Muts, and by force drawne to the place appointed for his death: where without further ſtay the Muts caſt a bow ſtring about his necke, he poore wretch ſtill ſtriuing, and requeſting that he might
C ſpeake but two words to his father before he died. All which the murtherer (for no addition is ſufficient ſignificantly to expreſſe his vnnaturall villanie) both heard and ſaw by a trauers from the other ſide of the tent: but was ſo farre from being moued with compaſsion, that thinking it long till he were diſpatched, with a moſt terrible and cruell voice he rated the villaines enured to bloud, ſaying, *Will you neuer diſpatch that I bid you? will you neuer make an end of this traitor, for whom I haue not reſted one night theſe ten yeares in quiet?* Which horrible commaunding ſpeeches yet thundring in their eares, thoſe butcherly Muts threw the poore innocent prince vpon the ground, and with the helpe of the eunuchs forcibly drawing the knotted bow ſtring both waies, by the commaundement of a moſt wicked father ſtrangled him. With like barba-
rous crueltie, he ſhortly after cauſed *Mahomet* his nephew (*Muſtapha* his ſonne) to bee ſtran-
D gled alſo.

Muſtapha commeth to his fathers tens.

Muſtapha moſt cruelly ſtrangled in his fathers ſight.

Mahomet Muſtaphaes ſonne ſtrangled alſo.

This vnnaturall and ſtrange murther committed, he preſently commaunded the Baſſa of Amasia *Muſtaphaes* lieutenant to be apprehended, and his head in his owne preſence to bee ſtrucke off. Which done, he ſent for *Tzihanger* the crooked, yet ignorant of all that was happened; and in ſporting wiſe, as if he had done a thing worth commendations, bid him go meet his brother *Muſtapha*: which thing *Tzihanger* with a merrie and cheerfull countenance haſted to doe, as one glad of his brothers comming. But as ſoone as he came vnto the place where he ſaw his brother lying dead vpon the ground ſtrangled, it is not to be ſpoken how he was in mind tormented. He was ſcarcely come to the place where this deteſtable murther was committed,
E when his father ſent vnto him certaine of his ſeruants to offer vnto him all *Muſtaphaes* treaſure, horſes, ſeruants, jewels, tents, and withall the gouernment of the prouince of Amasia: but *Tzihanger* filled with extreame heauineſſe for the vnmercifull death of his welbeloued brother, ſpake vnto them in this ſort. *Ah wicked and vngodly* Cain, *traitor (I may not ſay father) take thou now the treaſures, the horſes, the ſeruants, the iewels and the prouince of* Muſtapha. *How came it into thy wicked, cruell and ſauage breaſt, ſo vngratiouſly and contrarie to all humanitie, I will not ſay the reuerence of thine owne bloud, to kill thy worthie, warlike and noble ſonne, the mirror of courteſie, and prince of greateſt hope, the like of whom, the* Othoman *family neuer yet had, nor neuer ſhall? I will therefore my ſelfe prouide that thou, nor none for thee ſhall euer hereafter in ſuch ſort ſhamefully triumph ouer a poore crooked wretch.* And hauing thus much ſaid, ſtabd himſelfe with his owne dagger into the bodie, whereof he in ſhort time died: which ſo ſoone
F as it came to the old Tygers eares, it is hard to ſay how much he grieued. His dead bodie was by his fathers commaundement cartied from Aleppo in Syria to Constantinople, and afterwards honourably buried on the other ſide of the hauen at Pera. For all this bloudie tragedie, his couetous mind was not ſo troubled but that he could forthwith command all *Muſtaphaes* treaſures and riches to be brought to his tent: which his ſouldiors in hope to haue the

Sohyman offereth to Tzihanger all Muſtaphaes treaſure and wealth.

Tzihanger for ſorrow killeth himſelfe.

the ſame giuen them for a prey, willingly haſted to performe. In the meane time, the ſouldiors which were in *Muſtaphaes* campe, not knowing what was become of their maſter, ſeeing ſuch a multitude of ſouldiors thruſting into their campe without all order; to repreſſe their tumultuous inſolencie, ſtept out in their armour, and notably repulſed them, not without much bloudſhed. G

A bloudie tumult betwixt the ſouldiors of Solyman and Muſtapha.

At length, the noiſe of this ſtirre was heard by the reſt of the kings ſouldiors, who ſeeing the tumult to increaſe more and more, ran in to helpe their fellowes; ſo that in ſhort time there began a hoat skirmiſh and cruell fight on both ſides, inſomuch that two thouſand were ſlaine and mo wounded: neither had the broile ſo ended, had not *Achomat baſſa* a graue captaine, and for his long experience of no ſmall authoritie amongſt the ſouldiors, kept backe the Ianizaries and ſtaied their furie; and turning likewiſe to *Muſtaphaes* ſouldiors, by gentle and mild words and courteous perſuaſions, in this manner appeaſed their rage. *What my brethren* (ſaid he) *will you now (degenerating from your auntient loyaltie, for which you haue bin for ſo many ages commended) impugne the commaund of the great Sultan our dread ſoueraigne? Truely I cannot ſufficiently maruell what thing ſhould moue you, whom I haue hitherto proued to haue been moſt worthy and valiant ſouldiors, in this ciuile conflict to draw thoſe weapons againſt your fellowes and brethren, which you haue moſt fortunatly vſed againſt the enemies of the* Othoman *kings: except you meane thereby to make your ſelues a ioyfull ſpectacle vnto your enemies, who grieuing to ſee themſelues ouercome by your victorious weapons, may yet reioice among themſelues to ſee you turne the ſame one vpon another. Wherefore my ſonnes, for your auntient honours ſake, be carefull that you doe not by this your inſolencie loſe the reputation of your wiſedome loyaltie and valour, for which you haue hitherto been aboue all others commended: reſerue theſe your weapons which you haue now too too much vſed amongſt your fellowes, againſt your enemies, of whom you may get more praiſe and honour.* This ſpeech of the old Baſſa, ſo mollified the ſtout ſouldiors, that they freely permitted all that was in *Muſtaphaes* tents to be carried to *Solymans:* but as ſoone as the death of *Muſtapha* was blowne into the eares of the Ianizaries and the reſt of the armie in *Solymans* campe, another tumult riſe among them worſe than the firſt. They were quickly all vp in armes againe, and with a great noiſe confuſed with teares and lamentation, as they were in rage and furie, brake violently into *Solymans* pauillion with their drawne ſwords: which ſtrucke the tyrant into ſuch a feare, that deſtitute of all counſell in himſelfe, he was about with the extreame perill of his life to haue fled: but being holden of his friends, and making a vertue of neceſsitie, vpon the ſudden aduentured to doe that which at better leiſure he would ſcarcely haue thought vpon: for going forth out of his tent, but with a pale and wan countenance he ſpake vnto the enraged ſouldiors thus. *What broile is this? what ſturre? what ſo great inſolencie? what meane your inflamed, fierce and angrie lookes? know you not your ſoueraigne? and him that hath power to commaund you? Haue you ſo reſolued to ſtaine the antient and inuincible honour of your ſelues and your anceſtors, with the bloud of your lord and emperour?* Whileſt he was yet thus ſpeaking, the ſouldiors boldly anſwered, That they denied not, but that he was the man whom they many yeares before had choſen for their emperour: but in that they had by their owne valour got for him a large and mightie empire, and in like manner preſerued it; that was therefore of them done, that he ſhould for the ſame gouerne them vertuouſly and juſtly, and not to lay his bloudie hands without diſcretion vpon euerie juſt man, and moſt wickedly embrue himſelfe with innocent bloud: and that they came thither armed, they did it (as they ſaid) moued with juſt cauſe, to reuenge the vnworthie death of guiltleſſe *Muſtapha*; and that for that matter, he had no juſt cauſe to be angrie with them. Wherefore they required, that they might publikely cleere themſelues of the treaſon whereof they were accuſed by *Muſtaphaes* enemies, and that the accuſer might be brought forth to juſtifie his accuſation: proteſting, that they would neuer lay downe their weapons, vntill the accuſer made his appearance in judgement, and commenced his accuſation judicially, vpon paine to endure the like puniſhment if he failed in proofe. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the hainouſneſſe of the late committed fact cauſed euerie man to ſhed teares, ſo that *Solyman* himſelfe ſeemed to be ſorie for the murther ſo lately by himſelfe committed: wherfore he promiſed vnto the ſouldiors whatſoeuer they required, and did what he could to appeaſe their angrie minds. For all that, they in the meane time, leaſt he ſhould craftily ſlip away and deceiue them of that he had promiſed, and of the expectation of ſuch things as they had required, witha marueilous care and diligence all kept watch and ward.

The tumult appeaſed by Achomat baſſa.

The Ianizaries vp in armes againſt Solyman, for the vnworthy death of Muſtapha.

The ſtout ſpeech of Solyman to the Ianizaries.

The fierce anſwere of the Ianizaries to Solyman.

Solyman yeeldeth vnto the Ianizaries.

H I K L M

Solyman

Solyman to appeaſe this furie of the Ianizaries, depriued *Ruſtan Baſſa* of all his honours, and tooke from him his ſeale whereof he had the keeping, and deliuered it to *Achomates baſſa*. But *Ruſtan* worthely ſtrucken with feare and horrour, ſeeing himſelfe now in no ſafetie in his owne tents, fled ſecretly to *Achomates*, asking his counſell what were beſt for him to doe, and what courſe to take in ſo doubtfull and dangerous a caſe? To whom the Baſſa anſwered, That it were beſt for him to vſe the great emperours aduiſe, and to doe what he commaunded. Which anſwere well ſatiſfied *Ruſtan*: and ſo he which of late gaue other men acceſſe vnto the emperour at his pleaſure, was now glad by his old acquaintance and friends to preferre this poore ſute, To know his pleaſure what he would haue him to doe. From whom he receiued this anſwere, That he ſhould incontinently without farther delay get him out of his ſight, and out of the campe: which the Baſſa ſaid he could not conueniently doe, being by his diſpleaſure and the ſouldiors rage diſfurniſhed of all things neceſſarie for his departure. Whereunto *Solyman* ſent him anſwere againe, That he could giue him neither longer time nor delay, and that it were beſt for him without more adoe to be gone for feare of farther harme. Whereupon *Ruſtan*, guiltie in conſcience of moſt horrible villanie & treacherie, accompanied but with eight of his moſt faithfull friends in ſteed of his late world of followers; poſted in haſt to CONSTANTINOPLE, and there (not without danger of his head) with *Roxolana* and other the complices and contriuers of the treaſon againſt *Muſtapha*, in great feare expected the euent of his fortune.

Ruſtan diſgraced by Solyman, flieth to Conſtantinople.

This young prince *Muſtapha* thus ſhamefully murthered by his owne father, was for his rare vertues generally beloued of the Turkes; but of the ſouldiors moſt for his martiall diſpoſition, and readineſſe for the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud. The opinion they had conceiued of him was ſuch, and their loue ſo great, that they neuer thought there was any in the *Othoman* family, of whom they expected ſo much for the enlarging of their empire: inſomuch, that euer ſince, when in their priuat or publike actions they faile of any great hope, they vſe this prouerb euen at this day taken frō him, *Gietti Sultan Muſtapha*; Sultan *Muſtapha* is dead: as who ſhould ſay, our hope is all loſt. *Achomates baſſa* the great champion of the Turks, a man of exceeding courage, not ignorant of the ſmall aſſurance of the great honors of that ſtate, at ſuch time as he receiued the ſeale from *Solyman*, boldly told him, That as he did then franckly beſtow it vpon him, ſo he would at one time or other to his no leſſe diſgrace take it from him: to whom *Solyman* ſolemnly promiſed with an oath not to diſplace him ſo long as he liued. For all that, he had not long enjoyed that honour, but that *Solyman* falling in diſlike with him, and willing againe to promote *Ruſtan baſſa* to that great honour, greater than which there is none in the Turkes court, which by reaſon of his oath he could not doe ſo long as *Achomates* liued: To ſaue his oath, and to preferre his ſonne in law (whom he had indeed diſplaced onely to pleaſe the tumultuous Ianizaries) reſolued to haue *Achomates* put to death. Of which his purpoſe *Achomates* altogither ignorant, and one morning after his wonted manner comming into the Diuano in all his honour, vpon the ſudden receiued word from *Solyman*, that he muſt preſently die, and forthwith was the hangman readie to haue ſtrangled him, as was giuen him in charge: whom the ſtout Baſſa thruſt from him with his hand, with countenance and cheere in ſhew no more troubled than if the matter had nothing concerned him. And looking a good while round about him, eſpied at laſt an honeſt man whom he had before many times pleaſured, whom he moſt earneſtly requeſted for all the kindneſſe ſhewed vnto him, to do him that laſt fauour as to ſtrangle him with his own hand, which ſhould be vnto him the greateſt good turne that he could poſsibly deuiſe, deteſting nothing more than to die with the hand of the executioner. Which thing when he after much intreatie had vndertaken to performe, *Achomates* willed him, that he ſhould not at one twitch ſtrangle him outright, but letting the bow ſtring ſlake againe, giue him leaue once to breath, and then to diſpatch him: which his requeſt was by his friend accordingly performed, and he in that ſort ſtrangled: wherein it ſeemeth that he was deſirous, firſt to taſt of death, and not to die all at once. Immediatly after whoſe death, *Ruſtan baſſa* was againe reſtored to his place of chiefe Viſier, and had the great ſeale deliuered vnto him: which honour he enjoyed about ſix years after, and ſo at laſt died of the dropſie. This was the end of theſe two great Baſſaes *Achomates* and *Ruſtan*, who in that time ſwaied that great empire vnder *Solyman*, and of whom we haue ſo much ſpoken. It is reported, that *Solyman* hauing appointed *Achomates* to die, ſhould ſay, It is better for his great heart once to die, than to die a thouſand times, in ſeeing his honour taken from him and beſtowed vpon another.

The miſerable end of Achomates the great Baſſa.

The

1554 The Turkes gallies by the ſollicitation of the French before brought down into the Tuſcane ſea, did much harme vpon the coaſts of CALABRIA and SICILIA in this yeare 1554, as they had the yeare before, and ſo did diuers yeares after. At which time alſo *Pandulphus Contarenus* the Venetian Admirall ſcouring alongſt the ſeas, carefully looking to the frontiers of the Venetian eſtate, chanced to meet with the Baſſa of CALIPOLIS (who the yeare before had rifled certaine Venetian marchants) in reuenge of which injurie he ſet vpon him, and after a great ſpoyle made both of the Turkes and their gallies, he ranſacked DIRRACHIVM, then one of the Turks port townes in DALMATIA.

1555 The next yeare 1555 the ſame Baſſa recouered his ſtrength, but not daring to be too buſie with the Venetians, ſurpriſed the Iſlands of PLVMBIS and ELBA, ſubject to the duke of FLORENCE, and withall ſent letters to *Solyman*, to perſuade him to take vp armes againſt the Venetians, as they which had broken the league.

1556 At the ſame time *Haly* the Baſſa of BVDA by policie ſurpriſed the ſtrong caſtle of BABOZA in HVNGARIE: and was in good hope by the like fineneſſe to haue taken the towne and caſtle of ZIGETH, a place of great importance: but failing of his purpoſe, he came the next yeare 1556 with a great armie, and the 13 day of Iune encamped before the towne, wherein was Gouernour *Marcus Horwath* a valiant captaine, with a garriſon of notable ſouldiors. Shortly after he began a moſt terrible batterie: during which time the Chriſtians ſallying diuers times out, ſlew many of his men, who for all that vſed ſuch diligence, that the twentieth of Iune they woon the vttermoſt wall, and after fiue hot aſſaults were in hope at the ſixt to haue woon the caſtle alſo: but the Chriſtians perceiuing the danger, reſolutely ſallied out, and hauing ſlaine eight hundred of them, draue the reſt againe from the wall: yet the Turkes gaue it not ſo ouer, but with a great number of carts laboured to haue filled vp the marriſh and ditches about the towne: which their attempt was by the induſtrie of the defendants alſo defeated. The Baſſa perceiuing how hardly the towne would be woon by force, attempted to haue perſuaded them to haue yeelded it vp by compoſition: but fayling therein of his purpoſe, began againe the twelfth of Iulie to aſſault the citie, which aſſault he maintained fiue dayes together without intermiſsion, ſtill ſending in freſh men in ſtead of them that were wearied or ſlaine: yet was the citie for all that by the valour of the Chriſtians notably defended. So when he had in vaine proued the vttermoſt of his forces, he raiſed his ſiege the one and twentieth day of Iuly, and departed: but within ſix dayes after he returned againe from the citie QVINQVE ECLESIÆ, and aſſaulted the citie afreſh, but was at length glad to giue ouer the ſiege and be gone, when he had loſt of his beſt ſouldiors aboue two thouſand, and of the defendants ſlaine but a hundred and twentie. After his departure there was ten thouſand great ſhot found, wherewith he had battered the towne and the caſtle, which was for this time thus worthely defended. The Turks in the meane time after their wonted manner ceaſed not to doe what harme they could in the Tuſcane ſea, and had againe miſerably ſpoyled the Iſland of CORSICA: for withſtanding of whom, the biſhop of ROME exacted of his people a great ſubſidie, and finely ſtript the Iewes of their money, and ſeized vpon their rich marchants goods in his territorie: at whoſe earneſt ſute *Solyman* in their behalfe writ vnto the biſhop as followeth.

Zigeth beſieged by the Baſſa of Buda.

A terrible aſſault.

Zigeth notably defended.

Sultan *Solyman* moſt mightie Emperour of Emperours, the ſonne of *Selym*, Emperour of Emperours, to whom God giue eternall victorie: to Pope *Paulus* the fourth, greeting.

Solymans letter to the Pope, in behalfe of the Iews marchants.

Moſt excellent and moſt mightie Lord of the profeſſors of the Meſſias Ieſu, and lord of ROME, *the Almightie keepe thee. At ſuch time as thou ſhalt receiue our ſeale, thou ſhalt vnderſtand by our letters, that certaine Hebrewes haue come vnto vs, complaining that they are oppreſſed of thee with too greeuous exactions, when they come to trafficke at* ANCONA: *This burden I requeſt thee to take from them, and to reſtore againe vnto them their goods, that thereby they may be able to pay vnto vs our tribute: which if thou (as I hope thou wilt) ſhalt doe, thou ſhalt feele our fauour. Farewell from* CONSTANTINOPLE *the laſt of the bleſſed moneth* * *Rambeluch, in the yeare of our great Prophet* Mahomet *nine hundred threeſcore and foure.*

* *The ninth of March, An. 1556*

Haly Baſſa beſiegeth Zigeth againe.

Haly Baſſa greeued with the late repulſe he had receiued at ZIGETH, came againe the next yeare,

A yeare, and beſieged it, at which time king *Ferdinand* ſent *Nicholaus Polwiler* and the countie *Serinus* with a power raiſed in SVEVIA and AVSTRIA, to recouer BABOZA, a caſtle betwixt ZIGETH and STIRIA, before ſurpriſed by the Turks: of whoſe comming the Baſſa hauing intelligence, riſe with his armie and departed from ZIGETH, which he had for certaine moneths hardly beſieged, and not farre from BABOZA met with *Polwiler* and *Serinus*; who joining battell with him, after a hard and ſharpe fight ouerthrew him and put him to flight. This victorie with the comming downe of yong *Ferdinand*, king *Ferdinands* ſonne, Archduke of AVSTRIA with new ſupplies, ſo terrified the Turkes in that part of HVNGARIE alongſt the riuer Dranus, that they for feare forſooke BABOZA, SAMMARTIN, SAN-LAVRENCE, and diuers other ſmall caſtles which they had before taken, and fled to QVINQVE ECLESIÆ.

Haly Baſſa ouerthrowne.

B The Gouernour of ZIGETH encouraged herewith, ſallying out with his garriſon, ſlew many of the Turkes in their flight towards QVINQVE ECLESIÆ, and meeting by chance with a troupe of horſemen which were bringing the Turkes pay, ouerthrew them, tooke the mony, and ſo with an exceeding rich prey returned to his caſtle. At which time alſo *Adam* the Gouernour of RAB, otherwiſe called FAVRINVM, hauing burnt the ſuburbes of ALBA REGALIS, and driuen away many thouſands of cattell, at a towne called SIAN ouerthrew fiue hundred Turkes, and as many fugitiue Chriſtians, and ſo with a great prey and little or no loſſe at all of his men returned.

Henrie the French king at the ſame time in warres with *Philip* king of SPAINE, and troubled with the loſſe of his armie ouerthrowne not farre from S. QVINTAINS (at which time the C duke *Montmorencie* conſtable of FRANCE and Generall of the armie with his ſonne and diuers other of the nobilitie of FRANCE were taken priſoners) by his embaſſadour *Michaell Condignac* ſollicited *Solyman* to haue by ſea inuaded NAPLES and SICILIA, ſo to haue withdrawne the Spaniſh forces out of FRANCE, to defend their owne frontiers. Which thing *Solyman*, offended with the inſolencie of the embaſſadour, refuſed to doe: yet neuertheleſſe commaunded his aduenturers all alongſt the coaſt of AFFRICKE, to infeſt thoſe ſeas, and to doe what harme they could vpon the coaſt of ITALIE and SICILIA; which they ſo diligently performed, that the viceroy of SICILIA was faine for defence of thoſe countries to lie in readineſſe with his gallies in the ports of CAIETA and NAPLES.

Henry the French king ſollicited Solyman to inuade the king of Spaine his territories.

In the meane time the *Guiſe*, lord Grand Prior of the knights of S. *Iohns* in FRAVNCE (and D brother of *Francis* the duke of *Guiſe*, Generall of the French kings armie in ITALIE, who vpon the ouerthrow receiued at S. QVINTINS, called out of ITALIE, ſhortly after tooke CALLIS) Admirall of the gallies of MALTA, went out toward the Eaſt with foure gallies well appointed to lie in wait for the Turkes, and by fortune met with two great ſhips laded with the Turks marchandiſe, which he tooke; and by and by after light vpon foure of the Turks gallies, with whom he had a great fight: yet at length hauing ſunke one of them and burnt another, he tooke the other two. After which victorie returning towards MALTA to haue repaired his gallies and cured his wounded men, he was met with foure other great gallies of the Turks: who deſirous to reuenge the loſſe of their fellowes, ſet vpon him, and he ſeeing now no remedie, but that hee muſt needs fight courageouſly, encountered them. But for as much as he had in the two fights E before loſt ſome of his men, and 72 of the knights in the gallies lay ſore wounded, hee by the counſell of the captaines retired towards MALTA: but by the way one of his gallies was taken by the Turks, with 52 knights of the Order: yet with the reſt and the prizes before taken, he recouered the iſland of MALTA, where he ſtayed that Winter, and the next Spring ſayled into FRAVNCE to be partaker of thoſe troubles, which beginning ſhortly after, haue but of late taken end.

The Guiſe, lord Grand Prior in France, admirall of Malta, taketh certaine of the Turkes gallies.

The immoderat fortune of the great Sultan *Solyman*, was not in any thing more contrarie to his deſire, than in the proofe of thoſe his children, of whom the world held the greateſt expe- F ctation. *Muſtapha* his eldeſt ſonne, the mirrour of courteſie and rare hope of the whole Turkiſh nation, the ſuſpitious tyrant had moſt vnnaturally cauſed to be murdered in his owne preſence, to the greeſe of all his ſubjects in generall, as is before declared: poore *Zehanger* was dead for ſorrow: and *Mahometes* his eldeſt ſonne by his beſt beloued the faire *Roxolana*, was departed this life alſo. So that now remained vnto him onely *Selymus*, the vnworthie heire of ſo great an empire, and *Baiazet* his yonger brother, the liuely image of his father, both men grown, and the ſonnes of the ſame *Roxolana*: but ſo farre differing the one from the other both in feature of

Solyman in nothing more vnfortunat than in the proofe of his children.

of bodie and diſpoſition of mind, as if they had not beene of the ſame kindred and line. *Selymus* the elder brother moſt like vnto his mother, was in the ſecret determination of the aged emperour his father appointed heire of that moſt mightie empire. *Baiazet* much reſembling his father, was on the other ſide ſtrongly ſupported by the care and entire loue of his mother: which whether it proceeeded of a ſecret commiſeration of his ineuitable deſtinie, or that he had by loyaltie or other meanes ſo woon her fauour, is not knowne; but euery man ſaw, that if it had lien in her power, ſhe would vndoubtedly haue preferred him before his elder brother *Selymus*, and haue placed him in the empire: but ſhe muſt needs giue way to her old husbands will, firmely and irremouably ſet downe, that the deſtinies ſo permitting, none ſhould raigne after him but his eldeſt ſonne *Selymus*. Of which his purpoſe and reſolution *Baiazet* being not ignorant, began moſt circumſpectly to looke about him, if he could by any meanes fruſtrate that forcible neceſsitie, and exchange his certaine deſtruction with an empire: in which his deepe and dangerous cogitations he was not a little comforted by the fauour and loue of *Roxolana* his mother, and of *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa his brother in law, who together had in any other matter been able to haue ouerruled the aged emperour. Whereupon he reſolutely ſet downe himſelfe, rather to end his dayes by making proofe of his good or bad fortune, than vpon the death of his father (which by courſe of nature could not now be farre off) to be as a ſacrifice baſely butchered by ſome vile hangman of his brothers. *Baiazet* ſo reſolued, and now alreadie fallen out with his brother *Selymus*, tooke occaſion vpon the generall diſcontentment of the people and others, for the vnworthie death of *Muſtapha* their late joy to begin thoſe ſtirres which he had before with himſelfe plotted, and ſo to make a head, whereunto he might afterward joyne the bodie alſo: for why that worthie *Muſtapha* had left behind him ſo great a deſire of himſelfe, that now it wearied many to liue after him, they had ſo placed all the hope of their good fortune in him; vnto whom nothing was more deſired than to reuenge the wrong done vnto him, or els to run the ſame hard fortune with him: Otherſome guiltie of the immoderat affection they had borne vnto him yet liuing, and fearing to be called to giue an account thereof, thought any ſtate better & more aſſured than that wherein they preſently ſtood, and therefore ſought all occaſions of new ſtirres, and how to ſet all on a hurly burly: onely a captaine was wanting, *Muſtapha* could not be againe reuiued, yet might he be ſtrongly ſuppoſed to liue. This deuice pleaſed *Baiazet*, as beſt fitting his purpoſe, being not ignorant of this diſpoſition of the people. Wherefore by certaine of his moſt faithfull and truſtie followers he found out a certaine obſcure fellow of a notable audacitie which ſhould take vpon him the name and perſon of *Muſtapha*, whoſe ſtature alſo and countenance and proportion of bodie differed not much from *Muſtapha* himſelfe: He, as if he had by chance eſcaped, firſt began to ſhew himſelfe in that part of THRACIA which is aboue CONSTANTINOPLE, and lieth toward Danubius, not farre from the countries of MOLDAVIA and VALACHIA, and was for that cauſe both fitteſt for rebellion, and alſo beſt ſtored with horſemen, who of all others moſt honoured *Muſtapha*. Hither he comes as if it had beene from a long journey, ſlenderly accompanied, and as if he had beene deſirous at the firſt not to haue beene knowne: his followers being demaunded (as it chanced) who he was, did rather fearfully giue them that asked occaſion to gheſſe, than plainely to tell them, that it was *Muſtapha*: neither did he himſelfe much denie it: wherby the people became more and more deſirous to know him. Which beginning thus layd, he afterward began to rejoice of his fortunate comming thither, and to giue God thanks for his ſafe arriuall there amongſt his friends: he tels them, That at ſuch time as hee was ſent for by his father, he durſt not come into his ſight, or commit himſelfe vnto him in his furie, but by the counſell of his friends to haue with great promiſes perſuaded one that was maruellous like vnto himſelfe, to goe in his ſtead; by whoſe danger hee might make proofe of his fathers mind towards him: who before he was admitted to the ſpeech of his father, was without hearing miſerably ſtrangled, and ſo caſt out before his pauillion: at which time there was many (as he ſaid) which perceiued the deceit, but the greater part remained in errour, deceiued with the lineaments and countenance of the miſerable dead man, who was much altered with the terrible paines of death, and ſuppoſing it to haue beene him indeed that was ſlaine. Which thing as ſoone as he vnderſtood, he thought it not good longer to ſtay, but preſently to flie and to prouide for his owne ſafetie: and ſo flying with a few of his owne followers, thereby the more ſecretly and ſafely to eſcape; and hauing paſſed aboue PONTVS by the people of BOSPHORVS, was now come thither, where as he was in good hope to find much helpe and comfort

Baiazet Solymans younger ſonne ſeeketh to aſpire vnto the empire.

A counterfeit Muſtapha ſet vp to make a head of rebellion.

The craftie dealing of the ſuppoſed Muſtapha to deceiue the people.

A fort in the fidelitie of his friends, whom he requeſted not now to forſake him, or to make leſſe account of him diſgraced by the malice of his ſtepmother, than they had before in time of his proſperitie. For that he was aminded to reuenge the injutie done vnto him, and by force of armes to defend himſelfe: for what elſe had he now left? being by no other means preſerued but by the death of another man: that he had ſufficiently proued how his father ſtood affected towards him, and that he now liued by his miſtaking, not by his kindneſſe. The cauſe of all which his troubles was his ſtepdame, who (as he ſaid) with her miſchantments led the ſilly old man (now almoſt doating for age and mad for loue) whither ſhe would at her pleaſure, and by her agent *Ruſtan baſſa* forced him forward headlong into all kind of miſchiefe: but that God be thanked he wanted not his friends, by whoſe help he would find a way out of theſe miſeries, and take reuenge
B of his enemies: for why, he had as yet couragious hearts, and the Ianizaries, with the greater part of his fathers family on his ſide, & that great multitudes of people would flock vnto him vpon the brute of his name: ſo that they which did now mourne for him as dead (in number many) would by heapes run to help him being aliue: ſo that they there preſent would only courteouſly receiue him as a gueſt, and protect him now diſtreſſed, vntill ſuch time as his wel-willers & friends might repaire vnto him. And this at laſt he gaue out, not in ſecret, but openly vnto all men wherſoeuer he came. The ſame things did they alſo report, whom he made the people to beleeue to haue been the companions of his flight: which was alſo confirmed by diuers of good account and authoritie, whom *Baiazet* had before delt withall to that purpoſe. So a great number of men altogether vnknowne to *Baiazet*, were by that meanes ſeduced: for this matter was ſo cunningly
C wrought, that many euen of them that had knowne *Muſtapha* aliue, and ſeene him laid dead before his fathers pauillion; yet liſted not greatly to beleeue that which they knew, but eaſily ſuffered themſelues to be perſuaded, that this was the true *Muſtapha*. But the companions and followers of *Muſtapha*, in whoſe minds the liuely countenance and remembrance of him was thorowly engrauen, nothing could deceiue: yet blinded partly with feare, partly with griefe and deſire of reuenge, and wiſhing rather to aduenture any thing, than longer to liue without *Muſtapha*, were the firſt men that came to offer their ſeruice to this counterfeit *Muſtapha*: and would not ſuffer other men to doubt but that this was the verie *Muſtapha*, which it was falſely reported to haue been ſlaine. As for the deceiuer himſelfe, he either kept with him, or entertained them that
D came, ſome with faire promiſes, ſome with courteous ſpeeches, and many alſo with money and rewards, which he made them to beleeue he had reſerued of the reliques of his better fortune: for *Baiazet* had before notably prouided, that nothing ſhould in this behalfe be wanting vnto him for the countenancing of his credit. So within the ſpace of a few daies, ſuch a multitude of men was reſorted vnto him, as might almoſt haue made a whole armie. When *Solyman* vpon the ſudden was aduertiſed by the fearfull meſſengers and letters of the Sanzacks thereabouts, what a danger was like to enſue by the concourſe of ſo great a multitude of people vnto this counterfeit *Muſtapha*: he preſently ſuſpecting (as the truth was) that this was not done without the priuitie of one of his ſonnes, thought it not a thing to be neglected: and therefore by his letters reproued the Sanzacks there by, that they had ſuffered the matter to run ſo farre, and had not in the beginning as their duetie was ſuppreſſed the ſame; grieuouſly threatning them, if they did not with all
E ſpeed ſend vnto him in bonds that counterfeit companion with the reſt of his complices. Which that it might be the eaſilier by them performed, he promiſed to ſend one of the chiefe Baſſaes, namely *Partau Baſſa* (who had married the widdow of *Mahometes* the eldeſt ſonne of *Roxolana* of whom we haue before remembred) and with him a ſtrong power of the ſoldiors of the court: but if they would haue themſelues excuſed, that they ſhould of themſelues diſpatch the matter before the comming of that aid. This *Partau* lead after him certaine ſquadrons of ſouldiors, not ſo many in number, as notable for their fidelitie: for *Solyman* had cauſed the moſt faithfull of his colonels, captaines, and corporals to be called out; wiſely doubting leaſt his ſouldiors, either led with affection, or corrupted with reward, might take part with him againſt whom they were
F ſent. For the common ſort of the Ianizaries, ſtanding in ſuſpence at the fame of *Muſtapha*, and the expectation of ſome great noueltie, fauoured that broile, and wiſhed all on a hurly burly: neither was the matter in deed without danger. The Sanzacks after they had receiued this ſtraight charge from *Solyman*, conſidering how much it ſtood them vpon to make a ſpeedie diſpatch, began now now to encourage one another to beſtirre themſelues, to make all the ſpeed poſſible, and with all their power on euerie ſide to oppoſe themſelues againſt the attempts of this

Solyman angrie with the Sanzackes for not ſuppreſſing the ſuppoſed Muſtapha, ſendeth Partau the great Baſſa againſt him.

new found *Muſtapha*: labouring to ſtay ſuch as were comming vnto him, and to diſperſe ſuch as G
were readie come, by ſhewing vnto them the greatneſſe of the danger, and threatning them with
all extreamities. In the meane time *Partau Baſſa* came on with his armie, and was not now far
off: when (as in like caſe it oftentimes falleth out in things not yet ſufficiently confirmed, and by
celeritie pretended) the ſouldiors of the counterfeit *Muſtapha* ſeeing themſelues beſet on euerie
ſide, began to feare, and at firſt ſome few to ſlip away; but afterwards, all, without regard of
ſhame or of their promiſe to forſake their captaine, and flie euerie man whither he thought beſt.
The captaine ſeeking likewiſe to haue made ſhift for himſelfe, was with the chiefe of his coun-
ſellors and followers taken by the Sanzacks and deliuered to the Baſſa, who with a ſtrong guard
ſent them all in bonds to CONSTANTINOPLE: where *Solyman* by moſt exquiſite torments
drew from them all the ſecret deuiſes of his young ſonne *Baiazet*, and that he had purpoſed after H
ſuch a head made by this ſuppoſed *Muſtapha* as he thought conuenient, to haue vpon the ſud-
den joyned himſelfe with a great power, and ſo as ſhould beſt ſerue for his purpoſe, to haue gone
directly to CONSTANTINOPLE, or els againſt his brother *Selymus*. But whileſt hee goeth
Muſtapha and his companions drowned by night. ſomewhat too ſlowly about his buſineſſe, his vnripe counſels were by his fathers celeritie op-
preſſed. Of all which matter *Solyman* now thorowly aſſured, cauſed the ſuppoſed *Muſtapha* and
his companions at midnight to be drowned in the ſea; thinking it not good to haue theſe things
commonly knowne, and to haue his domeſticall wounds yet bleeding, laid open to the view of
his neighbour princes. Neuertheleſſe being mightily offended with *Baiazet* for ſo great an inſo-
lencie, he ceaſed not to caſt in his mind how to be reuenged vpon him; which his wife *Roxolans*
Roxolana intreateth Solyman for Baiazet her yonger ſonne, and obtaineth his pardon. a woman of great wiſedome was not ignorant of. Who after a few daies, at ſuch time as the I
old mans furie was ouerpaſt, falling of purpoſe into talke with him about the matter, ſhe laid to-
gither in her ſons behalfe, and alleadged the vndiſcreetneſſe of youth, the neceſsitie of the fact,
and the example of his auncеſtors in like caſe, that it was ſo prouided for by nature, that euerie
man ſhould be carefull of himſelfe and his, and that all men did indifferently ſhun death, that
young men were by euill counſell eaſily ſeduced and made to forget their dutie. That it were
reaſon he ſhould forgiue him this firſt fault; which if he amended, then was it a great gaine for
the father to haue ſaued his ſonne: but if he ſhould againe fall into relapſe, there would not want
time to puniſh him ſufficiently for both faults. And that if ſo be he would not pardon him for
his owne ſake: yet he would vouchſafe to pardon him for hers, entreating now for him for
whom ſhe had before groaned, and not to be cruell vpon him one of the pledges of their loue, K
in whom reſted the bloud of them both: for in what wofull caſe ſhould ſhe be, if of thoſe two
ſons (all that God had left her) the fathers ſeueritie ſhould bereaue her of the one? Wherfore ſhe
requeſted him to moderat his anger, and to preferre his clemencie before his juſt indignation:
foraſmuch as God himſelfe of all power and might, did not alwaies deale with ſinners in ſeueri-
tie, but for moſt part in mercie; whereas otherwiſe all mankind would not ſuffice his wrath. And
would mercie in any place be more fitting, than in the father towards his child? She promi-
ſed further, that *Baiazet* ſhould from thenceforth remaine in moſt dutifull obedience towards
his majeſtie; and vpon his ſo great clemencie, to conuert the feare wherein he now liued into a
world of dutie and deuotion. Honourable minds (ſhe ſaid) were retained with nothing more
than with kindneſſe and courteſie, that the remembrance of that his fatherly forgiueneſſe, ſhould L
be a ſtay vnto him for euer doing the like againe: at laſt that ſhe would promiſe for him, and take
vpon her, that he ſhould euer afterwards ſatisfie his fatherly expectation in all kind of dutie and
loyaltie. Which words mingled with teares and other womanly geſtures, ſo wrought with
Solyman, being otherwiſe too much in her power, that he reſolued to forgiue the fault; yet ſo, that
he ſhould come and ſubmit himſelfe, and receiue from him his charge. This carefull mother
foreſlowes no time, but by letters ſecretly aduertiſed *Baiazet*, not to feare to come vnto his fa-
Baiazet goeth to his father in feare. ther at ſuch time as he ſhould be ſent for: aſſuring him that there was no danger, for that his fa-
ther was by her meanes appeaſed, and he againe brought into his father. With which good
newes *Baiazet* well comforted, reſolued to go at ſuch time as he was ſent for: yet full of feare, and
oftentimes looking backe vnto his brother *Muſtapha*, whoſe dreadfull example ſufficiently war- M
ned him what a danger he aduentured himſelfe vnto. Yet he came to the place appointed for the
parley, which was in a common Inne at a place called CARESTRAN, a few miles from CON-
STANTINOPLE: for ſuch is the ſuſpitious maner of the Turkiſh tyrants of theſe times, not to ſuf-
fer any of their ſonnes that be men growne, to ſet their foot within the gates of CONSTANTI-

NOPLE

A NOPLE, as dangerous for ſoliciting the ſouldiors of the court, and ſo conſequently for the altering of the ſtate. *Baiazet* was no ſooner lighted from his horſe, but his fathers guard were preſently readie to receiue him, commaunding him to lay aſide his ſword and dagger; which thing although it be an vſuall matter in others that are admitted to the preſence of the Turkiſh emperour, yet might it then in the mind of his guiltie ſonne raiſe a great feare. But his kind mother (who had before foreſeene in what feare and perplexitie he would come) had conuaied her ſelfe into a chamber faſt by the entrie of the ſame houſe as *Baiazet* was to paſſe, where out at at a little caſement couered with a thin linnen cloth, ſhe called vnto him in paſsing by in theſe few words: *Corcoma oglan Corcoma* (which is as much as to ſay) *feare not my ſonne, feare not*: with which ſhort ſpeech *Baiazet* was not a little both comforted and encouraged. But as ſoone as he was
B come into his fathers preſence and had done his dutie, *Solyman* commaunded him to ſit downe by him: then began the grim ſire grieuouſly to reproue him of raſhneſſe and want of diſcretion in taking vp armes, which he could not otherwiſe conceiue of, but as taken vp againſt himſelfe. And admit they were as he would haue it, and the beſt that he could make of it, taken vp againſt his elder brother; yet was it neuertheleſſe a great preſumption and moſt wicked fact. Neither was there any want in him, but that the whole ſtate of the Mahometane religion (which at this day reſteth vpon the *Othoman* family) had by his domeſticall diſcord beene ſore ſhaken, and brought in perill of vtter ruine, to the great injurie reproach and contempt of his majeſtie, a moſt deſtable and horrible crime, which could not with condigne puniſhment be reuenged. Yet for all that, he had determined to pardon him, and to ſhew himſelfe rather a kind father than a
C ſeuere judge; ſo that he would from thenceforth leaue the care of future things to God: foraſmuch as none of theſe things are done by our appointment, but that kingdomes and monarchies are beſtowed as pleaſeth him: So that if it were his deſtinie to enjoy the empire after his death, he ſhould be moſt ſure thereof as of a thing that would of it ſelfe come vnto him, and was not by any mans power to be kept from him, as that which was by God ordained for him: but if it were otherwiſe appointed by God, then were it a mad thing for him to labour in vaine to ſtriue againſt the will of God, and as it were to fight with God. Wherefore he ſhould now as one well warned, ceaſe to rage and ſtorme, and not to moleſt his quiet brother, or trouble him his aged father: for that if he ſhould againe fall, and raiſe new ſtirs, it would aſſuredly fall vpon his owne head, neither would any place of mercie be found for his ſecond offence, and that hee
D ſhould then find him not as now his gentle father, but a moſt ſeuere and reuenging judge. Which when he had ſaid, and *Baiazet* had thereunto briefly anſwered as the time would permit, rather crauing pardon for his treſpaſſe than excuſing that was not to be excuſed, and promiſing from thenceforth to liue moſt loyally at his commaund: *Solyman* according to the manner of that nation called for drinke, which he commaunded to be giuen to *Baiazet*, who not daring to refuſe it although he had rather haue ſo done, dranke thereof what he thought good, doubting leaſt that ſhould haue beene his laſt: of which feare his father forthwith deliuered him by drinking a good draught of the ſame cup. So *Baiazet* though guiltie, hauing with better ſucceſſe ſpoken with his father than had his brother *Muſtapha*, returned againe to the former place of his charge.

Roxolana comforteth her ſonne Baiazet.

Solyman reproueth Baiazet of diſloialtie, and afterward pardoneth him.

Baiazet returneth to his charge.

E This happened in the yeare 1555, from which time *Baiazet* ſo long as *Roxolana* his mother liued, behaued himſelfe with all dutifull and brotherly kindneſſe both towards his father and his brother; and that rather for to keepe her fauour, and not to cut off the hope which he had only in her affection towards him, than for any confidence he had in his fathers kindneſſe, or for any loue he bare to his brother; the regard of her being the onely thing that kept his fierce nature in quiet. But ſhe dead about two yeares after, he as a man bereft of all hope of long life, and diſcharged of all bonds of dutie, fell to his former courſe, and began more grieuouſly than before to reuiue the old grudges betwixt him and his brother, ſometime ſeeking by ſecret practiſes to haue him made away, and otherſome times by open force entering into his prouince which was not farre off, there euill entreated ſuch of his brothers followers as he light vpon, for their maſters
F ſake, omitting nothing which he thought might tend to the diſgrace of him whom of all other he wiſhed dead. He had alſo certaine of his fauourites at CONSTANTINOPLE, by whom he cunningly wrought by all meanes to gaine the loue of the ſoldiors of the court, and doubted not as occaſion ſerued to paſſe ouer thither himſelfe, and there to lurke in ſecret with ſuch as were of his faction, and priuie to his deſignements. Of all which things *Solyman* had knowledge, but

especially by letters from *Selymus*, wherein he was also aduised to haue care of his owne safetie; G
for that he was farre deceiued, if he perceiued not, that these preambles of *Baiazet* his wicked intentions, would at last turne vpon his head, who regarded neither God nor man, so that he might alone raigne: vnto whose vnruly desires his fathers welfare was no lesse a barre than was his brothers, and that therefore through his sides was his life shot at: which treason had (as he said) beene of long time plotted, and now occasion sought to haue the same performed: wherefore he should take heed that he were not by such trecherie ouerwhelmed before he were aware thereof: That for himselfe he could easily beare with the injuries of his brother *Baiazet*, yet could not chuse but be moued with the greatnesse of his fathers dangers. By which meanes *Solymans* hatred against *Baiazet* was still more and more encreased. Wherefore he by letters put him in remembrance of his dutie, how courteously he had vsed him, and againe what he had on his part H
promised; that there would not alwayes be place for forgiuenesse; that he should therefore cease to wrong his brother and trouble his father; that he had but a short time to liue; and that after his death God would assigne vnto each of them their fortunes. But all this was to no purpose with *Baiazet*, fully set downe to hazard whatsoeuer, rather than as a beast to haue his throat cut by his brother: which thing he as plainely saw would betide him in the raigne of *Selymus*, as if it had beene euen then in execution. Yet he answered to his fathers commaunds not impertinently, but his deeds agreed not with his sayings, neither did he alter any thing of his intended purpose.

Solyman admonisheth Baiazet of his dutie.

Which thing as soone as *Solyman* perceiued, he thought it best to take another course, and to remoue his sonnes both further from himselfe, and also further the one from the other. Wherefore he gaue them to vnderstand, That it was his pleasure, that both of them within a certaine I
prefixed time should depart out of their gouernments (*Baiazet* being then Gouernour of CVTAI, and *Selymus* of MAGNESIA) and that now *Baiazet* should remoue to AMASIA, and *Selymus* to ICONIVM. *Selymus* was without imputation and altogether in fauour with his father: yet because no occasion should be giuen *Baiazet* to fall into extremities, if he should haue beene remoued alone, *Solyman* to seeme indifferent, commaunded them both to remoue: vnto which commaund it was adioyned, that the farther they were off one from another, they should be so much the neerer in mind and brotherly loue: for as much as neernesse of dwelling of the Great, did many times hinder their good agreement, whilest by frowardnesse of officers and seruants many things are on both sides done to the grieuing of their masters: and that they should in any case doe as they were commaunded, and that he which stayed longest, should not be free from K
the suspition of contempt. *Selymus* made no long stay, as he that knew a great part of all this to be done for his sake: but *Baiazet* hung backe, and being gone a little on his way, stayed, complaining the vnluckie prouince of AMASIA, stained with the bloud of his late brother the noble *Mustapha*, to be assigned vnto him as ominous, and that he could be better contented with any prouince whatsoeuer than that, where the deadly remembrance of the miserable end of the neerest to him in bloud, should be euer before his eyes, to the wounding of his heart: Wherfore he requested, that he might at least Winter in those places, or els there from whence his brother was now departed: but *Solyman* would in no wise hearken vnto him. Now *Selymus* gone before certaine dayes journies with such troupes as his father had sent him beside his owne, for feare of *Baiazet*, who yet stayed loitering and trifling on the time, suddenly returning and fetching a L
compasse about, shewed himselfe at his brothers backe, marching towards PRVSA in BITHINIA, the auntient seat of the Turkish kings; which he did not without the priuitie of his father, who liked not of the lingering of *Baiazet*: for what if he hauing gained the good will of the Ianizaries, should haue gone either to PRVSA, or directly to CONSTANTINOPLE? what a danger might haue growne thereby to *Selymus*, yea vnto the whole state in generall? In this common feare *Solyman* thought it best for *Selymus* there to stay, from whence they might most conueniently helpe one another, if *Baiazet* should (as was feared) turn himselfe vpon either of them. Yet was not *Selymus* so strong as to aduenture to joyne battell with his brother, whom he knew readie to put all to the hazard of one day. But whē *Baiazet* (contrarie to his expectation) saw *Selymus* behind him, and that he had got nothing by his long delay, but that his brother should be M
the vndoubted heire of the empire, if his father should die, which was then by reason of his sickly constitution of bodie daily more and more feared: he writ vnto his father, accusing his brother that he could not more manifestly in any thing declare how maliciously he was affected towards him, than by taking that indirect course, to no other purpose but to aspire vnto the empire, and to haue

Solyman remooueth his two sons further asunder.

Baiazet vnwilling to goe to Amasia, seeketh delayes.

A haue a ſhort cut ouer to CONSTANTINOPLE, if he ſhould haue any newes of his fathers death, which he ſtill gaped after: which his longing, if his fathers longer life ſhould delay, then by the ſecret miniſters of his treaſon to diſpatch him, and by the murdering of him to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the empire; and yet neuertheleſſe, this man as a moſt dutifull and obedient ſonne, to be of him much made of, and as it were put in his boſome: Wheras he on the contrarie part meaning well, into whoſe conceit neuer any ſuch thought came, but was euer at commaund, was not had in any regard, but caſt off and contemned, whoſe greateſt requeſt was but to ſhun an vnfortunat ominous prouince. After that, he conuerted his ſtile to prayers, requeſting againe of his father to gratifie him with ſome other prouince, if it were but that from which his brother was departed, or with any other whatſoeuer, ſo that it were more luckie than that of AMASIA: for an-
B ſwere whereof he ſaid he would ſtay where he was, to the end that finding fauour in his requeſt, he ſhould not haue need further to retire: but if he ſhould not obtaine his requeſt, that then he was readie to goe whether ſoeuer his father ſhould command. It was not altogether for nought that *Baiazet* found fault with AMASIA; being the manner of the Turks, of the ſmalleſt things of all to diuine vpon the greateſt. But *Solyman* vnderſtood the matter otherwiſe: who not ignorant of his ſonnes teares, knew right well, that he in them ſought for nothing els but a more commodious place for him to raiſe new ſtirres in, than was AMASIA, ſo farre diſtant from CONSTANTINOPLE. So *Baiazet* by many delayes did what he could to fruſtate his fathers appointment, ceaſing not in the meane time to augment his ſtrength with new ſouldiors, to prouide armour, money, and whatſoeuer els, ſeruing for defence of himſelfe and the impugning of his brother.
C Which *Solyman* tooke in no other part, than as intended againſt his owne perſon: yet would he ſeeme as not to haue any ſuch vnderſtanding of the matter: for why the warie old ſire would not by taking knowledge thereof, driue headlong his ſonne, who was alreadie running too faſt of himſelfe. Beſides that, he was not ignorant that the eyes of all nations were bent vpon this diſcord of his two ſonnes: and therefore he deſired by all meanes, that theſe grudges might bee with as little ſtirre as was poſsible appeaſed. Wherefore he anſwered *Baiazet* courteouſly, That concerning his gouernment of AMASIA, he could not alter it, as reſolutely ſet downe as well for his brother as himſelfe, and that therefore they ſhould doe well to goe both to their appointed places, as he had before commaunded. As for the reſt, they ſhould be of good comfort, for that he would take ſuch order, as that neither of them ſhould haue juſt cauſe to complaine. *Partan*
D *Baſſa* the fourth of the great Baſſaes of the court was appointed to goe with this meſſage to *Baiazet*, and *Mehemet* third of the ſame great Baſſaes with like charge to *Selymus*, becauſe the matter ſhould ſeeme to be done with all indifferencie: and both of theſe great men commaunded not to depart from them they were ſent vnto, before they were both come vnto the places of their gouernment, whereunto they were aſsigned. Which *Solyman* wiſely did, to keepe them both within the compaſſe of dutie by the preſence of ſuch two graue counſellors. Which thing *Selymus* tooke in good part, but *Baiazet* not ſo: who hauing reſolued with himſelfe to ſet all on a hurly burly, thought nothing more vnfit for his deſignes, than to haue one of his fathers greateſt counſellors ſtill at his elbow as Cenſor of all his ſpeeches and doings: wherefore hauing courteouſly entertained him & rewarded him according to his abilitie, he diſmiſſed him (though
E vnwilling to depart) making this excuſe, That he would vſe him as his patrone and defendour with his father, for as much as he had no other in court to defend his cauſe, promiſing not to be vnto him an vnworthie or vnthankefull client: and to carrie word backe againe vnto his father, That he would aboue all things haue care of his commaund, if he might ſo doe for his brother *Selymus*, whoſe injuries and trecheries he had much adoe to brooke. *Partan* the great Baſſa ſo ſent away, aſſured *Solyman* what the very mind and purppoſe of his younger ſonne was. And albeit, that *Baiazet* to make it ſeeme as if ſomething had beene done by that embaſſage, made ſhew as if he would haue preſently gone towards AMASIA: yet *Solyman* neuertheleſſe fearing the
F worſt, made all the preparation he could againſt him, commaunding the Beglerbeg of GREECE, although then ſicke of the gout, to make haſt and with his horſemen to paſſe ouer with all ſpeed to aid *Selymus*: and *Mehemet Baſſa* but lately returned, he ſent forthwith backe againe for the ſame purpoſe to *Selymus*, with certaine of the moſt truſtie companies of the Ianizaries: and the old man in readineſſe made ſemblant as if he would himſelfe in perſon haue gone ouer alſo. But the Ianizaries and other ſouldiors of the court came with euill will together, deteſting that warre betweene the brethren, as altogether abhominable: for againſt whom ſhould they draw their

Solyman to be ſure that his two ſonnes ſhould go to their appointed prouinces, ſendeth Partan and Mehemet, two of the Viſier Baſſaes to ſee them brought thither.

Baiazet ſendeth Partan Baſſa backe againe to his father.

Solyman maketh preparation againſt Baiazet, and ſendeth aid to Selymus.

The Ianizaries vnwilling to goe againſt Baiazet.

ſwords? was it not againſt the emperours ſonne, and happily the heire of the empire? Where- G
fore this warre might (as they ſaid) well ynough be let alone, as altogether vnneceſſarie, and not
they to be enforced to embrue their hands one in anothers bloud, and to pollute themſelues with
ſuch impietie: as for that which *Baiazet* did, was to be holden excuſed, as proceeding from ne-
ceſsitie. Which ſpeeches of the Ianizaries being brought to *Solymans* eares, he forthwith decla-
red them to the Muphti (whom in all matters of doubt they flie vnto, as vnto a moſt ſacred
Oracle) demaunding of him, How he was to be entreated who of himſelfe preſumed whiles he
yet liued, to leuie ſouldiors, raiſe an armie, ranſacke townes, and trouble the ſtate of the whole
empire? and what alſo he deemed of them that were his followers and tooke part with him? and
laſt of all of them alſo that refuſed to beare armes againſt him, and ſaid that he had in ſo doing
nothing offended? Whereunto the Muphti anſwered, That both the man and his part-takers H
were all worthie of death; and that ſuch as refuſed to take vp arms againſt him, were as prophane
and irreligious men, to be accounted inteſtable. Which the great prieſts anſwere, was publiſhed
vnto the people: and by the cheefe Chiaus ſent to *Baiazet*, to ſee if he might be therewith mo-
ued. Within a few dayes after there came to CONSTANTINOPLE one of the Chiaus (whom
Baiazet his meſſage to his father requeſting him not to intermedle betwixt him and his brother. *Baiazet* had intercepted, being ſent from *Solyman* to *Selymus*) by whom *Baiazet* gaue his father
to vnderſtand, That he was in all dutie his, and that he had not taken vp armes againſt him, nei-
ther refuſed to be vnto him in all things obedient: but that he had onely to doe with his brother
and with him to fight for his life, by whoſe ſword he muſt needs die, or els he by his, for that a
miſcheefe was to be by one of them performed; which quarrell he was reſolued to trie whiles
he yet liued, and that therefore he ſhould doe beſt not to meddle in their quarrell, or giue aid to I
either: But if ſo be he would needs (as the report was) paſſe ouer the ſea to aid *Selymus*, he ſhould
not thinke eaſily to get him into his hands, for that he knew right well, if the worſt came, how to
eſcape and ſaue himſelfe; and would (before he could get ouer into ASIA) make ſuch ſpoile with
fire and ſword, as neuer had *Tamerlane* or other the cruelleſt enemie of the Turks that euer was.
Which meſſage did not a little trouble *Solyman*. And withall it was reported, that the towne of
AXVAR, where one of *Selymus* his ſonnes ruled as Sanzacke, was alreadie taken by *Baiazet*, and
Selymus departeth toward Iconium. ſhamefully ſacked. But *Selymus* hearing that his brother was gone toward AMASIA, and now
on his way as farre as ANCYRA, being out of all ſuſpition of danger which he feared vpon the
way, ſo long as his brother was yet lingering in thoſe quarters, haſted now towards ICONIVM,
which was with a ſtrong garriſon kept for him; for amongſt other cares wherewith *Solyman* was K
vexed, it was not the leaſt, That *Baiazet* intercepting ICONIVM, ſhould get into SIRIA, and from
thence into ÆGIPT, an open countrey, and not yet throughly eſtabliſhed vnder the Turkiſh go-
uernment, neither forgetfull of the old gouernment of the Mamalukes, and therefore deſirous of
change; from whence it would haue beene an hard matter to haue driuen *Baiazet*, eſpecially
the Arabians being alwayes readie and at hand at euery light ſtirre, where any hope of prey
was: out of which prouince alſo in caſe of extremitie he might eaſily tranſport himſelfe into
any of the Chriſtian kingdomes. *Solyman* therefore tooke great care, that this paſſage, which
might ſeeme the laſt refuge of *Baiazet* his deuices, might be ſtopped: and concerning the ſame
had giuen commandement vnto moſt of his commanders in ASIA to be alwayes in readineſſe
to aid *Selymus* whenſoeuer he ſhould call. With them *Selymus* lay encamped vnder the wals of L
ICONIVM, attending euerie ſtirring of *Baiazet*, reſolued there to expect farther aid from his fa-
ther, and not by vntimely fight to commit his ſafetie to the hazard of one doubtfull battell. But
Baiazet on the other ſide, not vnmindfull what a matter he had taken in hand, ſlept not thereup-
on, but firſt entertained a valiant ſort of horſemen which the Turks call Chiurts, and are ſuppo-
ſed to be of that people which were ſometimes called Gordij, men for their knowne valour fa-
Baiazet ſtaieth at Ancyra, and there raiſeth his forces. mous. He yet lay in the plaine and open fields by ANCYRA, of the commodities of which citie
(which were indeed great) he made great vſe: In the caſtle thereof he beſtowed his concubines
and children; of the rich marchants he tooke vp money, to be repaid with the vſe vpon the good
ſucceſſe of the warre; and from thence he tooke whatſoeuer was needfull for the arming and fur-
niſhing of his men. Beſides his owne familie, which was very great, and thoſe Chiurts which we M
ſpoke of, many repaired vnto him, which had beene in former time beholden to his mother, his
ſiſter, and *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa; many alſo of the reliques of the valiant *Muſtapha*, and *Acho-
mates* the great Baſſa, valiant men and expert ſouldiours, who deſired to reuenge the vnworthie
death of their lords and maſters, euen with their owne. Neither was there wanting an exceeding

rablement

A tablement of ſuch as wearie of the preſent ſtate, deſired ſome new innouation and change. The commiſeration alſo of the ſtate of the vnfortunat *Baiazet*, eaſily drew many to take part with him, whoſe whole truſt was in his valour: they fauoured the young prince, liuely reſembling his father: when as in *Selymus* appeared no likeneſſe of himſelfe, but the expreſſe lineaments of his mothers face and bodie, a woman whileſt ſhe liued generally hated of all the people: he went heauily as ouercharged with his greaſie paunch, blub cheeked, and exceeding red faced; ſo that the ſouldiors in ſport would ſay, he was fed with greene mault: he was altogither giuen to his eaſe, and ſpent his time in drunkenneſſe and ſleepe, neither was he courteous of ſpeech, nor willing to deſerue well of any man; for he would not (as he ſaid) offend his father by being popular, ſo was he onely of his father beloued, and of all other men hated: of all kind of men, he moſt

The deſcription of Selymus.

B miſliked of them that ſet all their hope in a bountifull and couragious prince. The ſame ſouldiors were alſo wont to call *Baiazet*, *Softie* (that is to ſay) a man giuen to quietneſſe and ſtudie: but after that they ſaw him take vp armes, and for the ſafegard of himſelfe and his children readie to aduenture any thing, they began to admire him as a man of valour and courage: and to aske among themſelues, Why his father ſhould reject him of ſuch worth, the expreſſe image of himſelfe, and preferre before him that gorbellied ſluggard in whom no ſparke of his fathers valour was to be ſeene? That his entring into armes was no fault, being thereunto by neceſſitie enforced, for, had not *Selymus* their grandfather done the like? whereof no better example could be found; whom the force of neceſſitie conſtrained not only to take vp armes againſt his brother, but alſo to haſten the death of his father; and by ſo doing, purchaſed vnto himſelfe and his po-

Baiazet and his quarrell generally fauoured of the ſouldiors.

C ſteritie the empire: which ſo gotten, if *Solyman* did not vnjuſtly poſſeſſe, why might not his ſon vſe the ſame courſe? why ſhould he ſo rigorouſly reuenge that in his ſonne, that was ſo lawfull in the grandfather? Although there was (as they ſaid) great difference betweene that *Selymus* and this *Baiazet*; for that this man intended no harme againſt his father, but wiſhed him long to liue; neither yet againſt his brother, if he might by his leaue but liue, if he would but once ceaſe to doe him wrong: that it was alwaies accounted lawfull to repell force by force, and to ſhun preſent death, if the deſtinies would ſo permit. By ſuch affections and motiues, *Baiazet* his power increaſed daily: which being now growne almoſt to the greatneſſe of a full armie, hee

Baiazet his purpoſe.

D thought it not beſt to vſe longer delay, but to march forthwith againſt his brother to fight with him one battell for his life, ſtate, and empire: accounting it ſome commendation (although in vaine) to haue attempted ſo great an enterpriſe. His purpoſe was (as *Solyman* feared) to get into SYRIA, which if he could bring to paſſe, he then doubted not of the reſt. *Selymus* ſtrengthened with his fathers power, lay waiting for his comming before ICONIVM, well appointed of all warlike prouiſion: his armie was exceeding ſtrong, and in it many notable commaunders, martiall men of great experience, whom his father had joyned vnto him; who all lay couered with their great ordinance planted in places moſt conuenient. But *Baiazet* nothing terrified therewith, as ſoone as he came within ſight of his brothers armie, exhorted his ſouldiors in few words to play the men, for that now was come the time they wiſhed for, and place for them to ſhew their valour in: wherefore they ſhould ſhew themſelues couragious and valiant, and he would make them all rich and fortunat: He told them, that their fortune was now in their owne

Baiazet goeth againſt his brother.

E hands, to frame it euerie man as he would himſelfe; ſo that if any of them were wearie of their preſent ſtate, there was the field wherein they might exchange it with better, and therein lay downe the miſeries of their former liues: that of him they ſhould if they ouercame, expect riches, promotions, honours, and whatſoeuer elſe, the rewards of valiant men: That with the victorie of one battell, all their deſires ſhould be ſatisfied, were they neuer ſo great: which victorie was by the valour which reſted in them to be gotten, and his brothers armie, the heartleſſe followers of a heartleſſe captaine, ouerthrowne; for as for his fathers ſouldiors that were with his brother, they were in bodie preſent, but in mind altogither on his ſide: That it was onely *Selymus* that withſtood his welfare and their felicitie, whom they ſhould therefore valiantly ſeeke for in field as their common enemie; and not to be afraid of his multitude, foraſmuch as victorie

F was to be gained, not by number but by valour: and the moſt mightie God of heauen and earth was ſtill preſent, not with the moſt, but with the beſt: Beſides that, he willed them to remember with what a cruell enemie they were to fight, who thirſted after nothing more than their bloud: And to conclude, he willed them all, not to looke vpon his words but his deeds; and ſaid, If as you ſhall ſee me fighting for your profit, you ſhall likewiſe fight for mine honour, I dare then aſ-

ſure

The battell betweene Baiazet and Selymus.

sure you of the victorie. Which said, he with great courage charged the enemie, and fighting himselfe long time amongst the formost, and there performing all the parts of a valiant souldior and worthy captaine, was for his notable valour no lesse commended of his enemies than of his owne souldiors. The battell was bloudie and terrible, and many fell on both sides. But after that they with wonderfull obstinacie had a great while fought with doubtfull victorie, so that forty thousand Turkes lay there dead vpon the ground; at length the victorie began to encline to that side whereon stood the greater strength, the juster cause, and better counsell. Many of the enemies being slaine, and many of his owne people also lost, *Baiazet* was enforced to retire; which he did so leisurely, and without shew of any feare, that it seemed to the beholders, he had well neere as well gained as lost the field: neither durst *Selymus* pursue him, but stood still fast in the same place, neuer more glad of any thing than to see his brothers backe. But *Baiazet* after he had in contempt of his fathers commaund thus run his owne course, and satisfied his owne desire, though disappointed of his purpose, and not able to performe the journey by him intended into SYRIA; turned now his course, and began in good earnest to go to AMASIA his appointed prouince. G H

Fortie thousand Turkes slaine.

Baiazet goeth to Amasia.

Solyman speedily aduertised of the euent of this battell, forthwith passed ouer into ASIA: for as the great Bassaes his counsellors thought it not conuenient for him to go ouer the strait before the victorie: so after it was certainly knowne, they thought it not good longer to stay, least the ouerthrow of *Baiazet* might giue occasion to such as secretly fauoured his quarrell to shew themselues and so to raise greater troubles. Besides that, the fame of his passage ouer, would (as they said) much auaile both to the discouragement of *Baiazet*, and the terrifying of his friends: and therefore it was by them thought good, hastely to pursue him, now ouerthrowne, and not to suffer him to gather courage by the example of his grandfather *Selymus*, *Solymans* father; who had been more terribly vanquished then when he stood in his whole strength, and might seeme by that meanes to haue especially preuailed, for that he was at first vnfortunatly ouerthrowne. Neither were these things without reason foreseene: for it is almost incredible what admiration and loue, this battell (although vnfortunat) did get to *Baiazet*; men wondred that he durst with so small a power, and as it were but a handfull of men, encounter with his brother farre better appointed, and also supported by his fathers strength: not fearing either the disaduantage of the place, or the furie of the great artillerie; and to haue behaued himselfe in the battell not like a young souldior, but like an old and expert commaunder. *Selymus* might at his pleasure boast of himselfe as they said (to his father) for the victorie: but *Baiazet* was the man that deserued to haue ouercome: and that *Selymus* might to any thing ascribe the victorie, rather than to his owne valour. I K

These and such like speeches, as they made *Baiazet* gratious amongst the people generally; so doubled they his fathers cares, and encreased his hatred, to wish him the rather dead. For why, he was resolutly set downe, not to leaue any other heire of his empire than *Selymus* his eldest son, alwaies loyall and obedient vnto him: whereas the other he abhorred as stubborne and rebellious, gaping after the empire whilest he yet liued; of whom he was therfore so much the more to stand in dread, by how much he was reputed to be of more valour; and for the aid he had now so openly giuen to *Selymus*. For these causes he passed ouer the strait into ASIA, with purpose not to go far from the sea coast, but as it were a far off with his fauourable aspect to countenance *Selymus* his proceedings: doubting by comming too neere with his armie, to endanger himselfe by the sudden reuolt of the Ianizaries, which he aboue all things feared. L

Augerius Busbequius epist. 3. legationis Turcicæ.

I my selfe (saith the author of this historie) saw him departing out of CONSTANTINOPLE the first of Iune in the yeare 1559, when as within a few dayes after I my selfe was also sent for thither: for the Bassaes thought it not amisse to haue me in the campe, and to vse me courteously as their friend, for which cause I was assigned to lodge in an Inne in a village neere vnto the campe, where I lay very well. The Turkes lay in the fields round about: but lying there three moneths, I had good leisure and opportunitie to see the manner of their campe, and in part to know the order of their martiall discipline. So I attiring my selfe in such apparell as the Christians commonly vse in those places, went vp and downe with one or two companions at my pleasure vnknowne. First I saw the soldiors of all sorts most orderly placed, and that, which he would scarce beleeue that knoweth the manner of our warres, there was in euery place great silence, and as a man may say, dumbe quietnesse, no brawling, no insolencie, no not so much as a word or laughter M

The order of the Turkes campe.

A laughter paſsing in ſport or drunkenneſſe. Beſides that wonderfull cleanelineſſe, no dunghils, no excrements that might offend either the eyes or noſe, for all ſuch things the Turkes doe either burie or carrie them farre out of ſight. They themſelues ſo often as they are enforced to diſcharge the burthen of nature, dig an hole with a ſpade and burie it, ſo is all their campe without filth. There was not to be ſeene any drinking or feaſting, no dicing (the great ſhame of our wars) the loſſe of money or time at cards or dice, the Turks know not. I met onely with a rough Hungarian and his companions, a ſouldior, who heauie himſelfe, to the Lute rather houled than ſung a doleſull dittie, containing the laſt words of a fellow of his, dying of his wounds vpon the greene banke of Danubius, wherein he requeſteth the riuer, becauſe it ran to the place where hee was borne, to carrie newes to his friends and countrymen, that he died an honourable death and not
B vnreuenged, for the encreaſe of his religion, and honour of his countrey: whereunto his fellows ſighing bare a foot: *O happie and thrice happie wight, would fortune with thee change wee might.* For the Turks are of opinion, That no mens ſoules goe more ſpeedily to heauen, than of ſuch valiant men as die in battell, for whoſe welfare their maidens dayly make prayers and vowes. I would alſo needs goe through their butcherie, where their beaſts were killed, to ſee what fleſh was to be ſold; where I ſaw but foure, or at moſt fiue weathers hanging readie dreſſed, and that was the butcherie for the Ianizaries, which I deemed to be in that campe not fewer than foure thouſand. I maruelled that ſo little fleſh ſhould ſuffice ſo many men: but I was anſwered, That few of them did eat fleſh, for that moſt part of them had their victuals tranſported from CONSTAN-
C TINOPLE. Then I demaunding what it was, they ſhewed me a Ianizarie ſitting by, who in an earthen diſh had killed a turnep, an onion, a head of garlike, a parſenep, and a coucumber, all ſauced with ſalt and vineger, or more truly to ſay with hunger, whereon he fed as ſauorly, as if they had beene feiſants or partridges: his drinke was the common drinke of all liuing creatures, euen faire water. By which frugall kind of diet they prouide both for the health of their bodies, and the ſparing of their purſe: and that I maruelled the more at, it was the time that their great faſt, or to ſpeake after our faſhion, their Lent was at hand: at which time with vs Chriſtians, euen in well ordered cities, much more in campes, all rings with playing, dauncing, ſinging, crying, quaffing, carouſing, and in breefe, with madding and phrenſie. So that it is not vainely reported, That a Turke ſent about that time embaſſadour into GERMANIE, comming home, reported, That the Chriſtians on certaine dayes did riot and became mad, vntill they, beſprinckled with a certaine
D kind of aſhes in the church, came to themſelues againe, and ſo recouered; and that it was a wonderfull thing to ſee, how much they were changed by the efficacie of that remedie, that they ſeemed not to be the ſame men: meaning indeed the diſordered manners of the Chriſtians at Shrouetide, and the ceremonies vſed on Aſhwedneſday: which thing they to whom it was told, ſo much the more maruelled at, for that the Turkes haue many medicines which cauſe madneſſe, but few or none which preſently eaſeth the ſame. And they vpon thoſe dayes that goe before their great faſts, change nothing of their wonted manner of life to the worſe: but rather contrariwiſe prepare themſelues to abſtinence, by taking ſomewhat from their vſuall fare, the better to endure the ſudden change of their faſt: which they ſo preciſely obſerue, that vpon their faſting dayes they will not ſo much as taſt a cup of water, or waſh their mouthes with water all the day
E long, before the ſtarres appeare in the skie: which maketh their faſts, eſpecially in Summer when the dayes be long and hot, to be vnto them very tedious.

The opinion the Turkes haue of them that die in their warres.

The ſpare diet of the Ianizaries.

The preciſe manner of the Turkes in their faſts.

Whiles I thus lay in the campe, there came vnto me one *Albertus* a learned man with certaine preſents from the emperour to *Solyman*, which were, certaine gilt plate; and a moſt curious clocke, which was carried vpon an Eliphant like a caſtle; and ſome crownes to be diſperſed among the Baſſaes: which *Solyman* would needs haue preſented vnto him in the campe in the ſight of the whole armie, to make it the better knowne what friendſhip was betweene him and the emperour, and that he needed not to feare any danger from the Chriſtian princes.

Preſents ſent fr8 the emperor Ferdinand to Solyman.

But to returne againe to *Baiazet*, from whom we haue a while digreſſed: he after the battell at
F ICONIVM had retired himſelfe to AMASIA, the place of his gouernment, as though he would haue now there quietly liued, if his father would ſo giue him leaue. He had now ſatisfied his youthfull deſires and greefe, and ſeemed willing from thenceforth to ſatisfie his fathers better expectation: and therefore ceaſed not by letters and fit men to proue his fathers mind. Neither did *Solyman* ſhew himſelfe ſtrange from ſuch a reconciliation: at firſt he eaſily gaue the meſſengers audience, read his ſons letters, and courteouſly returned anſwere; ſo that it was commonly reported

Baiazet goeth to Amaſia, and ſeeketh for his fathers fauor.

reported in the campe, that the father and the ſonne would agree, and that the old man would G
pardon the youthfull pranke alreadie paſt, ſo that he would from thenceforth remaine dutifull.
Solyman diſſembleth with Baiazet. But all this was by the counſell of the Baſſaes nothing but deepe diſsimulation in the craftie old
ſire, vntill he had ſhut vp *Baiazet*, and ſo got him aliue into his hand: for it was feared, leaſt he
deſpairing of pardon, ſhould with ſuch a power breake into the borders of PERSIA (now the
onely place left for his refuge) as might preuent the watchfull diligence of his lieutenants vpon
thoſe frontiers: whom *Solyman* charged by continuall letters ſo to ſtop all the paſſages into PER-
SIA, as that there ſhould not be any cranie for *Baiazet* to flie out by. In the mean time, if any came
within his reach that were ſuſpected to haue taken part with *Baiazet*, or fauored his proceedings,
thoſe he cauſed to be tortured and ſecretly made away, and amongſt them ſome whom *Baiazet*
had of purpoſe ſent to excuſe themſelues. For *Solyman* fearing leaſt *Tamas* the Perſian king H
(more mindfull of his old quarrels than of the late enforced peace) ſhould hardly with much ado
ſuffer his ſonne to be got out of his hands if he ſhould flie thither, and ſo againe raiſe a long and
dangerous warre; did therefore what he poſsibly might to oppreſſe him before he ſhould come
thither. Which his purpoſe although it was couered with all ſecrecie, yet was it not hidden from
ſome of *Baiazet* his friends, by whom he was oftentimes warned not to truſt his father, but to
beware of treaſon, and in any caſe ſpeedily to prouide for his owne ſafetie. But *Solyman* thinking
he had now ſo prouided as that he could by no meanes eſcape, and happily the more to deceiue
his ſonne, appointed to returne with his armie to CONSTANTINOPLE the day after their Ea-
ſter day. But *Baiazet* vpon the very feaſt day hauing performed the ſolemnities thereof, com-
Baiazet departeth from Amaſia, with purpoſe to flie into Perſia. maunded all his things to be truſſed vp at AMASIA, and ſo ſet forward vpon his vnfortunat jour- I
ney towards PERSIA, knowing right well, that he went to the auntient enemie of the *Othoman*
familie, but yet fully reſolued to make proofe of any mans mercie, rather than to fall into the
hands of his angrie father. Now were they all ſet forward, except ſuch weake ſoules as were not
thought able to endure the labour of ſo long a journey, amongſt whom was left *Solyman*, *Baia-
zet* his youngeſt ſonne, but then newly borne: which guiltleſſe babe, with his mother, *Baiazet*
thought better to leaue vnto the mercie of his grandfather, than to take him with him, a poore
companion of his wofull and miſerable flight: whom *Solyman* as yet vncertaine of his fathers
fortune, commaunded to be nurſed at PRVSA. *Baiazet* ſo gone from AMASIA, vſed ſuch cele-
ritie in his trauell, that almoſt in euery place he preuented the fame of his comming, and light
vpon many that were appointed to haue ſtayed his paſſage, before they were readie or aware of K
Baiazet deceiueth the Baſſa of Sebaſtia. his comming. The Baſſa of SEBASTIA he thus deceiued: There was two wayes, whereof the
one of them being intercepted, would greatly hinder his journey, and that the Baſſa had alreadie
taken: wherefore he ſent certaine, as if they had beene fugitiues, to tell the Baſſa that he was al-
readie gone the other way. Which the Baſſa beleeuing, left the place he had before taken, and
riſing with all his power to purſue him the other way, whereby it was told him he was gone, left
that way free and open for him to paſſe by.

The Baſſa of Erzirum deceiued by Baiazet. The Baſſa of ERZIRVM he deceiued alſo by another not much vnlike ſhift: from whom when
he was not farre diſtant, and knowing that in paſsing through his countrey, he was to endure
great danger, he ſet vpon him with a wile, ſending vnto him certaine of his followers with com-
mendations: who afterwards lamentably complaining of the young princes calamitie, to moue L
the Baſſa to pitie, at laſt requeſted that he would giue him leaue to ſhoo his horſes in his terri-
torie, telling him, That he came vnprouided of all things, and therefore deſirous in that fruitfull
countrey to refreſh his horſes a day or two, and to new ſhoo them. Whereunto the Baſſa cour-
teouſly anſwered, That he would not let him to take whatſoeuer he needed. But whether it was
for the compaſsion he had vpon the ſtate of *Baiazet*, or for the ſecret loue he bare him, or that he
thought by that meanes the eaſilier to entrap him, is doubtfull, and happily preuented by *Baia-
zet* his quicke ſpeed, had not as yet ſufficient time to draw together his ſouldiors. He ſent alſo vn-
to *Baiazet* certaine ſmall preſents, ſeeming to be glad of his welfare and comming: who neuer-
theleſſe kept on his way, reſting no part of the day, and but a little of the night. The Baſſa of
ERZIRVM vnderſtanding that *Baiazet* came ſtill on, made what haſt he could alſo, and joyned M
his power to the reſt of the Baſſaes which followed after: for many Baſſaes and Sanzackes hea-
ring that *Baiazet* was fled from AMASIA, purſued faſt after him, being charged by *Solyman* vp-
on paine of their heads to bring him backe either aliue or dead: but all in vaine, by reaſon of his
ſpeedie departure, and for that he made more haſt to flie than they did to follow. Yet it coſt no

man

A man deerer than this Baſſa of ERZIRVM, of whom we haue now ſpoken, whom *Solyman* for this cauſe diſplaced: and *Selymus* afterwards ſlew with two of his ſonnes, young ſtriplings whom hee had before in deſpight ſhamefully abuſed againſt nature. Yea *Selymus* himſelfe and *Mehemet* the great Baſſa, with the Berglerbeg of GRECIA, followed alſo after *Baiazet*, though it were a far off. This his departure grieued *Solyman* aboue meaſure, aſſuring himſelfe (as the truth was) that he was fled into PERSIA: wherewith he was ſo much moued, that he could ſcarcely containe himſelfe, but would needs haue gone with all his power in all haſt againſt the Perſian, to haue terrified him at hand from relieuing his rebellious ſonne. But theſe his raging fits his graue counſellors moderated, by declaring vnto him what danger he ſhould aduenture himſelfe vnto, by reaſon of the doubtfull faith of his beſt ſouldiors. And what if *Baiazet* (as he was a deſ-
B perat and ſudden man) ſhould in the meane time turne about aboue PONTVS and the fens of MŒOTIS, and ſo fetching a compaſſe come to CONSTANTINOPLE, and proclaiming a generall libertie in his abſence, poſſeſſe himſelfe of the empire. By which wholſome perſuaſion *Solyman* ſtaied his ſo haſtie a journey: but *Baiazet* all the way as he went writ vpon the gates and doores, That he would giue double pay to all ſuch as ſhould follow him: which cauſed *Solymans* captaines to haue their owne ſouldiors in diſtruſt, and the more for that they might oftentimes heare amongſt them, ſpeeches of great good will and loue towards *Baiazet*.

Solyman much grieued with the flight of his ſon.

After long flying, he was at length come to the riuer Araxis, which ſeparated the Turkes kingdome from the Perſian; which hauing paſſed ouer, and yet not ſo in ſafetie, he left certaine of his followers vpon the banke of the riuer to keepe the Sanzacks, who ſtill eagerly purſued him
C from paſsing ouer: whom the Sanzacks eaſily repulſed, & ſo paſsing the riuer, entred a great way into the Perſian kingdome, vntill ſuch time as that they were met withall by certaine of the nobilitie of PERSIA with great troupes of horſemen; who demanding of them what they meant, and what they ſought for in another mans kingdome, were anſwered by the Turkes, That they purſued their kings fugitiue ſonne. To whom the Perſians replied, That they did not well, contrarie to the league with their lord and maſter, to come in armes beyond the bounds of their owne kingdome; and that there was a ſtrong league betweene king *Tamas* and *Solyman*, which it behoued them to regard: as for *Baiazet*, their king would conſider what was conuenient for him to doe, and not in that point forget himſelfe: in the meane time they ſhould doe well to get them out of that countrey wherein they had nothing to doe. Whereupon the Turks forthwith
D left this purſuit and retired.

The eager purſuit of the Baſſaes and Sanzacks.

But by and by came meſſengers from the Perſian king to *Baiazet* to ſalute him, and to demaund the cauſe of his comming, and alſo to ſee what ſtrength he brought with him; which as ſome account was about twentie thouſand. To whom *Baiazet* declared, That he by his brothers injurie and fathers hard dealing driuen out of his countrey, was fled vnto the ſacred majeſtie of the Perſian king, as his moſt aſſured refuge; who as he well hoped, in compaſsion of mans inſtabilitie, would not reject him ſo diſtreſſed, and otherwiſe deſtitute of all helpe. Wherunto the Perſian replied, That he had done verie vnwiſely to come vnto him that was in league and amitie with his father, whereof one condition was, That they ſhould account the enemies of the one the enemies of the other, and the friends of the one the friends of the other. Which law to
E breake, he accounted a thing vtterly vnlawfull: neuertheleſſe ſeeing the matter was ſo fallen out, he was welcome as vnto his friend, who in his behalfe would leaue nothing vnattempted to reconcile him to his father, which he deſpaired not to bring to paſſe. So *Baiazet* meeteth with the Perſian king, but in an euill houre, although at their firſt meeting there was great welcome, friendly countenance, cheerfull lookes, mutuall kindneſſe, often conference, and great feaſting one of another; things whereby the ſecret thoughts of hollow hearts are beſt concealed: there was alſo a motion made of a ſtraighter bond of alliance, and one of the Perſian kings daughters promiſed to *Orchanes* one of *Baiazet* his ſonnes; and he put in hope that the Perſian king would neuer reſt in quiet, vntill *Solyman* had made him Gouernour either of MESOPOTAMIA, BABY-
F LON, or ERZIRVM (which gouernments were by the Perſians greatly extolled) and that he might there liue without feare of his brother, farre from him and his father alſo; where if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than well, he might haue his brother the Perſian king a ſure refuge to retire vnto, and ſo ſafe from all danger. Which ſpeeches were happily giuen out, of purpoſe to auert *Baiazet* his thought from the feeling of the preſent danger; who ſeemed vnto himſelfe ſo aſſured of the loue and friendſhip of *Tamas* the Perſian king, that at ſuch time as he ſent

Baiazet well entertained by the Perſian king.

his

his embaſſadours to CONSTANTINOPLE, for a reconciliation to be made betweene *Solyman* and him (as was commonly ſuppoſed) he willed the ſame embaſſadour to tell his father, that he had loſt a father at CONSTANTINOPLE, and found another in PERSIA. But whether the Perſian delt ſincerely in this behalfe for *Baiazet* by his embaſſadours, which were many, may well be doubted. Like it is, that there was more faigned ſhew of double diligence, than of true meaning therein; and rather to feele the mind of *Solyman*, than to doe any good to the poore diſtreſſed prince: and the rather, for that in the meane time all things were ſeriouſly plotted that might tend to his deſtruction. Which were no ſooner growne to their full ripeneſſe, but there was of purpoſe a motion made, That ſuch a multitude as followed this young prince lay too cloſe togither, that there was not in one place victuall ſufficient for them, and that it was therefore more conuenient to haue them billeted in the countrey thereabouts; which would be more commodious, as well for the better victualing of them, as for diuers other purpoſes alſo. Truth was, that *Tamas* the Perſian king, farre vnlike his noble father *Iſmaell*, ſtood in doubt leaſt hee brought vp a Serpent in his boſome. Yet there were many which thought, that it was not the Perſians mind at firſt to haue deſtroied *Baiazet*, but to haue beene thereunto enforced by the practiſe of ſome of his familiars and followers; who not regarding the courteſie of the Perſian king, nor the lawes of hoſpitalitie, perſuaded *Baiazet* to thruſt him out of his kingdome: whereof there was many euident tokens. And among other things it was told king *Tamas*, that one of *Baiazets* chiefe captaines ſhould ſay, What meane we? why ſtay we to kill this hereticall king, and to poſſeſſe his kingdome? for we ſhall no doubt by his treacherie all come to deſtruction. And that vpon ſuch occaſion the king was conſtrained to condiſcend to a deuiſe more neceſſarie than honourable. *Baiazet* had no great power, but moſt of them were valiant men, and ſouldiors of great experience, readie to aduenture vpon any thing: of whom the Perſian not without cauſe ſtood in ſome feare. He knew his kingdome to be neither auntient nor yet well aſſured, as gotten by his father by the counterfeit ſhow of a reformed religion: And who could aſſure him, but that amongſt ſo many nations ouer whom he lorded, but that there were many wearie of the preſent ſtate, and ſo deſirous of nouelties? vnto whom nothing could chance more fitting, than the comming of *Baiazet*, a noble and valiant young gentleman; and that more was, deſperatly ſet: that as yet he himſelfe might of right rather ſeeme in the power of his gueſt, than he in his: And that therefore he was to alter the matter, and not longer to entertaine him as his gueſt, but to coupe him vp as a moſt dangerous wild beaſt. Which to doe, the eaſieſt way was to diſperſe his power, and ſo to take him vnawares: for that he could not without much bloudſhed be openly taken in the middeſt of his ſtrength, eſpecially by the daintie Perſian of long time not vſed to warre, and as yet not come togither; againſt *Baiazets* ſouldiors, men of great actiuitie and experience. So was the matter cunningly imparted vnto him for the diſperſing of his forces, and all the commodities to enſue thereof alleadged: which *Baiazet* might not well gainſay, although many of his wiſe followers (men of great reach) did ſhrewdly ſuſpect the ſequell. But what could he refuſe, vpon whom neceſsitie lay ſo heauie? where no other hope was left? where he liued as it pleaſed another man? and that againe to, where once to doubt of the fidelitie of his hoaſt, might be imputed to him for the greateſt treacherie? So theſe moſt valiant ſouldiors, the poore princes faithfull followers, neuer againe to ſee one another, are diſperſed into diuers countrey villages, and beſtowed where the Perſians thought good. Not many daies after, at a time pickt out for the purpoſe, they in number few, and diſperſed in a ſtrange countrey, were incloſed by many and ſlaine: their horſes, armour, apparell, and whatſoeuer elſe, became a prey vnto the murtherers. At the ſame inſtant was *Baiazet* and his ſonnes caſt in bonds alſo, and that to his greater griefe as many report, taken as he was ſitting merrily at dinner at the kings table. The Perſian king ſeemed to haue foreſeene much in this his hard dealing with *Baiazet*: as if that he, being a valiant and couragious young prince, and much better ſouldior than his brother, ſhould haue ſucceeded his father in his empire, much trouble and perill might haue growen thereby, both to himſelfe and his kingdome: And that it ſtood farre better with the ſafetie of his eſtate, that *Selymus* (a man wholy giuen to voluptuouſneſſe and eaſe) ſhould raigne ouer the Turkes; in whoſe time he might as it were promiſe vnto himſelfe all peace and ſecuritie: and therefore it was thought that he would neuer let *Baiazet* go aliue out of his hand, but rather make him away in priſon, as if he had there died for melancholy and griefe. Well he was aſſured, that after he had ſlaine his followers, and impriſoned himſelfe and his ſonnes, hee would neuer be friends

Tamas the Perſian king in feare of Baiazet.

Baiazet his followers diſperſed and ſlaine.

Baiazet impriſoned.

A friends with him that had ſo notably wronged him.

Baiazet thus ſhamefully impriſoned, meſſengers ran continually too and fro betwixt the two old princes, *Solyman* and *Tamas*. Amongſt the reſt, the Perſian king ſent a ſolemne embaſſadour vnto the Turke with preſents, namely curious tents, coſtly carpets, an Alcoran containing the myſteries of their ſuperſtition, and certaine ſtrange beaſts. The cauſe of his comming was pretended to be, for a reconciliation to be made betweene *Solyman* and his ſonne; which embaſſadour was honourably entertained and feaſted by the great Baſſaes. Now was poore *Baiazet* in ſmall hope of life, his cruell father ſtill crauing to haue him deliuered into his hands to bee ſlaine: and the Perſian yet denying to deliuer him, and ſeeming to defend him, but not (as was thought) altogither faithfully. *Solyman* left no meanes vnattempted to haue wrung him from
B the Perſian; ſometimes he ſpake him faire, putting him in mind of his league, wherein it was agreed, That they ſhould both haue the ſame friends and the ſame enemies: otherwhile he terrified him with great words, and denouncing of warre, except he would deliuer him his ſonne: he furniſhed with ſtrong garriſons all the frontiers of his dominion towards PERSIA: he filled all MESOPOTAMIA and the bankes of the riuer Euphrates with ſouldiors, eſpecially with them of his owne guard, and ſuch as he had before vſed in the battell againſt *Baiazet*; ouer whom commaunded *Mehemet Baſſa* the third of the Viſier Baſſaes, and the Beglerbeg of GRECE (for *Selymus* was ſoone wearie of the field, and ſo betime returned home:) he alſo incited the Georgian people to take vp armes againſt the Perſians, who wiſely anſwered, That they had not ſuch con-
C fidence in their owne ſtrength, as to prouoke king *Tamas*; but let *Solyman* himſelfe come with his armie, and when they ſaw him preſent in the field, then they knew what they had to doe, and that he ſhould then well ſee, that they wanted neither diſcretion nor valour. And becauſe he would leaue nothing vnproued, he made ſhew as if he would in perſon himſelfe haue gone to ALEPPO in SYRIA, and ſo haue on that ſide inuaded the Perſian: neither was the Perſian king altogither out of feare, hauing to his coſt many times proued what *Solyman* was able to doe. But the vnwillingneſſe of the ſouldiors, and their minds altogither eſtranged from that warre, eaſily ſtaied the raging Turke: they deteſted that warre and forſooke their enſignes, a great number of whom (eſpecially horſmen) without leaue of their captaines returned to CONSTANTINOPLE; and being commanded againe to the campe, went indeed, but with ſuch countenance and cheere, as well declared how they were affected, and what they would doe if occa-
D ſion ſerued for them to reuolt.

The Perſian king ſendeth embaſſadours with preſents to Solyman.

For which cauſe, after that *Solyman* perceiued that *Baiazet* could not aliue be got from the Perſian (excuſing himſelfe by feare of reuenge by him whom he had ſo grieuouſly offended, if he ſhould by any meanes eſcape:) he thought it beſt to follow that which was next, and to haue him there ſlaine, which he was in good hope to compaſſe; and the rather, for that the Perſian had but lately written vnto him, That he could not but much maruell, to ſee him deale ſo ſlenderly in a matter of ſo great importance; That he on his part had ſent him diuers embaſſadours, and that he on the other ſide had ſent him nothing but common meſſengers with papers, which cauſed him to thinke that he made no great account of the matter: wherefore he ſhould doe well, to ſend vnto him men of account and place, which whom he might conferre and conclude alſo ac-
E cording to the waightineſſe and exigence of the cauſe: beſides that (he was as he ſaid) not a little in his debt, for that *Baiazet* and his followers had beene vnto him no ſmall charge, before hee could get him into his power: all which it were good reaſon that he ſhould haue conſideration of. Whereby *Solyman* perceiued, that money was the thing the Perſian king ſought after; and therefore rather than he would in an vnfit time of his life entangle himſelfe in a dangerous and vnneceſſarie warre, he determined by the counſell of his Baſſaes, rather with money than with the ſword to fight with the Perſian king. Hereupon was *Haſſan Aga* (one of the chiefe gentlemen of his chamber) appointed embaſſadour into PERSIA, with whom was ioyned the Baſſa
F of MARAS, a man both for his age and place, reuerend: who departing with a large commiſſion almoſt in the depth of Winter, with great ſpeed and wonderfull toile, by thoſe long and difficult waies, arriued at laſt at CASBIN the ſeat of the Perſian king, hauing by the way loſt diuers of their ſeruants and followers. Being come to the court, the firſt thing they deſired, was to ſee *Baiazet*; whom they found ſhut vp in a cloſe priſon, pale and wan as a man forlorne, with his haire and beard ſo long and ouergrowne, as that he was not to be knowne before he was new trimmed; which done, then appeared the liuely reſemblance of his wonted countenance and fa-

The cauſe why the Perſian king would by no meanes let Baiazet go out of his hands.

The miſerable eſtate of Baiazet.

uour, ſo that *Haſſan* verily knew it to be him: for he had been brought vp with him of a child in the court, and for that cauſe eſpecially had *Solyman* ſent him thither to be aſſured that it was he. G

The agreement betweene the Perſian king & Solyman for the deſtruction of Baiazet.

At length after long diſcourſe and conference betweene the king and the embaſſadours, it was agreed vpon, that the king ſhould receiue from *Solyman*, full recompence of all the charges he had been at, and of the harmes by him ſuſtained ſince the comming of *Baiazet* into PERSIA, with ſuch farther reward as ſo great a good turne deſerued: which things performed, that then it ſhould be in *Solymans* power to haue *Baiazet* made away. With this newes *Haſſan* poſteth to his maſter at CONSTANTINOPLE, who forthwith cauſed the promiſed reward, togither with ſuch charges as the Perſian king demaunded, to be made readie, and with a ſafe conuoy to be ſent vnto the borders of PERSIA, where they were of the Perſians receiued. Preſently after, returneth *Haſſan* the appointed executioner of the vnfortunat *Baiazet:* for ſo *Solyman* had ſtraightly charged him, to ſtrangle him with his owne hands. Which thing this new made hangman accordingly performed, and with a bowſtring ſtrangled the vnfortunat prince; who is reported to haue requeſted of the executioner, but that he might ſee his children before he died, & take of them his laſt farewell: which poore requeſt could not be granted, but he forthwith commanded to die. This was the wofull end of the vnluckie attempts of *Baiazet*, a prince of far more worth than was *Selymus* his brother, who in ſeeking to ſhun the death he feared, haſted the ſame before his time. Such as was the fathers end, was alſo the end of his foure ſonnes, *Omer*, *Amurat*, *Selym*, and *Muhamet:* of whom the three eldeſt were ſtrangled at CASBIN with their father, whoſe dead bodies togither with his, were ſolemnly brought to SEBASTIA and there buried. The youngeſt but new borne left at AMASIA, and ſent by his grandfather to PRVSA (as is before ſaid) to be there nurſed; was now vpon the death of his father, commaunded by his ſaid grandfather to be ſtrangled alſo. The eunuch ſent by *Solyman* to haue done the deed, and loth to doe it himſelfe, tooke with him one of the porters of the court, a deſperat, and otherwiſe a hard hearted ruffian, a man thought fit to haue performed any villanie: he comming into the chamber where the child lay, and fitting the bowſtring to the childs necke to haue ſtrangled it, the innocent babe ſmiled vpon him, and lifting it ſelfe vp as well as it could, with open armes offered to haue embraced the villaine about the necke and kiſſed him. Which guiltleſſe ſimplicitie ſo wounded the ſtonie hearted man, that he was not able to performe the intended butcherie of the poore and ſimple child, but fell downe in a ſwoune, and there lay for dead. The eunuch ſtanding without the doore, maruelling at his long ſtay, goes in, and finding the ruffian lying along vpon the ground, with cruell hand performed that the other could not find in his heart to do; and ſo ſtrangled the guiltleſſe child as had been giuen him in charge. Whereby it euidently appeared, that it was not the mercie or compaſsion of *Solyman*, that ſo long cauſed the guiltleſſe infant to be ſpared; but rather the opinion generally receiued amongſt the Turks, who meaſuring all things by the good or bad ſucceſſe, referre all things that fall out well vnto God as the authour thereof, be they neuer ſo vngratiouſly begun: and therefore ſo long as it was yet vncertaine what ſucceſſe the attempts of *Baiazet* would haue, *Solyman* ſpared the infant, leaſt vpon his fathers good hap, he might ſeeme to haue ſtriuen againſt the will of God. But now that his father was dead, and his quarrell by the euill ſucceſſe thereof condemned as it were by the ſentence of the Almightie, he thought it not good longer to ſuffer him to liue, leaſt of an euill bird might come an euill chicke. I had ſometime (ſaith the reporter of this hiſtorie) great reaſoning with my Chiaus about this matter: for falling into talke with him of *Baiazet*, he began bitterly to inuay againſt him for taking vp armes againſt his brother. Whereunto (ſaith this authour) I replied, That in mine opinion he was worthie both to be pitied and pardoned, foraſmuch as he was of neceſsitie enforced either to take vp armes, or elſe ſhortly after to yeeld himſelfe to the ſlaughter. But he ſtill exclaiming againſt him, I ſaid vnto him, You blame poore *Baiazet* of great wickedneſſe, for bearing armes againſt his brother: but *Selymus Solymans* father you blame not, who vpon like occaſion tooke vp armes both againſt his father and his brethren; yet he therein did nothing amiſſe, nor in your judgement blame worthie. And rightly, ſaith the *Chiaus*, for the euent of the matter ſheweth ſufficiently, that that which he did, was done by the appointment of God, and that he was from heauen predeſtinate thereunto: whereas in *Baiazet* the euent ſheweth the cleane contrarie. So that which falleth out well, be it by neuer ſo wicked meanes compaſſed or brought to paſſe, they take it as done according to the will of God; but if it fall out otherwiſe, they judge it as a thing condemned by God himſelfe: depending wholy vpon the good or bad H

Baiazet and his foure ſonnes ſtrangled.

I

The rare force of innocence.

K

L

M

euent

A euent of things, and thereby judging them to be well done or otherwise.

This yeare 1558 *Charles* the fift that noble emperour (of whom we haue in the course of this historie so often spoken) who wearie of the world had two yeares before deliuered all his hereditarie kingdomes and principalities to his sonne *Philip*, did now the 24 of Februarie, on which day he was borne, by his embassadours solemnely sent for that purpose, resigne the empire with all the honors and titles thereof vnto his brother king *Ferdinand*, requesting the princes electors to confirme the same vnto him, which they did the 13 of March next following. So liuing as a priuat gentleman in that solitarie life whereunto he had to the wonder of the world certain years before retired himselfe from all worldly affaires, the 21 day of September following died of a feauer, when he had liued 58 yeares, and thereof reigned 39: a man no doubt to be worthily accounted amongst the greatest Christian emperours that liued before him. About which time also died his two sisters, *Marie* the queene of HVNGARIE, and *Eleuor* the French queene, both ladies of great honour. 1558

Charles the emperour resigneth the empire to his brother Ferdinand, & shortly after dieth.

B

The knights of MALTA, who of long had been suters to the great Bishop and the king of SPAINE for the recouerie of TRIPOLIS in BARBARIE, about nine yeares before taken from them by the Turkes; at which time they also surprised the Island of ZERBI, vpon the coast of BARBARIE betwixt TRIPOLIS and TVNES, from whence they much troubled the Christians, trauelling by those seas: had now at length so much preuailed, that the king commaunded a great fleet to be now forthwith made readie in September in the yeare 1559 to meet together in SICILIA, and from thence to go directly against the enemie by MALTA: Vnto which fleet, the C great bishop, the duke of FLORENCE, and the knights of MALTA, with many other valiant men out of diuers parts of Christendome, joyned their forces also; so that at length there was a hundred gallies and ships met together vnder the conduct of *Andreas Gonzaga* their Generall. But whilest this fleet from diuers places was long in comming thither, the duke of MEDINA COELI, came before with part of the fleet to MALTA, and in the hauen of MARZA MOXET expected the comming of the rest, who about the end of the yeare came thither. But whilest they there wintered, expecting the Spring, many of the souldiours fell sicke and died. At length the time of the yeare fit for their setting forward, being come, the captaines consulted among themselues, Whether they should first set vpon TRIPOLIS, or the Island of ZERBI, otherwise called MENING. The knights of MALTA being of opinion, That it were better first to besiege D TRIPOLIS, and that with all speed, before *Dragut* should come thither to furnish it with souldiors and prouision. Others thought it better first to inuade the Island of ZERBI, where the armie might be relieued with plentie of all things necessarie, and from whence they might at all times of danger in safetie retire; and from thence afterwards as time should serue to go to TRIPOLIS. Which vnfortunat counsell was by the greater part agreed vpon. Wherefore in Februarie the yeare following they departed from MALTA, and sayled directly to ZERBI. In the meane time 1560 *Dragut* the most famous pyrat of that time amongst the Turks, and Gouernor of TRIPOLIS, was come thither with eight hundred of the Turks Ianizaries, and had notably strengthened the citie with men, victuall, and new fortifications; and presently sent messengers to *Solyman* at CONSTANTINOPLE, to certifie him of the arriuall of the Christian fleet in AFFRICK. But the Chri- E stians comming to the Island of ZERBI, were at their first landing encountered by the Moores, whom they repulsed, and so at pleasure landed. This Island is not farre from the maine, here and there full of boggs and marishes, other riuer hath it none, and in the middest is somewhat hillie. It was inhabited with about thirtie thousand men, which dwelt in low cottages, simply apparrelled: yet is the island reasonable fertile, yeelding dates, oliues, barley, mill, and such like. When the Christians were there landed, they sent for *Carauanus*, a poore king amongst the Moores (from whom *Dragut* had before taken that Island) to vse his counsell for their better proceeding in that warre. In the meane time they agreed, with eight thousand men to besiege the strongest castle in the Island: in going whereunto the Spaniards went formost, the Germans next, and last of all the Italians. By the way as they went they light vpon ten thousand Moores, which lay in F ambush in a wood to haue vpon the sudden set vpon them vnawares; but being discouered, and seuen hundred of them slaine in skirmish by the Spaniards, the rest fled. So comming to the castle, they planted their batterie, and laid hard siege vnto it. The captaine of the castle finding himselfe too weake long to hold out, fled secretly with his Turkes, leauing the castle for the Moores to defend; who vpon condition that they might in safetie depart, yeelded the castle to the Spaniards:

1559

The Christian princes set out a fleet for the recouerie of Tripolis in Barbarie.

The Christian fleet arriueth at the Island of Zerbi.

The castle of Zerbi taken by the Christians.

ards: for keeping whereof, *Varona* and *Cerda*, two Spaniſh captaines, were there left with their G companies. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Caramanis* the Moore king came to the campe of the Chriſtians and there talked with the Generall, in whoſe hoarie countenance reſted a reuerend majeſtie, his apparrell was after the Moores fahion of white linnen, with him came alſo the king of TVNES his ſonne. In talking with the Generall, his manner was to ſit flat vpon the ground, and wiſely diſcourſed how the Turkes were to be remooued out of AFFRICKE. But in the middeſt of theſe diſcourſes, when ſuch a thing was leaſt feared, ſuddenly a pinnace brought newes from ſea, That *Piall Baſſa* the Turkes great Admirall was comming thither with a great fleet of 85 gallies, and that moe were dayly repairing vnto him on euery ſide, which was indeed true. For *Solyman* vnderſtanding from *Dragut* the archpyras, that Iſland to be by the Chriſtians now poſſeſſed and fortified, thought it not (in his ſo great power and flouriſhing eſtate) to ſtand H with his honour to ſuffer, but rather to giue aid vnto the Moores of that Iſland, a people agreeing in religion with himſelfe: and therefore commanded *Piall Baſſa* his Admirall to take in hand that expedition. Who thereupon rigged vp a great fleet well appointed and ſtrongly manned, with a number of the Turkes beſt and moſt approued ſoldiors, as well Ianizaries as others: yet all both doubtfull and fearefull of the long journey, as alſo of the fame of the enemies with whom they were to encounter: for why the Turks had conceiued a great opinion of the valour of the Spaniards, as knowing great warres both of auntient and later times to haue beene by that nation (to the immortall praiſe thereof) moſt happily performed: they remembred well *Charles* the fift, and dayly heard much of king *Philip*, the heire both of his fathers vertues and kingdomes; which made them ſo carefull, that many of them before their ſetting forth (as in time of greateſt danger) I made their wils, and ſo departed from CONSTANTINOPLE, taking their leaue of their friends, as if they ſhould neuer haue thither returned againe. So that all the citie was in a confuſed feare: neither was there any man whether he went or ſtayed, that hung not in ſuſpence with the doubtfull expectation of the euent of that warre. Howbeit, *Piall* with this great fleet with long ſayling and a proſperous wind was at length come well neere as farre as MALTA, and knowledge thereof (as is aforeſaid) giuen vnto the Chriſtian fleet at ZERBI. With which vnexpected newes the Chriſtians there were not a little troubled: neuertheleſſe they fortified the caſtle with new fortifications and bulwarkes, and fell to agreement with the principall man amongſt the Moores of the Iſland (who commaunded the reſt, and had before pluckt downe the enſignes of *Dragut*, and ſet vp the king of SPAINES) That he ſhould yearely pay vnto the king of SPAINE (as he had K before vnto *Dragut*) ſix thouſand crownes, one cammell, foure oſtriches, foure ſparrow hawkes, and foure blew faulcons: a tribute fit for ſuch an Iſland.

Piall Baſſa Solymans Admirall ſent to remoue the Chriſtians out of Zerbi.

But ſhortly after, *viz.* the ninth of May, the Great Maſter of MALTA by another pinnace gaue the Chriſtians at ZERBI againe to vnderſtand, That the Turks fleet was euen now at hand, and alreadie departed from the Iſland of GOZO, well appointed and ſtrongly manned: and that therefore he aduiſed them with ſpeed to hoiſe ſaile, and to get them to ſome place of more ſafetie, or els to come to him to MALTA, for feare of being by ſo great a power of the Turks ſuddenly oppreſſed. Whereupon *Iohn Andreas Auria* the Admirall ſent vnto the Generall, requeſting him preſently to come aboord, that ſo they might before the comming of the Turks fleet retire themſelues to ſome place of more aſſurance. But he for all that ſtayed ſtill at the caſtle, where the L Chriſtians had built foure ſtrong bulwarkes: whereof they had named one *Auriaes*, another *Gonzagues*, the third the Viceroyes, and the fourth the Knights, not yet all perfectly finiſhed: as for the caſtle it ſelfe, they called it *Philip-Alcazer*, by the name of the king. But whileſt the Generall is thus buſie, and vainely hopeth to keepe both the caſtle and his ſhips, he the next day deſcrying from farre the comming of the Turkes great fleet, haſted with the Admirall to be gone: and putting twice to ſea, was both times by a contrary wind driuen againe into the hauen, ſo that he and the Admirall had much adoe in time to get themſelues into the caſtle: for the wind was ſo fauourable for the Turks, and brought them ſo faſt on, that the Chriſtians diſmayed with their ſuddaine comming, knew not now well what to doe or which way to turne themſelues. But by good hap the greater part of the ſhips and foureteene gallies were got out and gone the night be- M fore, and the Great Maſter had in Aprill called home his gallies, wherewith and ten others of his owne he afterwards defended the frontiers of his Iſland. As for the reſt of the fleet that ſtayed for the Generall and the Admirall, ſome few gallies eſcaped by flight, otherſome ran themſelues aground, ten of which were preſently taken by the Turkes, as were the reſt alſo that were left,

Part of the Chriſtian fleet oppreſſed at Zerbi by the ſudden comming of the Turks.

although

A although they for a while did what they might to haue saued themselues. The night following the Viceroy and the Admirall secretly stole out of the castle, and so by good fortune in two small frigots fled to MALTA. *Carauanus* also the Moore king, with the prince of TVNES, got them away into the maine. *Gonzaga* the Viceroy departing from MALTA into SICILIA, prouided as he might for the safetie of that countrey. *Auria* in the meane time gathered together the remainder of the dispersed fleet, hauing lost in this vnfortunat expedition seuenteene gallies, with a great part of the ships.

Now in the castle was left as Generall *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, a valiant gentleman of great spirit and long experience, with fiue thousand footmen, some Germanes, some Italians, but for the most part Spaniards; besides a thousand other that were no souldiors. So that the Turks be- *The castle of Zerbi besieged by the Turks.*
B ginning to besiege the same the seuenteenth of May, were by them many times notably encountered, and in their assaults repulsed. Vnto this siege at length came *Dragut* the pyrat, who with fifteene great pieces which he brought with him from TRIPOLIS, encreased the furie of the Turks batterie. Neither were the Christians in the meane time wanting vnto themselues, hauing in the castle fortie great pieces of artillerie, wherewith they slew a number of the Turkes and Moores: and sometimes sallying out, fought with them hand to hand; and hauing slaine and wounded many, retired againe into the castle. In this manner the siege continued three months with many an hot and desperat skirmish: during which time, nothing more troubled the defendants than thirst in that hot and drie climat and intemperat time of the yeare: for why in the castle there was but one great cesterne, which although it yeelded some good store of water, yet
C was it not ynough to suffice so great a multitude, but was by measure still sparingly giuen out vnto the souldiors so farre as it would serue, no man hauing more allowed him than would suffice to keepe him aliue: the quantitie whereof some augmented by distilling of the sea water, and mingling it with their allowance, and so well eased their thirst, vntill such time as hauing spent all their wood, they wanted that poore helpe also. There might a man haue seen many poore soules lying vpon the ground halfe dead, gaping and still crying out nothing but water, water; into whose drie mouths, if any man vpon compassion vouchsafed to poure a little water, they as men reuiued therewith would presently sit vp, vntill that for thirst they fell downe againe, and so at length as men rosted gaue vp the ghost. Thus many died daily, beside them whom the chance of warre and other diseases without helpe consumed in so great a distresse. *Don Aluarus* the Gouer- *Don Aluarus with the rest of the cheefe commaunders taken prisoners.*
D nour considering the great extremitie they were now brought vnto, attempted with *Don Sanchius de Leyua* Admirall of the Neapolitane gallies, *Bellingerius de Requesens* Admirall of the Sicilian gallies, and some others by night to haue escaped away into a gallie which lay vnder the castle, but in doing thereof were perceiued by the Turks, and so all taken. Whereupon such souldiours as sickneſſe and the enemies sword had yet left aliue, pinched with extreame necessitie, forsaken of their best captaines, and out of all hope of releese also, couenanting their liues only with the enemie, yeelded themselues into most miserable captiuitie. In this vnfortunat expedition pe- *The castle of Zerbi yeelded vnto the Turks.*
rished about eighteene thousand Christians, some with sickneſſe, some drowned, but most slaine, beside the losse of a great part of the fleet also.

Of this victorie *Piall* sent newes by one of his gallies to CONSTANTINOPLE, which for the
E more manifesting thereof, dragged at the poupe thereof a great ensigne of the Christians, with the picture of Christ crucified therein. Which was no sooner come into the hauen, but that the rumour of the ouerthrow of the Christians was forthwith blowne through the whole citie, the Turks exceedingly rejoycing one with another for the newes of so great a victorie: yea many of them not so contented, came by heapes to the gate of the house where the emperour *Ferdinands* embassadour lay, and there meeting with his seruants, by way of derision asked them, if they had any brethren, kinsmen, or friends in the Spanish fleet at ZERBI, for if you haue (said they) you shall shortly see them here. Besides that, they with many words most insolently bragged of their owne valour, and scorned the cowardise of the Christians, asking who were able to withstand them, now that the Spaniards was also ouercome. All which with much more the embassadours
F men with great greefe were enforced to heare, but there was no remedie, seeing God had so appointed it. Shortly after, in September the victorious fleet returned to CONSTANTINOPLE, *The Turks with victorie returne to Cõstantinople.*
dragging with it the prisoners, spoiles, and gallies of the Christians, a sight no lesse pleasant vnto the Turks, than heauie vnto the Christians: and that night it lay at anker neere vnto the rocks in the face of the citie, with the greater pompe and glorie to come the next day into the hauen. At

which time *Solyman* himselfe was come downe into a gallerie neere vnto the hauens mouth, adG
joyning vnto his garden, the better to see the comming in of the fleet, and the Christian captains set there to shew vpon the poupe of the Admirall gallie, namely, *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, *Don Sanchius de Leyua*, and *Don Bellingerus de Requesenes*, all of late great commaunders: as for the Christian gallies all disarmed and vnrigged, so to seeme the more contemptible in comparison of the Turks, they were towed at the taile of the Turks gallies. They which then saw *Solymans* countenance, perceiued not in him any signe at all of any insolent joy. I my selfe (sayth * *Busbequius*, then the emperour *Ferdinands* embassadour there) saw him two dayes after going to the church with the same countenance he had alwayes, with the same seueritie and grauitie, as if this victorie had nothing concerned him, nor any thing chanced strange or vnexpected: so capable was the great heart of that old sire of any fortune, were it neuer so great, and his mind so setled, as H to receiue so great applause and rejoycing without mouing. Within a few dayes after the Christian captiues (before almost starued with hunger) were brought to the Court: many of whom could scarce stand vpon their legs, some others for weakenesse fell downe and fainted, and otherssome died outright: they were all scornfully led in triumph, with their Armes disordered & scornfully put vpon them: the Turkes in the meane time insulting round about them, promising vnto themselues the empire of the whole world: and vainely asking, What enemie they were to feare, now that the Spaniard was ouercome. *Aluarus Sandes*, as cheefe of all the prisoners, being brought into the Diuano before the Visier Bassaes, and demaunded by *Rustan Bassa*, What his master meant, being not able to defend his owne, to inuade other mens? answered, That it beseemed not him to judge thereon; and himselfe to haue done but his dutie, with such faithfulnesse as I was meet to put in execution what he was commaunded by his lord, although he had no good fortune therein. After that, he besought the Bassaes vpon his knee, to speak for him vnto *Solyman*, for that he had at home a poore wife, with certaine small children, for whom he requested him to spare him. Whereunto *Rustan Bassa* (contrarie to his manner) courteously answered, his Soueraigne to be of a mild and gentle nature, and that he was in good hope his pardon might bee of him obtained: so was he commaunded away vnto *Caradines* his castle, towards the blacke sea. But he was not gone farre, but that he was called backe againe; for that the Great Chamberlain, a man in great credit with *Solyman*, had not as yet seene him: for which cause hee was sent for backe againe; wherewith he was not a little troubled, fearing least the Bassaes hauing changed their minds, would haue put him to death. The rest of the captiues of the better sort were com- K
mitted to the castle of PERA, and amongst them *Don Sanchius de Leyua*, with his two base sons, and also *Don Bellingerus Requesenes*: which two great men, with *Don Aluarus de Sandes*, were neuertheless afterwards with much adoe and almost beyond all hope, at the request of the emperour, and by the dexteritie of his embassadour, by *Solyman* set at libertie; although he had before denied them vnto *Saluiat* the French kings embassadour, who had beene an earnest intercessour for them. Yet before they were deliuered out of prison, the Muphti or Turkes great priest was asked his opinion, Whether it were lawfull for a greater number of Turkes to exchange a few Christian captiues (for the embassadour beside the rewards he had promised vnto the Bassaes, to further the matter, had also vndertaken, that fortie common prisoners of the Turkes should be set at libertie for them) whereunto the Muphti answered, That the doctors L
of their law were of diuers opinions concerning that question, some saying that it was lawfull, and some not; howbeit as then it was by him resolued vpon vnto the more fauourable part, and the exchange allowed.

Augerius Busbequius legationis Turcicæ. epist. 4.

The miserie of the Christian captiues.

There were among the prisoners taken at ZERBI, besides these noble men of whom we haue before spoken, two other noble gentlemen right honourably borne, *Don Iohn* of CARDONA *Don Bellinger* his sonne in law, and *Don Gasto* the duke of MEDINA his sonne, to whom yet but a youth his father neuertheless had giuen an honourable place in the armie. Of these two *Don Iohn* had wisely taken order for a great summe of money to be left in the island of CHIO, by the way as the Turkes fleet went to CONSTANTINOPLE, from whence he afterwards in safetie got into SPAINE. But *Gasto* was by *Piall Bassa* (vpon hope of a great raunsome) purposely hid out of M
the way, which had like to haue wrought his destruction: for *Solyman* hauing gotten an inckling thereof by the instigation of *Rustan*, laboured for nothing more than to haue *Gasto* found out, so to haue a more just occasion for the putting of *Piall* to death, being taken tardie in so manifest a fault. But all that labour was spent in vaine, *Gasto* being by death taken away, but whether

A ther by the plague (as ſome reported) or by *Piall* his meanes (as it was more like) leaſt the truth ſhould be found out, is vncertaine. But certaine it was, that being with great care ſought for by the duke his fathers ſeruants, he could neuer be heard of more: So that it was thought *Piall* for the ſafegard of his owne life, not to haue ſpared *Gaſto* his priſoners life. Who neuertheleſſe for a long time liued in great feare, and not daring to come to CONSTANTINOPLE, took occaſion with a few gallies to wander about amongſt the iſlands of ÆGEVM, as if he had there ſomething to doe: but indeed ſo ſhunning the ſight of his angrie lord, for feare he ſhould haue been compelled in bonds to haue anſwered the matter. Vntill at length he appeaſed at the requeſt of *Suleiman Baſſa* (the eunuch and *Solymans* great chamberlaine) and of *Selymus*, *Solymans* ſon, granted him his pardon in theſe words well worth the marking out of the mouth of an infidell prince:

Piall in diſgrace with Solyman, ſhunneth to come to Conſtantinople.

B *well haue he from me pardon and forgiueneſſe for ſo great an offence: but let God the moſt iuſt reuenger of villanies take of him due puniſhment after this life.* So fully he ſeemed to be perſuaded that no euill deed ought to remaine without puniſhment, either in this life or in the life to come.

There was in this expedition a Colonell of the Turks well acquainted with *Busbequius* the emperours embaſſadour, then lying at CONSTANTINOPLE: into whoſe hands (in that diſcomfiture of the Chriſtians) by chance was come the imperiall enſigne of the gallies of NAPLES; wherein within the compaſſe of an Eagle, were contained the armes of all the prouinces belonging to the kingdome of SPAINE. Which faire enſigne the embaſſadour vnderſtanding him to purpoſe to giue for a preſent vnto *Solyman*, thought good to preuent the matter, and to

One of the imperiall enſignes of Charles the fift redeemed from the Turke.

C get it from him: which he eaſily obtained, by ſending him two ſutes of ſilke (ſuch as the Turkes make reckoning of) for it: ſo prouiding that one of the imperiall enſignes of *Charles* the fift, ſhould not to the eternall remembrance of that ouerthrow, remaine ſtill with the enemies of the Chriſtian religion. This ſo miſerable a calamitie receiued by the Chriſtians at ZERBI, made that iſland, before little or nothing ſpoken of, to be euer ſince famous.

About this time to end this vnfortunat yeare withall, the fiue and twentith day of Nouember died *Andreas Auria* (that ſecond *Neptune*) being ninetie foure yeares old: a man in his time of great fame, and of the greateſt princes of that age had in no ſmall reputation, but eſpecially of *Charles* the fift, in whoſe ſeruice he did much for the benefit of the Chriſtian common weale, being for moſt part imploied in his greateſt warres againſt the Turks and Moores. Yet amongſt

The death of the noble Andreas Auria.

D all the notable things done to his immortall glorie, the kindneſſe by him ſhewed vnto his natiue countrey was greateſt; which oppreſſed by the French, he ſet at libertie: and when he might haue taken vpon him the ſole gouernment thereof (as had diuers others before him) moderating his deſires, and reſpecting the onely good thereof, appeaſed the great diſſention that had of long raigned therein; and eſtabliſhed ſuch a forme of gouernment, confirmed with ſo good and wholſome lawes and orders (no mans libertie infringed) as that it hath euer ſince to his eternall praiſe in great wealth, ſtate, and libertie, thereby flouriſhed. Vnto whoſe remembrance (for that we haue before of him much ſpoken in the courſe of this hiſtorie) I thought it not amiſſe to joyne the liuely counterfeit of his reuerend aged countenance, by nature framed anſwerable vnto his noble vertues.

ANDREAS

Genua quem genuit, genui quam deinde viciſsim,
Auria qui merui Carolo ſub Cæſare quinto,
Turcarum terror, Piratarumq́ Subactor,
Barbara quem ſenſit tellus, & capta Thuniſsa,
Arx & Aphrodiſium, Moreæq́ vrbs celſa Corone,
Mors rapuit Luſtris decies prope quinque peractis.

L

As *Genua* me begat, ſo I preſeru'd the ſame:
And ſeruing vnder *Charles* the fift, exalted haue my name.
A terrour to the Turkes I was, I brought the pyrats low:
And ſpoiling their Barbarian coaſt, made them by force to know
Faire TVNES and ſtrong APHRODISE, both by my helpe were woon:
And CORONE in MOREA, by me was ouerrun.
So hauing ſpent ninetie foure yeares in treading honours trace:
Full fraught with honour and with yeares, I ended haue my race.

1561 *A great ſhip-wracke.*

The Turkes the yeare following, with their gallies robbed and ſpoiled diuers places vpon the M coaſts of ITALIE, SICILIE, and MALTA: againſt whom *Phillip* king of SPAINE ſending forth his gallies by force of tempeſt loſt twentie fiue of them, the eighteenth day of Nouember, togither with *Mendoza* admirall of that fleet.

Ferdinand the emperour, hauing with long ſute and much entreating obtained peace of *Solyman*

A *Iyman*, and being now well ſtricken in yeares, and carefull both of the ſtate of the empire and of the aduancement of his poſteritie, began to deale with the princes Electors for a choice to bee made of a king of the Romans; who after his death might without the trouble of GERMANIE ſucceed him in the empire: commending vnto them his ſonne *Maximilian*, a prince of great hope, then king of BOHEMIA. Whereupon an aſſemblie of the princes Electours was appointed to bee holden at FRANKFORD: who there meeting at the appointed time, with generall conſent the 24 day of Nouember in the yeare 1562, choſe *Maximilian* the emperours ſonne king of the Romans, and with all the accuſtomed ſolemnities crowned him. Who alſo the yeare after was at PRESBVRG the eight of September with much ſolemnitie crowned king of HVNGARIE. Vnto this ſolemne aſſemblie of the empire at FRANKFORD, *Solyman* the Turkiſh em-

1562

Maximilian choſen king of the Romans, and after crowned king of Hungarie.

B perour ſent *Ibrahim Baſſa*, otherwiſe called *Abraham Strotzka* a Poloman borne, of whom we haue before ſpoken) his embaſſadour with preſents and letters to *Ferdinand* the emperour, to confirme the peace for eight yeares betwixt them before concluded, who the ſeuenteenth day of Nouember in preſence of the emperour, the king of the Romans, and all the princes Electors, had audience: where, after much glorious ſpeech in ſetting forth his maſters greatneſſe, with his loue towards the emperour and his ſonne the new choſen king, as wiſhing vnto them all happineſſe, he deliuered his letters of credence vnto the emperor: the copie whereof I haue not thought amiſſe here to ſet downe, for that therein is notably to be ſeene the moſt inſolent pride of that barbarous prince, and miſerable eſtate of the rent kingdome of HVNGARIE, deuided as it were at his pleaſure betwixt him and the emperour.

Solyman by his embaſſadour confirmeth a peace with Ferdinand the emperour for eight yeares.

C

Solymans proud leſſert to the emperor Ferdinand.

I the lord of lords, ruler of the Eaſt and of the weſt, who am of power to doe and not to doe whatſoeuer pleaſeth me, lord of all GRÆCIA, PERSIA, *and* ARABIA, *commaunder of all things which can be ſubiect to king and commaund, the great worthie of theſe times, and ſtrong champion of the moſt wide world, lord of all the white and blacke ſea, and of the holy citie of* MECHA *ſhining with the brightneſſe of God, and of the citie of* MEDINA, *and of the holy and chaſt citie of* IERVSALEM, *king of the moſt noble kingdome of* ÆGIPT, *lord of* IONIA *and of the citie of* ATHENS, SENAV, *of the ſacred temple of God,* ZABILON *and* BASSIO, RETHSAN *and* MAGODIM, *the ſeat and throne of the great king* Naſhin Rettam, *and lord of the iſland of* ALGIERS, *prince of the kingdomes of* TARTARIE, MESOPOTAMIA, MEDIA, *of the Georgians,* MOREA, ANATOLIA,
D ASIA, ARMENIA, WALACHIA, MOLDAVIA, *and of all* HVNGARIE, *and of many other kingdomes and territories, whereof I am emperour; the moſt mightie Monarth Sultan* Solyman, *ſonne of the great emperour Sultan* Selym, *who haue power from God to rule all people with a bridle, and ſtrength to breake open the gates and bars of all cities and ſtrong places: into whoſe mightie hand are deliuered all the ends of the world, none excepted. I the ruler of the Eaſt, from the Iſland of* TSEIN *vnto the fartheſt bounds of* AFFRICA, *whom God hath appointed a mightie warriour in the edge of the ſword: amongſt whoſe moſt mightie kingdomes the impregnable caſtle of* CESAREA *is reputed for the leaſt, and in whoſe hereditarie dominions the kingdome or empire of* Alexander *the Great is accounted as a trifle: with me is the ſtrength of the whole world and vertue of the firmament. For as much as thou king* Ferdinand, *which art the mightie lord of Chriſtendome, and the choſen veſſell*
E *of the mightie Chriſtian faith, created and elected emperour of the Romane people, of* BOHEMIA, VANDALIA, CRABATIA, *and many other countries king and lord &c. Not long ſince ſent vnto our court (which is the refuge of all kings, the protection and ſanctuarie of all that flie thereunto, and the throne of grace for all princes of theſe times which repaire vnto it) one* Augerius Busbeck, *thy faithfull counſellour and embaſſadour, with letters of confederation, to renew with vs a peace, and to enter into a further league and bond of amitie: which letters beare date the yeare from the prophet Ieſu (vpon whom and our prophet* Mahomet *reſt the brightneſſe and peace of God)* 1562, *the firſt day of Iune, requeſting of vs, That graunting you peace for eight yeares, we would not with any hoſtilitie hereafter moleſt your cities, caſtles, countries, or ſubiects, but to ſuffer them to liue in ſecure peace and tranquilitie, &c. Vnto which your petition we anſwere you, That from henceforth for the whole*
F *ſpace of eight yeares ſhall be betwixt vs on both parts to be continued a new, true, and firme league: of which agreement, peace, and confederation, theſe ſhall be the conditions. Firſt, That you our beloued ſhall be bound to ſend yearely to our court as a pledge of this league thirtie thouſand Hungarian ducats, with that remainder which you owe vnto vs for the two yeares laſt paſt: for which wee promiſe vnto you, that we from henceforth during this eight yeares league, will take no part either by way of hoſtili-*

hoſtilitie or friendſhip with king Iohns ſonne, for as much as belongeth to his hereditarie countries, G
whether they be in the hether part of HVNGARIE, or on the further ſide of TRISSE: all which for
all that, by law of armes belong vnto vs. And the ſame king Iohns ſonne in time of this eight yeares
league ſhall be alſo bound in ſuch ſort to performe vnto vs his obedience, as that from henceforth it
ſhall not be lawfull for him to vſe any warre or hoſtilitie againſt you, neither to trouble your ſubiects
with fire or ſword, nor to ſurpriſe your cities, caſtles, or townes, or by violence to take away or exact of
your people or ſubiects, their ſheepe, their cattell, their goods, money, or reuenewes. We alſo our ſelues
ſhall haue no right, nor take occaſion to driue away your people, to burne your countries, or carrie away
any captiues: but rather in this eight yeares ſpace religiouſly keepe peace and concord with you. And
vnder theſe conditions of peace ſhall alſo be comprehended Michaell Balaſchius, Nicholas Bathor, H
with all their goods and territories, and diuers other ſuch like, which ſhall be ſubiect vnto you and king
Iohns ſonne. To be breefe, if happily any of yours or king Iohns ſonnes ſubiects ſhall haue now before
in time of warre thruſt one another out of his goods, lands, or poſſeſſions, whereof new quarrels or
diſcord may ariſe; we will and decree, That all ſuch controuerſies, quarrels and claimes ſhall be deferred
vntill this definit time of the league be expired. Beſide, if by chance any diſſention ſhall hereafter
ariſe betwixt vs about our iuriſdiction, which can by no means be compoſed and ordered; we will that
yours ſhall in the mean time remain as yours, and ours as ours, all contention & enmitie ſet apart: alſo
many townes ſituat here and there by Danubius and Tatta, ſhall bee ſuffered to vſe the ſame law which
they did in former time; ſo that the ſoldiors which are yet in garriſon in the caſtle of Tatta, ſhall haue
no right to infeſt or vex thoſe townes ſituate neere vnto Danubius. Furthermore, if after this peace
concluded, any of your noble men or gentlemen ſhall fortune to haue any of our noblemen by reuolt or I
other occaſion whatſoeuer, captiues, they ſhall diſmiſſe them and ſet them at libertie, to returne vnto
their friends freely without hurt or ranſome; that ſo the concord and peace begun betwixt vs, may be
the more firmely kept, and our ſubiects liue in more ſecuritie. All and euery one of theſe things wee
graunt and promiſe to be of vs from henceforth vntill the end of the aforeſaid eight yeares, without all
fraud or guile religiouſly obſerued and kept: and for that purpoſe haue cauſed theſe our letters of this
peace and confederation to be publiſhed from our royall pallace: and moreouer, haue not only prouided,
that the copie of the ſame ſhould together with our edict be proclaimed to all and euery the generals,
captaines, lieutenants of our armies both by ſea and land in all parts of our empire, and to all our merci-
narie ſouldiors, but haue alſo ſtraightly commanded, that it ſhall be firmely and ſincerely kept. We will
alſo, that this agreement of peace and amitie ſhall comprehend and concerne our two cheefe Gouernors K
or Vayuods of WALACHIA and MOLDAVIA, ſo that none of your people of HVNGARIE,
CRABATIA, SCLAVONIA, or other your countries or iſlands whatſoeuer, ſhall in any ſort be moleſted or greeued by our ſubiects. And if it ſhall fortune that ſome ſhall on your part out of their caſtles
ſet vpon our ſubiects, or by force take away their goods, the ſame men ſhall in any caſe be bound to make
thereof reſtitution. Alſo if any ſhall flie from vs and carrie away with them the mony or goods of their
maſters whom they ſerued, or if the like ſhall be done by any of yours flying to vs, then the ſame goods
on both parts are to be of right demaunded and recouered againe, and the fugitiues to the example of
others to be corrected and puniſhed: for as much as fugitiues goods of right appertain vnto their lords
and maſters. Furthermore it ſhall be lawfull for your captaines and commaunders to fortifie or build
caſtles, cities or townes in the borders of HVNGARIE, and to put into the ſame victuall, armor, & ſuch L
like, but ſo that they do none of theſe things out of their owne limits. And during the time of this league
it ſhall not be lawfull to take or carrie away any of your ſubiects priſoners either in HVNGARIE or
other place of your iuriſdiction: which for all that, if it ſhall by any chance happen, that then ſuch captiues without delay be ſuffred ſafely to returne home againe. Furthermore, whatſoeuer Chriſtian ſhall
haue any buſineſſe to do in our magnificent Court or any part of our dominions, as are embaſſadors, officers, ſeruants, and ſuch others: vnto all theſe we not onely graunt and permit, that they may come
and go about their buſineſſe, and ſo againe depart from our court or prouinces; but alſo haue willed
and commaunded, them to be well and courteouſly entreated by our ſubiects, and furthered with the
interpretation of our language. And if it ſhall fortune any contention or diſcord to ariſe betwixt
our ſubiects on either ſide, about the bounds and limits of lands, or other ſuch like cauſes: ſuch contro- M
uerſies we will to be decided and determined by diſcreet and indifferent men on both parts; and the authors of ſuch diſcord and variance, to be puniſhed as ſuſpected perſons and breakers of the league. We
alſo prohibit thoſe skirmiſhes or combats, which were wont to be ſometimes on both ſides made vpon
the borders. And deſire, that the forme of this league and peace, and euerie article thereof, may be

publickely

A publikely read and set vp in sundrie places of your dominions; and commaundement giuen, that they may with due obedience and reuerence be obserued and kept. Which we likewise haue now before promised faithfully, and assuredly to performe: and your embassadour whom a few moneths agone you sent vnto vs, in your name requested the same thing of vs, and hath with earnest praiers moued vs by imperiall oath and these letters of credence, to witnesse, that we did ratifie and confirme the same; as if we our selues should speake to you in presence. Wherefore we haue giuen to him these our letters of pacification to you directed, that your generals, souldiors, and subiects, may be bound also to obserue and keepe all these things: wherefore, so long as nothing contrarie to this league shall be done on your part; so long in like manner, all these articles of peace shall be of me accepted and assured. For witnesse and confirmation whereof, I sweare this oath: By the true and liuing creator of heauen and earth, by
B the true signes of our great and reuerend prophet, by my imperiall power, and by my true faith; that nothing contrarie or repugning vnto the aforesaid articles, conditions, and promises of the eight years league agreed vpon betwixt vs, shall be attempted or done by any our Gouernours, Generals, Vayuods, &c. Commaunding moreouer, all our sworne gouernours of our most mightie empire, in WALACHIA, and MOLDDAVIA, and king Stephen himselfe, and others which haue the gouernment of our empire confining vpon you, That they all and euerie of them as well as our selues, shall iustly, faithfully, and religiously, accept, reuerence, and keepe these conditions of peace, towards your subiects, cities, castles, townes, and other things appertaining to you; and in the least thing, not to hurt, iniurie, or wrong any your subiects. In briefe, we shall as farre as our part concerneth vs, giue vnto this most mightie and great new made loue and friendship, so great honour, reuerence, and authoritie, that that
C which may euen in the least things be had, shall not on our part be wanting. In token whereof, we haue suffered certaine Christian captiues, whom by your embassadour you requested to haue set at libertie, franckly to returne vnto you without raunsome; out of which captiuitie they could neuer haue been redeemed, if in regard of this our amitie and friendship we had not granted them libertie: trusting that you will in like sort set at libertie such of ours as you haue captiues. Giuen at our imperiall pallace and seat in the most mightie citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, the first day of September, in the yeare of our great and reuerend prophet 969.

Presents from Solyman to the emperour Ferdinand.

D The same embassadour, after he had deliuered these letters, presented vnto the emperour the gifts he had brought from his Great master: which was two great cups of naturall christall, curiously wrought, and set with stones of great price: a couragious Turkie horse, with a saddle and trappings wrought with gold, and set with pretious stones, and garnished with chaines of pure gold: and foure of the fairest camels that were to be got in all CONSTANTINOPLE. In deliuering of which presents, the Bassa made his excuse, that the horse and camels had lost their beautie, being with foure moneths trauell from CONSTANTINOPLE, growne somewhat leane and wearie.

The death of the emperour Ferdinand.

1564

This peace thus concluded betwixt the emperour *Ferdinand* and *Solyman*, held firme vntill the death of *Ferdinand*, who about two yeares after in the yeare 1564 vpon S. *Iames* his day died, being sixtie yeares old: whereof hee raigned as emperour not full seauen yeares. In whose place succeeded *Maximilian* his sonne, before chosen king of the Romans. But immediatly af-

New troubles in Hungarie.

E ter the death of *Ferdinand*, the captaines on the frontiers of that part of HVNGARIE which was holden for the emperour on the one side, and the Turkes captaines with the Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA on the other side, wearie of their ease, began contrarie to the forme of the league to surprise strong holds and townes one in anothers confines, wherof ensued much trouble: The authour whereof was *Melchior Balas*, the emperours lieutenant in that part of HVNGARIE which bordereth vpon TRANSILVANIA, who first surprised certaine townes vpon the frontiers thereabouts: in reuenge whereof, the Vayuod suddenly set vpon SACKMAR, a town in the emperours territorie which he tooke, and therein *Balas* his wife and children. In despight whereof, *Balas* ransacked and burnt DEBREZIN, a great towne of the Vayuods. But not long after, the Vayuod *Solymans* vassall, and aided by him with foure thousand Turkes and three
F thousand Moldauians, did much harme vpon the frontiers of that part of HVNGARIE which belonged to the emperour, and first tooke HADAD, and afterwards besieged VNGAR. In requitall whereof, *Maximilian* the emperour sent *Lazarus Suendi*, a valiant captaine, who with an armie of eight thousand, besieged the strong castle of TOKAY, which he tooke the fift of Februarie, in the yeare 1565; and after that, tooke the rich towne of ERDEN. In the meane time *Solyman*,

1565

lyman, who had in himſelfe fully purpoſed to be reuenged of all theſe injuries (as well appeared G
by that he did the yeare following) to ſtay the emperour from proceeding farther, vntill ſuch
time as he were at better leiſure to be reuenged (for as then he was making great preparation for
MALTA) ſent *Marcus Lilineſius* a renegat Tranſiluanian of CIBINIVM, his embaſſadour to
Maximilian, to put him in remembrance of the league made with his father, and to wiſh him to
haue regard how he further proceeded to the breach thereof. Whereupon the emperour, be-
cauſe he would not ſeeme vnwilling to hearken to peace, commaunded his lieutenants and cap-
taines no more to inuade TRANSILVANIA, or that part of HVNGARIE which the Turkes
held. Howbeit that, whileſt this embaſſadour was thus intreating of peace at VIENNA, the
Baſſa of TEMESVVAR in the borders of TRANSILVANIA, made diuers incurſions into the bor-
ders of HVNGARIE, and with ſix thouſand ſouldiors beſieged the ſtrong caſtle of IVLA, and the H
Turkes in great number came daily into TRANSILVANIA. At which time alſo, *Suendi* Gene-
rall of *Maximilian* his forces vpon the frontiers, by meſſengers ſent for that purpoſe, wiſhed him
The Turke purpoſing warre, craftily ſue for peace. not to giue any credit vnto the Turks embaſſadour, who meaning nothing but warre, vnder the
colour of peace ſought nothing elſe but to take him vpon the ſudden vnprouided. Neither ceaſed theſe troubles thus, but daily grew from euill to worſe: for in Iune the Tranſiluanians beſieged ERDEN, before taken by the imperials, and after two moneths ſiege had it yeelded vnto them. In the meane time, *Chernouich* the emperours embaſſadour to *Solyman* returned from CONSTANTINOPLE, aſſuring him, that the great Turk for all his faire ſhewes of peace, ment in deed nothing but wars, for which he was (as he ſaid) making great preparation both by ſea and land. Wherupon the emperour began to raiſe more forces: which thing diuers noble men, both I
of GERMANIE and other places hearing of, came vnto him with their followers; and amongſt others, *Romerus* one of the knights of MALTA, and diuers others of his brethren, with fiue companies of ſouldiors well appointed, ſent thither by *George Hochenheime*, graund prior of that Order in GERMANIE, and then confirmed one of the princes of the empire. At the ſame time alſo, the Turks being buſie vpon the borders of STIRIA and the places thereabouts, were many times cut off by *Charles* the archduke; who taking them at an aduantage, ſlew at one time three thouſand of them. Yet for all this, the Turkes embaſſadour was ſtill at VIENNA intreating for peace, and ſo cunningly handled the matter, that whereas *Eccius Salma*, a noble and valiant captaine, had corrupted the chiefe judge with certaine others of ALBA REGALIS, to haue betraied the citie vnto him; for performance whereof, they had deliuered their wiues and children as ho- K
ſtages, and he was now vpon his way from RAB, which is but eight miles off, in an aſſured hope to haue ſurpriſed the citie: he was ſuddenly by letters in poſt from the emperour called backe againe, for corrupting the hope conceiued of peace: and ſo was that notable deſsignment vnfortunatly diſappointed; of which practiſe the Turks hauing knowledge, afterwards moſt cruelly executed fortie of the conſpirators, impaling ſome of them vpon ſharpe ſtakes, and hanging others
I vpon yron hooks by the jawes vntill they were dead. Shortly after the Turks tooke NEOSTAT, which was not long after againe recouered by the emperour.

At the ſame time one of the Turks ſpies was taken at ZIGETH, who but thirteene daies before was ſent from CONSTANTINOPLE, of purpoſe to view the ſtrength and ſituation of that place: hee being brought before *Charles* the archduke and examined, ſaid, That *Soly-* L
man would aſſuredly the next Spring come in perſon himſelfe into HVNGARIE, to beſiege the ſtrong caſtles of ZIGETH and IVLA. At which time alſo, countie *Serinus* tooke certaine other of the Turkes ſpies, by whom he was certainly aduertiſed of *Solymans* comming the next yeare; and amongſt others *Scaphir Vayda*, the Baſſa of BVDA his chiefe counſellor. Beſide this, the countrey men (contributors both to the imperials and the Turks) were now ſtraightly commanded by the Turks, to pay no more contribution money vnto the imperials: whereupon it was eaſily gathered, that all that talke of peace, was as *Suendi* had oftentimes written, nothing elſe but to delay the time, and to put them in ſecuritie. Beſide that, the Turkes made incurſions daily into one place or other of the emperours territories, ſhewing their auntient hate, and ſow-
ing by thoſe light skirmiſhes, as it were, the ſeed of a greater warre againſt the next Spring: which M
the emperour now out of doubt of (being alſo warned thereof by many letters from his friends) put ſtrong garriſons into his frontier towns, eſpecially into RAB and ZIGETH. But knowing that to be but a poore helpe againſt ſo puiſſant an enemie, he reſolued as his father and vncle had done before, to reſt vpon the ſtrength of the empire, and againſt the next yeare to call a generall

aſſembly

assembly of the princes of the empire at AVGVSTA, for the better withstanding of the common enemie. The warres thus beginning againe in HVNGARIE, *Solyman* at the same time in reuenge of the manifold harmes done vnto his subjects by the knights of MALTA, whose hand he found euer against him in all his dealings with the other Christian princes, made great preparation both by sea and land: purposing (as seemed by the manner thereof) to haue rased the memoriall of those worthie men from off the earth. Whereunto, beside the naturall hatred which he bare against all Christians in generall, and them aboue the rest in particuler, he was much incited by *Cassanes*, *Barbarussa* his sonne king of ALGIERS, and *Dragut* gouernour of TRIPOLIS: by whose persuasions he caused a strong fleet to be rigged vp, commaunding the lieutenants and gouernours of his ports and hauens all alongst the sea coast, to put to their helping hands, and to be readie against the next Spring. And not long after, vnderstanding partly of his owne certaine knowledge, and partly by the relation of others, in what good forwardnesse things were: he calling togither a great assembly of his greatest princes and men of warre, deliuered vnto him his mind as followeth.

Solyman maketh preparation against the knights of Malta.

What thing I haue this fortie yeares alwaies wished, which was to haue so much leisure from other warres, as to plucke out of their nests and vtterly to root out these Crossed pirats, which vaunt themselues to be the bulwarke of Christendome: that same, me thinke I haue by the fauour of God and Muhamed *his prophet, at this time obtained. For we haue so represſed the attempts of the Persians, that they cannot let vs: and in* HVNGARIE, *from whence certaine dreadfull motions were reported, we our selues will shortly doe those things which shall enforce our enemies to hide their heads in the heart of* GERMANIE, *and to sue to vs for peace. You your selues daily heare the pitifull complaints of our subiects and merchants, whom these Maltæses, I say not souldiors, but pirats, if they but looke into those seas, spoile and make prize of: whose iniuries to reuenge, all lawes both of God and man require. Neither can any thing happen vnto me more pleasing or more honourable, than if I may before I die, accomplish those things, that is, to win* MALTA, *and to leaue all things in order in* HVNGARIE *and* POLONIA: *except perhaps some man thinke it a harder matter for vs to thrust these Crossed companions from the rocks of* MALTA, *than for our aunceſtors to haue driuen them from* IERVSALEM, *and so quite out of* SYRIA, *and for our selues to haue forced them out of the strong iſland of the* RHODES. *But this some will say, vs neerer vnto* ITALIE *from whence aid may easily be sent, and the place defended by a fleet. Beleeue me, they will neuer aduenture to fight with vs at sea, who remember themselues to haue been there so often by vs ouerthrowne: beside that, so little a place cannot containe any great garrison; neither if it could, could it long feed them. Wherefore vnto this expedition, we haue determined with the first of the Spring, to send a most strong fleet: and euen now we haue alreadie commaunded all our sea captaines and aduenturers which acknowledge our commaund, to be there present with their ships. The king of* ALGIERS *will be there, the garrisons of* ALEXANDRIA *are in readinesse, so is also* Dragut *with his appointed fleet; as for our owne, it is by mine owne direction rigged vp: vnto which fleet I doubt not, but that all the strength of the West will giue place: Which thing (worthie captaines) we speake, trusting vpon the helpe of almightie God, and* Muhamed *his great phrophet, with your knowne and approued Valour. Now remaineth onely, that euerie one of you thinke with vs, how this warre may best be managed, and so to referre your deuises vnto vs: which that you may the better doe, Loe, I here deliuer vnto you the situation of the whole iſland, and proiect of all their fortifications, which wee haue receiued of most expert and skilfull men.*

Solymans Oration to his captains for the inuasion of Malta.

Solymans purpose thus made knowne, and the matter well considered, after that they which best knew the strong places and manners of the Maltese, had declared their opinions what they thought to bee most expedient, it was decreed, that they should with all speed set forward: wherefore victuall, and other things necessarie for such an expedition, being with wonderfull celeritie prepared, they expected but wind. Of these things, *Io. Valetta* a Frenchman, Graund master of MALTA and of the knights of the Order; being both by letters and messengers aduertised (for he had alwaies fit men his intelligencers at CONSTANTINOPLE, who warily noted the purposes and actions of *Solyman*) was not afraid, but knowing that of God depended the victorie, and that men were to watch, labour, and foresee: he assembled a counsell of his knights, and in few words spake vnto them in this sort.

Valetta the Grand maſter aduertised of Solymans purpose.

Valetta his Oration vnto his knights.

What Solyman *prepareth (most noble and valiant knights) and what a great warre he prouideth against vs, you with me of late right well vnderstand, wherefore it is needlesse for me to vse any long speech with you concerning that matter. The enemie is knowne, his insatiable ambition is knowne, his strength is knowne, and his mortall hate against vs and the Christian name, is sufficiently knowne. Wherefore let vs all as one first reconcile our selues to God, and then prouide all such things as shall be needfull for the warre. In breefe noble knights, to reconcile our selues vnto God, and to appease his displeasure, two things are of vs to be performed: whereof the one consisteth in amendment of life, with a holy conuersation: the other in the religious worshipping of him, with a firme and constant trust in his helpe, with prayer, which is called godlinesse. By these meanes our aunce stors obtained many victories against the Indels in the East. Neither is it to be doubted, but if we shall in these things ioyne together, we shall also frustrat all the force and furie of this proud tyrant. But for as much as God vsually helpeth them which labour and take paines, and not the negligent and slouthfull, we must of necessitie ioyne vnto them those helpes, which both our profession and the course of war requireth: which partly consisteth in our selues, and partly in the other Christian princes. For victuall, armour, money, and other such things as in warres are requisit, we will so prouide, that no man shall iustly complaine, that we spared either cost or paines. I will poure out all my store, neither will I for desire of life refuse any danger. As for the Christian princes, I cannot persuade my selfe, that they will lie still in so fit an oportunitie, and in so great a danger, not of our estate onely, but much more of their owne. Verely I will not spare to exhort euery one of them both by letters and by messengers, which in part we haue alreadie done: and I doubt not but wee shall haue aid ynough from the Pope, the Emperour, and the king of Spaine (such is their Christian zeale) and they I hope shall moue the rest. As for you, the princes and very light of this sacred Order, and the rest of our brethren, most valiant knights, I am well assured you will so fight for the most holy Christian religion, for your liues and goods, and for the glorie of the Latine name, against a most cruell tyrant, the rooter out of all true religion, of all ciuilitie and good learning, the plague of the world, hated of God and man; as that hee shall feele the sting of the crosse which he so much contemneth, euen in the citie of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *yea in his houses of pleasure. For we shall not haue now to doe with him in the Island of the* RHODES, *far from the helpe of our friends, from* ASIA, *from* EVROPE, *from* ÆGIPT, *inclosed with our enemies both by sea and land; but in the eyes of* ITALIE *and* SPAINE, *in places strongly fortified, from whence the enemie may easily be circumuented: which that it may so fall out, let vs not cease to pray vnto Almightie God, and to craue his readie helpe.*

The knights make preparation for the Turks comming.

When the Graund Master had thus said, all that were present promised with one assent rather to lose their liues, than in any part to faile the common cause, or to come into the power of *Solyman*. After that, publicke prayer and supplication was made in euery church through the Isle, and three colonels chosen out of all the knights: one an Italian surnamed *Imperator*, another *Borneas* a Frenchman, and *Quatrius* a Spaniard the third, all aduised men and most expert souldiors, who should with all diligence prouide all things necessarie for the warre. By whose appointment the suburbes and trees which might any way be hurtfull to the fortified places, were ouerthrowne, the fortifications were thorowly viewed, the garrisons strengthened, and all manner of prouision most plentifully destributed: and letters from the Great Master sent vnto the Great Bishop and other Christian princes, requesting their aid against the common enemie. Messengers were also dismissed into diuers places, to certifie both the knights of the Order and others, of the Turkes preparation.

Solymans fleet departeth from Constantinople.

Solymans fleet departing from CONSTANTINOPLE the two and twentith day of March in the yeare 1565 kept a direct course towards PELOPONESVS, and so came to METHON: where *Mustapha Bassa* one of the Turkes greatest captaines, a man of 75 yeares, and Generall of the land forces, mustered the armie, wherein were numbred seuen thousand horsmen of them which are of the Turkes called Spahi: out of the lesser ASIA, conducted by the Gouernour of that countrey, and two lieutenants of CILICIA, fiue hundred: and of the Island of LESBOS, now called METYLENE, foure hundred: he had of the Ianizaries foure thousand and fiue hundred, led by two colonels, appointed by *Solyman*; for that the cheefe captaine of the Ianizaries, which they call the Aga, neuer departeth from the citie but when the Sultan goeth himselfe. Besides these, was a certaine kind of men amongst the Turkes, who liue of the reuenewes of the church; of them there was in the armie thirteene thousand, who had at CONSTANTINOPLE vowed their

A their liues for their ſuperſtition. Out of THRACIA and PELOPONESVS were come two colonels and one lieutenant, with twelue hundred horſemen, and three thouſand fiue hundred voluntaries out of diuers countries. There alſo *Piall Baſſa, Solymans* Admirall, tooke view of the fleet, wherein were found a hundred and thirtie gallies, two and twentie ſhips for burthen, ſome greater, ſome leſſer; beſides one that was caſt away neere vnto METHONE, wherein was loſt ſix thouſand barrels of pouder, thirteene thouſand great ſhot, and foure hundred Spahi: beſides theſe, there were ten gallies from the RHODES commaunded by *Halyport*, a man of ſeuentie yeares; two gallies of MITYLENE, and about ſeuenteene galliots, and other ſmall pyrats ſhips. With this ſtrong fleet the Turks departing from METHONE the thirteenth of May, arriued at *The Turks fleet arriueth at Malta.*
B MALTA the eighteene of the ſame moneth, and put into a hauen in the Northeaſt part of the iſle, which the inhabitants call MARZASIROC: but perceiuing themſelues not to bee there in ſafetie, they remoued to another port called MAIOR.

The iſland of MALTA lying betwixt AFFRICA and SICILIA, might be doubted whether *The deſcription of Malta.*
it were to be accounted in AFFRICKE or EVROPE, but that the auntient Coſmographers, and the Moores language, which the Maltaſes haue alwayes vſed, challenge it for AFFRICKE. It is in length from the Northeaſt to the Southweſt twentie miles; and in the broadeſt place twelue. It regardeth AFFRICKE Southward, oueragainſt LEPTIS PARVA; and SICILIA towards the North, but more towards PACHINVM than LILYBEVM: and is in circuit about three-ſcore miles. It ſeemeth to haue taken the name of MELITA of Mel or honey, wherof it yeeldeth plentie. The trees there beare fruit twice a yeare, and they haue oftentimes twice harueſt, eſpeci-
C ally of barley and cotten wooll; yet is the iſle in ſome places ſtonie, grauellie, and bare of wood: neuertheleſſe it beareth figs, apples, almonds, grapes, and other fruit trees, planted by the induſtrie of man, date trees alſo, but not fruitfull; it beareth thiſtles of ſuch bigneſſe, that the inhabitants vſe them for wood: freſh water is there wonderfull ſcarce, and ſuch wels as they haue are filled with raine in Winter, for in Summer they are either cleane drie, or els the water becommeth brachie. The inhabitants are ſo burnt with the Sunne, that they differ little in colour from the Æthyopians: they are of a wholeſome conſtitution of bodie, ſpare of diet, induſtrious, rather painefull than warlike, dying more for age than of ſickneſſe: their buildings, except it bee in the citie, which is in the middeſt of the iſland, and in the ſuburbes, are long and low (like vnto the Moores) couered with turfe or reed. It is commonly ſuppoſed, that S. *Paule* was by ſhip-
D wracke caſt vpon this iſland: but it is with greater reaſon to be thought, that it was the other MELITA in the Adriaticke betwixt CORCYRA and ILLYRIA, and better agreeth with that which *Luke* writeth of the Apoſtles trouble and ſhipwracke in the Adriaticke, out of which ſea Acts 27 & 28.
it is not to be gathered of the text, that *Paule* with the reſt were driuen. But againe to our purpoſe. That ſide of MALTA which reſpecteth SICILIA, hath in it many good harbours and commodious hauens, fit for ſhipping; where beſide the port MARZASIROC towards the Eaſt, where the Turkes fleet firſt landed, and the port of S. THOMAS, with another called SCALA, not farre off, it hath two other notable hauens, the one called MAIOR, and the other MARZAMOXET, deuided the one from the other by a narrow peece of ground: which with a ridge runneth in length from the South to the North, almoſt in manner of an iſland, hauing the hauen
E MAIOR on the Eaſt, and MARZA MOXET on the Weſt. Vpon the head of this high ridge ſtandeth the caſtle of S. ELMO, of great ſtrength both by nature and art. As a man entreth into the hauen MAIOR, vpon the left hand are foure promontories, pointing farre into the hauen on that ſide, almoſt in manner of iſlands, making ſo many bayes: Vpon the firſt ſtandeth the gallowes, whereof alſo it taketh name: vpon the very point of the ſecond, on a rough and high rocke ſtandeth a moſt ſtrong caſtle, called the caſtle of S. ANGELO, whereunto adjoyneth the towne, ſeperated from the caſtle onely with a wall and a ditch, and is placed in a hollowneſſe cut out of the maine rocke, ſtrengthened alſo with the ſea and the induſtrie of man; and is of ſome called the Burg, of others the new citie (in this caſtle reſideth the Grand maſter, and the ſouldiors in the Burg:) vpon the third promontorie ſtandeth another ſtrong caſtle, which they call alſo
F the Burg of S. MICHAEL: the fourth promontorie is not inhabited, from whence the ſea runneth alongſt the winding bankes almoſt into the midſt of the iſland, vnto a place called AQVA MARSIA. Againe, after the port MARZA MOXET, Weſtward is the harbour S. GEORGE; and after that another called BENORRAT: then followeth the port of S. PAVLE, no leſſe than the port MARZASIROC: after which commeth the port called SALINARVM SINVS: but on

that ſide of the iſland towards AFFRICK, is only one port called MILLIARIA: neere vnto the G
iſland of MALTA lie certaine other little iſlands, as GAVLOS now GOZO: two other called
CVMINIA, and another called PIPER, all ſubject to the Malteſes.

Thus much I haue thought good to ſet downe concerning the Turkes fleet, and for the deſcription of thoſe places wherein this great action was performed, the brute whereof then filled the world. Now ſhall it not be amiſſe, in like manner to declare vpon what ſtrength, next vnto God, *Valetta* the Graund maſter ſtood againſt ſo mightie and puiſſant an enemie. Firſt there was in the iſland thirteene hundred mercinaries, ſome Spaniards, ſome French, ſome Florentines, and the reſt of NAPLES: there was alſo a thouſand ſeamen of the knights fleet, and fiue hundred in the towne of S. *Angelo*: and of the countrey people which were fled into the ſtrong places, fiue thouſand, men not altogether vnskilfull of the wars: there was alſo fiue hundred H
knights of the Order, beſides prieſts and ſquires; for of theſe three ſorts of men, are they which are called brethren of the Order. This was the number of them which defended the caſtles & towns of S. *Elmo*, S. *Angelo*, and S. *Michaell*, whereunto they were proportionably diuided: and in the citie it ſelfe, which is called MELITA, being in the middle of the iſland, was two hundred ſouldiors, and as many citiſens, with three hundred of the countrey people all horſemen, commanded by *Io. Vagno* a valiant captaine. Beſides this, euerie place was furniſhed with plentie of victuall, armour, weapons, artillerie, and whatſoeuer elſe was needfull for the enduring of a long ſiege, and a warre that ſhould want many things: and that which paſſed all the reſt, minds armed with inuincible courage againſt whatſoeuer ſhould chance, which oftentimes maketh of the vanquiſhed, victors. All theſe things being in readineſſe, and orderly diſpoſed, as ſoone as they vnder- I
ſtood that ſeauen and twentie of the Turks gallies had put into the hauen MARZASIROCK, and were there landing their men: *Gyon*, Admirall for the Order, a valiant and couragious knight, marched thither with fiue hundred harquebuſiers, to haue skirmiſhed with them; but as ſoone as the Turks ſaw them comming, they retired againe to their gallies. On the other part where the great fleet lay, two hundred of the Turkes going on ſhoare, met by chance with *Rinerius* a Frenchman, and eight knights moe; who hauing his horſe killed vnder him, and one of his companions ſlaine, fell with the reſt into the hands of the enemie. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, a certaine Chriſtian marriner fled out from the Turkes to the citie of MELITA, who diſcouered the enemies purpoſe, telling them, That the Turks by the appointment of *Muſtapha*, had determined to haue landed the greateſt part of their forces, preſently to haue beſieged ſome K
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Rinerius with other knights, taken of the Turks.

The Turks land.

They of the caſtle of S. Michael skirmiſh with the Turks.

A rage. About that time, *Ochial* came to the fleet with six ships, drawne out of them which were left for the defence of ALEXANDRIA, and in them nine hundred souldiors. The Turks beaten from their first mount, cast vp another on a higher ground, whereon they placed three great pieces of ordinance, whetewith they annoied not only the hauen wherein the fleet of MALTA lid, but the castle of S. *Angelo* also, the Great masters seat, and with a rowling trench drew neerer and neerer vnto the castle of S. *Elmo*: which although they had at first in vaine attempted, hindred by them which were in the castle, yet at last with much labour and trauell they brought it to perfection (for the Turkes in that kind of worke, still performed by their multitude, are accounted to excell others:) wherfore in short time, they planted their great ordinance in such sort, as that they might batter both the castles of S. *Elmo* and S. *Michaell*. There was in the Turkes B campe a gentleman of SPAINE, but then a slaue vnto a Turke, who vnderstanding the enemies purpose for the besieging of the castle of S. *Elmo*, by a Christian fugitiue aduertised the Great master thereof: whereupon he forthwith sent *Cerda* and *Miranda*, with two companies of Spaniards into the castle, who were afterwards a great strength vnto the castle, and hinderance vnto the enemie. At length came *Dragut* Gouernour of LEPTIS, long looked for of the Turkes, with thirteene gallies, and in them 1600 souldiors: after whom followed ten galliots from BONA, and in them two companies. In the meane time, *Saluagus* the worthie knight (sent before into SICILIA) came to MESSANA, and hauing certified the viceroy, of the state of MALTA; was by him commaunded to returne to MALTA in a galliot, conducted by two gallies of the Great masters; which hauing brought him neere vnto the island, returned againe into SICI- C LIA: but he with his galliot (not without most manifest danger) in the third watch of the night brake into the towne thorow the middest of the enemies fleet, with the losse of but one of his followers. Where hauing deliuered vnto the Great master, what he had in charge from the viceroy, he was the same night sent backe againe by the Great master into SICILIA, to certifie the viceroy, That he had need of more aid, requesting him with all speed to send him some supply, whereby he might the better hold out against the force of so great an enemie. *Saluagus* discouraged neither with the labour nor the danger, presently committed himselfe againe to sea, and in short time arriued in the port of SIRACVSA, where finding the two gallies we before spake of, he sent them to MALTA, as he had in charge with foure hundred souldiors, amongst whom were diuers of the knights of the Order, and certaine skilfull canoniers: willing them to shun the D West part of the island, where as they must needs come into the enemies sight, and to passe by the East end thereof, which was farther about, but safer; and turning Southward, to land in the port MILIARE, and from thence by the low places of the island to conuay the souldiors by night to the citie MELITA, which was but foure miles off; from whence they might easily passe vnto the castle of S. *Michaell*. This order taken, he went to MESSANA, and there declared to the viceroy the danger of the warre, with the small number of the defendants, requesting of him a thousand footmen, which with those already sent, he thought would suffice to hold out the siege, vntill he with his whole fleet might come to releeue them. But whilest these things were slowly prouided, which with much difficulties and delay could hardly be brought to passe, the Christian princes as it were sleeping in so great a danger: the Turkes vpon the sudden the third E of Iune, assaulted the castle of S. *Elmo*, in hope with short scaling ladders to get ouer that part of the rampiers which was neerest vnto the bulwarke of the castle. But the defendands, in the ditch which before had no flanker to scoure the same, had of earth & sagots made a large strong flanker, from whence the castle also helping them, they valiantly resisted the enemie, and filled the ditches with the dead bodies of the Turks. Who for all that, trusting to their multitude (wherewith rather than with true valour they obtaine so many victories) thrust still on, vntill they had by obstinat force (although long first) gained the flanker: whereby they commanded all that part of the ditch, towards the port MARZA MOXET. In which place they with wonderfull celeritie so fortified themselues, that they could not be hurt by the defendants: wherein they were much holpen by their owne great ordinance, planted on the other side the hauen MARZA; F for with it they draue the defendants from the place, beat downe the corner of the rampier, and battered the front of the bulwarke, whose height and greatnesse troubled the enemie, but was not so commodious for the defendants, for that it was made without flankers. But night comming on, fiue thousand of the nine thousand Turkes which gaue the assault, tarried there: wherfore the Christians constrained to forsake the place, retired themselues into the castle. The

The Turks beginne the siege of S. Elmo.

Dragut commeth to aid the Turks.

The Turks assaule the castle S. Elmo.

that ſide of the iſland towards AFFRICK, is only one port called MILLIARIA: neere vnto the G
iſland of MALTA lie certaine other little iſlands, as GAVLOS now GOZO: two other called
CVMINIA, and another called PIPER, all ſubject to the Malteſes.

Thus much I haue thought good to ſet downe concerning the Turkes fleet, and for the deſcription of thoſe places wherein this great action was performed, the brute whereof then filled the world. Now ſhall it not be amiſſe, in like manner to declare vpon what ſtrength, next vnto God, *Valetta* the Graund maſter ſtood againſt ſo mightie and puiſſant an enemie. Firſt there was in the iſland thirteene hundred mercinaries, ſome Spaniards, ſome French, ſome Florentines, and the reſt of NAPLES: there was alſo a thouſand ſeamen of the knights fleet, and fiue hundred in the towne of S. *Angelo*: and of the countrey people which were fled into the ſtrong places, fiue thouſand, men not altogether vnskilfull of the wars: there was alſo fiue hundred H
knights of the Order, beſides prieſts and ſquires; for of theſe three ſorts of men, are they which are called brethren of the Order. This was the number of them which defended the caſtles & towns of S. *Elmo*, S. *Angelo*, and S. *Michaell*, whereunto they were proportionably diuided: and in the citie it ſelfe, which is called MELITA, being in the middle of the iſland, was two hundred ſouldiors, and as many citiſens, with three hundred of the countrey people all horſemen, commanded by *Io. Vagno* a valiant captaine. Beſides this, euerie place was furniſhed with plentie of victuall, armour, weapons, artillerie, and whatſoeuer elſe was needfull for the enduring of a long ſiege, and a warre that ſhould want many things: and that which paſſed all the reſt, minds armed with inuincible courage againſt whatſoeuer ſhould chance, which oftentimes maketh of the vanquiſhed, victors. All theſe things being in readineſſe, and orderly diſpoſed, as ſoone as they vnder- I
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Riuerius with other knights, taken of the Turks.

The Turks land.

They of the caſtle of S. Michael skirmiſh with the Turks.

A rage. About that time, *Ochial* came to the fleet with ſix ſhips, drawne out of them which were left for the defence of ALEXANDRIA, and in them nine hundred ſouldiors. The Turks beaten from their firſt mount, caſt vp another on a higher ground, whereon they placed three great pieces of ordinance, wherewith they annoied not only the hauen wherein the fleet of MALTA rid, but the caſtle of S. *Angelo* alſo, the Great maſters ſeat, and with a rowling trench drew neerer and neerer vnto the caſtle of S. *Elmo*: which although they had at firſt in vaine attempted, hindred by them which were in the caſtle, yet at laſt with much labour and trauell they brought it to perfection (for the Turkes in that kind of worke, ſtill performed by their multitude, are accounted to excell others:) wherfore in ſhort time, they planted their great ordinance in ſuch ſort, as that they might batter both the caſtles of S. *Elmo* and S. *Michaell*. There was in the Turkes B campe a gentleman of SPAINE, but then a ſlaue vnto a Turke, who vnderſtanding the enemies purpoſe for the beſieging of the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, by a Chriſtian fugitiue aduertiſed the Great maſter thereof: whereupon he forthwith ſent *Cerda* and *Miranda*, with two companies of Spaniards into the caſtle, who were afterwards a great ſtrength vnto the caſtle, and hinderance vnto the enemie. At length came *Dragut* Gouernour of LEPTIS, long looked for of the Turkes, with thirteene gallies, and in them 1600 ſouldiors: after whom followed ten galliots from BONA, and in them two companies. In the meane time, *Saluagus* the worthie knight (ſent before into SICILIA) came to MESSANA, and hauing certified the viceroy, of the ſtate of MALTA; was by him commaunded to returne to MALTA in a galliot, conducted by two gallies of the Great maſters; which hauing brought him neere vnto the iſland, returned againe into SICI- C LIA: but he with his galliot (not without moſt manifeſt danger) in the third watch of the night brake into the towne thorow the middeſt of the enemies fleet, with the loſſe of but one of his followers. Where hauing deliuered vnto the Great maſter, what he had in charge from the viceroy, he was the ſame night ſent backe againe by the Great maſter into SICILIA, to certifie the viceroy, That he had need of more aid, requeſting him with all ſpeed to ſend him ſome ſupply, whereby he might the better hold out againſt the force of ſo great an enemie. *Saluagus* diſcouraged neither with the labour nor the danger, preſently committed himſelfe againe to ſea, and in ſhort time arriued in the port of SIRACVSA, where finding the two gallies we before ſpake of, he ſent them to MALTA, as he had in charge with foure hundred ſouldiors, amongſt whom were diuers of the knights of the Order, and certaine skilfull canoniers: willing them to ſhun the D Weſt part of the iſland, where as they muſt needs come into the enemies ſight, and to paſſe by the Eaſt end thereof, which was farther about, but ſafer; and turning Southward, to land in the port MILIARE, and from thence by the low places of the iſland to conuay the ſouldiors by night to the citie MELITA, which was but foure miles off; from whence they might eaſily paſſe vnto the caſtle of S. *Michaell*. This order taken, he went to MESSANA, and there declared to the viceroy the danger of the warre, with the ſmall number of the defendants, requeſting of him a thouſand footmen, which with thoſe alreadie ſent, he thought would ſuffice to hold out the ſiege, vntill he with his whole fleet might come to releeue them. But whileſt theſe things were ſlowly prouided, which with much difficulties and delay could hardly be brought to paſſe, the Chriſtian princes as it were ſleeping in ſo great a danger: the Turkes vpon the ſudden the third E of Iune, aſſaulted the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, in hope with ſhort ſcaling ladders to get ouer that part of the rampiers which was neereſt vnto the bulwarke of the caſtle. But the defendands, in the ditch which before had no flanker to ſcoure the ſame, had of earth & fagots made a large ſtrong flanker, from whence the caſtle alſo helping them, they valiantly reſiſted the enemie, and filled the ditches with the dead bodies of the Turks. Who for all that, truſting to their multitude (wherewith rather than with true valour they obtaine ſo many victories) thruſt ſtill on, vntill they had by obſtinat force (although long firſt) gained the flanker: whereby they commanded all that part of the ditch, towards the port MARZA MOXET. In which place they with wonderfull celeritie ſo fortified themſelues, that they could not be hurt by the defendants: wherein they were much holpen by their owne great ordinance, planted on the other ſide the hauen MARZA; F for with it they draue the defendants from the place, beat downe the corner of the rampier, and battered the front of the bulwarke, whoſe height and greatneſſe troubled the enemie, but was not ſo commodious for the defendants, for that it was made without flankers. But night comming on, fiue thouſand of the nine thouſand Turkes which gaue the aſſault, tarried there: wherfore the Chriſtians conſtrained to forſake the place, retired themſelues into the caſtle. The

The Turke beſiege the caſtle of S. Elmo.

Dragut commeth to aid the Turks.

The Turke aſſaule the caſtle S. Elmo.

Turkes in the meane time couered with the darkeneſſe of the night, with ſackes filled with tow and earth, filled vp the ditch which was vnder the bulwarke, but neither of any great wideneſſe or depth: which done, they gaue a freſh aſſault, wherein aboue eight hundred of them were ſlaine, part Ianizaries, and part Spachi, and beſides them many wounded, of whom the moſt part remained halfe dead in the ditch, where they periſhed, and could not be relieued. Of the Chriſtians was loſt fiue and fortie: amongſt whom were fiue knights of the order, *Guardampes* an Auergnois, *Maſius* a colonell of NARBONA, *Contilia* a Spaniard, *Somaia* a Florentine, and *Neinec* a Germane. The ſame night the Great maſter thinking, as reaſon was, that they in the caſtle of S. ELMO might want helpe, ſent two hundred of his knights and as many other ſouldiors into the caſtle; who if they had beene moe, together with the foure hundred which were before in the caſtle, might happily haue driuen the Turkes both from the rampiers and the flanker, and alſo kept the place longer. But for as much as the Great maſter wanted ſouldiours, and had therefore ſent *Saluagus* into SICILIA for new ſupplies, as we haue before ſaid, hee in the meane time courageouſly expected their comming, refuſing no labour or paine: yet bewayling ſometime with himſelfe the vnfortunateneſſe of the Chriſtian princes, by whoſe negligence ſo fit an occaſion for the ouerthrow of the barbarous enemie was let ſlip: But aboue all things he maruelled exceedingly that no helpe yet came, eſpecially thoſe two gallies which (as we haue ſaid) were in all haſt ſent by *Saluagus*: but they by the maſters default kept not the appointed courſe; for firſt whereas they ſhould haue ſhunned the Weſt part of the iſle, and haue turned towards the Eaſt, they ſhaped their courſe Weſtward to the iſland of GAVLOS, the maſter vainely affirming, that he ſaw certaine of the Turks galliots lying before port MILIARE: which was afterwards well knowne not to haue beene ſo; for the truth was, that he for feare (whereby notable deſignes are many times fruſtrated) durſt not goe forward. Whereby it came to paſſe, that the Great maſter was diſappointed of ſo neceſſarie a ſupplie: which thing much greeued both the viceroy and others, but eſpecially *Saluagus*. For he ſaw it would come to paſſe, that if the Turkes ſhould take the caſtle of S. ELMO, the moſt aſſured bulwarke and defence of the iſland of MALTA, the other places muſt of neceſsitie be brought into extreame danger, all the way to relieue them being thereby ſhut vp. And that it might be taken, ſeemed not to him impoſsible, the enemie hauing alreadie taken one fort, and laying hard ſiege almoſt on euery ſide of that little pile. The due conſideration of theſe and ſuch like things grieued the minds of skilfull men, eſpecially ſeeing ſuch ſlacke preparation in a caſe requiring ſuch preſent releeſe. Yet in the meane time ſouldiors were taken vp at ROME by the commaundement of *Pius Quartus* then Biſhop, to be ſent to MALTA: and by his example to ſtirre vp other princes to ſend aid vnto this ſacred warre, he gaue a hundred pound of gold to *Cambianus* legat for the Order, and commanded gunpouder and other neceſſaries for that warre to be taken out of his caſtle S. ANGELO, that ſo he might ſeeme to be wanting in nothing that was in him to performe. Ouer theſe ſouldiors, in number ſix hundred, he appointed *Pompeius Columna* Generall, and commaunded *Camillus Medices* his legat to accompanie him. With theſe went many voluntarie men, of purpoſe to lay downe their liues for the eterniſing of their names in ſo religious a warre, and that with ſuch an ardent deſire, as that euery little delay ſeemed vnto them a yeare. Wherefore comming to NAPLES, they there found *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eleuen ſhips, the prince of POPVLONIA with nine, *Lanicius* with three, and three others, ſet foorth by other priuat gentlemen. In theſe ſhips were embarked all thoſe footmen which came from ROME, and ſo tranſported to MESSANA, where the kings fleet was prouiding. But whileſt the Chriſtians make ſlow preparation, conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger, the Turkes not ignorant thereof, reſolued to proue the vttermoſt before the ſtrength of the Chriſtians were readie or drawne together. For the caſtle of S. ELMO once taken, they aſſured themſelues with more eaſe to carrie the reſt: for that thereby they ſhould firſt haue the hauen MARZA MOXET in their power, where their fleet might in ſafetie ride ſo long as they pleaſed: and the riſing ridge betwixt the two hauens was commodious for them both to batter the towne of S. MICHAEL, and to keepe the hauen MAIOR, ſo that none could without their leaue paſſe in or out thereat. Wherefore vpon theſe and other ſuch like conſiderations they began againe to batter the caſtle of S. ELMO, as if it had been with thunder: which furious batterie they continued for the ſpace of foure dayes together without intermiſsion. The night following they ſuddenly with great force gaue an aſſault, and with their ſcaling ladders had almoſt gained the top of the wall, when the Chriſtians deſirous of nothing

S. Elmo againe aſſaulted.

New ſupplie ſent into the caſtle S. Elmo.

The Great maſter diſappointed of a ſupplie by the fearefulneſſe of the ſhip maſter.

S. Elmo againe aſſaulted.

A nothing more than to come to handie blowes, draue them downe againe with ſuch violence that neuer after they durſt ſet ladder to the wall, vntill the very laſt conflict. Whileſt things were thus hot at the caſtle of S. ELMO, *Dragut* his ſouldiors vpon a brauerie, as if they had been the only men, went to a place called MARTIA SCALA, which is betwixt the gallowes and S. *Thomas* roade, as if they would haue done more than the reſt: Which the Chriſtians beholding out of the towne of S. ANGELO, to repreſſe their inſolencie, ſallied foorth vpon them, and ſo welcommed them, that they were glad after they had receiued a great loſſe, foorthwith to retire to the place from whence they came. Of the Chriſtians was ſlaine *Bonnemius* a Frenchman, one of the knights, and ſeuen others. *The Turkes repulſed.*

The ſame time *Monferratus* was by the Great maſter ſent into the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, to com-
B maund there as Gouernour in ſtead of *Brolia*: for that he with watching and paines taken in defence thereof, was fallen ſicke. The ſame *Brolia* had many times before written to the Great maſter, that the caſtle was ſo well fortified and furniſhed of all things needfull, as that he thought it impoſsible to be woon by the enemie: and had with cheerfull ſpeech and braue behauiour, ſo encouraged the kinghts and other the defendants, that they fought againſt their enemies with more than mens ſtrength, and greater courage than is to be beleeued. Neither were the Turks for that diſcouraged, although they were with great loſſe ſtill repulſed; but for certaine daies battered the caſtle with greater furie than before, and immediatly gaue an aſſault; for they had made a bridge ouer the ditch, of maſts and ſaile yards, of ſuch a breadth, that ten men might go thereon in ranke: and had placed about the ditch foure thouſand harquebuſiers, and brought all their
C fleet vnto S. *Georges* ſhoare, not far from the caſtle. And when they had by the ſpace of eighteen daies ſore ſhaken it, and torne the wals with thirteene thouſand great ſhot, and were now in hope euen preſently to win the caſtle: ſee, *Baragamus* a Biſcane, one of the knights, and *Medranus* a Spaniſh captaine, with certaine other valiant men, ran to the bridge, and to the great admiration of the beholders, oppoſed themſelues againſt the multitude of the miſcreants. The fight hand to hand was on both ſides both fierce and terrible: and now one of the Turkes had aduanced a Turkiſh enſigne vpon the bulwarke, which whileſt *Medranus* laieth hand vpon, and the Turke on the other ſide ſtruggleth to cleare himſelfe from him, in ſtriuing togither, they fell downe both dead, ſhot thorow with one bullet by one of the Turks. At which time the foure hundred which we ſaid were but a little before ſent thither by the Grand maſter, ſtood in good ſteed: for
D ſeeing all brought to ſo great a danger, ſome of them (whileſt other ſome fought with the enemie) thruſt barrels of gunpouder vnder the bridge, ſome caſt downe wild fire, ſtones, and whatſoeuer elſe came to hand vpon the enemie, and others farther off with their harquebuſiers ſore galled the Turks; ſo in ſhort time the bridge was burnt and blowne vp, which in the fall thereof, ouerwhelmed eight hundred Turks: the reſt (as they might) retired, few whole, but moſt part wounded. In this conflict the Chriſtians pluckt downe two enſignes, the one *Muſtaphaes*, the other *Draguts*, which the Turkes had ſet vp vpon the verie battlements of the wals. On the other part toward the Southweſt, a band of the Turks had got to the top of the higheſt rampier; which as ſoone as they in the caſtle of S. *Angelo* perceiued, thinking to haue beaten them off with a great ſhot, ſlew by miſchance ſeauen of the defendants vpon the ſame rampier, as they
E were going too and fro: but to recompence that errour, at the next ſhot they rent in ſunder foure of the Turks captaines, with twelue other of their moſt forward ſouldiors. Whileſt they were here fighting, other Turks in the meane time had caſt vp a trench on that ſide of the caſtle toward S. *Angelo*; out of which they were quickly driuen with fire, ſtones, and other ſuch like things throwne downe vpon them by the defendants. The Turks valiantly on euerie ſide repulſed, retired into the campe, when they had in this aſſault loſt two thouſand of their beſt ſouldiors, and of the Chriſtians ſlaine almoſt a hundred, and wounded as many moe. The ſame day, *Valeta* the Grand maſter, perceiuing the port MARZA MOXET not to be verie ſtraightly kept by the Turks, commaunded a light Brigandine to be carried out of the hauen, ouerland to the place called MARTIA SCALA, that from thence he might ſend into SICILIA: for he (as reaſon
F was) conſidering in what danger the caſtle of S. *Elmo* ſtood, by letters certified the Viceroy and the biſhop of ROME thereof, and of ſuch things as were there done; requeſting them of ſpeedie reliefe. The coppie of the letters ſent to the Viceroy, I haue here ſet downe: as for thoſe which were ſent to the great biſhop, becauſe they were almoſt of the ſame purport, I haue purpoſely omitted.

The Turkes make a bridge ouer the caſtle ditch.

A terrible batterie.

Medranus a valiant captaine.

Eight hundred Turks ſlain with the fall of the bridge.

The Turks retire

To

To *Garzias* of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, and Admirall of the fleet, greeting.

The Great maſters letters to Garzias Viceroy of Sicilia.

Since the time that I ſent Saluagus, *I haue ſent vnto you two letters, which I cauſed to be ſent by* MELITA *into* GAVLOS; *which I pray God be come to your hands. After that, when as neither meſſengers nor letters came vnto vs from you, I commaunded a man with inſtructions to haſt to* MESSANA, *who when he had certaine nights attempted to go out, and was at laſt got out, he was ſcarcely gone two miles, but he ſaw the Turks with might and maine making after him; whom to eſcape, he was glad to run his pinnace on ground: and caſting his letters into the ſea, to forſake his boat, and by flight to ſaue himſelfe. Now the Turkes hauing remoued their fleet out of the port* VULTVRNVS, H *I conſidering how much it concerneth to certifie you of thoſe things which are here done, commaunded a Brigandine to be carried to* MARTIA SCALA; *for ſeeing that the Turkes fleet is gone to another part of the iſland, I hope my letters will without let in ſhort time come vnto you. And the things I would haue you to know, are theſe: The fifteenth of this moneth, all the enemies fleet (a little before night) paſſed by this port; the comming on of the night letted, that we could not well perceiue the weakneſſe thereof; whileſt the gallies almoſt vnarmed, were with much difficultie towed forth: want of water cauſed them chiefly to depart out of the port* VULTVRNVS, *and peradauenture feare of your fleet. For, as I haue heard, they haue intelligence, that an hundred and fiftie ſaile lie at road in the port of* MESSANA; *for which cauſe alſo, they haue not put themſelues into the port of* S. Paul, *but haue placed their fleet aboue the port* MARZA MOXET; *yet a good part of their gallies lie at the* I *port* S. George, *ſo to be neerer vnto their land forces: yet is not the neereneſſe ſuch, but that if your fleet come vpon the ſudden, they will with the ſame feare retire to their fleet, that they would if they were farther off. No man is now to be ſeene at* VULTVRNVS, *for they haue left their firſt campe at Saint* Katherins *and Saint* Iohns, *hauing burnt all the countrey villages, and now lie with their fleet as I haue ſaid: and with their armie at the caſtle* S. Elmo, *which God hath as yet kept, and as I hope will: which thing is euen for this to be hoped for, which was but yeſterday done; when as our moſt valiant ſouldiors (by the helpe of God) for the ſpace of foure houres courageouſly endured a moſt terrible aſſault. The Turks hauing alſo made a bridge Weſtward toward the port* MARZA MOXET, *we haue foure times repulſed them to their great loſſe; yet not without ſome loſſe alſo on our part, amongſt whom* Medranus *a worthie captaine was to my great griefe ſlaine. With* K *this victorie our men are ſo encouraged, that I am in hope the caſtle may be defended vntill your comming, eſpecially the enemies batterie not ſo furiouſly now as before maintained. If I were relieued with certaine companies of freſh ſouldiors, or at leaſt with thoſe our two gallies, I would neuer thinke that this caſtle could be taken from vs: in defence whereof, whileſt we euerie houre looke for helpe, we haue ſpent both our men, and whatſoeuer warlike prouiſion we had elſe. We are reſolued although it coſt vs all our liues, to go thither, relying vpon you: who as we hope for your deuotion and noble courage, will not be vnmindfull of our health and welfare; but knowing the danger wherinto we muſt needs fall, if you ſhall deferre to aid vs, will ſend vs out of hand certaine bands of men, eſpecially when they may ſo eaſily be ſent: for now that the Turkes are departed from the Eaſt part of the iſland, our ſouldiors may be landed at the* BLACK ROCKS. *Our liues lie in your hands, on* L *whom (next vnto God) reſteth all our hope: wherefore we moſt inſtantly requeſt you not to forſake vs: committing our ſelues, and all that ours is, to your compaſſion and protection. Fare you well from* MALTA *the* 17 *of Iune.*

Foure gallies ſent to the Great maſter for the reliefe of Malta.

Theſe letters receiued, and the diſtreſſe of the beſieged caſtle perceiued, the Viceroy was (as of right he ought) greatly moued, and made ſemblance as if he had been deſirous to haue brought foorth his whole fleet againſt the Turkes. But foraſmuch as the ſupply of ſhips from GENVA and SPAINE was not yet come, and that without them he thought it not good to aduenture the fortune of a battell; he forthwith ſent *Io. Cardona* with foure gallies, whereof two were of MALTA: and with *Cardona* joyned one *Robles* campe-maſter, with a ſelect companie of M Spaniards; with whom went alſo about eightie knights of MALTA, who ſtaied at MESSANA awaiting ſome fit occaſion to paſſe ouer: Amongſt whom were theſe chiefe men of the Order, *Pariſot* the Great maſters nephew, *Vicentius Caraffa*, *Boninſcana* and *Maldonatus*, both Spaniards, *Centius* of AQVITANIA, and ſome others: who although letted by tempeſt and other occaſions,

A casions, they came too late to MALTA, as shall be hereafter declared, yet serued they in great stead; and had they come in time, before the castle S. *Elmo* was lost, happily it might haue been still kept.

The Turks making no more account of so great a slaughter of their men, than of so many sheepe, desperatly renewed the fight, as men resolued to endure all extremities. And first they most horribly thundred day & night with their great ordinance vpon the castle: afterwards they assaulted the breaches with such a multitude and force, that if true valour and hope of immortalitie had not excluded all feare out of the hearts of the defendants, the terrour of the assault had enforced them either to haue fled or yeelded. Dreadfull was the fight, and had they not been obstinatly set downe on both sides, the one to win the castle, the other to defend it, that day had
B ended the quarrell. Fiue houres endured that most terrible assault, at length the Turks repulsed by the valour of the Christians, retired: yet did they not for all that passe the night following in quiet, but with their great ordinance did so beat the defendants, that they had much adoe to keepe the Turks from scaling the wals; which, that they should not then dare to attempt, was with exceeding endeuour prouided for by the Christians: of whom in this assault was lost two hundred, and of the Turks an infinit number. And *Dragut* himselfe, whilest he there performed the dutie both of a Generall, and most valiant souldior, got a blow on the head with a stone, whereof he in two daies after died: his dead bodie was afterwards carried to TRIPOLIS, and there honourably buried.

A most terrible assault.

Dragut slaine.

The commaunders of the Turks armie, still more and more enraged with this valour of the
C Christians, and the slaughter of their men, gathering all their fleet togither, commaunded them to compasse about the castle, of purpose to giue thereunto their last assault, with all their forces both by sea and land; and to send new supplies of fresh souldiors one after another, vntill they had taken the castle. And therefore, they with great industrie prepared bridges, ladders, engines, armour, weapons, shot, and whatsoeuer things else was needfull for the assault. Which *Valetta* perceiuing out of his castle S. *Angelo*, and fearing (as meet was) least they in the castle should not be able longer to endure so great a furie; called togither in counsell his knights, two daies before the Turkes gaue their last assault: and told them, That they all as well as he, saw in what danger they which defended the castle S. *Elmo* were; and that he doubted not, but that euerie one of them (vpon a godly zeale and compassion) was no lesse mooued with the slaughter and
D danger of their fellowes and other their Christian souldiors, than with their owne: Wherefore he requested them, to declare what they thought best to be done for their safetie; yet so, as that they should not hastily determine any thing, that agreed not with the auntient valour and honor of their sacred militarie profession. Which motion once made, and their opinions in briefe deliuered, a decree was made, That forasmuch as the castle could not longer be holden, regard should be had for the safegard of them that were therein: for which purpose it was agreed, that twelue pinnaces should be sent to fetch them away. But before, three knights were chosen, who should in hast the night following go thither, and tell them what was in the counsell agreed vpon, and carefully to consider in what state the castle was: which if the defendants thought was to be abandoned, they should poison the water, & cloy the great ordidance, that it might not afterE wards stand the Turks in stead. The three knights sent thither, was *Medina* a Spaniard, *Rocca* a Frenchman, and *Constantinus Castriot* an Italian; who not without danger of their liues (being oftentimes shot at by the Turks) got into the castle, and declared vnto them that were there in garrison, how carefull the Great master and the rest were of them. And they on their side, first of all gaue thankes to the Graund master and the rest, for the regard they had of them: and afterward concerning the castle, said, That if they considered the straightnesse of the place, the small number of the defendants, and multitude of the enemie, they should well perceiue in what danger they were, if the Turkes should often with such obstinacie renew the assault: yet forasmuch as they had euer hitherto felt the helpe of God so present, who had still mercifully defended them against the rage of the enemie, and wanted nothing needfull for the defence of the place;
F the keeping whereof they had requested of the Grand master as an honour, although they knew right well it could not without most manifest danger of their liues be holden: yet they would for all that, keep it to the last man. For that perhaps the like honourable occasion for them to shew themselues in, should neuer again be offred: wherfore they had (as they said) resolued in that place, to spend their liues for the glorie of God and the Christian religion. The course of this life (they said)

Three knights sent to view the state of the castle S. Elmo.

The resolute answere to them in the castle to the knights.

ſaid) was but ſhort, but that honour and fame was for euer: and whereas death is to all men pre- G
fined, it were to be wiſhed, that the life which is to nature due, ſhould rather ſeeme to be by vs
franckly giuen to God and our countrey, than reſerued as natures debt: Which if it ſhould ſo
happen, they would ſo vſe the matter, as that the barbarous enemie ſhould haue neither pleaſure
nor joy, which ſhould not coſt him much bloud euen of his beſt ſouldiors. This they willed the
knights to tell the Great maſter, and to requeſt him not to bee too carefull of them, but to pro-
miſe vnto himſelfe thoſe things of them which beſt beſeemed reſolute men, eſpecially of them
who had vowed themſelues to that ſacred warre. This anſwere of greater reſolution than for-
tune, receiued; the three knights, when they had diligently viewed the caſtle, returned to the
Grand maſter: who calling to counſell his knights, and hauing heard the anſwere of the beſie-
ged, would needs heare alſo what opinion the three knights themſelues were of concerning the H
keeping of the caſtle: of whom *Caſtriot* was of opinion, That the place was ſtill to be defended,
The three knights of diuers opinions concerning the keeping of the caſtle S. Emo. and that if he were there to commaund, he would vndertake to performe it; and there rather to
loſe his life than to forſake it, after he had once taken vpon him the charge thereof. But *Rocca* the
French knight was farre of another mind, and ſaid plainely, that the place could not poſsibly be
holden againſt ſo ſtrong an enemie; and that if *Iulius Cæſar* himſelfe were aliue, and ſaw to what
ſtraight the place was brought (eſpecially all the rampiers being either beaten downe or ſore ſha-
ken, & ſuch a power of obſtinat enemies lying round about it) he would neuer ſuffer ſo many va-
liant ſouldiors to be loſt, but quit the place, and reſerue his men to further ſeruice: for why it was
the part of valiant men to performe ſo much as was of men to be performed; but to ſtriue to do
more, was no manhood at all: Wherefore he thought it beſt to doe that which men vſe with I
members mortified, whoſe recouerie is deſperat; in which caſe we doubt not to make a ſeperati-
on, ſo to ſaue the reſt of the bodie with life. The Spaniſh knight in moſt part agreeing with *Ca-
ſtriot*, ſaid, That he thought it not good, that the place ſhould ſo eaſily be forſaken; firſt, for
that the ditches and bulwarkes were yet defencible; and then, becauſe he ſaw ſo great a conſent
amongſt the defendants, and ſuch a cheerefulneſſe to withſtand the enemie, which thing (as hee
ſaid) preſaged victorie.

Theſe opinions of the knights thorowly in counſell debated, and euery particular well way-
ed, it ſeemed good to the greater part, that they which were in the caſtle ſhould for certain daies
yet hold it out; eſpecially becauſe it was not the manner of the knights of the Order eaſily to
abandon their ſtrong holds, but rather to keepe them to the laſt, that euen therein the barbarous K
enemie might perceiue with whom he had to doe, and ſo ſee his pride abated. For if they ſhould
haue forſaken the place, they might haue beene thought to haue done it for feare: whereby the
enemies inſolencie might haue beene encreaſed, and the honourable Order of thoſe ſacred
knights diſgraced.

But the Turkes intentiue to that they had before determined, the three and twentith day of
Iune aſſembling all their forces both by ſea and land round about the caſtle, in the dead time of
the night on euery ſide ſet vp ſcaling ladders, made bridges, wrought mines, and with two and
thirtie great pieces of artillerie battered the reſt of the wals yet ſtanding, and preſently gaue a
The Turks furiouſly aſſault the citie. moſt terrible aſſault. The defendants on the other ſide beat downe ſome, repulſed others, ſlew
many, euer more carefull how to wound the enemie, than to ſaue themſelues: and where he L
preſſed faſteſt on, there to ſhew their greateſt valour. Great were the outcries made on both ſides,
mixt with exhortation, mirth, and mourning; the face of the whole fight was diuers, vncertaine,
cruell, and dreadfull: and now it was the third houre of the day, when ſtill the victorie ſtood
doubtfull; and had not the furie of the great ordinance beene ſo terrible, that it had now beaten
downe all the wals vnto the very rocke whereon the caſtle ſtood, the defendants might for ſome
longer time haue endured the enemies force. But the very rocke bared both of wals and defen-
dants, and more than foure hundred ſlaine, a man could ſcarcely now ſhew himſelfe; but hee was
preſently ſtrucke in pieces. *Monſerratus* Gouernour of the caſtle, and *Garas* of EVBŒA, men of
equall valour, integritie, and honour, were both ſlaine with one ſhot; for a ſhort and tranſitorie
life made partakers of immortalitie together. Yet the reſt which ſtood in defence of the caſtle, M
nothing terrified with ſo great a loſſe and ſlaughter of their fellowes, but augmented rather as it
were with new courage from aboue, fought with greater force than before, ouerthrew the Turks
enſignes now ſet vp in the caſtle, ſlew the enſigne-bearers, captaines, and colonels; now reſpe-
cting nothing more, but honourably to lay downe their liues for their religion and the obtai-

ning

A ning of immortall fame. By this time the Sunne was mounted to the middle of heauen, great was the heat, and men exceeding wearie; the murdering ſhot neuer ceaſed, and ſuch was the multitude of the enemie, that he ſtill ſent in freſh men in ſtead of them that were wearied or wounded. On the other ſide, the ſmall number of the Chriſtians, and thoſe weakened with labor, watching, thirſt, and wounds, did what men might; yet at length were ouercome by a greater force, and ſo the caſtle by the Turks woon, but with ſuch ſlaughter of their men, that it was a wonder that ſo many ſhould be ſlaine of ſo few. The defendants were all ſlaine, euery man, in valiant fight.

The caſtle of S. Elmo taken by the Turks.

Here may I not in ſilence paſſe ouer the inhumane and more than barbarous crueltie of the Turks againſt the dead bodies of the ſlaine knights, that thereby may appeare, that crueltie neuer
B wanteth whereon to ſhew it ſelfe mercileſſe, yea euen after death. The Turks after they had taken the caſtle, finding certaine of the knights yet breathing, and but halfe dead, firſt cut their hearts out of their breaſts, and then their heads from their bodies; after that they hanged them vp by the heeles in their red cloakes with white croſſes (which manner of attire they after an auntient cuſtome vſe in time of war, as they doe blacke in time of peace) in the ſight of the caſtles S. Angelo and S. Michaell. And yet *Muſtapha* the Turks Generall not ſo contented, commaunded them afterwards to be faſt bound together, and ſo caſt into the ſea, whoſe dead bodies were in few dayes after by the ſurge of the ſea caſt vp in the hauen Maior, and knowne by their friends, were by the commandement of the ſorrowfull Great maſter honourably buried. With which the enemies moſt barbarous crueltie he was ſo mooued, that he commaunded that no
C Turke ſhould from that time be taken priſoner, but to be preſently ſlaine. And thereupon all that were before taken, were foorthwith put to the ſword, and their heads caſt ouer the wals on that ſide towards the enemie. From the beginning of the ſiege to the taking of the caſtle, of the Chriſtians were ſlaine a thouſand three hundred, amongſt whom were a hundred and thirtie of the ſacred knights of the Order, all worthie to be regiſtred in the booke of euerlaſting fame.

Barbarous crueltie exerciſed by the Turkes vpon the dead bodies of the knights.

The caſtle S. Elmo thus loſt, *Valetta* although his mind (as he had good cauſe) was inwardly attainted with exceeding greefe, yet made ſemblant otherwiſe, becauſe he would not daunt the minds of his ſouldiors: telling them, that nothing was happened vnprouided for or vnforeſeene. *This was* (as he ſaid) *the will of God, and the chance of warre, that ſometimes one ſometimes another ſhould be ouercome: and that cowardiſe, not ſuch valour as was in them that were gone, gaue occaſion to their liuing friends to lament: yet that the enemie was not for that to be feared, who had alſo receiued ſuch a loſſe, as he might thereby rather ſeeme conquered than a victorious conqueror: whereas the loſſe of his knights was recompenced with honour and immortalitie, things of themſelues ſufficient to enflame all noble minds to behaue themſelues valiantly. As for himſelfe* (he ſaid) *that truſting not in his owne ſtrength, but in the helpe of Almightie God, he had not yet caſt off the hope of victorie ouer the reliques of the diſcomfited enemie; and that he well hoped, they were all of the ſame mind, wherein he moſt earneſtly requeſted them to perſiſt vnto the end.* When he had thus ſaid, he being a man armed againſt all fortunes, withdrew himſelfe a little aſide: where caſting many things in his troubled mind, he determined to ſend letters to *Petrus Meſquita*, Gouernour of the citie of Melita, to certifie him and the knights of the Order that were at Messana, and
E the Viceroy, of the loſt of S. *Elmo*: the copie whereof, becauſe that in them euidently appeareth the Chriſtian mind of him the Great maſter, I haue thoght good here to ſet down as followeth:

Valetta encourageth his ſouldiors after the loſſe of the caſtle S. Elmo.

Whileſt theſe knights are ſetting forward, in the meane time chanced the miſerable misfortune of the caſtle S. Elmo: *which although it brought vnto vs that greefe you may eaſily imagine, wee for all that, as if it had happened by ſome ſecret appointment of God, haue taken it in that part, that he as a moſt mercifull father purpoſeth thereby to warne vs, but not vtterly to deſtroy vs. Neither doe I thinke it lawfull to doubt of his mercie and power. Yet for all that, I may neuertheleſſe complain, that we are of them forſaken of whom it leaſt beſeemed. So that in the ſpace of ſeuen and thirtie dayes, wherein our moſt valiant ſouldiors endured all the force of the enemie (which truly was done rather*
F *by the power of God than of man) we were holpen of our own (which owe ſo much vnto vs) not ſo much as with the leaſt helpe, which they might oftentimes haue ſent vs. But I liſt to aſcribe it whatſoeuer it is, to God, of whom alone as we haue hitherto receiued ſo many good things, ſo reſt we in hope hereafter to receiue alſo. For, for any thing that I can ſee, we muſt not now truſt to mans helpe: for as much as we could by no letters, no diligence, no prayers, no admonitions, and to bee breefe, by no commaunds*

Valetta his letters to the Gouernour of Melita.

moue

moue them, who of all others ought most to haue obeyed it. The shortnesse of the time suffereth vs not G
to write to the Viceroy of these things, it shall be your part to certifie both him and other our friends
thereof: who if they had obeyed our commaund, or aided vs with neuer so small a supplie of soldiors,
happily we had not lost the castle S. Elmo *: in defence whereof we haue spent the best part of our soul-*
diors. Wherefore except the Viceroy make hast to deliuer vs from this siege, I feare that he cannot in
time come: but especially if we be here besieged before the comming of those our small helpes which
we as in a dreame haue promised vnto our selues, and which we now scarce hope will be in time present.
For all that, we doe not distrust of God his loue and prouidence: by whose diuine inspiration the rare
courage of the Viceroy being in short time stirred vp, will hasten hither to relieue vs. For all our wel-
fare consisteth in celeritie. Our enemies hauing drawne all their fleet into the hauen Marza Mo-
xet *are busied in cleansing the castle, and repairing the breaches, that they may afterward the better* H
vse them against vs. Wherefore vpon the sight of these our letters send vnto vs the captaines Ca-
therine, Belcacar, Belmest, and Zoricius, *with their companies, that we may vse their faithfull and*
valiant seruice. God of his mercie send vs aid from some place, and keepe you. Fare you well from our
castle S. Angelo, *the 24 of Iune,* 1565.

Mesquita hauing receiued these letters, commaunded a galliot foorthwith to be launched, and therein embarked *Masius Codonellus*, one of the knights; to whom he deliuered both the letters of the Grand master to him, and others of his owne, almost of the same purport, directed to the knights of the Order which lay at Messana, requesting him with all speed possible to passe ouer with them into Sicilia. I

Mustapha Bassa sendeth messengers to the Great master.

In the meane time *Mustapha* the Turkes Generall sent a messenger to *Valetta*, and with him an old Spanish captiue, with promise of libertie if he would goe with his messenger to the towne to talke with *Valetta* concerning the yeelding vp thereof, and to trie if he would by any meanes come to agreement: who comming to the towne, the Turke still waiting at the gate, the Christian was let in and brought to the Great master, to whom he declared what he had in charge from the Bassa. But as soone as *Valetta* heard of the name of composition and yeelding, he was so filled with indignation, that had he not been a Christian, he would presently haue commaunded him to haue been hanged. Wherefore he gaue him choice either to tarrie still in the towne, if he thought so good, or els forthwith to returne and tell his companion, that if he got him not packing quickly, he would send him farther off with a great shot. With this short answere the K
Turke suddenly returned into the campe. Whereupon *Mustapha* fell into such a rage, that he openly protested, neuer from that time to forbeare any kind of crueltie against the Christians.

The answere of the Great master to the Turkes messengers.

Philip Lascaris flieth from the Turks to the castle S. Michaell.

There was then with *Mustapha* one *Philip* of the most noble Græcian familie of *Lascaris*, who of a boy taken prisoner by the Christians in Patras, a citie of Achaia, and by them honestly and courteously vsed, was therefore euer after well affected toward the Christians: He priuie to many of *Mustaphaes* designes, by a certaine diuine motion thought he should not a little profit the Christians by reuolting vnto them: wherefore he resolued to flie vnto the castle of S. *Michaell*. Which thing when he had oftentimes attempted, at length the first of Iuly he cast himselfe into the sea (for by land he could no way escape) and swum to the castle, not without danger of his life: for discouered by the Turks, he was many times shot at both with their arrowes and L
small shot. He, brought to the Great master, reuealed vnto him many of the enemies secrets, and also aduised him what was to be done at the point of S. *Michaels*, to frustrate the enemies purpose for the assailing of that place; with many other things, which were vnto the defendants no small helpe: and afterwards as often as need was, during the siege, fought valiantly against the Turkes.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Codonellus* sent as we haue before said into Sicilia, came in safetie to Messana, where he found the Christian fleet not yet readie to relieue the distressed Maltæses; for the Spanish ships were not yet come, and *Iohn Andreas Auria* with eight and twentie ships was readie to returne to take in foure thousand footmen, taken vp in Etruria by *Capinus Vitellius*. Which backwardnesse the knights of the Order considering, and what M
danger was in delay, after they had well debated the matter amongst themselues, they resolued by the power of God by all meanes possible to helpe their brethren. And for this expedition chose two most fit Generals of their owne fellowes, the Commendors of Messana and Barroli, who forthwith went to *Garzias* the Viceroy, declaring vnto him what things the sacred

knights

knights of their Order had done, not for the king of SPAINE onely, but for the Christian commonweale, and also what great charge they had beene at the yeare before in the Pinionian expedition, wherein they had neither spared ships, victuall, nor munition, neither their owne liues, to profit the king and the Christian commonweale. Besides this, they besought him well to consider, that the losse of MALTA concerned not the sacred knights only, but all ITALIE, and especially SICILIA, for the neerenesse of so troublesome and puissant an enemie. For these, and other like reasons, which the shortnesse of the time suffred them not to rehearse, they requested of him foure thousand footmen, with whom all the knights of the Order which were there, and many other noble and voluntarie men would make all possible speed to relieue the besieged, which they had before in vaine attemped; with which strength they were in good hope, if not to repulse the enemie, or to recouer that was alreadie lost, yet at least to stop and stay his farther proceeding, vntill such time as he hauing rigged vp and brought foorth all his fleet, might set vpon the Turks, and (as was to be hoped) vanquish & disperse them. But whilest the Viceroy hauing heard their request, considereth what answere to make, a messenger came vnto him from SPAINE, but with what commaund from the king (although men ghessed diuersly) could not be knowne. But vpon his comming, the Viceroy gaue the knights this cold answere, That he could not graunt what they requested, for that in so doing he should disfurnish his fleet, and not be able afterwards to relieue them as he desired: but if it pleased them to transport the knights with part of the bishops souldiors into the island, they might so doe with their owne two gallies they had alreadie, whereunto he would also joyne another of his owne. The knights when they could obtaine no more, accepted of that which was offered.

The knights of Malta craue aid of the Viceroy.

The cold answere of the Viceroy to the knights.

Whilest these gallies are setting forward, those foure gallies (wherof we haue before spoken) wherein were embarked fourescore knights and six hundred other souldiors, hauing at sea suffered many troubles by the space of twentie daies, could not as yet arriue at MALTA: and because the Viceroy had commaunded, That they should not land, except they first knew whether the castle S. ELMO were still holden by the Christians, they sent out a frigot to land, promising that day and the next to tarrie in the sea for her returne. In the meane time a great tempest suddenly arising, it so fell out, that the frigot could not at the appointed time returne; wherefore the gallies which expected her comming, fearing least she had beene either by tempest lost, or by the enemie intercepted, retired to POZALO, a port vpon the coast of SICILIA neerest to MALTA, there to expect some good newes: where as soone as they had put in, they vnderstood that S. ELMO was yet defended: whereupon they put to sea againe, with purpose to haue arriued at MALTA. But when they were within two leagues of the place where they thought to haue landed, they saw a fire there, which caused them to mistrust that the place was possessed of the enemie, and that he lay thereabout to intercept them: wherefore they returned again to POZALO; where now vnderstanding of the French knight, come from MALTA, that that fire was made by his commaundement, as a signe, that they might without feare haue come forward; they with all speed made againe for the same place, and at the length the nine and twentieth day of Iune about midnight landed at the Blacke Rockes on the South side of the island toward AFFRICKE, and vnseene of any, got in hast to the citie MELITA, where they were joyfully receiued, and there stayed to expect what the Great master should commaund. In the meane time it fortuned, a great foggie mist (which seldome times there chanceth) to arise so thicke, that a man could hardly see for it: at which time a boy of about twelue yeares old looking by chance out of a window in the castle of MELITA, suddenly as one afraid, cried out, That he saw a Turke going from the citie to the castle of S. MICHAEL. Which thing some of the knights hearing, ran presently out that way, and found a Greeke of the citie of MELITA, who brought backe and examined (for that without the Gouernours passe it was not lawfull for any man to go out of the citie) confessed, That his purpose was to haue aduertised the Turks of the comming of those souldiors, that so they might haue intercepted them as they should haue come from MELITA to the Grand master: for which treason he was as he had well deserued cut in foure peeces. Three dayes after, this new supplie come from SICILIA, in the first watch of the night came all in safetie from MELITA to the Great master, except two or three boyes, who charged with armour and other baggage, were not able to keepe way with the rest. It is not to be told how much the besieged rejoyced at the comming of these their friends, and especially *Valetta*, who seeing the floure of his knights and other souldiors, as it were by diuine prouidence come vnto him;

A traitor taken and executed at Melita.

The souldiors new come out of Sicilia, come to the Great master.

with teares trickling downe his cheekes, and his eies cast vp to heauen, said:

The praier of Valetta.

I thanke thee (O heauenly Father) which hearest my prayers, and forsakest not this thy little flocke, beset round with most rauening Wolues: These are the works of thine euerlasting goodnesse, mercie and prouidence.

These new come souldiors, requested of the Great master as a reward of their paines, that they might be put in garrison into the towne S. *Michaell*, a place now most laid vnto by the Turks: which thing (he commending their forwardnesse) easily granted: yet for all that remoued not the old garrison. These fresh and couragious souldiors, desirous of nothing more than to fight with the enemie, the next day sallied out, and hauing slaine two hundred of the Turkes, and wounded as many more, without losse of a man returned, euerie mans sword imbrued with the bloud of his enemy. Which thing *Mustapha* the Turkes Generall hearing, knew it was they which lately came into the towne; and therupon fell in rage with his captaines, as that they had by their negligence entred. But the suspition grew most vpon them which were appointed for the keeping of the vttermost part of the island: which was the more increased, for that three galliots of ALGIERS had withdrawne themselues away; so that he neither trusted them nor the renegate Christians, who as occasion serued, fled daily from him. For which cause, he gaue out proclamation, That none of them should lie by night out of the gallies, & that such as did otherwise, should therefore be burnt or impaled vpon stakes: and so changing his warders, appointed *Salec* with his galliots, whom he thought to be more faithfull for the keeping of the island. And that neither they nor the Christians should be able to attempt any thing, he chained togither diuers gallies in the entrance of the hauen MARZA MOXET, and caused the rest of the fleet to ride neerer togither than before. But because exceeding many were at that time sicke in the Turkes campe, of the flix and other diseases, three places were assigned for them; one for the wounded men neere vnto AQVA MARTIA, guarded with two thousand Turks; another in the poupes of their ships and gallies for the Turks voluntaries; and the third amongst the banks, where the enforced Christians were cured. At the same time, *Mustapha* appointed *Ochiall Bassa* Gouernor of TRIPOLIS, in stead of *Dragut* before slaine: who going thither with fiue gallies, and hauing set all things in order there, returned againe vnto the campe. With him the Bassa had sent two ships loaded with corne to TRIPOLIS, there to make bread, whereof they began to feele some want in the campe. He also sent *Zaloch*, one of his Colonels to *Solyman*, to certifie him of the winning of the castle S. *Elmo*, and to deliuer vnto him the description of the isle of MALTA, as they found it at their arriuall: and farther, to declare vnto him, That he found the Malteses stronger, and better prouided, than was at his setting forth supposed: Wherefore if it were his pleasure longer to continue the siege, he should send a new supplie of men, victuall, and other warlike prouision: which if he did, he would then be in hope to take the other strong places of the Island also, though not so soone as was at the first supposed: and that in the meane time, whilest he expected answere, he would not faile to doe what he possibly might. And because he would not seeme to haue written an vntruth, he began his batterie in fourteene places, with seauentie great pieces of artillerie, amongst which was three most huge basilisks: for from the Gallowes promontorie to AQVA MARTIA, and from thence to the castle S. *Elmo*, wherin he had placed three hundred Ianizaries, the Turkes had enclosed all that compasse with sundrie bulwarks, trenches, and mounts, from whence they with their thundring shot, day and night incessantly battered the townes and castles of S. *Michaell* and S. *Angelo*, ouerthrew the wals, beat downe the bulwarks, and brake downe the houses in such terrible manner, that scarce any could be safe therein: which of all others most troubled the fearfull women and children. But the Turks in their trenches rested in farre more safetie: yet so, that they durst not stray farre out of the campe, but trusting vpon their multitude; and not that many times without their losse, being cut off by the horsemen of the garrison of MELITA, who were euer readie at their heeles.

Ochiall Bassa made Gouernour of Tripolis.

A terrible batterie.

When the losse of the castle S. *Elmo* was knowne at ROME, the citie was filled with mourning and heauinesse; some were sorie for the dishonour, othersome feared least the calamities of the Malteses should redound vnto themselues. There was also amongst others, a certaine enuious and foule mouthed kind of men, altogither ignorant and vnacquainted with martiall affaires, who shamed not to lay the blame of the losse of S. *Elmo* vpon the Grand master: whom both his owne valour, with the worthie testimonie of so many famous and valiant men as were there present with him; as also this historie, gathered out of the true light of things then done,

shall

A shall both for the time present, and for all posteritie sufficiently acquite of so false a slander. *But he will easily blemish another mans name, that spareth not his owne: neither can ignorance rightly iudge of the counsels of the skilfull, or cowardise of valiant deeds.*

But to returne againe to our purpose: we said before, that three gallies were made readie at MESSANA; in setting forth whereof, they which had the charge vsed such diligence, that the seauenth of Iuly, they departed out of harbour. In them (besides the knights of the order) was embarked six hundred Spaniards, and three hundred of the great bishops souldiors, conducted by *Pompeius Columna*; the mariners were part hired, part slaues, to whom libertie was promised if they would lustily doe their endeuour to get into the hauen, and to be accounted of as the rest of the souldiors were. And because they would relieue the besieged, not with men onely, but B with victuall also, they put into the same gallies fiue hundred bushels of wheat, beside gunpowder, saltpeter, and lead for shot. And although it was thought a most hard matter, by the hauen itselfe to enter the island, the Turks possessing both it and all the places thereabouts; neuerlesse, there was in the knights such an earnest desire to relieue their brethren, that they promised both to themselues and others, all things easie and safe: but when they began to approach the island, they sent a scout before to vnderstand by signes from the castle S. *Angelo*, whether they were to proceed forward or not: who comming so farre that they might discouer the signe, perceiued thereby that they should retire. Which thing the Turks perceiuing also, presently with the smoake of their great ordinance and other things, they so obscured the ayre as with a thicke cloud, in such sort, as that those signes were no more to be discerned; but all in vaine, for why, C our men had alreadie descried them: so those three gallies returned again into SICILIA. For *Valetta* that good prince, thoght it not meet to bring so many of the sacred knights, so many noble gentlemen and valiant souldiors, into a most manifest danger: for he saw certaine of the Turkes gallies to lie by night in the mouth of the hauen MARZA MOXET, at a place called the Little sands, to impeach the going in or out of the hauen MAIOR. About the same time, they which lay in garrison in the citie of MELITA, hearing of the notable sally made by the souldiors lately come; and taking heart thereupon, at such time as the Turkes were fetching in a certaine booty of cattell, the horsemen pursued them; and hauing slaine diuers of them, recouered the prey: and yet not so contented, chased them euen to their campe. But the other Turks seeing their fellowes flying in such hast towards them, raised an alarum, ran to the Generals tent, and for that D time ceased their batterie.

Three gallies depart from Messana with aid towards Malta.

The gallies vpon a signe ginen returne backe.

The Great master probably conjecturing, that the Turkes would in short time assault both the towne and castle of S. *Michaell*, thought good by his presence to encourage and strengthen the garrison; and therefore was about to haue gone thither by a bridge made of boats from the one point of the land to the other, betweene S. *Michaels* and S. *Angelo*: but quickly vnderstanding the certaintie thereof, returned againe into his castle. Some there be that thinke, For him to haue so done, had been a venturous part and full of danger, and therefore to haue been discommended; for that great things are performed, not so much by strength of bodie as of mind, by pollitike counsell and direction, wherewith a Generall (although absent) may yet with his forces be alwaies present: but the Generall once lost (which may easily happen, if he will present E his person to the danger) we see most commonly all fall togither with him, no otherwise than doth all parts of the bodie when the soule departeth: But othersome are of contrarie opinion, That the Generals presence, especially in great dangers, is both praise worthie and most necessarie; for that he as the soule, cannot prouide for or rule the bodie, except it be present, yea placed therein: and that *Valetta* in so doing, followed the examples of the greatest kings and most famous Generals; as of *Alexander* the great, *Iulius Cæsar*, *Themistocles*, *Marius* and others: whose words vnto their souldiors were these, *I my selfe will be your conducter in the field, in the battell partaker of the danger with you, you shall be in all things as my selfe*. Besides that, who knoweth not, that as in other things, so most of all in martiall affaires, all things are better, more orderly and more easily done when the master is present? neither was the learned Poet his meaning any F thing else, when in the warres betwixt the Latines and the Rutilians, he saith, *Vrget præsentia Turni?* whereupon they concluded, that the Great master in going, had done both valiantly, wisely, and according to his dutie. But this we leaue for martiall men to determine.

At the same time the king of ALGIERS came to aid the Turkes with seauen gallies and ten galliots, and in them 2200 souldiors: who sorie that he was not there at the beginning, and desi-

The king of Algiers commeth to aid the Turke.

rous to doe ſome notable act,and withall to make proofe of the valour of his ſouldiours, requeſted the great Baſſa to beſtow vpon him the firſt place in the beſieging the caſtle S. *Michael*: which he not onely graunted, but joyned vnto his forces two thouſand of his owne beſt ſouldiors. Theſe things obtained, he commaunded ninetie ſmall veſſels by deuices to be carried ouer land out of the port MARZA MOXET to AQVA MARSIA, for that he purpoſed on that ſide to beſiege the caſtle by water. But *Valetta* perceiuing the enemies purpoſe, both by ſeeing that was done, and alſo aduertiſed thereof before by a Chriſtian fugitiue; preſently called vnto him two faithfull and skilfull ſhipmaſters of MALTA, and imparting the matter vnto them, demaunded what they thought beſt to be done to keepe the Turks from landing, as it ſeemed they purpoſed at the wals foot. They quickly conceiuing the matter, anſwered, That in their opinion, if a chaine were made of maſts and ſaile-yards or ſparres joyned together with yron rings, and ſo drawne all alongſt from the corner of the caſtle of S. *Angelo* to that place where the enemie thought to land, their purpoſe might be ſo defeated. This their deuice ſo pleaſed the Great maſter, that the night following ſuch a chaine was made, and faſt mored in the appointed place. The Turkes as ſoone as it was day perceiuing this barre, ſtood as men doubtfull, not knowing how by any meanes to land their men, as they had before purpoſed. Whileſt they ſtood ſo abaſhed, a Chriſtian fugitiue, a moſt deſperat villaine (in which kind of men fooliſh hardineſſe is accounted a vertue, and deſperation conſtancie) came to the king, and promiſed him to breake the chaine, and ſo with a hatchet in his hand caſt himſelfe into the ſea, after whom followed two or three moe to helpe him: who ſwimming to the chaine, got vp vpon it, and began to hew apace with their hatchets. Which the Chriſtians beholding, ſuddenly fiue or ſix of the Maltaſes ſwam thither with their drawne ſwords in their hands; & hauing ſlaine two of them, cauſed the other to flie: after which time none of the Turks was ſo hardie as to attempt the ſame. The barbarous king for all that gaue not ouer his purpoſe ſo, but with wonderfull diligence prepared for the ſiege, which the fifteenth day of Iuly began both by ſea and land. But the defendants turning their great ordinance vpon that place from whence the galliots came, with the furie thereof (in the ſpace of three houres, which the aſſault endured) ſlew two thouſand Turks and ſunke twelue of the galliots: the reſt comming as farre as the chaine, when they could get no farther nor land their men, turned their prows vpon the corner of the caſtle, but were glad at laſt to retire and leaue that they came for vndone. The aſſault by land alſo endured fiue houres, wherein many of the Turkes were ſlaine, and of the defendants two hundred: amongſt whom was *Federicus* the Vicetoy of SICILIA his ſonne, ſtrucke in ſunder with a great ſhot, *Gordius* a Frenchman, *Franciſcus Sanoghera*, and his nephew *Iohn*, Spaniards; all knights of the Order. *Medina* was alſo wounded, whereof he afterward died. But *Valetta* conſidering into what danger the ſtate of MALTA was like to fall, if he ſhould be conſtrained to fight many ſuch fights, where his ſouldiors wearied day and night without reſt, were ſtill to encounter with freſh men, & heard nothing of any aid or new ſupplie: the ſeuenteenth day of Iuly he ſent a meſſenger into SICILIA, who ſwam from the caſtle to the fartheſt part of the bay to AQVA MARSIA, and from thence eſcaped vnknowne thorow the middeſt of the enemies vnto the citie of MELITA, and ſo in a little frigot came to MESSANA; by him the Great maſter ſent letters to the Viceroy, requeſting him to ſend him his owne two gallies, with thoſe knights which were at MESSANA, and ſuch other ſouldiors as might in them be tranſported: willing them, that as ſoon as they came to the iſland, they ſhould houer off aloofe before the hauen, readie vpon a ſigne giuen to thruſt in. The ſame time that this meſſenger arriued at MESSANA, came thither alſo the fleet from SPAINE, wherein were many of the knights of the Order from diuers nations. The Viceroy deſirous to ſend thoſe two gallies to *Valetta*, ſent letters before vnto him in ſecret caracters by two frigots wherein he certified him that he would ſend the gallies, requiring to haue from him ſome ſigne, whereby they might at their comming know whether they ſhould enter or retire: which frigots taking diuers courſes, one of them laded with medicines, as was afterwards knowne, was intercepted by the enemie: the other although ſhe came in ſafetie to MELITA, yet for as much as all the paſſages betwixt the caſtle of S. *Michaell* and the citie of MELITA were certaine dayes before by the diligence of the enemie ſhut vp, and three which had vſed to paſſe too and fro, intercepted and moſt cruelly executed, and beſides that the hauen ſtraightly kept; the knights of MESSANA could haue no further direction from the Great maſter for the ſafe ſending of the two gallies: yet neuertheleſſe, becauſe he had requeſted them, and they themſelues were of the ſame opinion (as he

A deſperat fugitiue.

The king of Algiers notably repulſed both by ſea and land.

A hard ſhift to carrie newes.

A he had before written) that where all is in queſtion, the aduenture of a little part is leſſe to be feared; they thought it good to aduenture them: yet with this regard, not to expoſe all thoſe knights to ſo great a danger, but of them all to ſend onely fortie, with a conuenient number of other ſouldiors, and with them *Salazar* a Spaniſh captaine was ſent by the Viceroy to be landed in the iſland of GAVLOS, who ſhould afterwards from thence in a boat (for that purpoſe towed along by the gallies) paſſe ouer into the iſland of MALTA as a ſpie, to take view both of the citie and enemies campe.

In the meane time the Turks mindfull of the loſſe receiued in the aſſault of the caſtle S. *Michael*, and deſirous of reuenge, did ſo violently batter the caſtle with their great ordinance, that what the defendants repaired by night, that they ſtill beat downe againe by day: and in time of
B the batterie made a bridge, which the twentith day of Iuly before the Sunne riſing they laid ouer the ditch, that they might as if it had been vpon euen ground come to fight hand to hand with the Chriſtians. Which ſeene and quickly perceiued what danger it might bring, by and by *Pariſot* the Great maſters nephew, and *Agleria*, both knights, with certaine mercinarie ſouldiours ſallied out to haue burnt the bridge, but were ſo receiued of the Turks, that they were almoſt all ſlaine together with *Pariſot* and *Agleria*, and yet the exploit vnperformed. The Turks without ceaſing continued their furious batterie vntill the eight and twentie of Iuly, which day in the afternoone they in diuers places aſſaulted the caſtle, thrice they with freſh and new ſupplies relieued their repulſed and wearied ſouldiours, and ſo fiercely maintained the aſſault, that they made no doubt but that day to win the caſtle. But the defendants with no leſſe reſolution withſtood
C them, repulſing them with their weapons, with ſhot, fire, and force, and at length enforced them with no ſmall loſſe of their men to retire from their wals. This victorie ſo encouraged the beſieged, that now they made ſmall reckoning of the enemie: but ſot as much as our men alwayes ſpared their great ordinance but in time of fight, and ſallied not out as they were wont, the Turks thought that the garriſon was but weake, and that ſhot and pouder grew ſcarce in the caſtle. Yet deceiued in both, for that it was rather of purpoſe than for want ſo commaunded by the Great maſter: who hearing nothing of the comming of any aid, and ſeeing the enemie to giue dayly more fierce aſſaults, would not vainely ſpend his moſt neceſſarie helpes. The Turkes perceiuing what little good they had done with their often aſſaults, determined now to prooue what might be done by vndermining the caſtle; and had almoſt brought one of their mines to perfection, be-
D fore it was by the Chriſtians diſcouered: and to the intent they ſhould the leſſe marke it, they cauſed two gallies to come as neere as they could to the wals, and to batter that place, in hope that whileſt our men gazed vpon that was done openly, they ſhould the leſſe regard what they were working in ſecret, that ſo they might in the meane time more eaſily get into the caſtle. But the beſieged carefull of all that was to be cared for, perceiuing their purpoſe, with a countermine defeated their mine, and by the couragiouſneſſe of certaine of their ſoldiors, but eſpecially of one auntient, draue out the enemie, who hauing caſt certaine pots of wild fire before him into the mine, and following preſently after with a peece of fireworke in his hand, forced them out. For which good ſeruice he was by the Great maſter rewarded with a chaine of gold of fiue pound weight: and becauſe of vertue ſpringeth vertue, which ſtill reſteth vpon difficulties, the next day,
E which was the firſt of Auguſt, the bridge which we ſaid the enemie had made ouer the ditch, was by a ſallie made by the defendants burnt downe with fire and gunpouder caſt vpon it: which was in good time done, for the next day, the Sunne now declining, the Turkes againe aſſayling that part of the caſtle where *Carolus Ruſus* had the charge, were by our men valiantly repulſed. This aſſault endured three houres, in which time three hundred of the Turks were there ſlaine: and of the knights *Ruſus* himſelfe and *Bareſus* with certaine mercinarie ſouldiors. At this time the Chriſtians were by the enemie ſo ſhut in with the multitude of great ordinance, that they could not ſo much as looke into the ditch or ſhew themſelues, much leſſe ſallie out, but they were by and by ſet off. Yet did they not for all that make ſpare of their liues, when occaſion was giuen them to performe any notable exploit: as appeared by *Calderonius* a Spaniard, who ſeeing ſome
F viewing that part of the wall, which the enemie had moſt battered and ſhaken at the caſtle bulwarke, doubted not to ſallie out, but was preſently taken with a bullet and ſlaine: which miſchance when it might ſeeme of right to haue terrified the reſt from attempting the like, did indeed the more incenſe them; ſo that when they ſaw the enemie exceeding buſie in filling the ditch, they reſolutely ſet downe to offer themſelues to moſt aſſured death rather than to fall into

A bridge made ouer the caſtle ditch by the Turks.

The Turkes repulſed.

A mine of the Turks defeated.

The bridge made by the Turkes burnt.

the hands of the mercileſſe enemie, agreed to ſallie out by night, and to meet with his deſignes. G Whereupon an hundred, part knights, part other ſouldiors, ſallying forth, cauſed the enemie to forſake the ditch and betake himſelfe to flight, of whom they ſlew about foureſcore, and loſt of their owne ten men: amongſt whom were *Ioannes* and *Macrinus*, two knights, whoſe heads the Turks the next day ſet vp vpon two ſpeares vpon their trenches, that they might be ſeene by the Chriſtians.

The ſame day they of the citie of MELITA at night made at one inſtant a number of fires; and as if it were in triumph diſcharged great vollies of ſmall ſhot, with many other tokens of joy: which as well the beſieged as the Turks thought verely to haue beene done vpon the diſcouerie of the Chriſtian fleet, or els the landing of ſuch forces as were come to remoue the ſiege; whereas indeed it was neither, but done onely to ſhew their cheerefulneſſe, and to keepe the Turkes in H ſuſpence with the noueltie of the matter: who for all that were not ſlacke in their buſineſſe, but with earth filled vp the ditch at the caſtle bulwarke: whereby it came to paſſe, that they could not be hurt by the flankers, made in that place to ſcoure the ditch, but might thereby as vpon plaine ground, without ſtay paſſe vnto the wall, now opened and ouerthrowne with their continuall batterie, and with two great pieces (which they had planted vpon a high mount, which they had newly caſt vp on the right hand the bulwarke SAVIORE) they begun to play vpon the caſtle, and at the firſt ſhot, ſhot into the loupe where *Franciſcus Caſtilia* commaunded. *Ioannes Bernardus Godinetius*, a Spaniſh knight, was there ſlaine with a ſmall ſhot. The ſame day *Franciſcus Aquilates*, a Spaniard, one of the garriſon ſouldiors, perſuaded by feare and hope (in dangers two euill counſellors) fled out of the towne S. *Michael* to the enemie; perſuading the Turks co- I lonels to giue a freſh aſſault, aſſuring them that they ſhould without doubt win the towne, becauſe there was but foure hundred ſouldiors left aliue in it, and they (as he ſaid) almoſt ſpent with labour and wounds, all the reſt being dead. Which the Turkes hearing, and ſeeing faire breaches both in the wals of the new citie and of the caſtle S. *Michael*, wide ynough for carts to goe thorow, they determined with all their forces to aſſault both places at once, and to prooue if there were yet ſo much ſtrength left in thoſe holds, as againe to repulſe them: ſo the ſeuenth day of Auguſt at one inſtant they aſſaulted the new citie at the caſtle bulwarke, and the caſtle S. *Michael* at the breach, with ſuch a multitude, that all the earth ſeemed to be couered with men round about. The thundering of the great ordinance, the noiſe of the ſmall ſhot, with the clattering of armour, and noiſe of trumpets, drums, and other warlike inſtruments, with the crie of men on K both ſides, was ſo confuſed and great, as if heauen and earth ſhould haue beene confounded together. Which when the knights in the citie MELITA heard, and ſaw the heauens obſcured with ſmoake, fearing that the Turks (as at the caſtle S. *Elmo*) would neuer giue ouer the aſſault, vntill they had woon both the towne and the caſtle; preſently all the garriſon horſemen iſſued out of the citie, and to auert the Turkes from the aſſault, ſet vpon thoſe Turks which lay at AQVA MARTIA: who all ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare, fled, the Chriſtian horſemen hardly purſuing them with bloudie execution, and they in their fight piteouſly crying vnto their fellows for help. Whereby it came to paſſe, that they which were aſſailing the citie and caſtle, to reſcue their diſcomfited fellowes, were glad to giue ouer the aſſault: ſo with great ſlaughter foiled on both ſides by the Chriſtians, they returned to their trenches, when they had loſt aboue fifteene hundred at L the aſſault, beſide them which were ſlaine in the chaſe by the horſemen of MELITA. Of the defendants of both places were loſt aboue a hundred, and almoſt as many wounded. This fight endured aboue fiue houres. *Valetta* deliuered of ſo great a danger, that day and certaine others cauſed publick prayers to be made, & went himſelfe with the multitude of the citiſens to the church, to giue thankes to Almightie God for that victorie.

Aquilates a Spaniard flieth to the Turks.

The Turkes at one time aſſault the new citie and the caſtle S. Michaell.

The garriſon ſouldiours of Melita ſallying out, cauſe the Turkes to giue ouer the aſſault at S. Michaels.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, *Garzias* the Viceroy was aduertiſed from CALABRIA, that certaine ſhips laded with men, victuall, and other prouiſion neceſſarie for the warres, were comming from CONSTANTINOPLE to MALTA, wherefore he forthwith ſent *Altamira* and *Gildandrada*, two noble men, with fiue gallies to meet them: who being come within thirtie miles of MALTA, met with no ſuch ſhips, but only one frigot and a galliot; the frigot they took, M but the galliot eſcaped to the enemies fleet at MALTA.

Muſtapha the Turkes Generall now thinking no man ſo ſtrong which might not with continuall labour and watching be wearied and ouercome, reſolued not to giue vnto the beſieged any time of reſt, but commaunded his ſouldiors againe to aſſault the breach at the caſtle of Saint

Michael's

A *Michael*; where they were by the valour of the defendants, with no ſmall ſlaughter quickly repulſed: Neither did the Baſſa giue ſo many aſſaults, for the hope he had to win thoſe places; but rather to performe the dutie of a valiant Generall, and to ſatisfie *Solymans* pleaſure, who had expreſſely commaunded, either to win that iſland, or there all to loſe their liues. He alſo ſent a galliot in haſt with letters to *Solyman*; wherein he ſhewed him the ſtate of the fleet, with what difficulties the armie was diſtreſſed, what ſmall hope there was of winning the places beſieged, how well the Chriſtians were prouided, with many other ſuch things. *Muſtapha ſendeth a meſſenger to Solyman.*

In the meane time thoſe two gallies of MALTA (which we haue before ſpoken of) departing from MESSANA, came to SIRACVSA, where they ſtaied a day. The next day after, in going out of the hauen, they met with one of MALTA in a ſmall boat comming from POZALO
B ſore wounded: he being demaunded how he was ſo hurt, told them, That landing by night with his boat and one companion, he was requeſted by two Sicilians which dwelt there, to reſt there that night, which they doing, about midnight fiue Turks brake into the houſe vpon them, killed his companion, carried away the Sicilians, and he wounded as he was, hardly eſcaped by the benefit of the night: moreouer he ſaid, That the Sicilians had told the Turks, that two gallies were come into that port, with ſouldiors and other warlike prouiſion bound for MALTA. Whereby the knights perceiued, that their comming would be diſcouered vnto the enemie, and that it was a moſt dangerous thing, or rather impoſsible to get into the hauen of MALTA, as they had before purpoſed: neuertheleſſe, to conduct *Salazar* with his little boat, they kept on their courſe. But as they were ſayling, they deſcried two gallies and one galliot going before
C them, who ſeeing the gallies comming after them, made with all ſpeed to MALTA: and were no doubt thoſe gallies, from whence thoſe fiue Turks came, which had done thoſe things which the wounded Malteſe reported. For all that, theſe gallies kept on their courſe as farre as POZALO, from whence they certified the Viceroy by letters, all that had happened: and not daring to put to ſea, the South wind blowing with a ſtiffe gale againſt them, they returned backe againe to SIRACVSA, expecting there farther direction from the Viceroy. For which cauſe, they forthwith ſent one of the knights to him to MESSANA; by whom they receiued anſwere, That they ſhould go no farther, but to ſtay for the comming of the whole fleet, readie in ſhort time to paſſe ouer to MALTA. But *Salazar* brought by the gallies to POZALO, reſolued with his little boat to go on: and although the day he departed thence, the aire was troubled with great wind, thun-
D der and raine, yet the daies following prouing more calme, he in ſhort time arriued in the iſland of MALTA, and came in ſafetie to the citie MELITA; and there diſguiſed himſelfe in Turkiſh apparell, and taking with him one companion who could alſo ſpeake the Turkiſh language, by night got into the enemies camp: where diligently marking all things, they perceiued that there was in all the Turkes armie of land ſoldiors ſcarce fourteene thouſand, and of them many wounded and ſicke; and that the reſt was but an vnſeruiceable and feeble multitude, for that the courſe of wars had (as commonly it doth) conſumed their beſt ſouldiors. When they had thus viewed the campe, they returned againe to the citie; from whence *Salazar* with one *Petrus Paccius* a Spaniard, a venturous and valiant man, went to a certaine place neere vnto the watch towre of MALECA: which when they had curiouſly viewed, *Paccius* was there left, that obſeruing the
E ſignes from the iſland of GAVLOS and the citie of MELITA; he might giue knowledge of all things to the Viceroy at his approach, as he was by *Salazar* inſtructed. As for *Salazar* himſelfe, he in his little boat (which at his comming into the iſlle he had there left) happily returned to MESSANA, and there declared vnto the Viceroy all that he had ſeene: conſtantly affirming amongſt other things, That the Turks fleet was but weake, lame, and diſfurniſhed both of men and munition, farre vnable to encounter with 10000 Chriſtians. About which time alſo, one of the two frigots which were before ſent to MALTA, returned with another Spaniard, and a fugitiue from the Turks campe: and foure gallies before gone from MESSANA, were alſo come in with foureteene Turks, taken about the iſland of MALTA, who all confirmed the ſame that was by *Salazar* reported: which was, That the Turks armie was with often aſſaults wondefully
F weakened, both in number and ſtrength; ſo that they could not with ſtripes be enforced to the aſſault, for which the Baſſa had with his owne hands ſlaine diuers of them: and that which more increaſed their feare, they ſaw none of their men wounded, but that they died thereof: Beſides that, they ſaw the Chriſtians with inuincible courage to defend their ſtrong places, and not to ſpend one ſhot in vaine: wherefore they were ſorie, and repented that they euer tooke in hand *Salazer a Spaniſh captaine as a ſpie entreth the Turkes campe.*

that

that expedition; they deteſted ſuch a war, ſhrinking as much as they could from the aſſault, and as G
they might ſtealing quite away, which many of them did, eſpecially ſuch as had before abjured
the Chriſtian faith. For which cauſe diligent watch and ward was kept, and commandement gi-
uen by the great Baſſa, that they ſhould reſolue with themſelues either to win the towne, or there
all to lay vp their bones; for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had ſo commaunded, whom to gain-
ſay was in it ſelfe death. Theſe and ſuch like perſuaſions, cauſed the Viceroy ſomewhat the ſoo-
ner to thinke of the bringing foorth of his fleet: the beſieged in the meane time did what men
might for defence of the place and themſelues. There was in the caſtle one *Franciſcus Giuara*
captaine of the vauntguard, a noble and valiant gentleman, of a great conceit; he about ten foot
from the towne wall which the enemie had with their great ordinance beaten downe, cauſed a
curtaine to be drawne fiftie foot long, and fiue foot thicke, with flankers at both ends; which in H
two nights was brought to perfection, and was afterwards a great helpe to the beſieged. The
enemie in the meane time began a mine vnder the corner of the towne ditch, where *Boninſegna*
a Spaniard and a moſt valiant knight had the charge: which the beſieged perceiuing, by a coun-
termine defeated the ſame. It happened in the meane time, that as a fugitiue was ſwimming to
the towne, he was taken by the enemy; which much grieued the beſieged, deſirous to haue vn-
derſtood ſomething of the ſtate of the enemies campe, and of their purpoſes. Now when the
former mine had taken ſo euill ſucceſſe, part of the Turkes aſſailed the caſtle S. *Michael*, and part
with gunpouder thought to haue blowne vp the caſtle bulwarke: but by the carefulneſſe and
courage of the defendants, all their attempts were diſappointed; for many of the Turkes were in
both places ſlaine, and certaine bags of pouder taken from them in the mine. With theſe and I
other ſuch difficulties, *Muſtapha* and *Piall* the Turkes Generals diſappointed of their hope, con-
ſulted with the other great captaines of the armie, Whether they ſhould there ſtill continue that
deſperat ſiege, or depart? where moſt were cleere of opinion, That it was beſt betime to depart.
Yet for all that, the old Baſſa ſaid, He would there ſtay, vntill the galliot (which he had before
ſent to CONSTANTINOPLE) were returned with anſwere from *Solyman*, and in the meane
time both by force and pollicie to ſeeke after victorie: which thing he oftner did, than ſtood
with the broken eſtate of his armie, or of the beſieged; neither reſting himſelfe nor ſuffering
others to take reſt: for one while he battered the wals, another while he wrought mines or elſe
made bridges; ſometime he caſt vp mounts, and then againe filled the ditches; and euer and
anon gaue one aſſault or another. In all which doing he vſed ſuch induſtrie, that whatſoeuer K
he tooke in hand, was in ſhort time brought to ſuch perfection as might haue carried a ſtronger
place, had not the valour of the defendants far exceeded all his ſtrong and pollitike deuiſes.

The Turks mines diſcaſed by the Chriſtians.

Robles Gouernor of the caſtle of S. Michael, ſlaine.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the camp-maſter and Gouernour of the caſtle S. *Michael*, was by
night viewing the ruines of the wall, he was ſtrucke in the head with a ſmall ſhot, and ſlaine; lea-
uing behind him to his fellowes, the great deſire of himſelfe: for why, he was a man for many
his good parts (wherewith he had many times ſtood the defendants in great ſtead) worthily be-
loued. In whoſe ſtead the Great maſter ſent one of the Colonels that was with himſelfe, a moſt
expert and reſolute captaine, to take charge of S. *Michaels* caſtle; who by his vigilant care and
prouidence ſo well diſcharged the charge committed vnto him, that as often as the Turkes at-
tempted the place, ſo often they were with loſſe repulſed. L

The two gallies with the galliot, deſcried by the gallies of MALTA (as we haue before ſaid)
told *Piall Baſſa* the Admirall, that the Chriſtian fleet was readie to come forth: wherefore he
fearing the ſudden comming thereof, cauſed ſeauentie gallies to be in readineſſe; beſides which,
fortie others lay in the hauen MARZA MOXET vnſeruiceable, as wanting both men and other
equipage, for that was ſpent in making bridges, mines, and other ſuch things neceſſarie for the
ſiege: as for the men, they were part with ſickneſſe, and part with often aſſaults conſumed.
Wherefore *Piall* for certaine daies kept himſelfe by day in the port MAIOR neere the ſhoare,
and by night put forth to ſea, expecting the comming of the fleet. But after long looking, when
he ſaw no man appeare, he againe landed his ſouldiors: and becauſe at land the Baſſa began to
want pouder, of euerie thirtie barrels of pouder in euerie gallie, he tooke out twentie, and of M
ſome twentie fiue, or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turkes began with
greater furie than at any time before, to batter the wals of both townes, eſpecially with thoſe
great pieces which they call baſilisks, whoſe ſhot of two hundred pound waight was ſeauen
hands about; whereby the wals of the caſtle of S. *Michael* were beaten flat. And at the ſame
time,

time, the Baſſa at the caſtle S. *Angelo*, had with continuall batterie ſo ſhaken the caſtle bulwarke, that it was almoſt fallen quite downe. Theſe breaches thus made, when the Turkes ſaw both townes bared of wals and other defendants, and laid ſo open, that nothing ſeemed now to let them to looke vpon their enemies, they made no longer ſtay, but the eighteenth day of Auguſt (the ſunne being now at the higheſt) with all their power fiercely aſſaulted both the townes. Thriſe they were repulſed, and ſtill came on a freſh; yet at length beaten downe on euerie ſide with great ſlaughter, they were glad ſhamefully to giue ouer the aſſault, and againe to retire to their trenches. In this moſt cruell fight (which endured fiue houres) the inuincible courage of the Great maſter notably appeared, who armed with a pike in his hand, and dreadfull to behold, was ſtill valiantly fighting in the face of the breach, whoſe preſence encouraged not the ſouldiors only, but euen boies and women to fight: For ſo it is, that men are more moued with example than with words. Yet of the great number of the Turks, part ſtood ſtill in the towne ditch; and to ſaue themſelues from the ſhot of the caſtle bulwarke, had with wonderfull celeritie caſt vp a defence of earth, fagots, and other like matter, which they did of purpoſe to approach and to vndermine the wals, and had therefore incloſed the ſpace of fifteene elnes: which when the beſieged perceiued, they bent certaine pieces of artillerie vpon it, and ſlew many of them, and with fire conſumed what was left. The next day the aſſault was at the ſame places by the enemie renewed, who by reaſon of his number of ſouldiors might eaſily ſend freſh men in ſtead of them which were wounded or wearie: and firſt, after their wonted manner, they battered both the townes all that day vntill night; afterwards, the moone ariſing, about midnight with a horrible crie they began a moſt terrible aſſault, which at the firſt much troubled the Chriſtians, who yet ſtill mindfull of their woonted valour, did ſo much with their weapons and fire-works, that the enemie euill intreated, was glad after three houres fight to retire to his trenches. The ſame day a mine was by the defendants perceiued, at the caſtle bulwarke, wherein a hundred Turkes there found, were almoſt all ſlaine, and the mine deſtroied. Yet for all this did not the enemie reſt at all, but the next day ſeauen times aſſaulted the ſame breaches, vſing now not weapons only, but fire-works alſo; wherewith *Boninſegna* had his face ſo burnt, that he loſt one of his eies. At the ſame time alſo, the Turks at a place called the SPVR, laboured mightily to haue gotten into the caſtle: where *Centius* a knight of an inuincible courage, got vp vpon the rampier, and with a pike couragiouſly thruſt them downe that were climing vp, and thruſting thorow one, diſcouraged the reſt; but was himſelfe wounded in the arme with a ſmall ſhot: Yet when he had a little withdrawne himſelfe to haue his wound bound vp, he came againe to the rampier, and neuer departed from the fight vntill he had (as a valiant conquerour) preſerued the place. So the Turks with great ſlaughter on euerie ſide repulſed, left the victorie to the Chriſtians, of whom were ſlaine almoſt a hundred, and moſt of them (as at other times) with ſhot: amongſt whom were theſe moſt valiant knights, at the caſtle *Angelo*, *Fragus*, at the caſtle of S. *Michael*, *Scipio Piatus*, *Io. Baptiſta Soderinus*, *Paulus Bomportus*, *Marius Fagianus*, *Ruffinus*, and certaine others, men worthie of longer life. The Turks had alſo at the ſame time wrought a mine at the caſtle S. *Michael*, which was at once both diſcouered and deſtroied.

The Turks at once aſſault the townes S. Angelo and S. Michael, and are at both places repulſed.

Another aſſault.

With theſe ſo many and ſo great aſſaults, certaine of the knights (and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort) fearing leaſt that which was ſo often attempted by the enemie, ſhould at length be effected; told the Great maſter, That they thought it conuenient and neceſſarie, to remooue all the records, all the pictures and reliques of the Saints, and other their religious things into the caſtle S. *Angelo*, there to be kept as in a place of more ſtrength and aſſurance. The Great maſter, although he well knew that they which thus ſaid, ſpake it of a good mind, was for all that with that ſpeech exceedingly moued: wherefore he ſhortly anſwered them, That ſo to doe, were nothing elſe but to appaule and diſcourage the minds, not of the Malteſes onely, who had hitherto valiantly behaued themſelues, and done more than any man could haue hoped for; but alſo of the mercinarie ſouldiors, if they ſhould perceiue it: wherefore he was reſolued, either togither to keep all, or loſe all; and becauſe none ſhould from thenceforth repoſe any hope in the ſtrength of the caſtle S. *Angelo*, he ſaid he would bring all the garriſon out of the caſtle into the towne, that there they might togither with others withſtand the enemie; and that he would leaue in the caſtle none but gunners, who ſhould as need required ſhoot at the enemie. An anſwere truly well beſeeming a man of his place, and to be to all poſteritie commended: for how can the ſouldiot hope, which ſeeth his captain diſpaire? or aduenture, where the chieftaine ſeemeth to be ſtrucken with

The reſolute anſwere of the great Maſter.

that expedition; they deteſted ſuch a war, ſhrinking as much as they could from the aſſault, and as G
they might ſtealing quite away, which many of them did, eſpecially ſuch as had before abjured
the Chriſtian faith. For which cauſe diligent watch and ward was kept, and commandement gi-
uen by the great Baſſa, that they ſhould reſolue with themſelues either to win the towne, or there
all to lay vp their bones; for that the great Sultan *Solyman* had ſo commaunded, whom to gain-
ſay was in it ſelfe death. Theſe and ſuch like perſuaſions, cauſed the Viceroy ſomewhat the ſoo-
ner to thinke of the bringing foorth of his fleet: the beſieged in the meane time did what men
might for defence of the place and themſelues. There was in the caſtle one *Franciſcus Giuara*
captaine of the vauntguard, a noble and valiant gentleman, of a great conceit; he about ten foot
from the towne wall which the enemie had with their great ordinance beaten downe, cauſed a
curtaine to be drawne fiftie foot long, and fiue foot thicke, with flankers at both ends; which in H
two nights was brought to perfection, and was afterwards a great helpe to the beſieged. The
enemie in the meane time began a mine vnder the corner of the towne ditch, where *Boninſegna*
a Spaniard and a moſt valiant knight had the charge: which the beſieged perceiuing, by a coun-
termine defeated the ſame. It happened in the meane time, that as a fugitiue was ſwimming to
the towne, he was taken by the enemy; which much grieued the beſieged, deſirous to haue vn-
derſtood ſomething of the ſtate of the enemies campe, and of their purpoſes. Now when the
former mine had taken ſo euill ſucceſſe, part of the Turkes aſſailed the caſtle S. *Michael*, and part
with gunpouder thought to haue blowne vp the caſtle bulwarke: but by the carefulneſſe and
courage of the defendants, all their attempts were diſappointed; for many of the Turkes were in
both places ſlaine, and certaine bags of pouder taken from them in the mine. With theſe and I
other ſuch difficulties, *Muſtapha* and *Piall* the Turkes Generals diſappointed of their hope, con-
ſulted with the other great captaines of the armie, Whether they ſhould there ſtill continue that
deſperat ſiege, or depart? where moſt were cleere of opinion, That it was beſt betime to depart.
Yet for all that, the old Baſſa ſaid, He would there ſtay, vntill the galliot (which he had before
ſent to CONSTANTINOPLE) were returned with anſwere from *Solyman*, and in the meane
time both by force and pollicie to ſeeke after victorie: which thing he oftner did, than ſtood
with the broken eſtate of his armie, or of the beſieged; neither reſting himſelfe nor ſuffering
others to take reſt: for one while he battered the wals, another while he wrought mines or elſe
made bridges; ſometime he caſt vp mounts, and then againe filled the ditches; and euer and
anon gaue one aſſault or another. In all which doing he vſed ſuch induſtrie, that whatſoeuer K
he tooke in hand, was in ſhort time brought to ſuch perfection as might haue carried a ſtronger
place, had not the valour of the defendants far exceeded all his ſtrong and pollitike deuiſes.

The Turks mines ſlaied by the Chriſtians.

Robles Gouernor of the caſtle of S. Michael, ſlaine.

It fortuned, that as *Robles* the camp-maſter and Gouernour of the caſtle S. *Michael*, was by
night viewing the ruines of the wall, he was ſtrucke in the head with a ſmall ſhot, and ſlaine; lea-
uing behind him to his fellowes, the great deſire of himſelfe: for why, he was a man for many
his good parts (wherewith he had many times ſtood the defendants in great ſtead) worthily be-
loued. In whoſe ſtead the Great maſter ſent one of the Colonels that was with himſelfe, a moſt
expert and reſolute captaine, to take charge of S. *Michaels* caſtle; who by his vigilant care and
prouidence ſo well diſcharged the charge committed vnto him, that as often as the Turkes at-
tempted the place, ſo often they were with loſſe repulſed. L

The two gallies with the galliot, deſcried by the gallies of MALTA (as we haue before ſaid)
told *Piall Baſſa* the Admirall, that the Chriſtian fleet was readie to come forth: wherefore he
fearing the ſudden comming thereof, cauſed ſeauentie gallies to be in readineſſe; beſides which,
fortie others lay in the hauen MARZA MOXET vnſeruiceable, as wanting both men and other
equipage, for that was ſpent in making bridges, mines, and other ſuch things neceſſarie for the
ſiege: as for the men, they were part with ſickneſſe, and part with often aſſaults conſumed.
Wherefore *Piall* for certaine daies kept himſelfe by day in the port MAIOR neere the ſhoare,
and by night put forth to ſea, expecting the comming of the fleet. But after long looking, when
he ſaw no man appeare, he againe landed his ſouldiors: and becauſe at land the Baſſa began to
want pouder, of euerie thirtie barrels of pouder in euerie gallie, he tooke out twentie, and of M
ſome twentie fiue, or according to that proportion. After which time, the Turkes began with
greater furie than at any time before, to batter the wals of both townes, eſpecially with thoſe
great pieces which they call baſilisks, whoſe ſhot of two hundred pound waight was ſeauen
hands about; whereby the wals of the caſtle of S. *Michael* were beaten flat. And at the ſame
time,

A time, the Baſſa at the caſtle S. *Angelo*, had with continuall batterie ſo ſhaken the caſtle bulwarke, that it was almoſt fallen quite downe. Theſe breaches thus made, when the Turkes ſaw both townes bared of wals and other defendants, and laid ſo open, that nothing ſeemed now to let them to looke vpon their enemies, they made no longer ſtay, but the eighteenth day of Auguſt (the ſunne being now at the higheſt) with all their power fiercely aſſaulted both the townes. Thriſe they were repulſed, and ſtill came on a freſh; yet at length beaten downe on euerie ſide with great ſlaughter, they were glad ſhamefully to giue ouer the aſſault, and againe to retire to their trenches. In this moſt cruell fight (which endured fiue houres) the inuincible courage of the Great maſter notably appeared, who armed with a pike in his hand, and dreadfull to beholde, was ſtill valiantly fighting in the face of the breach, whoſe preſence encouraged not the ſouldiors
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E ſort) fearing leaſt that which was ſo often attempted by the enemie, ſhould at length be effected; told the Great maſter, That they thought it conuenient and neceſſarie, to remooue all the records, all the pictures and reliques of the Saints, and other their religious things into the caſtle S. *Angelo*, there to be kept as in a place of more ſtrength and aſſurance. The Great maſter, although he well knew that they which thus ſaid, ſpake it of a good mind, was for all that with that ſpeech exceedingly moued: wherefore he ſhortly anſwered them, That ſo to doe, were nothing elſe but to appaule and diſcourage the minds, not of the Malteſes onely, who had hitherto valiantly behaued themſelues, and done more than any man could haue hoped for; but alſo of the mercinarie ſouldiors, if they ſhould perceiue it: wherefore he was reſolued, either togither to keep all, or loſe all; and becauſe none ſhould from thenceforth repoſe any hope in the ſtrength
F of the caſtle S. *Angelo*, he ſaid he would bring all the garriſon out of the caſtle into the towne, that there they might togither with others withſtand the enemie; and that he would leaue in the caſtle none but gunners, who ſhould as need required ſhoot at the enemie. An anſwere truly well beſeeming a man of his place, and to be to all poſteritie commended: for how can the ſouldiot hope, which ſeeth his captain diſpaire? or aduenture, where the chieftaine ſeemeth to be ſtrucken with

The reſolute anſwere of the great Maſter.

The Turkes assaults both the towns the fourth time.

with feare? Whileſt the Grand maſter with this anſwere doth both aſhame them and alſo encourage their quailing minds; the Turks (that this day as the other three before ſhould not paſſe without aſſault) with the dawning of the day aſſailed the very ſame places with the greateſt furie poſsible, eſpecially at the ruines of the caſtle: where *San Romanus* an Auergnois, which had the charge of that place, loſt this ſhort and tranſitorie life, winning thereby immortall fame: and at S. *Michaels*, *Adurnius* one of the knights, and *Fagio*, with certaine others, were greeuouſly wounded: for the enemie ſuddenly retiring from the aſſault, preſently ſo thundred into the breaches with their great and ſmall ſhot, that all the iſland ſeemed to tremble, the heauens to burne, and the aire to be darkened with ſmoake. In the meane time *Valetta* thorowly wearied with the mornings fight, had withdrawne himſelfe a little to breath himſelfe: when ſuddenly a Spaniſh prieſt, with his hands caſt vp to heauen, came running to him, roaring and crying out, That all was loſt and forlorne, and that three or foure enſignes of the enemies were by the caſtle breach broken into the towne. Which the Great maſter hearing, ſuddenly clapt his helmet vpon his head, and with a pike in his hand ſaid vnto them that were about him: *Loe fellow ſouldiors, the houre is come wherein you may ſhew your ſelues the moſt valiant champions of the Chriſtian religion, if it be ſo, that you now alſo retaine the ſame valor which you haue in other battels ſhewed. There is no cauſe wherefore you ſhould doubt of this laſt, for the enemie is the ſame; and the ſame God which hath hetherto preſerued vs, will not now forſake vs: wherefore follow me valiant hearts.* This ſaid, he haſted to the place where moſt danger was, and with him all the ſouldiors, all the citiſens, men and women, old and yong, yea the very children, all againſt the common enemy. There was fought a moſt dreadfull and dangerous battell: ſome kept the enemie from entring, ſome ſet vpon that were alreadie entred, whom they wounded, chaſed, and ſlew, although they notably reſiſted. Within, without, all was couered with darts, weapons, dead bodies, and bloud. The Great maſter was carefull of all, & in euery place preſent, commending, exhorting, directing, as occaſion required, performing at once all the duties of a moſt valiant ſouldior and worthie Generall. At length the Turkes with the ſetting of the Sunne retired, and ſo the aſſault ceaſed. Thus was the Great maſter the vndoubted victor, but not without much bloud of his people, conſidering his ſmall number: for in this fight he loſt aboue 200 men, wheras of the enemies, beſide them which were entred, whereof not one eſcaped, were ſlaine aboue 2000. Theſe are thoſe foure terrible aſſaults, preſently giuen one after another vnto the beſieged.

The Turkes enter the new citie.

The comfortable ſpeech of the Great maſter, when the Turkes were entred.

The Turks with great ſlaughter againe repulſed.

Garzias the Viceroy in the meane time taried for nothing els to tranſport his armie to MALTA, but for the comming of *Io. Cardona*, who with twelue gallies was gone to PANORMO, to conduct thence foure ſhips laded with prouiſion: but when he ſaw him ſtay long, he ſent to him in poſt, That if he could not with ſuch ſpeed as was required tow foorth thoſe ſhips, he ſhould ſpend no longer time, but take out the prouiſion into his gallies, and with ſpeed to come away. So the Viceroy with a fleet of threeſcore and twelue gallies the twentith day of Auguſt ſet forward from MESSANA to SIRACVSA, wherein he caried ten thouſand ſelect ſouldiors, amongſt whom were aboue two hundred knights of the Order of S. *Iohn*, and about fortie of the Order of S. *Stephen*, which is an Order of knights inſtituted by *Coſmus Medices*, duke of FLORENCE, to the imitation of the knights of MALTA in the yeare 1561, and haue their reſidence at COSMOPOLIS, a new built citie in the iſland of ELBA in the Tuſcane ſea, oueragainſt PIOMBINO. Beſides theſe knights in this fleet were diuers noble and valiant gentlemen of ITALIE, SICILIE, and other countries. The fleet being arriued at SIRACVSA, the Viceroy ſent *Auria* with one gallie and a boat to MALTA, to land a man, to know of *Paccius* (left, as we haue before ſaid, for a watch in the iſland at MALECA) what newes, or what he had ſeene. By whom it was vnderſtood, That no ſhip was ſeene at ſea, but one galliot, which the one and twentith day of Auguſt in the morning made towards GAVLOS, and the ſame day towards night as he was informed by the watchmen of MALECA, ſixteene gallies came to water at SALINE, but what became of them afterwards, by reaſon of the comming on of the night could not be deſcried.

In this while the beſieged had notably repaired the breach at the caſtle bulwarke, and had in ſundry places aptly placed certaine great pieces to flanker the ditches and to beat the mount caſt vp by the enemie at the bulwarke of BONINSEGNA, that they might from thence annoy all the plaine of the caſtle with their ſmall ſhot. But the Turkes hauing determined with all their forces at once to aſſault both the townes as before, brought an engine made of ſpars and boords, able to couer thirtie men, vnder the breach at S. *Michaels*: whereby it came to paſſe, that none of the defen-

A defendants could without danger ſhew themſelues in the breach: which when they could by no meanes endure, they ſuddenly ſallied out, and putting them to flight which were there couered, ſet fire on the engine and burnt it. In like manner, they which beſieged the new citie, were repulſed at the caſtle breach, and another like engine burnt. The next night certaine of the watch of the caſtle iſſued out, and hauing deſtroyed the Turkes engines prepared for the aſſayling of that place, and ſlaine them that were ſet for the keeping thereof, returned in ſafetie into the caſtle. But when the enemies both that day and others following reſted not, but repairing their mines, mounts, and engines, laboured in both places to haue beaten the Chriſtians from the wals; all their endeuour and labour was by the induſtrie and valor of the defendants made fruſtrate. The beſieged had at the caſtle breach made a mine, and laid in it eight barrels of pouder, that if the
B enemie ſhould again aſſault that place, he might there be blowne vp: but whileſt the Turks were for like purpoſe working a mine in the ſame place, they chanced vpon the mine before made, which they ſpoyled, and carried away all the pouder. Thus whileſt they labour both on the one ſide and the other, *Muſtapha* the Generall, a moſt expert and famous commaunder, conſidering that Summer now ſo farre ſpent, he was not to vſe longer delay; and withall, that reſolute perſeuerance oftentimes in warre findeth out a way to victorie; determined with all his power once againe to aſſault the caſtle S. *Michael*. Wherfore diſplaying the ſtately ſtanderd of the Turkiſh emperour, vpon the point whereof was faſtened a globe of gold, he commaunded his ſouldiors to enter the breach; who now like deſperat men attempted to haue performed his command, and were by the Chriſtians valiantly encountred: ſo that in the breach was made a moſt terrible and
C doubtfull fight. But when the Turkes had now beene twice rejected and beaten downe, *Muſtapha* perceiuing his ſouldiors as men halfe diſcouraged but faintly to maintaine the aſſault, came himſelfe to the places, praying and exhorting them not to be diſcouraged, but that day to confirme their former labours and victories, and not to ſuffer their vanquiſhed enemies to triumph ouer them: he told them that the enemie had now no defence left wherewith to couer himſelfe, that all was beaten downe flat, and that there remained onely a few wearie and maimed bodies, which were not able long to endure the edge of their ſwords; that with ſuch reſolution they had before woon the caſtle of S. *Elmo*: laſt of all he by promiſing to ſome mony, to ſome honour and preferment, threatening ſome, and requeſting others, encouraged ſome one way, ſome another, euery one according to his qualitie and diſpoſition: who mooued either with their Generals preſence, promiſes, or threats, gaue a freſh and fierce aſſault. The fight was on both ſides ter-
D rible, yet at length the Turkes were againe enforced to retire: for the defendants had caſt vp a rampier, whereon they had fitly placed two field pieces, wherewith they ſore troubled the enemie, and at the firſt ſhot ſtrucke in ſunder one of thoſe woodden engines, which the enemie had made ſtronger than the reſt, couered with raw hides to keepe it from burning, and rent in pieces fortie ſouldiors which were vnder it: and the ſame night they which were in the other town and the caſtle bulwarke, ſallying couragiouſly out, deſtroyed all the enemies defences, & draue them from a mount, which they had made vpon the fortifications of the Chriſtians: whereby they perceiued plainely, what ſmall courage the Turks had to fight, for vpon that mount they were almoſt three hundred, whereas of our men was but fiue and twentie, with which ſmall number for
E all that they had no mind to deale. The defendants had for like purpoſe as before made another mine at the caſtle bulwarke, but perceiuing that it was in danger to be found by the enemie in repairing his fortifications without, they ſuddenly put fire vnto it, by force whereof threeſcore Turks which were within the danger of the place, were blowne vp and ſlaine.

A mine of the Chriſtians found by the Turks.

The Turks deſperatly aſſault the towne of S. Michael.

The Turks enforced to retire.

Garzias the Viceroy, in the meane while that theſe things were in doing, departing with his fleet from SIRACVSA, with a proſperous wind kept on his courſe toward PACHYNVM, where they deſcried a tall ſhip at ſea, driuen thither (as was afterwards knowne) by tempeſt: ſhe out of the iſland MENINO was carrying a great ſupplie of ſhot and pouder vnto the Turkes campe at MALTA; but now ouertaken by the Chriſtian fleet, eaſily yeelded, and was by the Viceroy ſent by other marriners to SIRACVSA. And now the Chriſtian fleet caried with a faire gale towards
F MALTA, ſuddenly aroſe ſuch a tempeſt from the Eaſt, that they were driuen to the iſland ÆGVSA, two hundred and twentie miles Weſt of MALTA, from whence the firſt of September letters were brought from the Viceroy to the Great maſter, certifying him, That he would in ſhort time come with his fleet and relieue him. The ſame day alſo a Chriſtian fled out of the Turkes gallies, wherein he was captiue, to the citie S. *Angelo*; who reported, That in the Turkes campe were

The Chriſtian fleet driuen by tempeſt to the Iſland Ægueſa.

were few men able to fight, moſt of the armie being with wounds, famine, ſickneſſe, and other miſeries brought to extreame weakeneſſe: and beſides that, that infinit numbers of them died dayly: yet for all that he ſaid moreouer, that they were determined to beſiege the citie of MELITA, and had alreadie for that purpoſe mounted fiue great pieces of artillerie for batterie; and that they had but a few dayes before taken twelue, and the laſt day of all foureteene horſemen of the garriſon ſouldiors of that citie. In the meane while the fleet which was driuen (as we ſaid) to ÆOVSA, the rage of the ſea being now well appeaſed, came to DREPANVM, and from thence toward GAVLOS, as was before intended: where by the way the two gallies of MALTA light vpon two of the Turkes galliots, and tooke them. G

The Chriſtian fleet commeth to Gaulos.

The fift day of September the Chriſtian fleet came to GAVLOS, where the Viceroy perceiuing not the appointed ſignes from MALTA, whereby he might ſafely land, returned forthwith backe againe to POZALO, whether *Auria* immediatly following him, told him, That hee had ſeene the ſignes, and aſſured him of ſafe landing in the iſland of MALTA: wherewith the Viceroy encouraged, the next day towards night returned againe to GAVLOS. H

A fugitiue diſcouereth the enemies purpoſe to the Great maſter.

The ſame day a Chriſtian captiue fled from the Turks to S. *Angelo*, and told the Great maſter, That he was come to bring him good newes, how that the Turks had determined to proue their laſt fortune in aſſaulting the caſtle S. *Michael*, which they would doe the next day; where if the ſucceſſe were anſwerable to their deſire, they would then tarrie, but if not, then forthwith be gone: and that *Muſtapha* the more to encourage his ſouldiors, had promiſed fiue talents of gold to the enſignebearers, that ſhould firſt aduance their enſignes vpon the wals, and farther to promote them to greater places of honor; as for the reſt, he would reward euery one of them according to their deſert, either with money or preferment. *Valetta* thinking all theſe things to be by Gods appointment diſcouered vnto him by ſuch men, as they had from time to time beene: firſt gaue thankes vnto Almightie God, and after that with all diligence prepared ſuch things as he thought moſt neceſſarie for the repulſing of the enemie. But the Turks all that day with their great ordinance battered the new citie, and the ſhipping in the hauen, in ſuch ſort that one of the great ſhips was there ſunke. I

The Viceroy arriueth at Malta, and landeth his forces.

In the morning *Garzias* the Viceroy with his fleet arriued at the iſland of MALTA, and there quickly and quietly landed his forces, and whileſt his gallies watered at GAVLOS, went forward with the armie about halfe a mile, inſtructing the Generals and Colonels what hee thought needfull to be done, commaunding all proclamations and commaunds to be made in the name of the king of SPAINE, vntill they came to the Great maſter, and then in all things to obey him as their Soueraigne: and charged *Aſcanius Cornia* the Generall in all his actions to follow the counſell of the greater part. So in few words exhorting them to play the men, he left them marching towards MELITA. About noone he retired to his gallies, and ſayling Eaſtward, came with all his fleet within the ſight of the citie of MELITA, about three miles diſtant from the South ſhore. They of the citie vpon ſight of the fleet, in token of joy diſcharged all the great artillerie, which was anſwered from the fleet, by diſcharging all their great ordinance twice. After that he returned as he had before determined into SICILIA, to take into his gallies the duke of VRBINS companies which were come to MESSANA, and certain bands of Spaniards at SYRACVSA, and ſo forthwith to returne to MALTA to attend the departing of the Turks fleet, being now euill appointed, and alreadie as good as halfe ouerthrowne. K L

The Turkes, who (as is before ſaid) had purpoſed to prooue their laſt fortune vpon the towne of S. *Michael*, had now certaine dayes before the comming of the fleet begun to truſſe vp their baggage: but as ſoone as they heard that the fleet was come, and the armie landed, there ſuddenly aroſe a wonderfull tumultuous confuſion amongſt them, ſome cried arme, arme, and otherſome as faſt to be gone: and being generally all afraid, euery one according to his diſpoſition, betooke himſelfe to his weapons or to his heeles; the greateſt number thruſt together into their trenches, as neere as they could vnto their great ordinance: and ſo burning the engines and fortifications, with all the ſpeed they could embarked their great ordinance and baggage. Which they in the towne S. *Angelo* perceiuing, not expecting the commandement of the Great maſter, in ſo ſudden an opportunitie couragiouſly ſallied out to BVRMOLA, where certaine Turks kept a huge great peece of ordinance; who now hauing no mind to fight, betooke themſelues to flight, and forſooke the peece, which they of the towne preſently drew within their wals. And if the newcome forces had that day charged the enemie as they diſorderly ran to their gallies, happily M

A pily they had either found an occaſion of victorie, or at leaſtwiſe taken from them the greateſt part of their artillerie. But it may be, that they followed the old militarie ſaying, That vnto the flying enemie a man ſhould make a bridge of ſiluer. Beſides that, they thinking it not conuenient to depart from the prouiſion and things which they had brought for the releeſe of the beſieged; which for the roughneſſe of the way and want of horſes were hardly caried, would not prouoke the enemie with any skirmiſh: whereby it came to paſſe, that the Turkes without let embarked their great ordinance, their baggage, and moſt part of their armie. The eleuenth of September, whileſt the Turks fleet was brought out of the hauen MARZA MOXET, a fugitiue of GENVA came in haſt to the Great maſter, and told him that ten thouſand Turks were marching towards MELITA, to meet with the Chriſtians vpon the way. Which thing the Great maſter hearing, B preſently ſent a ſufficient number of good ſouldiours to the caſtle Saint *Elmo*, there to ſet vp one of the enſignes of the ſacred Order: who comming thither, found there foure and twentie great peeces, ſome for batterie, ſome for the field, which they could not in ſo great haſt remooue thence.

The Turks forſake the ſiege.

The Turkes fleet departing out of the hauen MARZA MOXET to the port S. *Paule*, there landed ſeuen thouſand men, with *Muſtapha* their Generall, who was falſely informed, That the Chriſtians were not aboue three thouſand ſtrong: and from thence, encouraged with the ſmall number of the enemie (as they ſuppoſed) they marched directly toward MELITA. The Chriſtians alſo marching orderly and readie to giue battell, held on their way to meet them: and at the riſing of an hill both armies meeting together, they gaue a great ſhout, and withall the formoſt C began the battell, where ſome few were at the firſt ſlaine on both ſides. But the Chriſtians ſtill growing vpon them both in number and ſtrength, the Turkes finding themſelues ouercharged, fled, the Chriſtians purſuing them and killing them vntill they came to their gallies; where in ſtriuing who ſhould get in firſt, about foure hundred of them were drowned in the ſea, beſides eighteene hundred ſlaine in the battell at land: and had the Chriſtian ſouldiors well knowne the countrey, they had ſlaine them euery mothers ſonne. The Turks thus driuen to their gallies, lay there in the hauen all the next day, and moſt part of the night following: but a little before day vpon the ſhooting off of a great peece, the ſigne of their departure, they all hoiſed ſaile for GRECIA, leauing the iſland of MALTA ſore impoueriſhed and waſted. In this ſiege the Turkes loſt about foure and twentie thouſand, whereof moſt part were of their beſt ſouldiours: and of the D Chriſtians were ſlaine about fiue thouſand, beſides two hundred and fortie knights of the Order, men of diuers nations, but all worthie eternall fame, whoſe dead bodies the Great maſter cauſed to be honourably buried. The Turkes in their batterie during the ſiege, ſpent as is accounted threeſcore and eighteene thouſand great ſhot.

The Turks ouerthrowne by the Chriſtians, flie to their gallies.

The Turks depart from Malta.

If a man doe well conſider the difficulties and dangers the beſieged paſſed thorow in this fiue moneths ſiege, the manifold labours and perils they endured in ſo many and ſo terrible aſſaults, the ſmall releeſe to them ſent in ſo great diſtreſſe, with the deſperat obſtinacie of ſo puiſſant an enemie; he ſhall hardly find any place theſe many yeares more mightily impugned, or with greater valour and reſolution defended. The late beſieged, and now victorious prince, honourably acquitted of ſo great an enemie, firſt commaunded publicke prayers with E thanksgiuing to be made vnto the giuer of all victorie: after that, hee rewarded the valiant, commended the reſt, and gaue thankes to all, he charitably relieued the ſicke and wounded, bewailed the ſpoile of the iſland, and carefully prouided for the repairing of the breaches and places battered: and yet in all this doing, diligently enquired after the enemies courſe and purpoſe, & was not in any thing remiſſe or ſecure, as in victorie moſt men are. But becauſe ſo great harms could not without great helpes in ſhort time be repaired, and the returne of the prowd enemie, not without cauſe the next yeare feared: he by letters to diuers great princes, and eſpecially to the graund priors of the Order, in diuers countries, requeſted helpe; amongſt whom *George*, graund prior of GERMANIE, and founder of the caſtle of S. *Elmo*, was one of the chiefeſt. The coppie of which letters, becauſe they briefly containe what we haue before in this hiſtorie at large F written, I haue thought good here to ſet downe, that the ſame may in ſuch order be read, as it was by the Great maſter himſelfe reported.

The carefulneſſe of the Great Maſter.

Brother *Valetta*, Maſter of the hoſpitall of Ieruſalem, to the reuerend and religious our welbeloued brother in Chriſt, *George* of Hohenheim, called *Bombaſt*, prior of our priorie in Almanie, greeting. G

The letters of the Great maſter to the graund prior of Almanie, concerning the manner of the Turks proceedings in the ſiege of Malta.

Although we doubt not but that by the letters and relation of many, you alreadie vnderſtand of the comming of the Turkes to inuade theſe iſlands, or rather vtterly to ſubuert our ſocietie: and the happie and heauenly victorie by vs obtained of it. Yet if the ſame things ſhall by our letters alſo bee brought vnto you, we haue thought the ſame will be vnto you a thing much more pleaſing. For ſeeing that we are certainely perſuaded, that you in this no leſſe happie than wholeſome ſucceſſe will giue moſt H *heartie thankes to Almightie God, and that the fruit of this good ſhall moſt of all redound vnto you, for the honour which you beare in our Order; we haue willingly determined to participate this our ioy with you, and plainely and openly to proteſt, That we attribute this ſo notable and wonderfull a victorie to our Lord Chriſt Ieſus, the greateſt king of all kings, and author of all good things. Which that you may the more worthely and willingly doe, wee will declare the whole matter, not at large (for that were to write an hiſtorie) but breefely and in few words. Sultan* Solyman *the moſt mortall enemie of the Chriſtian name, and eſpecially of our ſocietie, not contented to haue ſpoiled vs of the moſt famous iſland of the* Rhodes, *the caſtle of* Tripolis, *and almoſt whatſoeuer we had els, commaunded a great and ſtrong fleet to be made readie againſt vs, which departing from* Constantinople *the one and twentith day of March, arriued here the eighteenth day of May: which* I *fleet conſiſted of almoſt two hundred and fiftie gallies, galliots and other ſhips. The number of the enemie that beare armes according to the truth, was about fortie thouſand, more or leſſe: Generall of the land forces, was* Muſtapha Baſſa; *and of the fleet* Pial Baſſa *was Admirall: who hauing ſpent a few daies in landing their forces, viewing the places, pitching their tents, and ſetting things in order (as the manner of warre is) they began firſt to aſſaile the caſtle of* S. Elmo *(ſcituat in the mouth of the hauen) with great force, and a moſt furious batterie. Which when they had many daies done without intermiſſion, and had opened a great part of the wall, and with all kind of weapons aſſaulted the breach: yet was it by the valour and proweſſe of our knights and other worthie ſouldiors kept and defended by the ſpace of thirtie fiue daies, with the great loſſe and ſlaughter of the enemie: although the caſtle it ſelfe, in the iudgement of many, ſeemed not poſſible to be but a few daies defended* K *againſt ſo great a force. At length the foure and twentith day of Iune, when our men could no longer indure the multitude and furie of the enemie, enuironed and ſhut vp both by ſea and land, and deſtitute of all helpe, the caſtle was taken by the Turkes; thoſe few of our men which were left, being all ſlaine. Of which victorie they being proud, began to beſiege the caſtle and towne of* S. Michael, *and this new citie, eſpecially at the caſtle and Portingall bulwarke: and (as their manner is) with great diligence and greater force and number of great artillerie and warlike engines, they began in diuers places at once to batter and beat downe the wals. Which ſiege the dreadfull armie of the Turkes, both by ſea and land, made to be moſt fearfull and terrible, with ſuch huge great ordinance as the like for bigneſſe and force was in no place to be ſeene; day and night thundring out their yron and ſtone ſhot, fiue, and ſeauen hands about; wherewith not the thickeſt wals, but euen the verie mountaines themſelues might haue been beaten downe and ouerthrowne: by furie whereof, the wals in many places were* L *ſo battered, that a man might eaſily haue entred as on plaine ground. Where, when the barbarous enemies had with wonderfull force and hideous outcries oftentimes attempted to enter, ſo often were they with great ſlaughter and diſhonour repulſed and beaten backe, many of their men being ſlaine or wounded. Their Generals, as well at ſea as land, after that they had in ſo many places, with all their forces in almoſt foure moneths ſiege and aſſault, with exceeding furie in vaine attempted the breaches, and loſt the greateſt part of their old ſouldiors, eſpecially winter now comming on, wherein all wars by law of nations ought to ceaſe; thought of nothing elſe but of departure, or rather of flight: which the comming of* Garzias *of* Toledo, *Viceroy of* Sicilia *and Admirall of the king of* Spaine *his* M *fleet, with ten thouſand ſelect ſouldiors (amongſt whom was at the leaſt two hundred and fourteene of our knights, and many other noble and valiant gentlemen; which onely with a Chriſtian Zeale, voluntarily met togither from diuers parts of the world to helpe and relieue vs) cauſed them to haſten. So haue you ſummarily and in few words, the proceedings and flight of the Turkes fleet, and the victorie by vs (by the power of God) thereof obtained. It ſhall be your part to conſider and coniecture, in what*

ſtate

A *ſtate our Order and this iſland now ſtandeth, into what poore eſtate we are brought, how many things we want; wherein except we be relieued by the helpe and aid of our brethren, eſpecially ſuch as you are, as we well hope and aſſuredly beleeue we ſhall, our ſtate will quickly take end. Fare you well from* MALTA *the ninth of October* 1565.

The Great maſter thus deliuered of ſo great a ſiege, and bountifully relieued by the Chriſtian princes, and the great commenders of his Order; ſpeedily repaired the breaches and places battered, and with new fortifications ſtrengthened ſuch places as he had by the late paſſed dangers perceiued to be moſt ſubiect to the enemies force.

After the returne of the Turkes fleet to CONSTANTINOPLE, *Solyman* being exceeding an- 1566
B grie with the Gouernour of the iſland of CHIOS his tributarie, as well for that he had during the late ſiege of MALTA, had intelligence with the Great maſter, and reuealed vnto him many of the Turkes deſſeigns; as alſo for detaining of two yeares tribute, which was yearely ten thouſand duckats; and had alſo neglected to ſend his wonted preſents to the great Baſſaes, who therefore the more incenſed, the tyrant commaunded *Pial Baſſa* his Admirall to make readie his fleet, and by force or pollicie, to take that fruitfull and pleaſant iſland wholly into his owne hand. Who without delay, with a fleet of eightie gallies, the fifteenth day of Aprill in the yeare 1566, being then Eaſterday, arriued at CHIOS. The chiefe men of the iſland, vpon ſight of the fleet, forthwith ſent embaſſadours to the Baſſa with preſents, courteouſly offering vnto him the hauen, and whatſoeuer elſe he ſhould require. *Pial* with great kindneſſe accepted their offer, and preſently
C poſſeſſed himſelfe of the hauen in three places: and afterward landing, ſent for the Gouernor of the citie, & twelue of the chiefe citiſens to come vnto him, as if he had had ſome ſpeciall matter to conferre with him about from the great Sultan, before his departure thence for MALTA or ITALIE. Who hauing a little conferred togither, went to him with great feare; and that not without cauſe, for as ſoone as they were come before him, he commaunded them to be laid hold vpon and caſt faſt into yrons: which done, the ſouldiors forthwith tooke the towne hall, and without reſiſtance pulling downe the townes enſigne (wherein was the picture of S. *George* with a red croſſe) in ſtead thereof ſet vp one of the Turkes: the like whereof was done with the great rejoicing of the Turkes, thorow the whole iſland. After that, they rifled the Churches, and againe conſecrated them after their Mahometane manner. The Gouernour of the citie and the Sena-
D tours with their families, the Baſſa ſent in fiue ſhips to CONSTANTINOPLE: as for the vulgar people, they were at choiſe, either there to tarrie ſtill, or depart, as beſt ſtood with their liking. And ſo the Baſſa, when he had there placed a new Gouernour, one of the Turks, with a ſtrong garriſon, and ſet vp the Mahometane ſuperſtition in that moſt fertile iſland, departed thence for ITALIE: where ſayling alongſt the coaſt of APVLIA, he did exceeding much harme in burning and deſtroying the countrey villages, and carrying away of the poore people into captiuitie; and ſo returned.

The iſland of Chios taken by the Turks.

At this time, the kingdome of HVNGARIE was moſt miſerably rent in pieces by the lieutenants and captaines of *Solyman*, and *Maximilian* the emperour, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA, *Solymans* vaſſall: who grieued with the harmes done vnto him by the emperours
E captaines, whereof himſelfe was the cauſe, and vainely hoping to haue obtained at *Solymans* hands the greateſt part of the kingdome of HVNGARIE, as had ſometime king *Iohn*; ceaſed not continually to ſolicite him to come himſelfe in perſon to make a full conqueſt of the reliques of HVNGARIE, yet holden by the emperour and ſome of the Hungarian nobilitie: And flattering himſelfe in that vaine hope, called himſelfe the king of HVNGARIE, and increaſing his ſtrength by letters vnto the nobilitie and burgeſſes of the cities of HVNGARIE, ſummoned them, as if it had bin by the appointment of *Solyman* his great patron, That they ſhould all the ninth of March meet togither at THORDA, to determine with him of matters concerning their common good. Which thing, as ſoone as *Lazarus Suendi* the emperours lieutenant vnderſtood, he forthwith by other letters countermanded thoſe of the Vayuods; perſuading the Hungarians, not to liſten
F to the charmes of the Vayuod and the Turke, tending to their deſtruction, but rather to yeeld their obedience to *Maximilian* the Chriſtian emperour, whoſe purpoſe was by the aid of the Chriſtian princes, to protect and preſerue them in peace. And hereby it came to paſſe, that the remainders of this ſore ſhaken kingdome, deuided into factions, and diuerſly carried, according to their affection, ſome to the one ſide, ſome to the other, began afreſh to worke one anothers

confuſion, which fitly ſerued the Turks to encroach more and more vpon them: Who at the same time ſurpriſed the towne of AINATSCH (the captaine thereof with certaine of the garriſon ſouldiors being gone about their buſineſſe to AGRIA) and put to the ſword all them that they found in the towne. They thought alſo to haue taken the ſtrong towne of SIGETH, but were by the valiant countie *Nicholaus Serinus* Gouernour thereof, couragiouſly encountred; and after foure houres hard fight, ouerthrowne and put to flight. Not long after, they ranged vp and downe the countrey, and fet in booties as farre as IVLA and RAB, and did the countrey people much harme. For which cauſe, *Maximilian* the emperour about the latter end of May brake vp the aſſembly of the empire then holden at AVGVSTA, and began carefully to prouide things needfull for the warre: appointing his captaines for the raiſing of ſuch forces in GERMANIE, as were but a little before granted vnto him by the princes and ſtates of the empire, in their late aſſembly; but went himſelfe to VIENNA. For it was told him (as the truth was) That *Solyman* now in his extreame age, was with a mightie armie ſet forward from CONSTANTINOPLE, and marching thorow BVLGARIA and SERVIA, was come directly to BELGRADE: where *Iohn* the Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA met him, and kiſsing his hand, had commended himſelfe and all his ſtate vnto his protection. At which time, *Suendi* the emperours lieutenant, laid hard ſiege to the towne of HVSTH in the borders of TRANSILVANIA. The Baſſa of BVDA at the ſame time on the other ſide, by commandement of *Solyman*, with eight thouſand Turkes and fiue and twentie pieces of great ordinance beſieging PALOTTA, a ſtrong towne about eight miles from RAB; had with continuall batterie by the ſpace of eight daies, brought the ſame into great danger, although it was valiantly defended by *George Thuriger*. But hearing of the approach of *George*, countie of *Helffenſtein*, ſent by the emperour with certaine companies of Germans to relieue the ſame, he riſe in ſuch haſt from the ſiege, that he left certaine of his great ordinance and a great part of his baggage behind him, and retired towards ALBA REGALIS. The countie hauing relieued the towne, cauſed the breaches to be forthwith repaired, and with a new ſupply ſtrengthened the old garriſon. Thus was a moſt lamentable warre at once begun in diuers places of HVNGARIE. After that, the countie of *Helffenſtein*, ſtrengthened by the comming of countie *Salma* with certaine companies from RAB, departed from PALOTTA, and came to VESPRINIVM, a citie about two miles off, then holden by the Turks: which citie he tooke by force the laſt of Iune, and left not a Turke aliue therein, becauſe that they a few daies before, had cruelly ſlaine certaine Chriſtians whom they had taken priſoners: ſo leauing ſtrong garriſons both in VESPRINIVM and PALOTTA, they returned to RAB. Shortly after, the countie *Salma* laid ſiege to TATTA a ſtrong towne, otherwiſe called DOTIS, betwixt RAB and COMARA, which at length he tooke by aſſault the eight and twentith day of Iuly, and ſlew all the Turkes, except fiftie, which flying into one of the towers of the caſtle, yeelded vpon compoſition; amongſt whom was the late Gouernour of VESPRINIVM, and the Gouernour of this place, with the Baſſa of BVDA his nigh kinſman, who were all preſently ſent priſoners to VIENNA. So the countie following the courſe of his victorie (the terrour of his former good fortune running before him into the Turks ſtrongeſt holds) was on his way to haue beſieged GESTES, a towne neere to PALOTTA: when the Turks there in garriſon, vpon the firſt ſight of his armie, left all, and fled out at the farther ſide of the town to STRIGONIVM. After whoſe example, other of the Turks garriſons in Witha, Tſchokiku, & Sambok, caſtles thereabouts, ſet fire on that they could not carrie, and followed their fellowes to STRIGONIVM alſo. The emperour vnderſtanding of the good ſucceſſe of his captaines, cauſed publike praiers with thankſgiuing to almightie God to be made thorow all the churches thereabouts.

The Turks ſurpriſe townes in Hungarie.

Great troubles in Hungarie.

The good ſucceſſe of the emperours captains.

Countie *Serinus*, Gouernour of the ſtrong towne of SIGETH and the countrey thereabout, certainly aduertiſed of the comming of *Solyman*, ſent *Caſparus Alapianus* and *Nicholas Cobath*, two of his captaines, with a thouſand foot and fiue hundred horſe, to lie in wait for the forerunners of the Turkes armie: who drawing neere vnto the place where theſe Turkes lay, not farre from QVINQVE ECLESIE, ſuddenly in the ſhutting in of the next day, ſet vpon them, doubting no ſuch matter, and put them in ſuch a feare that they diſorderedly fled ſome one way, ſome another, and were moſt of them ſlaine or wounded by the Hungarians in their flight. *Halibeg*, one of the Turkes great Sanzackes, and leader of that companie, ſore wounded, and ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe by flight in the mariſhes, there periſhed: his ſonne, and many other notable men amongſt the Turkes, were there taken, and carried priſoners to SIGETH. The ſpoile

the

A the Hungarians there tooke, was exceeding great: for beſide plate and coine, whereof they found good ſtore, they tooke eight camels, threeſcore horſes, fiue mules, and ſix carts laden with all manner of rich ſpoile, and many garments of great price; wherein the gentlemen attired, returned to SIGETH in great brauerie, with two faire red enſignes of the enemies. *A great pray.*

Maximilian the emperour, long before aduertiſed of *Solymans* purpoſe for the conqueſt of the remainder of HVNGARIE; to withſtand ſo mightie an enemie, had beſide the forces raiſed in his owne dominions, procured great aid both of the ſtates of the empire and other Chriſtian princes, which about this time met togither at RAB. Firſt there repaired thither foure legions of German footmen, and vpwards of twentie thouſand horſemen, with foure thouſand Hungarians: The duke of SAVOY ſent thither foure hundred Argoleteirs: and many noble gen-
B tlemen out of diuers parts of EVROPE reſorted thither, to ſerue the emperour in thoſe wars of their owne charge, eſpecially the knights of MALTA: and out of ITALIE, *Proſper Columna*, and *Angelus Cæſius*: out of FRANCE, *Guiſe* the graund prior, *Briſſack* and *Lanſack*; who but a little before were going to MALTA, of purpoſe to haue ſerued there if the Turks fleet had come thither againe, as it was reported it would; but vnderſtanding that it came not, returned directly into HVNGARIE, with certaine other knights of the Order. Many alſo of the princes and free cities of ITALIE, declared their good will toward the emperour in this warre; ſome ſending him men, as did *Coſmus Medices* duke of FLORENCE, who ſent thither of his owne charge three thouſand footmen; ſome money, as MANTVA, GENVA, and LVCA. Thither came alſo *Alphonſus* duke of FERARA, with a gallant companie of noble gentlemen, and others his fol-
C lowers. Beſide which land forces, the emperour had alſo prouided vpon the riuer of Danubius twelue gallies, and thirtie other ſhips for burthen, ſo made, as that the men could not be hurt with the Turkes arrowes: wherein were embarked three thouſand ſouldiors, moſt part Italians, vnder the conduct of *Philippus Flachius* a German, and one of the knights of MALTA, who was afterward receiued into the number of the princes of the empire.

Solyman comming to the riuer Drauus, commaunded a bridge to be made ouer that great ri- *The Turks with much labour make a bridge ouer the great riuer of Drauus.*
uer, and the deepe fens on the farther ſide of the riuer towards SIGETH, for the tranſporting of his great armie; a worke of ſuch difficultie, that being thrice vnfortunatly begun, it was againe giuen ouer, as a thing almoſt impoſsible: wherewith *Solyman* was ſo moued, that in his rage he
D ſwore to hang vp the great Baſſa that had the charge of that worke, if he did not with as much ſpeed as were poſsible, bring it to perfection. Whereupon the worke was againe begun, all the boats that were to be found in the riuer taken vp, and timber for the purpoſe brought from farre, for the making of that bridge. In this worke were imploied, not the vulgar people onely of the countrey which was tributarie to the Turkes, but the gentlemen themſelues alſo, were by the imperious Turke (now commaunding for his life) enforced to lay their fingers to worke day and night without ceaſing, vntill the bridge (which before was thought ſcarce poſsible to haue beene made) was by the reſtleſſe induſtrie and labour of ſuch a multitude of men, in the ſpace of ten daies brought to perfection. Wherein the ſeueritie the barbarous tyrant vſeth towards his ſubjects, is worth the noting, whereby he extorteth from them, more than is almoſt poſsible for men to performe: ſo that it is not to be maruelled, that he hath ſo good ſucceſſe in whatſoeuer
E he taketh in hand. Ouer this bridge (a mile in length) paſſed *Solyman*, and encamped at a place called MVHATCHZ, where he ſtaied certaine daies, vntill his hugie armie was all come ouer. The laſt of Iuly, ninetie thouſand Turkes (the vauntguard of *Solymans* armie) came before SIGETH, and encamped within a mile of the towne: after whom ſhortly after followed an hundred thouſand mo out of *Solymans* campe, of whom manie in approaching the towne, were ſlaine with great ſhot out of the caſtle; the reſt for all that encamped themſelues as neere vnto the towne as they could, and began the ſiege. *The Turks encampe before Sigeth.*

The towne of SIGETH is ſtrongly ſcituat in a Mariſh, on the North ſide of Drauus vpon the frontiers of DALMATIA, commaunding all the countrey round about it, which of it taketh name; and was at that time a ſtrong bulwarke againſt the Turkes, for entring farther into the
F countrey that way toward STIRIA. In this towne was Gouernour *Nicholaus Serinus*, commonly called the Countie, a valiant man, and a mortall enemy of the Turks, with a garriſon of 2300 good ſouldiors: who ſeeing the hugie armie of the Turks, called togither into the caſtle the captaines of the garriſon and the chiefe of the citiſens; where ſtanding in the midſt of them, he ſpake vnto them as followeth.

Countie Serinus his comfortable and resolute speech to his soldiors.

You see (said he) *how we are on euery side beset with the multitude of our enemies, wherein resteth their cheefe hope: But let not vs be therefore afraid or discouraged; for that victorie dependeth not of a confused multitude of heartlesse men, but of the power of our God, who hath by a few at his pleasure many times ouerthrowne the mightie armies of the proud; and will not in the middest of these dangers now forsake vs, if wee putting our trust and confidence in him, doe what beseemeth valiant and couragious men. Besides that our iust cause, with the strength of the place we hold, our owne valor, and the helpe of our friends, who I assure my selfe will not faile vs at our need, counteruaileth their confused multitude, forced together by their imperious commaunders out of far countries, and whatsoeuer els the proud tyrant hath brought with him into the field. Wherefore let vs all as becommeth valiant men, for the truth of our religion, and for the honour of our prince and countrey, liue and die together, knowing whatsoeuer befall, That to a life so lost, beside neuer dying fame, belongeth a most assured hope of endlesse ioy and felicitie. As for my selfe, I am resolued, and so (I hope) are you also, that as I am a Christian, and free borne, so will I (by the grace of God) in the same faith and freedome end my dayes. Neither shall the proud Turke, so long as I am able to hold vp this hand, haue euer power to commaund ouer me or the ground whereon I stand.* This said, he first tooke himselfe a solemne oath, to performe what he had promised, and perswaded the rest to take the like: which done, euery man returned to the place of his charge.

Solyman commeth into the campe as Sigeth.

The fift of August *Solyman* encamped within a mile of the towne, and the next day after came himselfe into the campe, at whose comming the great ordinance and small shot so thundered out of the Turks campe, as if heauen and earth should haue gone together, the Turkes after their wonted manner crying aloud their *Alla, Alla, Alla*, and the Christians answering them with the name of Iesus. The seuenth of August the Turkes cast vp a great mount, and thereon planted certaine great peeces of ordinance. The next day following they began most terribly to batter the new towne in three places, and with incredible labour cast vp a mount in the middest of the marrish, as it were in the towne ditch, from whence they the next day with certaine peeces of great artillerie day and night battered the inner castle of the towne without any intermission, and did great harme both to the castle and the defendants. The countie perceiuing the new citie to be now so laid open with the furie of the Turks batterie, as that it was not possible to be defended; caused his souldiours to set it all on fire, and so retired into the old. The tenth of August the Turks furiously battered the old town in three places, and brought their ordinance into the new towne: and with timber, earth, and rubbidge, made a bridge, the more commodiously to go ouer the marrish. For the speedier accomplishment whereof, all the Turkes were compelled to lay to their hands, and to carrie wood, fagots, earth, and such like things without ceasing. There might a man haue seene all the fields full of cammels, horses, and of the Turks themselues, like emmets, carrying wood, earth, stones, or one thing or other to fill vp the marrish: so was there with wonderfull labour two plaine wayes made thorow the deepe fenne, from the towne to the castle: where the Ianizaries, defended from the great shot with sacks of wooll and such like things, did with the multitude of their small shot so ouerwhelme the defendants, that they could not against those places without most manifest danger shew themselues vpon the wals. So that what by their vigilant industrie, and the furie of the great artillerie, the Turks (though not without great losse) by force entred the old towne the nineteenth of August, vsing in their victorie such celeritie, that they slew many of the most valiant defendants before they were able to recouer the safegard of the castle. Both the townes thus lost, and so many worthie men slaine, not without cause brought great heauinesse vpon the rest which were in the castle with the countie. The Turks possessed of the old towne, the next day planted their batterie against the castle in foure places, and with faggots, rubbidge, and earth, made two plaine wayes vnto it, still filling vp the marrish: and hauing with continuall batterie made it saultable, the nine and twentie day of August they began fiercely to assaile the breaches: but when they had lost many of their men, and done what they could, they were enforced with shame to retire. In this assault amongst many other of their best souldiors was lost one of their great Bassaes also.

The defendants burne the new towne.

The Turks win the old towne.

Solyman dieth of the bloudie flix.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Solyman* farre spent with yeares, and distempered with his long trauell, fell sicke of a loosenesse of his bellie, and for the better recouerie of his health retired himselfe (the siege yet continuing) to QVINQVE ECLESIÆ, a citie neare to SIGET, where shortly after he died of the bloudie flix, the fourth day of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1566, when he had liued 76 yeares, and raigned thereof 46. He was of stature tall, of feature slender,

A slender, long necked, his colour pale and wan, his nose long and hooked, of nature ambitious and bountifull, more faithfull of his word and promise than were for most part the Mahometan kings his progenitors; wanting nothing worthie of so great an empire, but that wherein all happinesse is contained, faith in Christ Iesus. *Muhamet* the Visier Bassa (who all commaunded in *Solymans* absence) fearing the insolencie of the Ianizaries, and least some tumult should arise in the campe, if his death should be knowne, concealed it by all meanes: and to be sure of them that were of all others best able to make certaine report thereof, caused his physitions and apothecaries to be secretly strangled, and by a trustie messenger, sent in post, certified *Selymus* (*Solymans* onely sonne, and his father in law, then lying in MAGNESIA) of the death of his father, willing him in hast to repaire to CONSTANTINOPLE to take possession of the empire; and that done, forthwith to
B come to the armie in HVNGARIE. But this could not be so secretly done, but that the Ianizaries began to mistrust the matter: Which *Muhamet Bassa* quickly perceiuing, caused the dead bodie of *Solyman* in his wonted apparrell to be brought into his tent sitting vpright in his horselitter, as if he had beene sicke of the gout, his wonted disease; and so shewing him to the Ianizaries, both deceiued and contented them, and so went forward with the siege.

Muhamet Bassa concealeth the death of Solyman.

The Ianizaries hauing in the last assault lost many of their fellowes, began now to vndermine the greatest bulwarke of the castle, from which the defendants with their great ordinance did most annoy them: wherein they vsed such diligence, that the fifth of September they with gunpouder and other light matter prouided for that purpose, had set all the bulwarke on a light fire; and by that meanes possessed thereof, with all their force assailed the bulwarke next vnto the ca-
C stle gate, from whence they were with great slaughter twice repulsed by the countie. But the raging fire still encreasing, he was enforced with those which were yet left aliue, to retire into the inner castle, wherein was but two great pieces, and foureteene others of small force. Thus the Turks still preuailing, and taking one place after another, the seuenth of September they furiously assaulted the little castle, whereinto they cast such abundance of fire, that in short time it caught hold on the buildings, and set all on fire. The countie thus assailed by the enemie without, and worse distressed with the fire within, which still encreasing, left no place for him in safetie to retire vnto, went into his chamber, where putting on a rich new sute of apparrell, came presently out againe with his sword and targuet in his hand; and finding his souldiors with cheerefull countenance and their weapons in their hands, attending his comming, spake vnto them these few his
D last words. *The hard fortune of this sinfull kingdome hath togeather with our owne ouertaken vs: but let vs (noble hearts) with patience endure what is to vs by God assigned. You know what wee haue before promised, which hitherto God be thanked we haue accordingly performed, and now let vs with like resolution performe this last. The place you see is not longer to be kept, the deuouring fire groweth so still vpon vs, and we in number are but few: Wherefore let vs as becommeth valiant men breake out into the vtter castle, there to die in the middest of our enemies, to liue afterwards with God for euer, I will be the first that will goe out, follow you me like men.* This said, with his sword and targuet in his hand, without any other armour, calling thrice vpon the name of Iesus, he issued out at the castle gate, with the rest following him: where valiantly fighting with the Ianizaries vpon the bridge; and hauing slaine some of them, he was first wounded in two places of his bodie
E with small shot, and at last strucke in the head with an vnluckie shot, fell downe dead; the Turks for joy crying out their wonted word *Alla*. The rest of the souldiors in flying backe againe into the castle, were all slaine by the Turks, except some few, whom some of the Ianizaries in regard of their valour, by putting their caps vpon their heads, saued from the furie of the rest. In this siege, the Turks (as they themselues reported) lost seauen thousand Ianizaries, and twentie eight thousand other souldiors, beside many voluntarie men not enrolled in their muster-books, and three of their great Bassaes. *Serinus* his head was presently cut off, and the next day (with the heads of the other slaine Christians) set vpon a pole, for all the armie to gaze vpon. After that, it was taken downe, and by *Muhamet* the great Bassa sent to *Mustapha* the Bassa of BVDA his
F kinsman; who by two countrey men, sent it wrapped in a red scarfe couered with a faire linnen cloth, to countie *Salma* in the emperours campe at RAB, with this taunting letter thus directed.

The great bulwarke vndermined & set on fire by the Ianizaries.

The little castle set on fire.

The last speech of countie Serinus to his souldiers.

Serinus slaine.

Serinus his head sent to countie Salma.

Muhamet Bassa to *Eccius Salma*, greeting.

In token of my loue, behold, here I send thee the head of a most resolute and valiant captaine thy friend,

The Bassaes quipping letter to countie Salma.

friend, the remainder of his bodie I haue honestly buried, as became such a man. SIGETH *biddeth thee farewell for euer.* G

The death of this noble and valiant captaine was much lamented of all the Christian armie, and his head with many teares by his sonne *Balthasar* honourably buried amongst his ancestors in TSCHACATVRNA, his owne castle. *Solyman* at his comming with this mightie armie into HVNGARIE, had purposed before his returne, if he had not beene by death preuented, to haue conquered both the remainder of the kingdome of HVNGARIE, and to haue againe attempted the winning of VIENNA. For the accomplishing of which his designes, he at his first comming sent *Parthauus Bassa* with fortie thousand Turkes to helpe the Bassa of TEMESVVARE and the Tartars, in the behalfe of the Vayuod, to besiege the strong towne of GYVLA, situat vpon the H lake ZARKAD in the confines of TRANSILVANIA; not farre from whence *Suendi* had but in August before ouerthrowne the Tartars, called in by *Solyman* for the aid of the Vayuod, and slain of them ten thousand. And at the same time he sent *Mustapha Bassa* of BOSNA, and *Carambeu*, with a great power to ALBA REGALIS; who joyning with the Bassa of BVDA, should keepe the emperour *Maximilian* busie, whilest he in the meane time besieged SIGETH, as is before declared. *Parthauus Bassa* comming to GYVLA, and laying hard siege to the towne, was still notably repulsed by *Nicholas Keretschen*, Gouernour of the towne: insomuch, that in a sallie he had certaine pieces of his great ordinance taken from him by the defendants, and the rest cloyed. But this braue captaine, not to haue beene constrained by all that the Bassa could doe, was at last per- I suaded by his kinsman *George Bebicus* (from whom *Suendi* had a little before taken certain castles, for reuolting from the emperour to the Vayuod) for a great summe of money to deliuer vp the towne to the Bassa: which he did, couenanting beside his reward, That the souldiors should with bag and baggage in safetie depart; all which was franckly graunted: who were not gone past a mile out of the towne, but they were set vpon by the Turks, and all slaine, except some few which crept into the reeds growing in the marrish fast by, and so escaped. The traitor himselfe expecting his reward, was carried in bonds to CONSTANTINOPLE: where afterward, vpon complaint made how hardly he had vsed certaine Turks, whom he had sometime taken prisoners, he was by the commaundement of *Selymus*, who succeeded *Solyman*, thrust into a hogshead strucke full of nailes with the points inward, with this inscription vpon it: *Here receiue the reward of thy auarice and treason,* GYVLA *thou soldest for gold: if thou be not faithfull to* Maximilian *thy lord, neither wilt thou be to me*: and so the hogshead closed fast vp, he was therein rolled vp and downe vntill he therein miserably died. K

Nicholaus Keretschen corrupted for money, betrayeth Gyula to the Turks.

A traitor well rewarded.

The emperours campe then lying at RAB, and the Bassa of BVDA and BOSNA with thirtie thousand Turkes not farre off at ALBA REGALIS, and many hot skirmishes passing betweene them: it fortuned that the fift of September the Turks in hope to haue done some great peece of seruice vpon the Christians, came forth of their campe in great number, and by chance light vpon a few forragers of the armie, of whom they slew some, the rest flying, raised an alarum in the campe: whereupon the Hungarians and Burgundians with some others issuing out, pursuing the Turks, slew diuers of them: in which pursute *George Thuriger*, descrying the Gouernor of ALBA REGALIS, a man in great account, and very inward with *Solyman* whilest he liued, fiercely pur- L sued him in the middest of the flying enemies, and neuer left him vntill he had taken him prisoner: and at his returne presenting him to the emperour, was for that good seruice knighted, and rewarded with a chaine of gold. There was by chance then present a Spaniard, who had heard him say openly at CONSTANTINOPLE, That he alone with his owne power was able to vanquish the Germane king (by which name the Turkes commonly tearme the emperour:) With which words when that the Spaniard hardly charged him in the presence of the emperour, still vrging him as it were to say something for himselfe, the Turke answered him in these few words following: *Such is the chance of warre, thou seest me now a prisoner, and able to doe nothing.*

The Gouernor of Alba Regalis taken.

The Turks sharp answere to the Spaniard.

All these troubles, with many moe like in short time to haue ensued, were by the death of M *Solyman* within a while after well appeased. *Muhamet Bassa* after he had repaired the breaches, and placed a Turke Gouernour of SIGETH, with a strong garrison for the defence of the place and commaunding of the countrey, called backe the dispersed forces; and rising with the armie, retired toward BELGRADE, carrying *Solymans* dead bodie all the way sitting vp-

The Turks armie returneth with the bodie of Solyman to Belgrade.

right

right in his horſelitter carried by mules, giuing it out that hee was ſicke of the gout: which thing the Ianizaries eaſily beleeued, knowing that hee had beene many yeares ſo carried: yet ſtill wiſhing his preſence, as vnto them alwayes fortunate, although that he were able for to doe nothing.

FINIS.

Christian princes of the same time with Soly-man.

Emperors of Germanie		*Charles the fift.*	1519.	39.
		Ferdinand.	1558.	7.
		Maximilian the second.	1565.	12.
Kings	*Of England*	*Henrie the eight.*	1509.	38.
		Edward the sixt.	1546.	6.
		Queene Marie.	1553.	6.
		Queene Elizabeth.	1558.	45.
	Of Fraunce	*Francis the first.*	1514.	32.
		Henry the second.	1547.	12.
		Francis the second.	1559.	1.
		Charles the ninth.	1560.	14.
	Of Scotland	*Iames the fifth.*	1514.	29.
		Queene Mary.	1543.	
Bishops of Rome		*Leo the X.*	1513.	8.
		Hadrian the VI.	1522.	1.
		Clement the VII.	1523.	10.
		Paulus the III.	1534.	15.
		Iulius the III.	1550.	5.
		Marcellus the II.	1555.	22 daies.
		Paulus the IIII.	1555.	4.
		Pius the IIII.	1560.	5.
		Pius the V.	1566.	6.

Dissimilis patri, Selymus regalia Sceptra,
Corripit: & dira concutit arma manu.
Fœdus cum venetis frangit. Quid fœdera prosunt?
Armatag; manu Cypria regna rapit
Instrauit tumidum numerosis classibus Æquor:
Vt Naupactiacas nobilitaret aquas.
Moldauum fœda mulctauit morte Dynasten
Et magni fines prorogat imperij
Obruit Hispanos multa vi: Punica regna
Destruit: & regnis adjcit illa suis.
Sed nimis in venerem pronus, vinoq; sepultus,
Extremum properat præcipitare diem. R. KNOLL.

Vnlike his father, *Selymus* the royall Scepter takes:
And shaking armes with cruell hand, exceeding stirs he makes.
With VENICE state his league he breaks (with Turks what league can stand)
And CYPRVS kingdome takes from them, by force of mightie hand.
He couered the swelling seas with hugie fleets to see:
That vanquished, vnto those seas he might an honour be.
The Vayuod of MOLDAVIA he brought to wofull end,
The borders of his kingdome great that so he might extend.
In GVLET he the Spaniards ouerwhelmd with mightie power:
And thereby TVNES kingdome did the selfesame time deuour.
But wholy giuen to venerie, vnto excesse and play,
He posteth on before his time to hast his fatall day. *R. K.*

THE

THE LIFE OF SELYMVS, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, FIFT EMPEROVR OF THE TVRKES.

Elymus, the only ſonne of *Solyman* then left aliue, by letters from *Muhamet Baſſa* vnderſtanding of the death of his father, haſted from CVTAI, a citie of GALATIA not farre from ANCYRA, towards CONSTANTINOPLE; and comming to SCVTARIE, was from thence by *Boſtanges Baſſa* of the court, conducted ouer the ſtrait to CONSTANTINOPLE: where, by him and *Scander Baſſa* (*Selymus* his ſonne in law, and then *Solymans* Vicegerent) he was conuaied into the imperiall pallace the three and twentith of September, in the yeare 1566, and there poſſeſſed of his fathers ſeat, was by the Ianizaries there preſent, ſaluted emperour. He was about the age of fortie two yeares when he began to raigne, a man of an vnconſtant and haſtie diſpoſition, wholy giuen to wantonneſſe and exceſſe: ſo that he neuer went to wars himſelfe, but performed them altogether by his lieutenants, contrarie to the charge of *Selymus* his grandfather, giuen by him to his father *Solyman*, whereof he was neuer vnmindfull. The next day he came abroad, and ſhewed himſelfe in his majeſtie; and in the temple of SOPHIA, after the manner of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, cauſed ſolemne praiers and ſacrifices to be made for his father: which done, he gaue vnto the Ianizaries a largious of 100000 Sultanines, with promiſe to augment their wages. And all things being now in readineſſe for his intended journey, he with a goodly retinue ſet forward from CONSTANTINOPLE the ſeauen and twentith of September: and the twentith of October a little from BELGRADE met the armie comming from SIGETH, gallantly marching vnder their enſignes, with the dead bodie of *Solyman*, whom the ſouldiors generally ſuppoſed to haue been yet liuing, but troubled with the gout, to haue kept his horſe-litter as his manner was to trauell. *Selymus* alighting, came in his mourning attire to the horſe-litter, looked vpon the dead bodie of his father, kiſſed it, and wept ouer it, as did all the other great Baſſaes alſo. And that the death of *Solyman* might then be made knowne to all men, the enſigns were preſently let fall, and trailed vpon the ground, a dead march ſounded, and heauie ſilence commaunded to be kept through all the campe. Shortly after, *Selymus* was with the great applauſe of the whole armie proclaimed emperour, his enſignes aduaunced, and euerie one of the great commaunders of the armie, in their degree admitted to kiſſe his hand. So marching forward, he returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE the two and twentith of Nouember: but thinking to haue entred his pallace (which they commonly call the SERAGLIO) he was by the diſcontented Ianizaries but now come from the wars, prohibited ſo to do; they with great inſolencie demaunding of him a greater donatiue, togither with the confirmation both of their auntient and new priuiledges, before they would ſuffer him to enter. Againſt which their ſo great preſumption, the Viſier Baſſaes, togither with the Aga, oppoſing themſelues, and ſeeking by all means to appeaſe them, were by them fowly intreated and well rapped about the pates with the ſtocks of their calliuars; but eſpecially the two great Baſſaes, *Muhamet* and *Pertau*, as the chiefe authors that their lord had dealt no more liberally with them. With which ſo ſudden and vnexpected a mutinie of his beſt ſouldiors, *Selymus* not a little troubled, and calling

Selymus ſaluted emperour of the Turkes in the yeare 1566.

ling vnto him the Aga (or captaine of the Ianizaries) demaunded of him the cauſe thereof: who with teares trickling downe his cheekes for griefe, told him, That it was for money. Which by *Selymus* now promiſed vnto them, togither with the confirmation of their liberties; and the Aga with faire words and heauie countenance moſt earneſtly entreating them, not to blemiſh the antient reputation of their wonted loyaltie with ſo foule a diſorder, nor to expoſe the life of him their louing captaine, vnto the heauie diſpleaſure of their angrie Sultan; and farther aſſuring them, that he would not faile them in the leaſt of his promiſes, but content them to the full of their deſires; the mutinie was at length appeaſed, the inſolent Ianizaries againe quieted, and *Selymus* into the SERAGLIO receiued. Howbeit *Muhamet*, chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes, for certaine daies after went not out of his pallace, neither came (as he was woont) into the DIVANO, but kept himſelfe coſe, for feare of ſome greater miſchiefe from them. This tumult thus ouerpaſſed, and all againe well quieted, *Selymus* with all royall ſolemnitie buried his father in a chappell which he after the manner of the Mahometane kings, had in his life time moſt ſtately built, with a colledge and an hoſpitall. Where faſt by his ſide is to be ſeene the tombe of *Roxolana* his beſt beloued wife, and of certaine others his murthered children: and by him hangeth his ſcimitar, in token that he died in wars; an honour not otherwiſe granted to the Mahometane princes. The reuenues ariſing of the countrey about SIGETH of late woon from the Chriſtians, at the time of his death, were giuen to the maintenance of the houſes by him built of deuotion; which for the magnificence thereof, exceed all the reſt before built by the Mahometane kings and emperours, except thoſe which were the buildings of *Mahomet* the great, and *Baiazet* the ſecond. It was by many thought, that *Solyman* was in good time by death cut off, as purpoſing that yeare to haue wintered in HVNGARIE, and the yeare following to haue done great matters againſt the Chriſtians, both by ſea and land.

Solyman buried.

1567

The great armie of the Turks thus drawne out of HVNGARIE by the death of *Solyman*, in ſome part aſſuaged, but altogither appeaſed not the endleſſe troubles of that vnfortunate kingdome. *Maximilian* the emperour on the one ſide, and *Iohn* the Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA with the Turks captaines on the other, renting it in pieces, as if they had ſworne the deſtruction thereof. The Vayuod deſiring to recouer the ſtrong caſtle of TOCKAY, in the frontiers of his countrey, but lately taken from him by *Suendi* the emperours lieutenant, laid hard ſiege vnto it, and had brought it to great extremitie, although it was notably defended by *Iames Raminger* the captaine thereof: when ſuddenly newes was brought vnto him, That the Tartars (whom he had called into his countrey to haue aided him againſt the emperour) did with all hoſtilitie after their barbarous manner, burne and deſtroy his countrey before them, making hauocke of all things; ſo that the countrey people were glad in defence of themſelues, to take vp armes againſt them. Wherupon he forthwith left the ſiege, and went to aid his diſtreſſed ſubjects againſt the Tartars, with whom he had many an hoat skirmiſh; and after much bloudſhed, at laſt ouercame them, and with much adoe rid himſelfe of ſuch bad gueſts. Now in the meane time, *Suendi* ſtrengthened with new ſupplies ſent vnto him from the emperor, had taken the caſtle of ZACKMAR in the borders of TRANSILVANIA, and with like good fortune had the caſtle of MVNCATZ yeelded vnto him, and after that beſieged the towne of HVSTH: ſo that the Vayuod was glad to craue aid of the Turkiſh emperour *Selymus*, vnder whoſe protection he was: who preſently commaunded *Partau* one of his cheefe Baſſaes, & then his great lieutenant in ROMANIA, to goe with his forces into TRANSILVANIA, to relieue him. But hearing that embaſſadours were comming from *Maximilian* the emperour, he called him backe againe, vntill he had heard the effect of that embaſſage. At which time alſo the Baſſa of BVDA enclining vnto peace, ſent preſents to the emperour, requeſting him to remooue certaine Hungarian captaines from off the frontiers, leaſt happily they ſhould interrupt the treatie of peace, then on both ſides purpoſed; promiſing for his part to puniſh with death all ſuch Turkes as ſhould make any further inuaſion, or raiſe any new troubles. He writ letters alſo to countie *Salma*, That he could not but maruell, to what end *Maximilian* the emperour was about to entreat with his lord & maſter of peace, whilſt *Suendi* in the meane time was raging in TRANSILVANIA, then vnder the Turkes protection; which if he proceeded ſtill to doe, *Selymus* would thereof take occaſion (as he ſaid) to turne all his forces that way: wherefore he requeſted him to perſuade the emperour to take ſome more eaſie courſe in that behalfe, promiſing alſo, that he would for his part effectually trauell with his maſter, to haue better liking of peace than of warres, wiſhing him alſo to doe the like. Which thing

Troubles in Hungarie.

The Baſſa of Buda deſirous to further the peace.

thing as soone as the emperour vnderstood, he commaunded *Suendi* to giue ouer the siege of HVSTH, and to keepe himselfe quiet, vntill he might by his embassadours vnderstand what the great Turke purposed, and how he was affected towards peace.

Now in deed these two great princes, *Maximilian* and *Selymus* (although they notably dissembled the matter) were both of them in heart desirous of peace, and that for diuers great and vrgent considerations. *Maximilian* for want of money, saw it not possible for him to send into the field such an armie the next yeare, as he had the yeare before. And *Selymus*, beside his other troubles, was to take order for the appeasing of a great and dangerous rebellion, in the farthest part of his dominions in ARABIA FŒLIX; where the people rising vp in armes, and hauing slaine the Bassaes and Sanzacks their Gouernours, were readie to haue cast off the Turkish obedience: neither was he out of feare of the Persians, readie (as was reported) to make warre vpon him. For which causes he wished rather for peace with the emperor *Maximilian*, than wars: and so much the more, for that it was impossible for him to send an armie of any puissance into HVNGARIE, for want of many necessarie prouisions for the maintenance thereof, in a countrey so much impouerished by reason of the late wars; wherein no victuals were to be found for the reliefe of such a multitude of men as he was to send, if he would doe any good there. And truth it was (as the Turkes themselues afterward reported) that *Maximilian* with halfe the power he had in field the last yeare, might haue easily recouered the greatest part of that kingdome before lost: but well knowing his owne wants, and ignorant of theirs, he altogither enclining to peace; and by countie *Salma* aduertised from the Bassa of BVDA, That if he would send embassadors to CONSTANTINOPLE with the tribute woont to be there paid for HVNGARIE, a peace vpon reasonable conditions might be easily obtained; he resolued vpon that point. And so certaine messengers being sent vp and downe to CONSTANTINOPLE to the same effect, it was concluded, That if the emperour would send embassadours to CONSTANTINOPLE with the tribute yet behind, and a large commission for the treatie of peace, *Selymus* should giue them his safe conduct, with libertie at their pleasure to returne in case either of peace or warre. Which agreed vpon, and faithfully promised on both sides, *Selymus* set at libertie the lord *Albert de Vuis*, who six yeares Lieger in CONSTANTINOPLE, first for the emperor *Ferdinand*, and after for *Maximilian*, had now been straightly imprisoned in his owne house by the space of two and twentie moneths, in such sort that neither he nor any of his household could goe abroad, watch and ward being kept both night and day about his house, and his windowes also boorded vp, to the end he should not so much as looke out into the citie or any whither else more than the court of his house onely. So the emperour *Maximilian* now resolued to send embassadors to CONSTANTINOPLE with the tribute money, and diuers other rich gifts and presents, as well to the great Turke himselfe as the Visier Bassaes his counsellors: and considering with himselfe, whom to be most fit with wisedome and honour to bring this so waightie a matter about, hauing to doe with so barbarous, couetous, and mightie a people; made choise of the lord *Anthonius Verantius* of AGRIA (of his counsell for the kingdome of HVNGARIE) a prelat of great estimation, who being a man of threescore and three yeares old, beside his great learning, had the experience of seauen and twentie embassages; wherein he alwaies so discreetly bare himselfe, as well contented his prince, and purchased vnto himselfe the reputation of a most graue and wise man: and about ten yeares before this embassage, being by the emperour *Ferdinand* sent embassadour to *Solyman*, and now by *Maximilian* to *Selymus* at CONSTANTINOPLE, returning thence with good successe, was by the emperour created a prince of the empire, and bishop of AGRIA. Vnto which so honourable a personage, hauing the charge of this so waightie a matter, the emperour the more to ennoble this embassage, as also to purchase the greater credit to his embassadour, joyned vnto him a most honourable Baron, called the lord *Christopher Teufenbatch* of STIRIA, one of his counsellours also for the wars; who with full instructions both taking their leaue of the emperour (then holding a parliament at PRESBVRG) departed: and being attended vpon with a great and honourable retinue, set forward the first of Iuly 1567, and so came to COMARA a strong towne in HVNGARIE, not past a league from the Turkes frontiers. In which place the embassadours staying vntill the seauenth of Iuly; in the meane time gaue knowledge of their comming vnto the Gouernor of STRIGONIVM, demanding for their securitie in the enemies countrey, to be met and receiued by some of his garrison: which granted, they tooke their barkes brought from VIENNA and POSSONIVM, sufficient for their greatnesse to haue carried them

Maximilian and Selymus both desirous of peace.

Maximilian the emperor sendeth embassadours to Selymus.

them downe the riuer to BELGRADE, with horſe and wagon and their whole furniture: and ſo entring vpon the Turks dominion about a league or a little more from COMARA, being ſo farre wafted by the ſouldiors and gallies of COMARA, they were met by an Aga of the Turkes with a Chiaus called *Becram* (ſent by the Baſſa of BVDA) in certaine gallies armed with Turkiſh ſouldiors. To whom the embaſſadour at his landing deliuered his mind, and afterward his perſon, giuing them to vnderſtand, that they were with all ſafetie to conduct both him and all his to the Baſſa of BVDA; which they anſwered, they were readie to accompliſh: and ſo courteouſly inuited by the embaſſadours, they came aboord their barke, and there dined all togither. Here they that were ſent with them, leauing them in the hands of the Turkes (hauing licence to depart) returned to COMARA: and they that day after fiue leagues ſailing arriued at STRIGONIVM, where they were by the Gouernour of the citie denied landing: for which ſo diſhonourable a part, he was afterward ſharply rebuked by the Baſſa of BVDA. Yet as they lay that night vpon the water, certaine Turkiſh minſtrels, to doe them honour and to get a largeſſe, with their barbarous bawling inſtruments plaied them vp many an homely fit of mirth: and diuers others with ſundrie ſorts of vauting and tumbling, ſometime leaping one vpon anothers ſhoulders, and ſometime doing their tricks on the earth, all the euening ſhewed them great ſport and paſtime. From STRIGONIVM they with fiue leagues ſayling came to BVDA, leauing behind them the caſtle of VICEGRADE, two leagues diſtant from STRIGONIVM. In this citie of BVDA lieth the great Baſſa, by whom all HVNGARIE, with the prouinces thereto belonging (in the Turkes power) is gouerned. This citie, ſometime the regall ſeat of the Hungarian kings, is ſituat vpon a little hill on the Southſide of Danubius, hauing in the South point thereof a caſtle, much higher than the citie, and of a moſt braue proſpect: in which caſtle lieth a captaine with a garriſon of fiue hundred ſouldiors (as the Turkes ſay) howbeit it is thought that they are not altogither ſo many: it is the loſſe of his head to ſtir out of his charge; and beſide, he hath commiſsion to denie the Baſſa himſelfe entrance, vnleſſe he come verie ſleightly accompanied: ſo jealous are the Turkes of that caſtle, as if the ſtate of HVNGARIE depended thereon. Herein ſtandeth the kings pallace, which taketh vp moſt part of the place, greatly beautified by king *Mathias*, and ſhewing outwardly to haue been a verie ſtately thing: for there are in it both large hals and faire galleries, and chambers built in moſt royall manner; where amongſt other roomes, the embaſſadours found a decaied librarie full of pictures and Latine titles of bookes: all which things, when they preſent themſelues vnto the eies of the Chriſtian beholders, offer a juſt conſideration of noble and reuerend antiquitie, and withall, ſtrike into their hearts a certaine compaſsion joyned with horror, to ſee the renowmed glorie of ſo many great kings, all waſted and brought to nothing. The next morning, the embaſſadours went to ſpeake with the Baſſa: whoſe houſe was reaſonable faire (conſidering their guiſe and cuſtome, not much delighting in the beautie of their priuat buildings) ſcituat vpon the riuers ſide, at the bottome of the hill whereon the citie ſtandeth. Vnto this Baſſa the embaſsadors preſented two faire gilt cups, a clocke all curiouſly wrought in gold, and a thouſand dollars: which preſent the Baſſa receiued in his Diuano (being a large hall) where he ſat with his counſellours, officers, and other Turkes in their places and order; ſome on his right hand, and others on his left, all richly attired in garments of ſilke of diuers colours and faſhions, reaching downe to their ancles after their manner; their heads couered with their paſsing white and well made Turbants: in which aſſembly, nothing being to be ſeene but goodly order and graue ſilence, they ſeemed to the ſtrange beholders, ſo many counſellours of exceeding grauitie and reputation. Round about the hall wherein the embaſſadours had audience, were many ſeats couered with Turkie carpets; the reſt of the roome being all vacant. The Baſſa in a place more apparant than the reſt, ſitting in great majeſtie: before whom were ſet two little chaires, on which (after he had ſtood vp a while and embraced the embaſſadors) he cauſed them both to ſit downe. Whoſe ſpeech deliuered in the Italian tongue (after they had diſcharged themſelues of the emperours letters and greetings) was to this effect, *viz:* That his imperiall majeſtie (for the common benefit of their ſubjects in HVNGARIE) requeſted him to continue in his good purpoſe and dealing for peace: and further, to giue ſafe conduct vnto them his embaſſadours with their retinue, vntill they were come vnto the Turkes court, where they were to entreat and conclude a peace, to the ending of all troubles, and the publike benefit of their ſubjects in generall. Which ſpeech, with cheerfull and friendly countenance ended, many of the embaſſadours followers were admitted to kiſſe the Baſſaes hand, accounted no ſmall fauor amongſt thoſe

The embaſſadors come to Buda.

Preſents giuen by the emperours embaſſadours vnto the Baſſa of Buda.

G H I K L M

A thoſe Barbarians. The interpretour of theſe things was a Iew of PADVA, who declared all that was ſpoken, in the Turkiſh language vnto the Baſſa, and in the Italian vnto the embaſſadors. And although (if it had been their pleaſure) they might haue told their mind each to other in the Sclauonian tongue, without an interpretour: yet the Baſſa ſtanding more vpon his reputation, and for ſome other reſpects beſide, would haue the matter propounded, and likewiſe anſwered in the Turkiſh. In which ſort they alſo conferred continually afterward with the Baſſaes at CONSTANTINOPLE, vnleſſe it were in ſome particular and priuat talke of ſmall importance, or elſe in ſome point beſide the matter; for then the interpretours ſpake in the Crouatian or Sclauonian tongue, which is familiar to moſt of the Turks, but eſpecially to the men of warre. Before this hall where the embaſſadours were entertained by the Baſſa; in the baſe court ſtood all the Iani-
B zaries in goodly array, and his ſlaues with their red zarcull on their heads, and other ſouldiours with high and long plumes of feathers ſtanding vpright: all which made a beautifull ſhew, and gaue all great grace to the Baſſaes court: theſe men ſtirre not one foot in their ſtandings, and if the conſultation doe laſt foure houres long, ſo long are they to continue ſtanding without mooving. The embaſſadours hauing ſtaied two daies at BVDA, were by the Baſſa diſmiſſed, ſending with them his Checai (the Steward or gouernour of his houſe) a man of great reputation, and *Becram* the Chiaus (the ſame that came to meet them at COMARA) with a ſufficient guard, and certaine Ianizaries, ſent for their more ſafe trauelling, and to prouide for them from place to place of all things neceſſarie for their diet, as alſo for their horſes, at the Turkes charges. And thus accompanied, they embarked the tenth day of the aforeſaid moneth, towed vp by the Turkes gal-
C lies, which holpen by the ſwiftneſſe of the riuer, carried them down in eight daies to BELGRADE, where they arriued the eighteenth of Iuly. So hauing ſtaied at BELGRADE, and there leauing their boats, and taking their coaches, they ſet forward by land the twentith of the ſaid moneth, and with great paines trauelling through RASCIA, BVLGARIA, and THRACIA, and paſsing a part of the great mountaine SCARDVS, and after that the mountaine RHODOPE, ſo by the way of PHILIPPOPOLIS and HADRIANOPLE, the two and twentith of Auguſt gathered faſt vpon CONSTANTINOPLE: where many of the Spahies and Chiauſais of the court, with a number of the Ianizaries and other ſouldiors, for their greater honor came to meet them a great way without the citie. By whom the embaſſadours honourably mounted on horſebacke, were *The emperours embaſſadours honourably receiued by the Turke at Conſtantinople.*
by them conducted to their lodging appointed for them about the middeſt of the citie: where
D the lord *Albert de Vuis* the emperours embaſſadour Lieger (not long before enlarged) hauing long looked for their comming, now moſt joyfully receiued them. It was then Friday the Turks Sabaoth, and a day of them aboue all other daies in the weeke regarded, and about ten of the clocke two houres before noone; at which time the embaſſadours were no ſooner alighted, but that *Selymus* going to heare the ceremonies of his religion, in the Moſchie of his father *Solyman* (as his manner was ſometime to doe) paſſed along before the gate where the embaſſadours lay, with the whole traine of his court; and peraduenture ſomewhat more than ordinarie, to ſhew the magnificence of his power and ſtate, to the end that the embaſſadours (aboue the former opinion by them conceiued) might hold him in the reputation of a moſt puiſſant and mightie monarch. He paſsing by, vouchſafed not once to giue them a regard, or ſo much as to caſt his
E eye aſide vpon them, although they were ſtrangers, and but euen then arriued: but with a countenance, as if he had knowne not ſo much as nothing of their comming, held on his way as it lay. But *Muhamet* the chiefe Viſier Baſſa, with the other Baſſaes and great courtiers, in moſt gratious manner as they paſſed by, caſt their eies vpon them; all the courteſie they could then ſhew them. Six daies after, being the eight and twentith of Auguſt, the embaſſadours all three *Preſents giuen by the emperours embaſſadours to the great Baſſaes*
went to viſit and ſalute *Muhamet* (or as the Turks call him *Mehemet*) the chiefe Viſier Baſſa, as the manner was, preſenting him from the emperour with foure cups of ſiluer all guilt, of moſt
F faire and curious workmanſhip; of which, two of them being greater than the other, were three ſpans high, the other two being not ſo high by a ſpan, but hauing in them two thouſand duckats of gold: beſide which, they gaue him alſo a clocke, being a moſt curious piece of worke, and all ouer double guilt. After which greetings and preſents deliuered, beſide the contents of his maieſties letters, they declared vnto him in generall points, the cauſe of their comming, and the mind of the emperour well diſpoſed to a peace; and what great benefit would ariſe thereby to both parties: and laſtly turning ouer the blame of the late warres, and laying the fault thereof to the charge of others, ſweetned thereby the ſower of their former dealings. Neither was the Baſſa

 like-

likewiſe for his part to ſeeke of good words, but anſwered them in Turkiſh by the mouth of G
Hibraim the cheefe Dragoman, who deliuered his mind to them in Latin or Italian, accordingly as the embaſſadours had before vttered theirs: which parle ſo ended, certaine of the cheefe of the embaſſadours followers were admitted into the Diuano to kiſſe the proud Baſſaes hand. The ſame day the embaſſadours alſo ſaluted *Partau* the ſecond Baſſa, and *Ferat* the third in order and authoritie. To *Partau* they preſented two cups of ſiluer all guilt, beſide a clock of the ſame making with the abouenamed, and two thouſand dollers: and the like to *Ferat*. The next day they went to viſit the other three Baſſaes, *Acomat*, *Piall*, and *Muhamet*, preſenting euery one of them with two faire cups, and a thouſand dollars: Theſe were the ſix Viſier Baſſaes to *Selymus*, then lying at Court with him, men that for wealth and authoritie went before all other in the Turkiſh empire, as in the courſe of this hiſtorie may appeare. And ſo hauing viſited them in generall, the embaſ- H
ſadours to ſet their affaires on foot, the fourth of September cloſed with *Muhamet*, to whom the ordering of ſtate-matters was eſpecially committed. Yet after this firſt conference, becauſe it was neceſſarie before ſo weightie affaires were broached, firſt to doe the Great Turke reuerence, and to deliuer the preſents, with the emperours letters to him written; for ſome few dayes there was not any point at all of the embaſſadours buſineſſe handled.

Selymus not long after the embaſſadours were arriued, went out for his diſport and pleaſure on hunting: ſo that in the meane time (after the preſents were giuen to the Baſſaes) matters ſtood ſtill altogether vnaduanced, vntill the one and twentieth of September: and that day (*Selymus* being now returned from his diſport) it was appointed that the embaſſadors ſhould haue audience at the Court. Whereupon they made choice out of their followers of thoſe that ſhould attend I
vpon them, which were not in all aboue twelue perſons: For they to whom this charge was committed, ſaid it was neither the manner nor yet meet that any great traine ſhould come before ſo great a prince, and that they might not bring with them aboue that number: whereupon they appointed but ſix a peece to attend them: and of fifteene cups all of ſiluer and guilt, being moſt curiouſly and cunningly engrauen, one of the faireſt among the reſt was giuen to each of thoſe twelue to carrie, and they ordered to goe by two and two before the reſt that came after in order with the reſt of the preſent: which was two exceeding pretious Clockes, like in bigneſſe to them before giuen to the Baſſaes, but far aboue them in value; and fiue and fortie thouſand Dollars for the tribute behind and yet vnpayed. The greateſt of thoſe cups was ſix ſpans and an halfe, and the leaſt two ſpans in height: ſome of them being double cups after the high Dutch manner. K

Preſents ſent vnto Selymus by the emperour.

The emperours embaſſadors honourably conducted by the Turks vnto the Court.

The embaſſadours (whoſe comming a great multitude of the Ianizaries attended below at the gate of their lodging: beſide many of the Spahies and Chiauſis, and others of good ſort, which were come to honour them with their preſence to the pallace) putting themſelues in readineſſe betimes in the morning, and taking horſe, ſet forward toward the Court. The formoſt were they that did beare the preſent in their hands, the people of the citie in euery ſtreet flocking together in exceeding multitudes to behold them as they paſſed: and verily there had been ſeldome times ſeene the like embaſſage in thoſe parts. For beſides the fame that was blowne abroad in euery quarter, That they were men ſent from one of the greateſt princes of Chriſtendome; the diuerſitie of their attire (ſo few as they were) more than any thing beſide, did repreſent the majeſtie of the Chriſtian emperour to them that gaſed vpon his embaſſadours and their traine, the people con- L
ceiuing thereby that he was lord and ruler of many prouinces and countries. For they that were Hungarians belonging to the biſhop of AGRIA (the cheefe embaſſadour) being attired in long and ſober garments of very fine purple cloth, hauing their ſhooes pieced ouer the ſoles with yron plates, and halfe of their heads ſhauen, ſeemed to differ from them but little. But on the other ſide the high Dutch attired in blacke, with their veluet caps, and ſhort cloakes layed with ſiluer lace, and long breeches little leſſe than Rutter wiſe, and chaines of gold about their neckes, appeared very ſtrange and vncouth to the Turkiſh people: and ſo accompanied in this honourable wiſe, the embaſſadours entred the firſt gate of the Great Turks pallace. This gate is built of marble in moſt ſumptuous manner, and of a ſtately height, with certaine words of their language in the front thereof engrauen and guilt in marble. So paſsing through the baſe Court, which hath on M
the right ſide very faire gardens, and on the left ſide diuers buildings ſeruing for other offices, with a little Moſchie; they came to the ſecond gate, where all ſuch as come in riding, muſt of neceſsitie alight. Here ſo ſoon as they were entred in at this ſecond gate, they came into a very large ſquare Court, with buildings and galleries round about it, the kitchins ſtanding on the right hand, with

The firſt Gate of the Great Turks pallace.

The ſecond Gate

other

A other lodgings for such as belonged to the Court, and on the left hand likewise roomes deputed to like seruices. There are moreouer many hals and other roomes for resort, where they sit in counsell handling and executing the publike affaires either of the Court or of the Empire, with other matters, where the Bassaes and other officers assemble together. Entring in at this second gate, in one part of the Court, which seemed rather some large street, they saw the whole companie of the Solaches set in a goodly ranke, which are archers keeping alwayes neere vnto the person of the Great Turke, and seruing as his footmen when he rideth: they vse high plumes of feathers, which are set bolt vpright ouer their foreheads. In another place there stood the Capitzi in like array, with blacke staues of Indian canes in their hands: they are the porters and warders at the gates of the pallace, not much differing in their attire from the Ianizaries; who B stood in ranke likewise in another quarter. And beside all those, with many more that were out of order, as well of the Court as of the common people, those knights of the Court which accompanied the embassadours thither, with other great ones also of like degree, were marshalled all in their seuerall companies. And among the rest, the Mutsarachas, men of all nations and all religions (for their valour the onely freemen which liue at their owne libertie in the Turkish empire) stood there apparrelled in damaske, veluet, and cloth of gold, and garments of silke of sundrie kinds and colours: their pompe was great, and the greater, for the turbants that they wore vpon their heads, being as white as whiteneſse it selfe, made a most braue and goodly shew well worth the beholding. In breefe, whether they were to be considered all at once, or in particular, as well for the order that they kept, as for their sumptuous presence, altogether without noise or C rumour; they made the embassadours and the rest of their followers there present, eye witnesses both of their obedience, and of the great state and royaltie of the *Othoman* Court. Passing through them, the embassadours were led into the hall, where the Bassaes and other great men of the Court were all readie to giue them entertainement: they of their traine being at the same time brought into a roome that stood a part vnder one of the aforesaid lodgings all hung with Turkie carpets. Soone after (as their vse and manner is) they brought in their dinner, couering the ground with table clothes of a great length, spred vpon carpets; and afterward scattering vpon them a maruellous number of woodden spoons, with so great store of bread, as if they had beene to feed three hundred persons: then they set on meat in order, which was serued in two and fortie great platters of earth, full of rice pottage of three or foure kinds, differing one from D another; some of them seasoned with hony, and of the colour of hony; some with soure milke, and white of colour; & some with sugar: they had fritters also which were made of like batter; and mutton beside, or rather a daintie and toothsome morsell of an old sodden Ewe. The table (if there had any such beene) thus furnished, the guests without any ceremonie of washing sat downe on the ground (for stooles there was none) and fell to their victuall, and dranke out of great earthen dishes, water prepared with sugar, which kind of drinke they call Zerbet. But so hauing made a short repast, they were no sooner risen, but certaine young men whom they call Giamoglans, with others that stood round about them, snatcht it hastily vp as their fees, and like greedie Harpies rauened it downe in a moment. The embassadours in the meane time dined in the hall with the Bassaes. And after dinner certaine of the Capitzies were sent for the twelue of E the embassadours followers, before appointed to do the great Sultan reuerence: by whom (their presents being alreadie conueied away) they were remooued out of the place where they dined, and brought on into an vnder roome, from whence there was an ascent into the hall, where the Bassaes were staying for the embassadours: who soone after came foorth, and for their ease sat them downe vpon the benches, whiles the Bassaes went in to *Selymus*; who before this time had made an end of dinner, and was remooued in all his royaltie into one of his chambers, expecting the comming of the embassadours. All things now in readinesse, and the embassadors sent for, they set forward with their traine, and came to the third gate which leadeth into the priuie pallace of the Turkish emperour, where none but himselfe, his eunuchs, and the young pages his minions, being in the eunuchs custodie, hath continuall abiding: into which inward part of the F pallace none entreth but the Capitzi-Bassa (who hath the keeping of this third gate) & the Cesigniers (that serue in the Great Turks meat) with the Bassaes and some few other great men; and that onely when they haue occasion so to doe by reason of some great businesse, or sent for by the Sultan. Being entered in at this gate, which is of a stately and royall building, the Capitzi by whom they were conducted, suddenly caused them to stay, and set them one from another about

A homely feast giuen to the embassadors followers in the Turkes Court.

The third Gate.

fiue paces; in a little roome, which neuertheleſſe was paſsing delicate, all curiouſly painted ouer G
with diuers colours, and ſtood betweene the gate and the more inner lodgings. On both ſides of
which roome, when all things els were whiſt and in a deepe ſilence, certaine little birds onely
were heard to warble out their ſweet notes, and to flicker vp and downe the greene trees of the
gardens (which all along caſt a pleaſant ſhaddow from them) as if they alone had obtained li-
cence to make a noiſe. *Selymus* himſelfe was in great majeſtie ſet in an vnder chamber, parted on-
ly with a wall from the roome wherin the embaſſadours followers attended, whereinto he might
looke through a little window, the portall of his ſaid chamber ſtanding in counterpoint with
the third gate aboue mentioned. The embaſſadours entering in, were led ſingle and one after
The embaſſadors brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainment of them and their followers.
another, to make their reuerence vnto the Great Turke. And in the meane time certaine of the
Capitzi with the preſents in their hands fetching a compaſſe about before the window, muſte- H
red them in his ſight. All this while not the leaſt ſound in the world being raiſed, but a ſacred
ſilence kept in euery corner, as if men had been going to viſit the holieſt place in HIERVSALEM.
Yet for all that the embaſſadours followers placed one from another (as is aforeſaid) were not
aware that the great Sultan was ſo neere, looking ſtill when they ſhould haue beene led on for-
wards all together: howbeit, they were ſet in one after another: neither did they that were ſo ſet
out, returne againe into the roome; but hauing ſeuerally done their reuerence, were all (except
the embaſſadours, that ſtill ſtayed in the chamber) by one and one ſent out another way into the
Court: neither could he that came after ſee his fellow that went before him, after he was once
taken in to doe his reuerence: but ſuddenly as the former was let out, the next was aduaunced
forward to the dore, where *Iſman* the Capitzi-Baſſa & the Odda-Baſſa taking him by both arms I
and by the necke, the one at his right hand, and the other at his left, and ſo leading him apace, by
the way ſoftly felt his wreſts with their hands, leaſt peraduenture he might haue ſome ſhort wea-
pon in his ſleeue. Yet were they not all thus groped, as *Marc Antonio Pigafetta*, the reporter of
Itinerario Di Marc Antonio Pigafetta.cá.5.
this negotiation, ſayth of himſelfe and ſome others alſo. Howbeit this hath been (and yet is) the
manner of giuing of acceſſe vnto the perſon of the Great Turke, euer ſince that *Amurath* the
firſt was after the battell of CASSOVA murthered by one of *Lazarus* the Deſpots men, who
admitted to his preſence (in reuenge of the wrong done vnto his maſter) with a ſhort poynard
that he had cloſely hidden about him, ſo ſtabbed him in the bellie that he preſently died. And
thus like men rather carried to priſon by ſergeants, than to the preſence of ſo mightie a Monarch,
they were preſented vnto his majeſtie: he ſitting vpon a pallet, which the Turkes call Maſtabe, K
vſed by them in their chambers to ſleepe and to feed vpon, couered with carpets of ſilke, as was
the whole floore of the chamber alſo. The chamber it ſelfe being not very great, was but darke,
altogether without windowes, excepting that one whereof we haue before ſpoken: and hauing
the wals painted and ſet out in moſt freſh and liuely colours by great cunning, and with a moſt
delicat grace: yet vſe they neither pictures nor the image of any thing in their painting. The ſix
Viſier Baſſaes (before mentioned) were ſtanding on the left hand as they entred in at the chamber
dore one by another in one ſide of the chamber, and the embaſſadours on the right hand on the
other ſide, ſtanding likewiſe, and vncouered. The Dragomans were in another part of the cham-
ber, neere the place where the Sultan ſat gorgiouſly attired in a robe of cloth of gold, all embro-
dered with jewels: when as the embaſſadours followers by one and one brought before him (as L
is aforeſaid) and kneeling on the ground, a Turke ſtanding on his right ſide, with all reuerence ta-
king vp the hemme of his garment, gaue it them in their hands to kiſſe. *Selymus* himſelfe all this
while ſitting like an image without moouing, and with great ſtate and majeſtie keeping his coun-
tenance, dained not to giue them one of his lookes. This done, they were led backe againe, neuer
turning their backes towards him, but going ſtill backwards, vntill they were out of his preſence.
So after they had all thus made their reuerence, and were departed out of the chamber, the em-
baſſadours deliuered vnto *Selymus* the emperours letters, and briefely declared vnto him their
meſſage: whom he anſwering in foure words, as, That they were to conferre with his Baſſaes;
preſently they were diſmiſſed. And ſo comming out of the two inner gates, they mounted on
horſebacke, and tooke the way leading towards their lodging, being at their returne accompa- M
nied with the whole order of the Ianizaries, with their Aga, and other captaines: among whom
were certaine of their religious men called Haagi (which vſe to follow the Ianizaries) who conti-
nually turning about, and in their going, ſinging or rather howling out certain Pſalmes and prai-
ers for the welfare of their Great Sultan, gaue the embaſſadours and their followers occaſion to
wonder

A wonder, that they either left not for wearineſſe, or fell not downe like noddies for giddineſſe. All theſe were ſent, the more honourably to accompanie the embaſſadours to their lodging: and beſide theſe, many more on horſebacke than attended them at their foorth comming: in regard whereof, the embaſſadors when they were come to their lodging, to requite their greedie courteſie, frankely diſtributed amongſt them aboue foure thouſand dollars, and yet well contented them not.

The embaſſadours after this entertainement at Court, had diuers times conference with the great Baſſaes concerning peace, as *Selymus* had commaunded: wherein by reaſon of the Turkes vnreaſonable demaunds (as their manner is at their firſt meetings) nothing could be as then concluded: ſo that *Selymus* himſelfe being ſhortly after to depart for HADRIANOPLE, where he
B was to continue for ſome moneth (but rather as it was thought for that they could not agree vpon a point of great conſequence) the treatie for peace was intermitted, vntill ſuch time as a meſſenger diſpatched in poſt, might returne vnto the Turks Court with ſome reſolute anſwere concerning that matter. So it was, that during the reigne of the late emperour *Eerdinand*, that the Turke his ſubjects in HVNGARIE payed all their taxes and tributes vnto their old lords and maſters, abiding and liuing in the emperours juriſdiction, as did the ſubjects of *Ferdinand* to their lords that dwelt in the Turks dominion and territories: Now in this treatie for peace, the Turks (amongſt other their vnreaſonable requeſts) demanded to haue their ſubjects freed, and yet the ſubjects of the emperour to pay as they were before accuſtomed. Which as it was a requeſt nothing indifferent, ſo was it no leſſe prejudiciall and hurtfull vnto the emperour his ſubjects in
C HVNGARIE: for which cauſe the embaſſadours would not by any meanes conſent thereunto, before they knew the emperours farther pleaſure concerning the ſame. Whereupon they diſpatched one *Sig. Odoardo* a gentleman of MANTVA, very skilfull in the Turkiſh language and in ſuch like affaires, by reaſon that as well about this buſineſſe as at diuers times before about other the like, he had beene employed from VIENNA to CONSTANTINOPLE in the emperours ſeruice. So *Selymus* ſhortly after, *viz.* the twentieth of October, departing from CONSTANTINOPLE, in great magnificence paſſed by the gate where the embaſſadours lay, with his whole Court in armes, and in the ſame order that is vſually kept when he goeth to warre or taketh any great journey. After whoſe departure the embaſſadours hauing ſufficiently viewed the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, and then at good leiſure, to paſſe the time and to ſee the countries they
D had ſo often both heard and read of, together with the ports and hauens on both ſides that narrow ſea which deuideth EVROPE from ASIA, embarking themſelues, and croſsing the mouth of the hauen betwixt CONSTANTINOPLE and PERA, paſsed all alongſt the coaſt on EVROPE ſide vnto the Euxine or blacke-ſea, and ſo backe againe by the other ſide of that ſtraight ſea: curiouſly noting the great ruines of the antient cities of BITHYNIA, with ſome others alongſt the Aſian ſhore, together with the pleaſant ſituation they in former times had, whileſt they yet flouriſhed in their glorie, but now for moſt part (or rather altogether) laied in the duſt & brought to nought: and ſo returned againe to CONSTANTINOPLE. But whileſt they thus deceiued the time, and lay long expecting the returne, as well of their owne meſſenger ſent vnto the emperor, as of *Selymus* himſelfe; they were aduertiſed in all haſt to repaire vnto him to HADRIANOPLE,
E whether the aforeſaid meſſenger was now come with full inſtructions of all things concerning the treatie for peace. For which cauſe they with great ſpeed making themſelues ready, and taking their leaue of *Piall Baſſa* (who for that he was *Selymus* his great Admirall, then lay at CONSTANTINOPLE) ſet forward the firſt of Ianuarie in the yeare 1568: and ſo after nine dayes trauell at length arriued at HADRIANOPLE about an hundred fiftie three Italian miles diſtant from CONSTANTINOPLE. Here they ſtayed vntill the peace was concluded, which was the ſeuenteenth of Februarie: the cheefe capitulations whereof were, That either of thoſe great princes ſhould ſtill hold what they had got each from the other in the late warres, That the emperour ſhould yearely pay thirtie thouſand duckats to the Turkiſh Sultan, as a tribute for HVNGARIE, the tribute to begin in the beginning of Ianuarie laſt paſt this yeare 1568, That the ſubjects of
F the Turke ſhould pay nothing to the ſubjects of the emperour, neither the emperours any thing to the Turks, but to be both of thoſe paiments free. And that vpon theſe conditions there ſhould be a firme & ſure peace betwixt theſe two great Monarchs for eight years next following: wherin the Vayuod of TRANSILVANIA was (as the Turkes tributarie) to be alſo comprehended. Neuertheleſſe, all things at this time thus agreed vpon, the Turkes after their ſubtile manner finding

The principall points whereupon the embaſſadours differed from the Turkes in the treatie of peace.

1568

The cheefe capitulations wherein a peace was concluded betwixt Maximilian the emperour and Selymus.

ding ſundry cauillations, and raiſing many doubts about the aforeſaid capitulations, did what they might to haue in ſome part altered what they had before agreed vpon, to the bettering of themſelues and the hurt of the Chriſtians: and ſo with many their vnreaſonable demaunds ſtayed the departure of the embaſſadours vntill the twentith of March following. At which time hauing their diſpatch, and taking their leaue of the Great Turke and the Baſſaes, accompanied with *Hebraim-Beg* (*Selymus* his embaſſadour vnto the emperour) they by land returned towards VIENNA; where they with the joyfull newes of peace the tenth of May arriued, being there two daies after at the Court moſt honourably receiued. And fiue daies after, audience was giuen vnto the Turks embaſſadour; who well heard, and better rewarded, ſhortly after returned with a full concluſion of peace from the emperour to CONSTANTINOPLE. G

Embaſſadours ſent from Tamas the Perſian king to Selymus.

But whileſt this peace was thus in concluding, and the embaſſadours yet reſident at HADRIANOPLE, the ſixteenth of Februarie came an honourable embaſſage from *Shach Tamas* the Perſian king vnto the Great Sultan *Selymus*, to entreat a peace betwixt them, or rather to conclude the ſame, being before agreed vpon the controuerſies, for which they afterwards fell to open war. Which embaſſage for that it is no leſſe truly than plainely ſet downe in a letter ſent from ERZIRVM (a citie then in the confines of the Turkes dominions towards the Perſians) written by a Chiaus to *Muhamet* cheefe of the Viſier Baſſaes; which Chiaus was of purpoſe ſent from CONSTANTINOPLE, to meet the ſaid Perſian embaſſadour: I thought it not amiſſe for the better vnderſtanding thereof, to ſet downe the effect of the ſame letter as it was tranſlated out of the Turkiſh into the Italian by the emperours embaſſadours interpreter. H

The effect of the letter written to *Muhamet Baſſa*, the cheefe Viſier, by a Chiaus ſent of purpoſe to meet the Perſian Embaſſadour. I

After due ſalutations, this is the effect of that which we thought good to make knowne vnto your lordſhip. Now at this preſent (to wit in the beginning of the month Giuma Sulacchir) is in good health arriued the embaſſadour of Perſia, the kings cheefe counſellour, called * Schach Culi Soltan, *attended vpon with a hundred and twentie gentlemen, with guilt turbants on their heads, & well furniſhed with ſpare horſes led in mens hands. Beſides whom he was accompanied alſo with two hundred knights all apparrelled in cloth of gold, with foure hundred Perſian marchants, in all aboue ſeuen hundred perſons; with a thouſand nine hundred beaſts, cammels, mules, and horſes; fiue couple of drums, euery couple being placed vpon a ſeuerall cammell, fiue Nacars, three trumpets, fiue flutes, and other inſtruments, in all about thirtie muſitions, playing vpon theſe inſtruments: There were alſo two queriſters or chaunters of the Alcoran, one Organiſt, one playing vpon a Turkiſh inſtrument like a Lute, two players vpon Sagbuts, with two other muſitions, eight in all. There were alſo foure bondwomen ſeruing in the embaſſadours owne chamber. Who when he was with all this magnificent pompe come within one dayes iourney of* ERZIRVM, *the* * Sayms *and Spahies aſſembling themſelues together to the number of eight thouſand men, went to meet him: amongſt whom were an hundred and more, all apparrelled in cloth of gold and ſattin: two thouſand men with guilt morrions on their heads: in which brauerie we marching forward, the Perſian embaſſadour amazed to ſee ſo great maieſtie and pompe, ſaid that all the armie of* CONSTANTINOPLE *was come to meet him: and ſo being come into the citie, cauſed all the inſtruments to be played vpon, euen from morning vntill night. The next morning the embaſſadour inuited the Baſſa with all the lords and officers, who being come, he entreated them to heare his muſicke: and in like manner the lord Baſſa inuited the Perſians. But as the embaſſadour was going to the banquet, came another Sultan of the kings, who brought to the ſame embaſſadour a guilt Turbant, and a rich gowne wrought with gold, which he cauſed him to put on by the way. By this embaſſadour the Perſian king hath ſent all the armour of Sultan* Baiazet, *with all his cammels and other wealth. The cauſes of the long ſtay of this embaſſadour were ſpecially two: the one for that the Perſian king had cauſed to be made two pauilions of one peece, the curtains being interlaced with gold, and the ſupporters imbrodered with the ſame: Beſides this, he ſent two bookes of hiſtories, and two pearles, which in weight weighed ten* * *Meſcali: one Balaſſo as big as a little pearle, foureſcore and two times an hundred* * *Tumenlich of ſtuffe, amounting to foureſcore and two ſummes of Aſpers, and fortie Falcons: all which the Perſian king hath ſent vnto the Great Sultan, as to the onely Monarch and Patrone of the world. This* Schach Culi *is the next in authoritie to the king, and ſo was in the* K L M

time

* Schach Culi Soltan was not the proper name of this embaſſadour, but a title of honour, and ſignifieth as much as a prince ſeruant to the king.

* Sayms are ſoldiers of greater honour than the Spahi, hauing for their ſtipend yearely 2000 Aſpers at the leaſt, out of the reuennes of certaine townes and villages.

* A Meſcali is foure drams.

* Tumenlich is in value as much as the Turkes Aſper.

A *time of the great king* Hysmaell. *These two Persian Sultans are the kings cheefe Sultans and courtiers, and therefore set themselues forth with all the pompe they can. Yet notwithstanding all their brauerie, being come to* ERZIRVM *within the view of our armie, the Persians were amazed to beholde the goodly order of the* Othomans. *One part of these Persians are returned againe into* PERSIA. *And if it please God at the comming of my messenger vnto you, your lordship shall vnderstand of what condition and state these two princes and Sultans are. They haue each of them yearely six Tumoni: which maketh after the computation of the* Othomans, *six thousand Aspers. Your lordship after this account may iudge of the rest. The other cause of the long stay of this embassadour, was for that in* SIRVAN *the people were vp in rebellion, wherein many of them were slaine: to the appeasing of which sedition, this* Schach Culi *was sent, and now at last is come. From* ERZIRVM *in the begin-*
B *ning of the moneth of * Giuma Sulacchir, in the yeare of the Prophet* Mahomet 975. * December.

This the Persian embassadour was with the greatest pompe that might be entertained by the Turks at his first comming to HADRIANOPLE, all the braue Courtiers with the Ianizaries and other souldiors of the Court going forth in most seemely order to meet him. Who now entred the citie, and come before the house where the emperours embassadours then lay, and seeing certaine of their retinue before the dore, asked of *Isnam* the Capitzi Bassa, what people they were? who told him that they were the followers of an embassadour that there lay, sent from one of the greatest princes of the Christians, namely the emperour, who was desirous to make peace with the Great Sultan his master. Whereunto the embassadour replied, That he would willing-
C ly salute them: which *Isnam* hearing, straightway turned his horse towards the place where they stood. Now the emperours embassadour being secret within a lattise, and seeing him come towards them, went forth and stood vpon the dore threshold, and so with signes and words saluted one another. Amongst the others the Persian embassadour said vnto the emperours, That he would gladly talke with them, if it might so please the Grand Signior: *Hebraim* the Dragoman who then was with the emperours embasadours, being interpreter. So hauing courteously saluted one the other, they departed, but neuer after came together. Two dayes after the Persian embassadours (according to the manner of those barbarous nations, who with emptie hands salute not one another) by his Checaia (or steward of his household, presented all the Visier Bassaes with diuers rich gifts and presents, euery one of them according to their degrees and places. And
D the day after went himselfe to visit them: where by the way fell out a strange matter, like ynough to haue cost him his life. For a Giamoglan (as the embassadour was going to visit *Muhamet* the cheefe of the Visier Basaes for the first) meeting him, shot at him with an harquebush, with purpose to haue slaine him; but as God would, missed him, and hurt but one of his cheefe followers in the arme. Wherewith the embasadour not a little dismayed, as supposing himselfe to haue beene betrayed, turning his horse, was about to haue gone to his lodging: but the great Basa in the meane time hauing knowledge thereof, presently sent out men to guard him, and to excuse himselfe of the fact. Whereof the embasadour being assured, held on his way. In the meane
E space the fellow who shot the harquebush, being apprehended, was brought before the embasadour and the Basa: who asking him for what cause he discharged the shot against the embasadour? he without change of countenance boldly answered, That he did it for no other cause but for that the embas sador was an hereticke, and sent from an hereticall king, and an enemie to their religion: and therefore that it was not conuenient he should come to entreat of peace with his lord, adding further, that he was not worthie of any peace. Which the Basa hearing, adjudged the desperat villaine the next day to be drawne at an horse taile through the citie, & then to haue his right hand cut off, and afterward his head, which was accordingly put in execution. After this the Persian embasadour the two and twentieth of the same moneth went to deliuer the presents sent from his master vnto the Grand Signior, and to kisse his hand: sending first before him the
F presents vpon foure and fortie cammels, whereof foure and thirtie were the kings of PERSIA, and the other ten his owne. The kings present was an Alcoran, with the authoritie of *Ali*, as they hold. For this is their custome, alwayes to present one such Alcoran vnto the princes to whom they send their embassadours. It was couered with gold, and garnished with most pretious stones. He presented also a booke of histories, couered as the other: hee gaue also a box, wherein was a very faire pretious stone called Balasso, and two pearles of a wonderfull greatnesse, with two purses of an handfull long, full of jewels. Besides these, he presented also eight Firuari or Porcellane

dishes

The Persian embassadours honorably entertained by the Turkes at Hadrianople.

The Persian embassador in going to visit Muhamet the Visier Bassa, in danger to haue beene slaine.

The rich present sent by the Persian king vnto Selymus.

diſhes (which we call China diſhes) made of moſt pure earth, kept aboue fiftie yeares buried vnder the ground, to the end ſo to be fined and purified, which (as ſome ſay) will melt and diſsolue if any poiſon be put into them. He gaue alſo two moſt ſtately pauillions, twentie great carpets of ſilke, and many other leſser of ſilke and gold; alſo nine faire canapies to hang ouer the ports of their pauillions, things not vſed among the Chriſtians. He gaue alſo nine very faire carpets of Camels haire, nine ſaddles ſet with ſtone after the Perſian faſhion, ſeuen ſtaues of ſiluer, ſeuen ſcimitars with red ſcaberts, ſeuen bowes with arrowes and quiuers, all wrought with gold and pretious ſtone; he preſented alſo many other carpets called Teſtich, made of the fineſt lawne, and ſo large, that ſeuen men could ſcarcely carrie one of them. All the Faulcons were dead by the way. G

The embaſſadors preſent to Selymus.

The preſents which the embaſſadour gaue vnto the great Turke in his owne name, were alſo theſe: an Alcoran, a pauilion faire and large, certaine ſcimitars, bowes and arrowes richly garniſhed, with certaine carpets of ſilke, and camels haire. After which preſents ſo deliuered, and reuerence done vnto the great Sultan by the embaſſadour, and thirtie of his followers all in cloth of gold; he returned to his lodging, verie honourably accompanied, as well by the Turkes as them of his owne retinue. Firſt beſides many others, there were a great companie of the Spahies and Chiauſies, and other courtiers mounted vpon goodly horſes, well furniſhed and in decent order: here might a man haue ſeene ſtore of cloth of gold, veluet, damaske, and other kinds of ſilke. After theſe there followed about three hundred Perſian horſemen, apparelled after their manner, ſome with gowns made of diuers litle pieces of taffata of ſundry colours, repreſenting the pictures of men, women, horſes, and other beaſts; and ſome of them imbrodered with flowres and fruits of ſundrie ſorts; ſome had alſo gownes of cloth of gold, but not ſo faire as the Turks; and ſome of veluet, but verie few of cloth: for that the Perſians haue no great plentie either of veluet or yet of cloth, except ſuch as they haue from the Portingals that trauell into thoſe Eaſterne countries; yet of ſilke and wool it appeareth they haue great plentie, moſt part of their gownes being of wool quilted with bombaſt. After theſe horſemen followed many Perſian footmen, peraduenture all ſeruants; after whom came the Turkiſh horſemen: and laſt of all came a horſe of the embaſſadours led by a Perſian; after which horſe followed two hundred Ianizaries: and in the rearward of all came the embaſſadour alone, gorgeouſly attired both himſelfe and his horſe. He himſelfe was inueſted with crimoſin veluet, mingled with ſome other colours: his ſaddle and bridle were all bedeckt with jewels: the capariſon of his horſe, was all imbrodered with Turquoies and other pretious ſtones: the horne vpon the top of his Turbant (which the Turks call Meteuenchiia) was altogither wrought with gold, and ſet with pretious ſtones: in briefe, vpon euerie part of his bodie hanged jewels of great price. After the embaſſadour, followed about an hundred and fortie Perſian horſemen, and others of his court apparelled as before, ſome well, ſome ill, according to their abilitie. Now although the Perſians (as is to bee thought) ſhewed all their pompe, yet they made nothing ſo faire a ſhew as did the Turkes: neither are they ſo faire men of complexion, being for the moſt part of a ſwart and browne colour, and rather little men than otherwiſe, not much vnlike to the Spaniards. The embaſſadour being departed, the preſents were all brought and ſhewed to *Selymus*; who allowed for their ordinarie charges fiue hundred ducats a day, for that in deed their number was great, and their beaſts many. Theſe expences beſtowed vpon the embaſſadours, doe preſently begin as ſoone as any of them enter into his dominions; and end, ſo ſoone as the buſineſſe for which they come is finiſhed. But long it was not, but that this embaſſadour hauing concluded a peace betwixt the two great princes, *Tamas* and *Selymus*, and diſpatched ſuch matters as he came for, returned home againe into PERSIA. The Venetians alſo now at this ſame time, by their embaſſadours ſought to renew the league they had made with the great Turke, now expired: which, as it was eaſily obtained, ſo was it of ſmall aſſurance; *Selymus* the next yeare quarrelling with them, and raiſing new wars, to the great hurt and diſturbance of that ſtate, as ſhall forthwith appeare. H I K

An honourable allowance. L

1569 *Selymus* now at peace with all the world (a thing of the Turkes not much deſired) began to thinke of workes of charitie: and purpoſing to build a magnificent temple at HADRIANOPLE for his owne ſepulture, with a monaſterie, a colledge, and an almes-houſe (as had his father, and other his auncеſtours before him at PRVSA and CONSTANTINOPLE, led therunto with a vaine and ſuperſtitious deuotion) was troubled with nothing more, than how to endue the ſame with lands and reuenues ſufficient for the maintenance of ſo great a charge: For that the Mahometane kings, are by their ſuperſtition prohibited to conuert any lands or poſſeſsions M

to

A to ſuch holy vſes, other than ſuch as they haue with their owne ſword woon from the enemies of their religion, which they may (as they are perſuaded) as a moſt acceptable ſacrifice, offer to their great prophet: which diueliſh perſuaſion, ſerueth as a ſpurre to pricke forward euerie of thoſe ambitious princes to adde ſomething to their empire. This his deuout purpoſe once knowne, wanted not the furtherance of many ripe heads, deuiſing ſome one thing, ſome another, as they thought beſt fitted his humor. But amongſt many things to him preſented, none pleaſed him ſo well, as the plot laid for the taking of the rich iſland of CYPRVS from the Venetians: a conqueſt of it ſelfe ſufficient, both for the eternizing of his name, and performance of his owne charitable works entended; with a large ouerplus, for the ſupplying of whatſoeuer wanted in his fathers like deuout workes at CONSTANTINOPLE. But that which moued him moſt of all, was the glo-
B rie of ſuch a conqueſt, which as his flatterers bare him in hand, might make him equall with any his predeceſſours; who in the beginning of their raigne, had vſually done or attempted ſome notable thing againſt the Chriſtians. Hereupon the matter was by *Selymus* propounded to the great Baſſaes to be conſidered of; without whoſe aduiſe and counſell, the Turkiſh emperors ſeldome or neuer take any great wars in hand. Amongſt theſe graue counſellours, *Muhamet* the chiefe Viſier Baſſa, a man of greateſt authoritie (vnto whom *Selymus* was beholden, that he had ſo quietly obtained the empire) and a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, ſeemed much to diſlike of that motion, perſuading *Selymus* not to yeeld thereunto: alleadging, beſide the danger and vncertaintie of the expedition, that his father *Solyman* at the time of his death had charged him ſtraightly, that the league with the Venetians ſhould be religiouſly kept; and that he could not
C with his honour, without juſt cauſe ſo quickly breake that league, which he himſelfe had but a little before moſt ſolemnly confirmed. But *Muſtapha* the ſecond Baſſa, ſometime *Selymus* his tutor, and therefore of him much honoured, with *Piall Baſſa* the Admirall (both enuying at the great honour of the Viſier Baſſa) ſo mightily impugned that he had before ſaid, and ſo importuned *Selymus* with the ſhew both of honour and profit attending that action, as alſo with the eaſineſſe thereof (a great part of the Venetian Arſenall being but a little before burnt, and their forces much weakned) that he rejected the counſell of *Muhamet*, calling him in his choller, Chriſtian (which among the Mahometanes is a word of no ſmall diſgrace:) and yeelding wholy to the perſuaſion of *Muſtapha* and *Piall*, preſently commanded preparation to be made both by ſea and land, for the performance of that his reſolution. Which was not ſo couertly carried in the
D Turkes court, but that it was diſcouered by *M. Antonius Barbarus* the Venetian embaſſadour; and not without cauſe ſuſpected by the Venetian merchants, whom the barbarous Turks began now to cut ſhort in their trafficke, looking big vpon them, as men ſuddenly changed, and euill entreating them with hard ſpeeches, the vndoubted ſignes of greater troubles to enſue. The Venetian embaſſadour now out of doubt of the Turkes purpoſe for the inuaſion of CYPRVS, came vnto *Muhamet* the chiefe Baſſa, complaining of the breach of the league: and putting him in mind of the fidelitie of the Venetian ſtate towards the Turkiſh emperour, requeſted him, that *Selymus* might not make too much haſt to begin that warre, which would ſet all EVROPE on a broile; but rather by his embaſſadours firſt to declare his mind vnto the Senat, for that ſo it might happily come to paſſe, that all might be quieted, to the good of both parties without
E warre. Which the politike embaſſador requeſted not of the Baſſa for any hope he had to auert the warre, for which the Turke had now all things in readineſſe, but onely by ſuch an hope of compoſition, to hinder the Turkes endeuours, and to win time, vntill that the State (being fully certified of all theſe matters) might make readie their fleet and forces, and ſo in armes be readie to anſwere their armed foes: neither did he euer leaue the Baſſa, vntill he had by his meanes procured, That one *Cubates* ſhould be ſent embaſſadour to VENICE to proue the minds of the Senatours, whether they would willingly deliuer the iſland, or aduenture to haue it taken from them by force. Theſe things and ſuch like as were then done at CONSTANTINOPLE, being by letters ſent in poſt from the embaſſadour, made knowne at VENICE, brought a generall heauineſſe vpon the citie: for why, that vnderſtanding and prouident State, warned by their former
F harmes, of all others moſt dread the Turks forces. *Cubates* the embaſſadour accompanied with *Aloyſius Barbarus* the embaſſadours ſonne, and *Bonricius* his ſecretarie, departing from CONSTANTINOPLE, came by long journies to RAGVSIVM, where *Angelus Surianus* ſent from VENICE to meet him, was readie to receiue him, who being taken into his gallie, brought him to VENICE.

Mnhamet Baſſa diſſuadeth Selymus from the inuading of Cyprus.

Selymus ſendeth Cubates his embaſſadour to Venice.

In

In the meane time the Senatours ſitting oftentimes in counſell, were deuided in opinions concerning the chiefe matter they conſulted vpon: ſome there were, that thought it not good to wage warre againſt ſuch an inuincible enemie, nor to truſt vpon a vaine and idle hope, neither to commit all vnto the hazard of ſuch fortune as was vnto them in that warre by the enemie propounded: they alleadged, that they had alwaies vnfortunatly taken vp armes againſt the Turks, and that therefore they ſhould ſet before their eies, what harmes they had ſuffered, and how that beſide the loſſes alreadie ſuſtained they had alwaies in the winding vp of the warres loſt ſomething more: that it were better to depart with CYPRVS, ſo that they might quietly enjoy the reſt, rather than to enter into armes: Time they ſaid, would at length giue them ſome one fit occaſion or other to recouer that they had loſt, and to reſtore their ſtate vnto the former honour; which for the preſent, was aboue their power to maintaine: To put their truſt in their confederates (they ſaid) was but to deceiue themſelues: they ſhould remember how often euen ſmall cauſes of falſe ſuſpition, or hope of profit, or feare of harme, had vtterly fruſtrated and broken in ſunder the moſt ſolemne capitulations of the ſtrongeſt leagues: how often deſtruction had come thence from whence aid was to haue beene hoped for, they needed not to ſeeke farther for examples than from their owne domeſticall affaires. Others were of a contrarie opinion, as that the iſland was by force of armes to be defended: ſaying, That nothing could be more diſhonourable, than without fight to depart with ſo notable a part of their ſeigniorie: neither any thing more commendable, than to proue all things for defence of their honour: Neither would the prowd Turkes, with whom no aſſured league could be made (as they ſaid) hold themſelues content with this yeelding vp of the iſland, but by intreating of them and giuing them way, become more inſolent: and when they had taken CYPRVS from them, would alſo ſeeke after CRETE and CORCYRA, and ſo yeelding them one thing after another, ſpoile themſelues of all togither: Ambitious and greedie princes (they ſaid) grew more bold and inſolent by other mens feare: and that no great or notable matter was to be done without danger: that hard beginnings had oftentimes merrie endings: that the fauour and good will of that inſatiable and greedie nation, was not to be gained but with ſo great loſſe and charge as that ſuch a coſtly peace would be much more hurtfull than warre it ſelfe: beſide that, it much concerned other Chriſtian princes to haue the Venetian ſtate preſerued, and that therefore it was to be hoped, that they would to the vttermoſt of their power giue them aid. The matter thus debated too and fro, it was in the end reſolued vpon, to take vp armes in defence of their honour, and by plain force to withſtand the Turke.

Hard to truſt vpon confederations.

The Turks embaſſadour homely entertained at Venice.

So when *Cubates* the Turkes embaſſadour came from VENICE, neither did any man of courteſie meet him, neither was any honour done vnto him, or ſo much as common courteſie ſhewed vnto him: but being afterward admitted into the Senat houſe with his two interpretors onely, he deliuered *Selymus* his letters, encloſed in a little bag wrought with ſilke and gold; and ſo whileſt the ſame letters were in breaking vp, and tranſlating out of the Turkiſh language into Italian, deliuered alſo his meſſage by word of mouth as followeth.

Cubates the Turks embaſſadours ſpeech in the Senat at Venice.

What great account the mightie Sultan my dread Soueraigne hath alwaies made of your moſt honourable friendſhip, is therein right well declared; That in the verie entrance of himſelfe into his empire, he forthwith and without any hard or new conditions renewed his league with you: which he hath on his part alwaies kept moſt faithfully and vnuiolat, worthely grieuing the like kindneſſe not to be ſhewed on your behalfe, neither the like care of keeping your faith to appeare in you; who by harbouring of pyrats in your hauens, and murthering of his ſubiects, haue oftentimes broken the league. Which iniuries, although they were by war to haue beene reuenged, yet hath he, ſo mightie a monarch, hitherto beene alwaies more mindfull of your honor and friendſhip, than of his owne maieſtie and profit. But for ſo much as there is no end of theſe iniuries and wrongs, and that it is now come to that point, That longer to forbeare, might be imputed vnto him rather for cowardiſe than courteſie, as alſo that it much more concerneth your State than him, and that therefore you ought no leſſe than he to deſire that all cauſes of vnkindneſſe might be cut off, and order taken, that in ſo great and mutuall good-will, there ſhould be no falling out by new quarrels daily ariſing: the onely remedie thereof is, if you ſhall deliuer vnto him the iſland of CYPRVS, the cauſe of all theſe grieuances. Now it beſeemeth you for your great wiſedome, to make ſmall reckoning of ſo ſmall a matter, in compariſon of the fauour of ſo great a prince; which if you ſhall willingly of your ſelues yeeld vnto him, you ſhall right wiſely

prouide

A *prouide for your affaires, and haue him so great a monarch alwaies your friend and confederat: wher as if you shall shew your selues obstinat, and not to yeeld to this his so small a request, his purpose is by strong hand not onely to take from you the island, the cause of the warre, but also to prosecute you with most cruell warre both by sea and land. And thereupon I take God to witnesse, all the blame of the calamities to ensue of so mortall a warre, to be imputed vnto your selues, as the worthie reward of your wilfulnesse and breach of faith.*

Which said, hee in the name of *Muhamet* the Visier Bassa told the Senatours, that hee was right sorie that this breach was fallen out betwixt the emperour *Selymus* and them: and that although he doubted not, but that they would right wisely consider of all things; yet he could
B not for the good will he bare vnto them, but admonish them of such things, as he deemed for them both profitable and wholsome: and therefore did most instantly request them, and withall aduise them, not to enter into armes against so mightie a prince, neither wilfully to plunge themselues into such dangers, as they could hardly or neuer find the way out; for that their strength was nothing answerable vnto his, and that the euent of that warre was like to be vnto them deadly, and that therfore he tooke God, and the loue he bare vnto them to witnesse, that he had in friendly sort forewarned them of their harmes, and aduised them for their good. Giuing them farther to vnderstand, that *Selymus* did nothing but thunder out most cruell threats against their State: which his indignation was raised of the manifold complaints brought against them to his court at CONSTANTINOPLE.

C *Selymus* his letters answerable to his embassadors speech, were also full of false surmised grie- *The effect of Selymus his letters to the Venetians.*
uances: he complained, That the Venetians had in warlike manner entred into the frontiers of his empire in DALMATIA, and there had done great harme; that they had put to death certaine Turkish pirats whom they had taken aliue? that their island of CYPRVS was an harbour for the pirats of the West, and that from thence they robbed his peaceable countries, and surprised his subiects trauelling that way for deuotion vnto the temple of MECHA, or otherwise about their affaires. And that therefore those causes of discord might be taken away, and the hinderance of traffique remoued, he required them to yeeld vnto him the island of CYPRVS: which if they refused to doe, he would by force of armes take it from them; and by force and strong hand cause them to doe that which they might better haue done franckly and of their
D owne accord; and farther, to make them to vnderstand how farre the Turkes did excell all other men in martiall prowesse. As for the league before made betwixt his father and them, he said he had renewed the same, not because he had any liking thereunto, but because he had as then set downe with himselfe, for a while in the beginning of his empire, peaceably to endure all things.

The Venetians, for that they knew the embassadours errand before his comming, hauing *The answere of the Venetians to the Turks demands.*
now read his letters, gaue him such answere as they had before resolued vpon: which was, That the Venetians had at all times inuiolably kept their leagues with the *Othoman* emperours, and had in regard thereof let slip many opportunities and fit occasions for them to haue augmented their dominions in: That they could without any danger to themselues, haue destroied the
E Turkes fleet both at the RHODES and MALTA, and other places also; but that they more regarded their honour, and alwaies thought that nothing better became great and magnificent princes, than to performe their faith once giuen, and in all their actions to be like themselues. And therefore had dissembled, and put vp many grieuous and bitter indignities, least they might be thought to haue first broken the league: That they had neuer passed their owne bounds, or inuaded the Turkes: onely to haue taken order, that no pirats should at their pleasure roame vp and downe the seas. Now whereas all duties being on their part sincerely and most religiously kept, *Selymus* complained himselfe to be wronged, whereas he himselfe had done the wrong, and had contrarie to the league denounced warre against them, expecting nothing lesse: sithence that they could not by the power of the league, they would by force of armes defend that king-
F dome, which they by auntient and lawfull right possessed, deliuered vnto them by their auncestors: That God in whose helpe they trusted would weigh in indifferent ballance, all mens words and deeds, whom they tooke to witnesse, that they were the authours of peace, and *Selymus* the cause of warre: and that the same God would be now present vnto their just complaints, and forthwith after with his power to take reuenge on them, which falsifying their faith and promise

giuen, and violating the ſacred league, had enforced them to take vp moſt juſt and neceſſarie armes, which they would with the ſame courage manage that they had taken them in hand. G

The Turkes embaſſadour ſent away in ſecret to Venice.

With this anſwere the embaſsadour departed, let out by a ſecret poſterne, for feare of the people; who hauing got knowledge of the matter, were in great number aſſembled to the Court gate, muttering among themſelues, that it were well done to rend in pieces that accurſed Turke, the meſſenger of his faithleſſe maſter. Which outrage it was thought they would in their furie haue performed, had not ſuch as by the commaundement of the magiſtrates guarded him, better aſſured him of his ſafetie, than either regard of dutie or the law of nations; he by the way as he went ſtill ſtorming and ſwearing by his *Mahomet* to be of that ſo great an indignitie reuenged.

The reſolution of the Senat for war diuerſly liked, & diſliked of others.

This anſwere of the Senat vnto the Turkes embaſſadour concerning warre, was of ſome well liked and highly commended, as full of honour and valour. Others deemed it too ſharpe, liking H of nothing that was ſaid or done, to the further incenſing of the Turkiſh emperour: being of opinion, that they might haue of him obtained a more indifferent peace by courteſie than by rigour. As for the decreed warre they vtterly diſliked, for as much as all warres were wofull, but eſpecially thoſe which were to be maintained againſt them that are too ſtrong for vs. In ſuch diuerſitie of opinions it appeared, That the Senat ſhould of that ſo honourable a decree reape ſuch commendation, as the euent thereof ſhould affoord (than which nothing is more vnreaſonable:) if things fell out well, then was it wiſely and worthely done; if otherwiſe, then was it like to be reputed a fooliſh, a raſh, and wofull reſolution.

The greater the danger was now feared from the angrie Turke, the more carefull were the Venetians of their ſtate. Wherefore they forthwith ſent meſſengers with letters vnto the Go- I uernours of CYPRVS, charging them with all carefulneſſe and diligence to make themſelues readie to withſtand the Turke, and to raiſe what power they were able in the iſland, not omitting any thing that might concerne the good of the ſtate: and at the ſame time made choice of their moſt valiant and expert captaines both by ſea and land, vnto whom they committed the defence of their diſperſed Seignorie, with the leading of their forces. *Hieronimus Zanius* was appointed Admirall, *Lucas Michael* was ſent into CRETE, *Franciſcus Barbarus* into DALMATIA, *Sebaſtianus Venerius* into CORCYRA, all men of great honour, experience, and valour. Other meaner captaines were ſent alſo with leſſe charge into the aforeſaid places, as *Eugenius Singliticus*, a noble gentleman, with a thouſand footmen into CYPRVS, who had alſo the leading of all the horſemen in the iſland: after whom countie *Martinengus* promiſed to follow with two thou- K ſand footmen moe. The ſtrong cities were now by the Venetians in all places new fortified, armour, ordinance, and victuall prouided, and whatſoeuer els they thought needfull for defence of their ſtate. And for as much as they well knew they had to doe with too mightie an enemie, they by their embaſſadours ſent for that purpoſe, earneſtly ſollicited moſt of the Chriſtian princes to joine with them in league, and to giue them aid againſt the common enemie, who as he was too ſtrong for any one of them, ſo were he not able to ſtand againſt their vnited forces. But the em-

The Emperour, the French king, and the king of Polonia entangled with their leagues, refuſe to aid the Venetians againſt the Turks.

perour *Maximilian* excuſed himſelfe by the league he had not long before made with the Turke for eight yeares, which (he ſaid) he might not breake: yet had he before his eyes a moſt pregnant example, what ſmall reckoning the Turke maketh of his faith or league, which he without any juſt cauſe had broken with the Venetians. The like excuſe vſed alſo *Charles* the French king, and L *Sigiſmund* king of POLONIA, who both ſeemed to be very ſorrie for that the Venetians were fallen out with the Turke, but could not helpe them, for that they were in league with the Turkiſh emperour. Neuertheleſſe the French king did them the courteſie, to offer himſelfe to be a mediator, if they ſo pleaſed, betwixt them and *Selymus*. The young king of PORTINGAL *Don Sebaſtian* pretended alſo for his excuſe the great plague which had but a little before raged in his kingdome, and much deminiſhed his people; as alſo that he was to maintaine warres by ſea againſt the Turks in the Eaſt Indies, to the no leſſe benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale than if he

What Chriſtian princes promiſed to aid the Venetians.

ſhould aid the Venetians in the Mediterranean. Onely *Pius Quintus* then Pope, and *Philip* king of SPAINE, with certaine of the princes of ITALIE; namely *Philibert* duke of SAVOY, *Guido Vdebaldus* duke of VRBIN, *Coſmus Medices* duke of FLORENCE, and the knights of MALTA, M promiſed them aid, which they afterward moſt honourably performed.

Selymus of himſelfe angrie with the Venetians, and firme in his reſolution for the conqueſt of CYPRVS, was vpon the report of *Cubates* his embaſſadours bad entertainment at VENICE, farther enraged. He deemed the majeſtie of the Turkiſh empire contemned, and himſelfe in the

perſon

A perſon of his embaſsadour diſgraced: ſeeing that they whom he had thought would haue yeelded vnto any thing, rather than the league ſhould haue beene broken, had ſent him ſuch a ſhort anſwere, and ſo contemptuouſly vſed his embaſſadour, vnto whom they had not affoorded ſo much as common courteſie. It did not a little mooue him alſo, that the Venetians had in their letters ſent by his embaſſadour, omitted the glorious titles vſually giuen the Turkiſh emperours. Wherefore in ſome part to ſatisfie his angrie mood, he cauſed *Marcus Anthonius Barbarus*, the Venetian embaſſadour, and all the Chriſtian marchants of the Weſt throughout his empire, to be clapt vp in priſon, and their ſhips ſtayed vnder an arreſt. And letting all other things apart, ſet himſelfe wholly for the preparing of ſuch things as ſhould be needfull for the intended warre.

But for as much as the iſland of CYPRVS was the prey whereafter the greedie tyrant ſo much
B gaped, and for which the bloudie warres betwixt the Turke and the Venetians, with their Chriſtian confederats, preſently enſued; it ſhall not be from our purpoſe to ſpend a few words in the deſcribing thereof, as the ſtage whereon the bloudie tragedie following was as it were acted: as alſo how it came firſt into the hands of the Venetians, and by what right of them ſo long poſſeſſed (although it be in ſome part before declared) vntill it was now by *Selymus* the great Turke againſt all right injuriouſly demaunded, and at length by ſtrong hand by him wreſted from them.
This iſland lieth in the farthеſt of the Cilician ſea: it hath on the Eaſt SIRIA, on the Weſt *The deſcription of Cyprus.*
PAMPHILIA, Southward it regardeth ÆGYPT, and Northward CILICIA, now called CARA-
MANNIA. It is worthely accounted amongſt the greateſt iſlands of the Mediterranean, contai-
C ning in circuit 427 miles, and is in length (after the deſcription of *Strabo*) 175 miles, and in bredth not aboue 65. It aboundeth with corne, wine, oyle, cotton wooll, ſaffron, honey, roſin, turpentine, ſugar canes, and whatſoeuer els is needfull for the ſuſtentation of man, whereof it ſendeth forth great abundance to other countries, of whom it craueth no helpe againe. It was in antient time called *Macaria*, that is to ſay, Bleſſed. The people therein generally liued ſo at eaſe and pleaſure, that thereof the iſland was dedicated to *Venus*, who was there eſpecially worſhipped, and thereof called CYPRIA. *Marcellinus* to ſhew the fertilitie thereof, ſayth, That CYPRVS aboundeth with ſuch plentie of all things, that without the helpe of any other forraine countrey it is of it ſelfe able to build a tall ſhip, from the keele to the top ſaile, and ſo put it to ſea furniſhed of all things needfull. And *Sextus Rufus* writing thereof, ſayth: *Cyprus famoſa diuitijs, paupertatem populi Romani, vt occuparetur ſolicitauit, ita vt ius eius inſulæ auarius magis quam iuſtius ſimus*
D *aſſecuti.* *vz.* CYPRVS famous for wealth, allured the pouertie of the people of ROME to lay hold vpon it, ſo that we haue rather couetouſly than juſtly got the rule thereof. In the heart of the iſland ſtandeth NICOSIA, ſometime the regall and late metropoliticall citie thereof. And in the Eaſt end thereof FAMAGVSTA, ſometime called TAMASSVS, a famous rich citie, the cheefe and onely port of all that moſt pleaſant iſland. Other faire cities there be alſo, as PAPHOS, AMATHVS (now called LIMISSO) and CYRENE. This iſland of it ſelfe long time maintained the maieſtie of a kingdome, as then when *Richard* the firſt king of ENGLAND paſsing that way with his *King Richard in Cyprus.*
fleet for the releefe of the Chriſtians then diſtreſſed in the Holy land about the yeare 1191, was prohibited there to land; and certaine of his people by force of tempeſt there caſt on ſhore, were by the Cypriots either cruelly ſlaine or taken priſoners: which barbarous violence king *Richard*
E tooke in ſo euill part, that he there by force landed his armie, and reſted not vntill he had taken *Iſaack* the king priſoner, and ſubdued the iſland. The king he ſent in chaines of ſiluer to TRIPOLIS, there to be kept in cloſe priſon; the kingdome he kept a while in his owne hand, which not long after he gaue, or as ſome ſay, exchanged with *Guido* the titular king of HIERVSALEM: for which cauſe the kings of ENGLAND for a certaine time afterwards were honoured with the title of the kings of HIERVSALEM. This kingdome by many deſcents came at length to *Ianus* ſon *How the kingdome of Cyprus came to the Venetians.*
of king *Peter*, who in the yeare 1423 was by *Melechella* Sultan of ÆGIPT taken priſoner, but afterwards for the ranſome of an hundred and fifteene thouſand Sultanins, was ſet at libertie and
F reſtored to his kingdome, paying vnto the Sultan and his ſucceſſours a yearely tribute of fortie thouſand crownes. This *Ianus* left a ſonne called *Iohn*, who after the death of his father married the daughter of the Marques of MONT-FERRAT: after whoſe death he married one *Helena*, of the moſt noble houſe of the *Paleologi* in GRÆCIA, by whom he had one onely daughter called *Carlotte*, but by another woman a baſe ſonne named *Iames*. This king *Iohn* was a man of no courage, altogether giuen to pleaſure, and according to the manner of his effeminate education, ſhewed himſelfe in all things more like a woman than a man: which *Helena* his wife, a woman

of a great ſpirit, quickly perceiuing, tooke vpon her the ſoueraignetie and whole gouernment of G
the realme, gracing and diſgracing whom ſhe pleaſed, and promoting to the eccleſiaſticall digni-
ties ſuch as ſhe beſt liked, aboliſhing the Latine ceremonies, and bringing in them of the Greeks,
and tooke ſuch further order as pleaſed her ſelfe in matters of ſtate concerning both peace and
warre, her husband in the meane time regarding nothing but his vaine pleaſure: whereby it
came to paſſe, that all was brought into the power of the Greekes, the queenes friends. Now the
queene her ſelfe was much ruled by the counſell of her nurſe, and the nurſe by her daughter: ſo
that the people commonly ſaid, The daughter ruled the nurſe, the nurſe the queene, & the queene
the king. The nobilitie aſhamed and wearie of this manner of gouernment, by generall conſent
of the people ſent for *Iohn* the king of PORTINGALS couſin Germane (whom ſome call the
king of PORTINGALL) to whom they gaue *Carlotte* the kings daughter in marriage, with full H
power to ſupplie that want of gouernment which was in king *Iohn* his father in law. He taking
the authoritie into his hands, quickly reformed the diſordered kingdome, as well in matters con-
cerning religion as ciuile policie. The Latine ceremonies were againe reſtored, and the gouerne-
ment of the daughter, the nurſe, and the queene brought to an end. But the miſchieuous daugh-
ter doubting the countenance of the new king, perſuaded her mother, as ſhe tendered her owne
life, to poyſon the king. Which thing the wretched woman, by the conſent of the queene mo-
ther (as was reported) in ſhort time performed, and ſo brought that noble prince, well worthie
longer life, vnto his vntimely end: whereby the gouernment was againe reſtored to the Greeke
queene, who in the name of her weake husband commaunded againe at her pleaſure. But aboue
all, the nurſe and her daughter inſulted vpon the young queene *Carlotte*: which ſhee not well I
brooking, grieuouſly complained thereof to *Iames* her baſe brother, requiring his helpe for re-
dreſſe therof: who not long after ſlew the nurſes daughter, not ſo much in reuenge of the wrong
by her done vnto his ſiſter, as to prepare a way for himſelfe for the obtaining of the kingdome:
grieuing inwardly, that ſhee or her husband whoſoeuer, ſhould bee preferred before himſelfe.
Which thing *Helena* the queene quickly perceiuing, perſuaded the king her husband to cauſe
his baſe ſonne to enter into the orders of prieſthood; and ſo to become a church man, thereby to
cut off all his hope of aſpiring vnto the kingdome: which the king at her inſtance did, and made
him archbiſhop of NICOSIA. In the meane time *Carlotte* by the perſuaſion of her mother and
the nobilitie of the countrey, married *Lewes* ſonne to the duke of SAVOY: who being for that
purpoſe ſent for, came with all ſpeed to CYPRVS. After that the queene mother and the old K
nurſe (deſiring nothing more than to reuenge the death of the nurſes daughter vpon *Iames*, now
archbiſhop) deuiſed firſt how to thruſt him out of all his ſpirituall promotions, which were great,
and afterward quite baniſh him the kingdome. Hereupon the queene wrote letters againſt him
to the Pope, to haue him diſgraded, for that he being a man baſe borne, with his hands embrued
with guiltleſſe blood, was vnworthie of holy orders. Which letters by chance came to *Iames* his
hands: who entraged therewith, accompanied with a number of his friends and fauorits, ſudden-
ly entred the Court, ſlew ſuch of his enemies as he found there, deuided their goods amongſt his
followers, and as king poſſeſſed himſelfe of the regall citie. In this broile the Greeke queene *He-
lena* died, and ſhortly after her husband alſo. All things being thus in a hurle and out of order,
certaine of the nobilitie for redreſſe thereof ſent for *Lewes* the husband of *Carlotte*, as for him to L
whom that kingdome in the right of his wife moſt juſtly belonged: who vpon his arriuall was
of all ſorts of men joifully receiued and welcommed as their king. *Iames* the vſurper vnderſtan-
ding before of the comming of *Lewes*, and perceiuing the inclination of the people towards him,
fled with diuers of his friends to ALEXANDRIA, to craue aid of the Ægyptian Sultan: in whoſe
Court he found ſuch fauour, as that he was by the Sultans commaundement royally apparrelled
and honoured with the title of the king of CYPRVS, which he promiſed for euer to hold of the
Sultans of ÆGIPT as their vaſſale and tributarie. At which time the Sultan alſo by his embaſſa-
dours commaunded *Lewes* to depart the iſle: who by all meanes ſought to haue pacified the Sul-
tan, declaring vnto him his rightfull title, yet offering to pay vnto him the wonted tribute, and to
allow vnto *Iames* a yearely penſion of ten thouſand duckats, during his life. But all in vaine, for M
Iames ſtill preſent in the Sultans court, and wiſely following his own ſute, at laſt concluded with
the great Sultan (who thought it more honour to make a king than to confirme a king) and re-
ceiuing of him a great armie, returned into CYPRVS, where in ſhort time he ſo diſtreſſed *Lewes*,
that he was glad to forſake the iſland, with his wife, and to returne into his countrey; leauing the

king-

A kingdome of CYPRVS againe to *Iames*: who now by the ſupportation of the Ægyptian Sultan poſſeſſed thereof, yet liued not without care of *Carlotte* and her husband *Lewes*, whom he knew the Cypriots wonderfully affected. Wherefore for the more aſſurance of his eſtate, he thought it beſt to joyne in league and friendſhip with the Venetians, whom he knew to be of great power at ſea, and of all other fitteſt to croſſe whatſoeuer *Lewes* ſhould in the right of his wife attempt againſt him. Which league he afterwards made, & the better to confirme the ſame tooke to wife *Catherine Cornelia*, the daughter of *Marcus Cornelius* a magnifico of VENICE, being before adopted by the Senat, and euer after, their reputed daughter. Not long after this mariage, *Iames* died in the yeare 1470, leauing the queene great with child, who in due time was deliuered of a faire ſonne, vnto whom with the mother the Venetian ſtate became tutors, as their
B adoptiue fathers, and in their behalfe tooke vpon them the gouernment of the realme. This child ſhortly after died alſo, not without ſome ſuſpition of poyſon, after whoſe death great troubles aroſe in the kingdome, inſomuch that *Andreas Cornelius* the queenes vncle, a moſt graue counſellour, and Gouernour of the realme vnder the queene, was by the conſpiracie of certaine noble men ſlaine, and all the iſland readie to reuolt from the queene. For appeaſing of which troubles, the Venetians were glad oftentimes to ſend their Admirals with their gallies into CYPRVS, to take order in the matter, and to aid the queene: who at length perſuaded by *George Cornelius* her brother (whileſt it was yet in her power) as a louing daughter to yeeld vp the kingdome vnto her adoptiue fathers, which ſhe deſtitute both of counſell and power, could not long hold ſo farre from her friends, beſet on the one ſide with the great Turke, and on the other with the mightie
C Sultan of ÆGIPT. She I ſay thus perſuaded by her brother, came to VENICE, where ſhe was with the greateſt honour that could be deuiſed, receiued by the duke and the whole State at ſea in their great and goodly ſhip the Bucentaure, and ſo with all royall triumph brought through the middeſt of the citie vnto the place moſt richly for the time appointed for the receiuing of her: where ſhortly after, attired in all her royall habiliments, ſhe came in great majeſtie into the Senat houſe, and there before the Tribunall ſeat of *Auguſtinus Barbadicus*, then duke of VENICE, layed downe her crowne and ſcepter, and as a moſt louing daughter reſigned vp her kingdome, to the great honour and profit of her countrey. Thus the kingdome of CYPRVS was deliuered into the hands of the Venetians in the yeare 1473; which they peaceably held from that time, paying vnto the Sultans of ÆGIPT ſuch tribute as they had the late king *Iames*: which yearely
D tribute they in like manner payed vnto the Turkiſh emperours, after that the kingdome of ÆGIPT was by *Selymus* the firſt conquered in the yeare 1517, as due vnto them by law of armes: with which yearely tribute both *Selymus* himſelfe, and *Soliman* after him, held themſelues well contented. But now this Turkiſh emperour *Selymus* the ſecond, of whom we ſpeake, deſirous both of the honour of ſuch a conqueſt, and of ſo rich a prey, made no account of the accuſtomed tribute, but of the fruitfull iſland it ſelfe: whereof he as is before declared, hath by his embaſſadour made a proud demaund, but is thereof denied by the Senat.

Sabellic. Enead. 10. lib. 8.

Selymus throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſarie for the inuaſion of CYPRVS, in the beginning of Februarie ſent a great power both of horſe and foot into EPIRVS and the frontiers of DALMATIA, to forrage the Venetian territorie, eſpecially about IADERA; of purpoſe by that
E warre ſo neere at home to withdraw them from the defence of CYPRVS ſo farre off. About the middle of Aprill following he ſent *Piall Baſſa* with fourteſcore gallies and thirtie galliots to keepe the Venetians from ſending aid into CYPRVS. This *Piall* was an Hungarian, borne of baſe parents, but turning Turke, and giuing himſelfe to armes, was firſt preferred for his valour ſhewed againſt the Chriſtians at ZERBI, and afterward by many degrees riſe to the honour of one of the greateſt Baſſaes. He departing from CONSTANTINOPLE, and cutting through PROPONTIS and HELLESPONTVS, came to EVBŒA, and there for certaine dayes lay in ſuch order, as if he ſhould haue preſently giuen the enemie battell: but vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that the Venetians greeuouſly viſited with the plague, and ſlowly releeued by their friends, were not like in haſt to come out, he tooke his courſe to TENOS, an iſland of the Venetians, to haue taken it
F from them. This iſland is one of the Cyclades, and was by nature ſtrong, but ſtronger by the induſtrie of the defendants; who lying far from the Chriſtian countries, and compaſſed about with ſuch cruell and warlike enemies as people farre diſtant ſtood in dread of, could neuer for any fear or danger be remooued from the Chriſtian religion, or induced to ſubmit themſelues to the Turkes gouernement, as moſt of the other iſlands had. *Piall* here landing his forces, ſought both

1570

Selymus inuadeth the Venetians.

Piall Baſſa ſent againſt the Venetians.

by faire means and foule to haue perſuaded the inhabitants to haue yeelded vp their towne; but G
when he could get nothing of them but foule words againe, he began by force to aſſault the ſame. Two daies the towne was valiantly both aſſaulted and defended, but at length the Turkes perceiuing how little they preuailed, and that the defendants were reſolutely ſet downe for the defence of themſelues and their countrey; ſhamefully gaue ouer the aſſault, and abandoning the iſland, directed their courſe toward CYPRVS. For *Muſtapha*, author of that expedition (for his auntient hatred againſt the Chriſtians, made Generall by *Selymus*) had before appointed *Piall Baſſa* at a time prefixed, to meet him at the RHODES, and that he that came firſt ſhould tarrie for the other, that ſo they might togither ſaile into CYPRVS.

Muſtapha hauing before ſent a great part of his armie by land into PAMPHILIA, embarked the reſt with *Haly Baſſa* Generall of the forces at ſea, who yet ſtaied for him with the reſt of the H
fleet at CONSTANTINOPLE. This *Haly* was one of the chiefe Baſſaes, a man of great account, and ſometime an eſpeciall and noted follower of *Muhamet Baſſa*: but now (as it is oftentimes elſewhere ſeene, that men together with the change of fortune, change their minds and affections alſo) was become a great fauourit of *Muſtapha*. Now to colour ſo manifeſt a wrong and breach of the Turkes faith, *Muſtapha* the Generall, according to the Turkiſh manner, a little before his arriuall in CYPRVS, gaue the Venetians there to vnderſtand by letters of his comming, as alſo of his purpoſe for the taking of that iſland from them: for that without ſome ſuch ſlender denouncing of warre vnto them againſt whom it is intended, the Turkes generally account their expeditions not to be altogither ſo lawfull or fortunat as otherwiſe: and therefore writ vnto them in this ſort. I

Muſtapha Baſſa vnto the Venetians.

Muſtapha Baſſa his letters vnto the Venetians.

That the kingdome of CYPRVS *by auntient right belongeth vnto the kingdome of* ÆGYPT, *you are not ignorant; which being conquered by the Turks, is togither with it become of right a part alſo of the* Othoman *empire: that iſland we come to challenge, leading after vs two hundred thouſand valiant ſouldiors, vnto which power, and the wealth of the* Othoman *kingdomes (all which the moſt mightie emperour is about (if need ſhall be) to ſend thither, and to bend his whole ſtrength theron) all the vnited forces of the Chriſtian kings are not comparable; much leſſe the Venetians (ſo ſmall a part of* EVROPE) *forſaken of their friends, can ſuffice. Wherefore, we will and exhort you, for the auntient amitie which hath been betwixt your State and the glorious* Othoman *family, to yeeld this kingdome vnto the moſt puiſſant emperour, whoſe verie name is become dreadfull vnto all the nations of the world: and quietly, and without reſiſtance to leaue the iſland, with the loue and friendſhip of ſo great a monarch to be for euer inuiolatly kept betwixt him and you. Whereas if you ſhall before ſuch wholſome counſell fondly preferre your vaine hopes, you are to expect all the calamities of warre, with ſuch dreadfull examples as the angrie conquerours vſe to make of their vanquiſhed enemies. For reſolution whereof, wee yet giue you halfe a moneths ſpace to bethinke your ſelues in: and ſo fare you well.* K

Muſtapha Baſſa goeth for Cyprus.

All this being now in readineſſe, and a moſt royall gallie of wonderfull greatneſſe and beautie L
by the appointment of *Selymus* prepared for the great Baſſa the Generall: he togither with *Haly Baſſa* and the reſt of the fleet, departed from CONSTANTINOPLE the ſix and twentith of May, and at the RHODES met with *Piall* as he had before appointed. The whole fleet at that time

The Turkes fleet deſcried in Cyprus.

conſiſted of two hundred gallies, amongſt whom were diuers galliots, and ſmall men of warre, with diuers other veſſels prepared for the tranſportation of horſes: with this fleet *Muſtapha* kept on his courſe for CYPRVS. They of the iſland in the meane time carefully attending the enemies comming, from their watch towers firſt diſcouered the fleet at the Weſt end of the iſland not farre from PAPHOS: from whence the Turkes turning vpon the right hand, and paſsing the promontorie CVRIO, now called DEL LE GATE, landed diuers of their men, who burnt and ſpoiled certaine villages, and with ſuch ſpoile and priſoners as they had taken returned M
againe vnto the fleet: which holding on the former courſe, came at length to a place called

The Turks land in Cyprus.

SALINÆ (of the abundance of ſalt there made) where they knew was beſt landing: and there in an open road came to an anchor, where the Baſſaes without any reſiſtance vpon a plaine ſhoare landed their armie.

Now

A Now all the hope of the Christians, was to haue kept the Turkes from landing, which they should with all their strength and power haue done; neither was it a matter of any great difficultie, for had the defendants but kept the shoare, and from the drie and firme land valiantly repulsed their enemies, they might vndoubtedly with their shot and weapons haue kept them from landing, or else haue done them greater harme: knowing in the meane time, that in all the island was no good harbour for them to put into, and that riding in an open road subject to all wind and weather, they could not long without danger of shipwracke ride it out: But they, either terrified with the greatnesse of the fleet, or preuented by the celeritie of the enemie, to their great hurt omitted so faire an opportunitie, as the wofull sequell of the matter declared. It exceedingly encouraged the Turks that they had so easily footed the island, which they thought they
B should not haue done without a bloudie fight.

The Bassa now landed, presently entrenched his armie, and forthwith sent the fleet to transport the rest of his forces out of PAMPHILIA into the island. And at the same time sent out certaine scouts to take some prisoners, of whom they might learne the situation of the countrey, the best waies to passe them with his armie, the strength of his enemies, and what they did, and many other such like things which it concerned him to know. But the greatest question amongst the Turkes themselues was, Whether they should first set vpon FAMAGVSTA or NICOSIA? FAMAGVSTA standeth low, altogether subject to the scorching heat, which was then great, according as the time of the yeare and nature of the countrey required: wherefore the Bassa for
C feare of diseases to arise in his armie of the immoderat heat and vnwholesome situation of the place, thought it better to begin his warres with the siege of NICOSIA, and to make that citie the seat of the warre, for the conquest of the rest of the island. So hauing put all things in order, and well viewed the countrey, and finding nothing he needed to stand in doubt of, he set forward with his armie toward NICOSIA, which was about thirtie miles distant, being the cheefe and richest citie of all the island. Which way soeuer the armie marched, it spread a great deale of ground; and the neerer it came, the greater was the slaughter of the countrey people, and the number of prisoners taken of all sorts. But when newes of the enemies approach was brought into the citie, a generall feare presaging future miserie possessed the hearts of all men. There was not in the citie any valiant or renowmed captaine, who as the danger of the time required, should haue taken vpon him the charge: neither any strong armie in the island to oppose against the ene-
D mie. The Gouernour of the citie was one *Nicholaus Dandulus*, a man too weake for so great a burthen; who alwaies brought vp in ciuile affaires, was to seeke how to defend a siege. Of the citizens and countrey people he had taken vp foure thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, all raw souldiors, commaunded by the gentleman of the countrey, men of all others most courteous: but as well the captaines as the souldiors, as men brought vp in a plentifull countrey, fitter for pleasure than for warre. The greatest hope and strength of the citie, was reposed in twelue hundred Italian footmen, and six hundred horsemen. The whole number of the souldiors in garrison for defence of the citie, was deemed about eight thousand horse and foot: too weake a companie against so fierce and strong an enemie; and the more, for that the Bassa an old and most expert Generall was there in person himselfe present, a most seuere and absolute commaun-
E der, whom it would haue been a hard matter to haue withstood with equall power. The Venetians had euer had great care of the island of CYPRVS, as lying farre from them, in the middest of the sworne enemies of the Christian religion, and had therefore oftentimes determined to haue fortified the same: yet fearing thereby to seeme to distrust or dread the Turks, and so to giue them occasion of offence, left it still vndone. This citie of NICOSIA standeth in the middest of the island, in a plaine and champaine countrey, compassed round with a wall, as if it had bin drawne with a compasse, and is in circuit about fiue miles: for the manner of the situation, & magnificent buildings as well publike as priuat, many haue compared it vnto the beautifull citie of FLORENCE in ITALIE: and was for the wholsome and commodious situation thereof notably peopled. This citie had the Venetians of late fortified with new wals, thicke rampiers, and
F eleuen strong bulwarkes, according to the manner of the fortification of our time, and had raised three great fortresses for defence of the wall, which they furnished with a strong garrison, great store of artillerie, and other warlike prouision. Neuertheless, they found by experience in this warre, That fortifications are strengthened by the defendants, rather than the defendants by the fortifications.

Mustapha Bassa marcheth towards Nicosia.

Nicholaus Dandulus Gouernour of Nicosia.

The description of Nicosia.

The

The Turks before Nicosia.

The two and twentith of Iuly, the Bassa with his armie encamped within a mile and a halfe of the citie, when presently the Turks by troupes issuing out of the campe, rid contemptuously before the wals and gates of the citie, and with often and lowd outcries vpbraided the defendants: which by them being answered with silence, was taken as a token of their feare. And *Mustapha* himselfe comming as neere as he might without danger, tooke full view of the wals and situation of the citie. Shortly after, the enemie drew neerer vnto the citie into a more open plaine, and with their tents filled the lower part of the hill, which they called MANDIA: but the Bassaes tent they set aloft vpon the hill, to the terrour of the defendants and encouragement of the Turkes. The campe being fortified, the Turks with incredible labour and celeritie brought their trenches from farre, and at the first cast vp some few forts, but afterwards, as their armie increased, many mo; which they raised so high, that they ouertopped the wals of the citie, and made the place more dangerous for the Christians to defend. There hauing placed seauentie great pieces of batterie, they began to batter the citie both day and night without intermission; with such an horrible thundring, that the earth trembled, the houses shooke as if they would haue fallen downe: at which time many were slaine, both with the deadly shot, and the broken pieces of stones beaten out of the wals: neuer was such a feare as then within the citie of NICOSIA: euerie day the enemie brought his trenches neerer and neerer, and rested not vntill he had with restlesse labour brought them vnto the verie brim of the towne ditch, which the citizens before the comming of the Turks had not well scoured. Being come so nigh, they first skirmished a far off with their small pieces: but afterwards, they not onely battered the wals with their great artillerie, but with small shot, arrowes, and stones, ouerwhelmed the defendants, as if it had been a shower of haile; so to haue driuen them from off the wall and rampiers. In few daies, not only all the curtaines betwixt three of the bulwarks, was by the furie of the great ordinance beaten downe, but all places thereabout lay full of the dead bodies of the assailants and defendants. For although the Christians fought at great disaduantage, both for the number of men and indifferencie of the place: yet desperation joyned with extreame necessitie, of all other the greatest weapon, gaue them such courage, as with shot, stones, timber, and such like, to keepe downe their enemies, and defend their wals; and oftentimes to make great slaughter of them, with their artillerie and muthering pieces bent vpon them as at a certaine marke, who the thicker they stood, the greater was their harme. They also oftentimes dismounted many of the great pieces and made them vnseruiceable; and with featherbeds and sacks of cotten wooll, made vp their breaches: which the Turks laboured againe to burne with pitch barrels, and earthen pots full of wild fire. After long fight the Turks entring the ditch, made themselues two waies to the wals, which they fortified on both sides with fagots and earth, in such sort, as that they were safe from the loupes of the bulwarks which flankered the ditch. All this quickly performed, some presently set vp scaling ladders: others filled the ditches with brushwood, fagots, and earth; and others in the meane time with mattocks and leauers were digging downe the foundations of the bulwarks CONSTANCE and PODOCATERA, taking name of them that had the chiefe charge in the building thereof. The Christians right valiantly endured the first assault of the enemie, and strucke downe dead into the ditches many of them that were climing vp the ladders: and had in short time slaine mo than they were themselues in number, and enforced the rest to giue ouer the assault. These things were done in the beginning of the siege, whilest yet both parties were strong: in which hard conflicts a great number of souldiors were lost, and most of the canoniers slaine. After this assault, both parties for a while busied themselues and spent the time in their ingenious deuises: wherein it appeared, that the Turks were much cunninger in deuising of meanes to take cities, than were those Christians in defending the same.

Nicosia battered and assaulted, and by the Christians valiantly defended.

Now had the Venetians in the first motions of these wars, praied aid of diuers Christian princes, from most part of whom they receiued but cold comfort, as is before declared: yet now at length (though somewhat late) they had drawne into the confederation of this warre, the Pope and the king of SPAINE: by whose example some other princes of ITALIE moued, put to also their helping hands. The Venetians, as they whom the matter most concerned, had in good time put their fleet to sea; but knowing themselues too weake to encounter the Turks, they lay still vpon the coast of DALMATIA, about IADERA, expecting the comming of the Spanish admirall with his gallies. Two moneths (wherein much might haue been done) were now past in this expedition, and yet no newes of his comming: so that what the speed and industrie of the

Venetians

A Venetians had well prepared, was by the delay and lingering of the Spaniard, marred. Beſides that, the plague began to ariſe in the fleet, lying ſo long in one place; which at length grew ſo hoat, that many of the gallies had neither marriner nor ſouldiour left in them: neither did this mortalitie ſo ſeaſe, vntill there were twentie thouſand dead thereof; amongſt whom were many noble gentlemen of great account, which might haue done their countrey good ſeruice, had they been in time imploied.

Sommer now almoſt halfe ſpent, and the plague well ceaſed, the Venetian Admirall weatie of expecting of the comming of *Auria* the Spaniſh Admirall; gathering togither his fleet which he had before diſperſed, to auoid the infection ſailed to CORCYRA, where he met with *Veneri-* B *us* another of the Venetian commaunders, who there ſtaied for him, hauing but a little before taken from the Turks CESTRIA, now called SVPPOTO, a town vpon the ſea coaſt ouer againſt CORCYRA. The whole fleet of the Venetians being aſſembled togither was an hundred and ſeauenteene ſaile; amongſt which were twelue great galeaſſes; but all too weake to giue battell to the Turkes, as being themſelues ſtronger in ſhipping than in men. Neuertheleſſe, the Admirall ſorie and wearie to ſee the ſpoile of the Venetian territorie, and moued with the diſtreſſe of the beſieged in NICOSIA, rather than for any hope he had with that ſtrength to doe any good againſt the Turkes fleet, departed from CORCYRA towards CRETE; and the twelfth of Auguſt landed at SVDA, a port of that iſland. In the latter end of this moneth *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, and *Auria* Admirall for the king of SPAINE, arriued there alſo, whom the Venetian Admirall welcomed with great joy and triumph. The whole fleet of the confederat princes now C at length met togither, conſiſted of an hundred ninetie two gallies, and twelue galeaſſes, beſide victualers and other ſmall veſſels, laded with munition and other neceſſarie prouiſion for the fleet. Of theſe gallies the Pope had ſet forth twelue, the king of SPAINE fortie two, the reſt with the galeaſſes were the Venetians. In this fleet were embarked thirteene thouſand ſix hundred threeſcore ſouldiors: of whom the Pope ſent eleuen hundred, the king of SPAINE three thouſand nine hundred, and the Venetians eight thouſand ſix hundred and ſixtie. Theſe three great commaunders entring into counſell, what courſe to take in their proceedings in this warre; after long diſcourſe too and fro, at length by the perſuaſion of *Zanius* the Venetian Admirall, reſolued to go directly for CYPRVS, and to giue the Turkes battell, in hope thereby to raiſe them from the ſiege of NICOSIA. About the middeſt of September, this great fleet furniſhed with D all things needfull for ſuch an expedition, looſed from CRETE, and with a faire gale of wind ſet forward for CYPRVS; in all their courſe keeping ſuch order, as if they ſhould preſently haue met with the enemie. In the middeſt of theſe troubles died *Petrus Loredanus* duke of VENICE, leauing the reſt of the care of that warre to *Aloyſius Mocenicus*, who ſucceeded him in the dukedome.

The Venetian fleet of an hundred and ſeauenteene ſaile at Corcyra.

The Chriſtian fleet ſetteth forward toward Cyprus.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus ſlowly proceed in their ſo waightie affaires, *Muſtapha* in the meane time laied hard ſiege to NICOSIA: and diuiding his armie into foure parts, aſſaulted foure of the bulwarks of the citie, with greater force than at any time before from the beginning of the ſiege. The aſſault was both long and terrible: furie, and the verie ſight of the warlike Generall, who was there a preſent witneſſe, and beholder of euerie mans forwardneſſe or cowardE diſe (a matter of great moment) beſides their naturall fierceneſſe, carried the Turkes headlong without any perill or danger. And on the other ſide, the greatneſſe of the danger, the feare to looſe both life and libertie, with the hope of reliefe, encouraged the defendants to dare any thing: ſo that the Turks could not approach the wals, or mount the ſcaling ladders, but they were preſently ſlaine, or togither with the ladders throwne to the ground. Many of the Turkes were there ſlain, but eſpecially ſuch as were moſt forward: and of the defendants were alſo more loſt than ſtood with the ſafetie of ſo ſmall a number: and for as much as few or none eſcaped out of that fight vnwounded, the poore defendants were brought vnto a ſmall number. Many skilfull men were of opinion, that the citie might haue been that day taken, if the aſſault had by the Baſſa been longer maintained, by bringing ſtill on freſh men: but ſuch was his loſſe, as that he was glad F for that time to giue ouer the aſſault, and ſo with diſhonour to retire.

After this aſſault, it was by ſome of the captaines thought good, that they ſhould (whileſt they were yet of ſome reaſonable ſtrength in the citie) ſallie forth vpon the enemie: ſo to make ſhew, that they had yet ſome good hope in themſelues, and withall by ſo ſudden an eruption to performe ſomething vpon the ſecure enemie. Of which motion, *Dandulus* the Gouernour in no caſe

The Chriſtians ſallie out of the citie vpon the Turkes.

caſe liked, as loath by ſuch a dangerous peece of ſeruice to deminiſh the number of the defendants, and ſo to giue the enemie an eaſier meanes to take the citie. Yet ſeeing all the captaines generally of another mind, he yeelded vnto their deſire. So in the hoteſt time of the day, when as the Turkes leaſt thought that the Chriſtians would haue ſallied out, certaine Italian companies vnder the conduct of *Cæſar Plouianus* of VICENTIA, and *Albertus Scotus*, iſſued out by the gate that leadeth to FAMAGVSTA, and vpon the ſudden brake into the enemies trenches: where they found the Turks ſome playing, ſome ſleeping, but fearing nothing leſſe than that the Chriſtians, whom they daily braued, durſt to haue aduentured to come forth. At the firſt entrance the Italians preuailed, and brought a great feare vpon that quarter of the Turks armie, and ſlew many. But when the Turks awaked with the alarum, came running in on euery ſide, the Italians oppreſſed with the multitude, were glad to retire: in which retreat diuers of them were ſlaine, and amongſt them their two leaders *Cæſar* and *Albertus*: ſo that this ſallie ſerued to no other purpoſe, than to weaken the defendants themſelues, and to cauſe the Turkes to keepe better watch and ward afterward againſt ſuch ſudden eruptions.

Scouts ſent out of the citie, taken by the Turks, and executed.

All hope of long defending the citie now almoſt loſt, and that the defendants could hardly ſtand vpon the wals or ſhew their heads without preſent danger, they for want of better counſell rather than for any hope of good ſucceſſe, ſent out certaine ſcouts, men skilfull of the wayes and paſſages of the countrey (whom they had for great reward enduced to vndertake the matter) to craue aid of the countrey people, that were in great multitude fled into the ſafetie of the mountaines: and to tell them, that if they came not in time to their releeſe, their wiues and children, whom they had before ſent into the citie, muſt needs in ſhort time fall into the enemies hand, or periſh with hunger: but theſe meſſengers were by the vigilant enemie intercepted, and in the ſight of the beſieged tortured to death.

Letters ſhot into the citie.

About the ſame time diuers letters were ſhot with arrows into the citie, to perſuade the beſieged Chriſtians to yeeld themſelues; for that in ſo doing they ſhould find the Baſſa a mild & merciſull conquerour: whereas otherwiſe if they ſhould by wilfull holding out delay his victorie, they were ſure to endure whatſoeuer could be endured or ſuffered. But when *Muſtapha* had thus in vaine with hope and feare tried the minds of the defendants, he called forth to parley certaine ſoldiors that were ſtanding vpon the bulwarke called CONSTANTIVS, of whom ſome were by the conſent of the Gouernor ſent forth vnto him: vnto whom *Muſtapha* by his interpretor complained, That no anſwere was giuen vnto his letters; he ſet forth vnto them the glorie, power, and greatneſſe of the Turkiſh empire; and debaſed the ſtrength of the Venetians: then he perſuaded them to yeeld, propounding vnto them the miſeries that would fall vpon them, if the citie ſhould by force be taken; which he threatened would be farre greater than the danger the Turks were to vndertake for the winning thereof: and that therefore it concerned none ſo much as themſelues, whether the citie were giuen vp by compoſition, or els woon by ſtrong hand: He ſhewed vnto them the profit that ſhould ariſe vnto them by yeelding of it vp, and offred vnto them large entertainement, if they would ſerue him: and to conclude, told them, that they ſhould neuer afterwards find at his hands ſo much grace as was at that inſtant offered them. The craftie Baſſa did what he might to haſten the winning of the citie, both for that he doubted the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, and that his great armie was exceedingly troubled with contagious and grieuous diſeaſes, ariſing of the immoderat heat and drought in that ſo hot a countrey. But the ſouldiours thinking any thing more aſſured than the Turkiſh faith, anſwered him, That they did not as yet doubt their owne ſtrength, and that they were readie to endure any thing that could happen, rather than to preferre the vncertaine friendſhip of an vnknowne prince before the gratious fauour of ſuch worthie princes as they had ſo good experience of.

Muſtapha Baſſa in vaine perſuadeth them of Nicoſia to yeeld.

This anſwere cut off all the Baſſaes hope for taking of the citie by compoſition: wherewith being both grieued and enraged, he commanded all things to be made readie for the aſſault: and the more to encourage his ſouldiors, promiſed vnto them great rewards and honors that ſhould firſt or ſecond mount the wals. After that he gaue a generall aſſault vnto the citie with all his power: wherein both he as a moſt worthie captaine and his ſouldiours fought moſt fiercely. You haue to doe (ſaid he) with the ſmall and laſt remainders of your enemies, which are ſcarce able to ſtand or hold their weapons in their hands, rather than with enemies indeed: ſhall you not then eaſily ouercome them, being both few and feeble, that haue vanquiſhed them when they were many and luſtie? The end of all your labours is at hand, your hoped rewards approch; onely play

Muſtapha encourageth his ſouldiors.

play you the men, and faint not in this assault; the spoile of this rich citie shall be the worthie reward of your labours; the fruit of all your trauell consisteth in this one moment. Whilest he thus encourageth some and reproueth others, they mindfull of his promises, and these of the disgrace, altogether with their thicke shot suffer no man to stand in safetie vpon the wals, and out of their forts also with their great ordinance greatly annoyed the defendants. This done, they attempted by the ruines of the wall and in other places by scaling ladders to haue entred the citie. Which terrible assault was by the cruell enemie maintained, not for some few houres, but for diuers dayes together without any intermission, fresh men still comming on in stead of them that were wounded or slaine. Yet did the defendants valiantly endure all that storme, and in such weake case as they were, worthily performed what was possible for so few to do: yet still in hope (the poore comfort of men in miserie) that releese might come by the approch of the Christian fleet. At length, when the matter was brought to this point, that the Turkes were in great hope to haue gained the wals, & *Mustapha* himselfe probably guessed, That the Christians were now wearie of the long assault, and sore weakened with wounds and other infinit miseries, not to seek in a citie so hardly distressed, and was in that his opinion also confirmed by certain fugitiue Christians: he neuertheless vpon the sudden caused a retreat to be sounded, and so retiring into his trenches, lay still all the next day without any thing doing. The defendants thinking that he had giuen ouer the assault, because of some aid that was comming to their releese, became more careless of the enemie, and vpon the vaine hope of such aid, with lesse diligence repaired their breaches and prouided for the repulsing of their enemies. But the Bassa in the meane time had chosen out of his whole armie about two hundred of his best captaines and souldiors, all men of approued valour and agilitie of bodie, whom the next day after hee sent early in the morning, to make proofe if they could with scaling ladders secretly and without any noise set vp, get into the foure bulwarkes which he had before sore shaken with his great ordinance. These resolute men leading the way, got first vp, after whom followed diuers others, and so tooke the aforesaid bulwarkes: when presently after other companies of their fellowes which stood readie for the purpose, comming on forward, did with their scaling ladders in diuers places recouer the top of the wals: for now the matter was not done by secret surprise, but by open force. In euery one of these bulwarkes were seuentie Italians and as many Epirots, who there kept watch and ward; these men part asleepe, as fearing no such danger, and part lying lasily vpon the ground, were there surprised on the sudden and slaine: othersome of them awaked with the strange and vncouth noise, betooke not themselues lustily to their weapons, but forsaking their stations leapt downe out of the bulwarkes at such places as were next vnto them; some for feare ran vnawares into the middest of their enemies. Vpon this alarum some of the Christian captaines came speedily to the wals with their companies, as did *Eugenius*, who whilest he in vaine crieth out to such fearefull souldiors as he met, that they should not so cowardly flie, & stayeth others that were flying, was himselfe shot thorow with a small shot and slaine. Other captaines in other places likewise laboured in vaine to haue stayed the flying souldiors, whose persuasions, requests, and authoritie in so generall a feare, nothing at that time preuailed.

Nicosia most terribly assaulted by the Turks.

The Turks gaine the bulwarks & wals of Nicosia.

The defendants thus beaten from the wals and bulwarkes, gathered themselues into the market place: but the citisens stealing home to their owne houses, there stood in the entrances of the same, fearefully expecting the destruction of their countrey, together with their owne. In the meane time the Gouernour of ALEPPO with his regiment scoured the wals of the citie round about, as he had in charge from the Generall: and without respect put to sword all that he met, armed or vnarmed. At the bulwarke called BARBARVS, it fortuned him to light vpon a companie of Italians, who for a while fought desperatly, but were in the end ouerthrown and slaine. When he had thus cleared the wals, and left such companies as he thought good in places conuenient for the keeping of them, he came downe into the more open places of the citie: and seeing them that were gathered together into the market place to haue cast themselues into a ring, and to fight as men altogether desperat, he caused certaine murthering pieces to be bent vpon them: which they perceiuing, layed downe their weapons, and yeelded themselues vnto the mercie of the enemie. By and by all the gates of the citie were strongly guarded by the enemie, to the intent that no man should goe in or out. *Dandulus* the Gouernour, and *Contarenus* bishop of PAPHOS, with the rest of the nobilitie and better sort of the citisens, had got themselues into the towne hall, and there stood vpon their guard: vnto whom *Mustapha* sent word, that hee would

Nicosia taken by the Turke.

would take them all to mercie, if they would without further reſiſtance yeeld themſelues. But whiles meſſengers run too and fro, the Turks violently brake in vpon them, and there ſlew them euery man. After the death of theſe noblemen the cruell enemie ſpared none: and hauing ſlaine ſuch as they found abroad in the ſtreets, brake into the houſes, where they made hauocke of all things: yong babes were violently taken out of the armes of their mothers, virgins were ſhamefully rauiſhed, and honeſt matrones before their husbands faces diſpightfully abuſed, churches were ſpoyled, and all places filled with mourning and dead bodies: the ſtreets were in all places ſtained with bloud, for in the citie was ſlaine that day foureteene thouſand eight hundred threeſcore and ſix perſons. Neither was there any end of the ſpoile, vntill the greedie enemie had carried away all the wealth that long peace had heaped vp. It is reported, that the prey there taken amounted to twentie hundred thouſand millions of duckats: two hundred of the moſt goodly and beautifull youths were choſen out of purpoſe to be ſent vnto CONSTANTINOPLE for a preſent for *Selymus*. In the citie were taken alſo two hundred and fiftie pieces of great ordinance: whereof ſome were by the enemie carried away, and the reſt left for defence of the citie. Thus the famous citie of NICOSIA, ſometime the regall ſeat of the kings of CYPRVS, fell into the hands of the Turks, the ninth day of September in the yeare 1570, in whoſe power it ſtill remaineth.

A great ſlaughter.

Muſtapha hauing as he thought beſt diſpoſed of all things in NICOSIA, with the very terror of his name, rather than by any force, brought moſt part of the reſt of the townes in the iſland vnder his obeiſance; and by faire entreatie and promiſe of good vſage, brought backe againe vnto their wonted dwellings the rude countrey people, who vpon the comming of the Turks were fled with all that they had into the mountaines: them as men not to be feared, he commaunded to till and ſow their land as they were wont. The citie of CYRENE is ſtrongly ſituated, not farre from the ſea, and was then well furniſhed of all things needfull for the enduring of a long ſiege. Hither the Baſſa ſent one of his Sanzackes to ſummon the citie, more to prooue the courage of the defendants, than for any hope he had to haue the citie deliuered vnto him. But *Alphonſus Palacius* then Gouernour of the citie, terrified with the loſſe of NICOSIA, no ſooner ſaw the enemie, but that without any further deliberation or force vſed againſt him, he deliuered vp the towne vnto the Sanzacke; couenanting only in reward of his cowardiſe, That he might in ſafetie depart from thence with all his garriſon ſouldiours: which was eaſily graunted, and the citie furrendered.

Cyrene yeelded vnto the Turkes.

Not long after *Muſtapha* leauing a thouſand horſemen and three thouſand foot in garriſon in NICOSIA, marched with the reſt of his armie to beſiege FAMAGVSTA. And the more to terrifie them of the citie, he by a poore countrey fellow, whom he had for that purpoſe ſet at libertie, ſent vnto them in a basket the head of *Nicholaus Dandulus*, late Gouernor of NICOSIA: and at the ſame time ſent before him diuers horſemen, who vpon their horſemens ſtaues carried the heads of many of the noblemen ſlaine at NICOSIA, wherwith they rid as in triumph about the wals of the citie. Which thing he did, in hope that they of FAMAGVSTA terrified with ſuch a ſpectacle, and the late ouerthrow of NICOSIA, would for feare of like miſerie yeeld themſelues. But deceiued in this his expectation, he encamped his armie about three miles from the citie. Afterwards hauing taken view of the citie, and well conſidered of the ſituation thereof, he with wonderfull celeritie caſt vp diuers mounts againſt the ſame, and at the ſame time cauſed batterie to be layed againſt the great tower which defended the hauen: he himſelfe alſo in the mean while battering the gate that leadeth to AMATHVS. But perceiuing by the deſperat ſallies of the defendants their great courage, and that he was like to haue much more to doe in this ſiege than he had in the winning of NICOSIA, and Winter alſo now drawing faſt on (being about the later end of September) he thought it beſt betime to prouide, that by lying there he hazarded not the honour he had with ſo much labour and danger before gained: and the rather, for that it was commonly reported, that the Chriſtian fleet was at hand: wherefore he riſe with his armie, and retired himſelfe further off into the countrey, where he ſhortly after billitted his ſouldiors in the villages round about for that Winter.

Famagvſta beſieged.

Muſtapha raiſeth his ſiege.

The Baſſaes at ſea, *Haly* and *Piall*, lying before FAMAGVSTA, doubting the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, which then lay at CRETE, ſent out ſix galliots to diſcouer the doings of the Chriſtians: who returning with certaine priſoners taken in the Iſland of CRETE, declared vnto the Baſſaes what they had learned concerning the Chriſtian fleet, and that it was alreadie vpon the way for CYPRVS. Vpon which intelligence the Baſſaes put their fleet in order of battell, and ſet forward

The Turks at ſea aduertiſed of the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, prepare themſelues for battell.

A forward towards LIMISSO, to haue met with the Christians: who with a prosperous wind were comming betwixt the islands of CARPATHOS and the RHODES: but there vnderstanding by their espials, that NICOSIA was lost, and that the Turks were come to besiege FAMAGVSTA; they called a counsell of all the cheefe commaunders in the fleet, to consult what were best to doe in so dangerous a case. *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, and then cheefe commander in the fleet, with *Zanius* the Venetian Admirall, were of opinion, That it were best to hold on their course for CYPRVS, and to relieue FAMAGVSTA: for that it was like that the Turks proud of their late victorie, were for desire of prey for most part gone ashore into the island, and so left their fleet but slenderly manned. Beside that they alleadged, That the Venetian Senat had expressely decreed, that they should giue the Turks battell. But *Auria* the Spanish Admirall thin-
B king it, as indeed it was, to be a matter of great difficultie and danger, was quite of another mind, saying, That he could not but maruell, how the Venetian Senatours sitting at their ease in counsell, could before they knew their owne strength, and power of the enemie, the nature of the countrey, and purpose of their foes, determine what were fit for martiall men to doe: vnto whose actions no certaine rule could bee prescribed: All the shores (he said) were kept with the enemies garrisons: so that what need soeuer they should haue, they could neither come by water or wood, or put into any harbour. Besides that, the enemie would giue them battell at his owne pleasure, and not at theirs: for that they were not of such power as to enforce him to fight. And that if the Senate, which vsed to doe all things warily, and with great aduisement, did but see the weakenesse of their gallies, wanting both souldiours and mariners,
C they would be of another mind. He alledged further, that they were to wage warre in the enemies countrey, where there was no port to receiue their fleet, no peaceable place, no confederat citie, nor king to friend: whereas the time of the yeare grew euery day worse and worse, when as they had neither harbour to put into, neither were able to abide the sea. And now that NICOSIA was lost, for the releese whereof they were come so farre, there was no reason for them longer to stay, the enemie so strongly possessing the island with his great armie, as that there was not any hope to doe any good against him. And that to keepe him from victuall, and so to distresse him, was not possible, lying in a most fertile island, and in the middest of his owne dominions: whereas they, who were to be still relieued from farre, should sooner feele the want than the enemie. He was victualled (as he said when he came from home) but for three moneths, in hope to
D haue made a short dispatch, and had now two thousand miles home. He said moreouer, That he had expresse commaundement from the king, to returne to MESSANA before Winter; and that therefore so soone as the month was out, he would depart. The Venetian Admirall desiring nothing more, than by battell at sea to ouerthrow the Turks, and so to relieue the distressed Cypriots, vrged the Spanish Admirall to proceed in the voyage, saying, That so great aid was not sent from the Pope and the king onely for the reliefe of NICOSIA, but to deliuer the whole island from the danger of the Turke. Of the same opinion with the Spanish Admirall were diuers other great captains in the fleet, namely *Sfortia*; who said, That nothing was to be so done; as might rashly expose vnto casualtie or power of the enemie, the publike fortune and majestie of the Christian commonweale, which was in that fleet greatly hazarded: That longer stay
E might bring further danger: That in that fleet consisted the whole welfare of the commonweale; wherein more might be lost, if any mishap should chance thereunto, than was good to be gained by the relieuing of FAMAGVSTA. The great commaunders thus differing in opinions, the counsell was in a heat dissolued, and nothing concluded. Vpon which so foule a disagreement the fleet began now to returne backe againe, but so, as that it was not now as before one, but three fleets, euery Admirall by himselfe drawing after him his fleet. *Auria* the Spanish Admirall, who first returned, after he had beene two dayes wonderfully with tempest tossed at sea, came at last to CARPATHOS, and departing thence, with much adoe arriued with his fleet in the island of CRETE: from whence hee by a messenger sent of purpose, requested leaue of *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, that he might with his good will presently returne home: whereunto *Colum-*
F *nius* answered, That he would giue him no such leaue: but rather charged him in the dutie he ought to the good of the Christian commonweale not to depart, but to keepe companie with the rest of the fleet, vntill it were past ZACYNTHVS; that so with their vnited forces they might more safely passe by their enemies countries: Wheras otherwise, if any thing should by his hastie departure fall out otherwise than well, it should be imputed to the dishonour of him that had for-

The commanders of the Christian fleet of diuers opinions for giuing of the Turke battell.

The Christian fleet returneth vpon the fould disagreement of the commanders.

ſaken his friends, and not of them that were ſo by him forſaken. But vnto this *Auria* anſwered, That the welfare of the kingdomes of SICILIE and NAPLES, conſiſted in the ſafetie of this fleet: and that therefore hauing haſt home, he could not ſtay to keepe companie with their heauie galeaſſes and other ſhips of burthen, which muſt oftentimes be towed forward. This he openly pretended for his departure, yet ſecretly ſought (as it was deemed) to find an occaſion whereby to withdraw himſelfe (being as he accounted the better man at ſea) from the command of *Columnius*, whereunto he was full ſore againſt his will ſubject. G

After they had thus a while ſpent the time with reaſoning the matter too and fro, *Auria* of himſelfe without farther leaue hoiſed ſaile, and ſo at length came to MESSANA in SICILIE: neither did *Columnius* and *Zanius* ſtay in thoſe quarters long after him, but hauing endured much trouble at ſea, arriued at laſt, *Columnius* in ITALIE, and *Zanius* at CORCYRA. Thus this mighty fleet, which had all this Sommer filled the Mediterranean with all the countries thereabout with the expectation of ſome great matter, was by the diſcord of the Generals diſſolued, hauing done nothing at all worth the remembrance. In this idle expedition many thouſands of right valiant men loſt their liues, being dead of diuers diſeaſes proceeding of change of diet, and vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather in that hoat climat; amongſt whom was the valiant countie *Hieronimus Marteningus* ſent by the Senat with three thouſand ſouldiors, for the defence of FAMAGVSTA; who alſo moſt of them periſhed in that voiage. The Venetian fleet was no ſooner arriued at CORCYRA, but *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* was ſent from the Senat to diſcharge *Zanius* the Admirall of his office, and to ſend him priſoner to VENICE: in whoſe roome was placed *Sebaſtianus Venerius* Gouernour of that iſland. H

Zanius the Venetian Admirall diſcharged of his office, and ſent in bonds to Venice.

The Turks Baſſaes at ſea, certainly aduertiſed of the departure of the Chriſtian fleet, were not a little prowd thereof; as by the confeſsion of their enemies, their betters. Yet for as much as the ſeas began then to grow rough, and no enemie appeared, they thought it to no purpoſe to keepe the ſeas with ſo great a fleet, and therefore reſolued to leaue *Muſtapha* with his armie in CYPRVS, the next yeare to make an end of his conqueſt ſo happily begun; and ſeauen gallies at ſea before FAMAGVSTA, that no reliefe ſhould that way be brought into the citie, and ſo to depart themſelues with the reſt of the fleet to Winter in more ſafer harbours: *Piall* with the greater part of the fleet to CONSTANTINOPLE, and *Haly* with the reſt to the RHODES. And becauſe they would for their greater credit prepare ſome worthie preſent for their great lord and maſter *Selymus*, they fraughted a great gallion of *Muhamets* the chiefe Baſſaes, and two other tall ſhips, with the richeſt of the ſpoile of NICOSIA, and the choiſe of the priſoners there taken. But when they were now readie to hoiſe ſaile and depart, as they were carrying out of the gallion certaine barrels of gunpouder which *Muſtapha* the Generall had commaunded for his better prouiſion to be landed, a noble gentlewoman captiue in the gallion, wiſhing rather to die with honour than to liue diſhonoured, ſecretly fiered the pouder: by force whereof, the ſame gallion with the other two ſhips were ſuddenly rent in pieces, and all that was therein blowne vp into the ayre. Of all that were in thoſe three veſſels, none eſcaped with life but the maſter of the gallion and two Chriſtian captiues, but there periſhed togither with the rich ſpoile. But the Baſſaes following their former reſolution departed from CYPRVS, and afterwards in ſafetie arriued at CONSTANTINOPLE: where both then and all the Winter following, ſuch preparation was in making, as if *Selymus* had the next yeare purpoſed ſome farre greater matter than the conqueſt of CYPRVS. K L

A deſperat fact of a woman.

Whileſt *Sebaſtianus Venerius* (now the Venetian Admirall) yet lay at CORCYRA, the rude Acroceraunian people, more famous for nothing than for their theft, and want of all things, by truſtie meſſengers promiſed to deliuer into his power the ſtrong caſtle of CHYMERA, kept by a garriſon of three hundred Turks, if he himſelfe with a few gallies and a conuenient number of footmen would come into the bay of AMBRACIA; offering him good hoſtages for the better aſſurance of their promiſe. Of which their offer he gladly accepted, and forthwith went to the appointed place with a companie of horſemen, three thouſand footmen, and certaine gallies; who were no ſooner landed, but that preſently a thouſand of thoſe rough mountaine people came vnto them: with which power taking the hill, and repulſing the Turks garriſon; comming to the reliefe of the caſtle, he ſo diſcouraged them that were in the hold, that the next night they let themſelues downe with ropes into the valley below; but being deſcried, were there all either taken or ſlaine. And ſo in a verie ſhort time was that ſtrong caſtle taken by the Admirall, and a M

The ſtrong caſtle of Chymera taken by Venerius.

ſtrong

A ſtrong garriſon of Chriſtians put into it in ſtead of the Turkes.

Not long after, *Quirinus* the Viceadmirall, a man of great courage, landed with foure and twentie gallies in PELOPONESVS neere the bay of MAINE, and there vpon the ſudden both by ſea and land beſieged a ſtrong caſtle, which the Turks but two yeares before had built to trouble the Chriſtians paſsing that way. Which caſtle he tooke in fiue houres, and put to the ſword fiue hundred Turkes which lay there in garriſon, and raſing it downe to the ground carried away with him foure and twentie great pieces of artillerie into the iſland of ZACYNTHVS. *Quirinus taketh a caſtle of the Turkes in Peloponeſus.*

At ſuch time as *Muſtapha* before lay at the ſiege of FAMAGVSTA, *Bragadinus* Gouernour of the towne, with *Baleonius* a moſt expert captaine, from out of the high places of the citie beholding the great armie of the Turkes (which couered the ground almoſt as farre as they could ſee)
B with their cunning manner of their fortification, were therewith much moued: and therefore thought it good betime to giue the Senat knowledge thereof, and in ſo great a danger to craue their aid. And that their requeſt might be of more waight and haue the better hearing, they entreated *Hieronimus Ragazonius* biſhop of the citie, a reuerend and deuout man, to take vpon him that charge, vnto whom they joyned *Nicholas Donatus*, a noble gentleman of CYPRVS. The biſhop at the firſt was verie vnwilling to go, as loath in ſo great danger to leaue his flocke: but at length ouercome with the entreatie of the Gouernour, and teares of the beſieged, ſuffered himſelfe to be entreated. And embarked in a gallie about the going downe of the Sunne, looſing out of the hauen, and hoiſing ſaile, with a faire gale of wind paſſed through the Turkes fleet, which then lay at anchor before the citie; and by the comming on of the night, and by the great way
C he made, got him quickly out of ſight. After foure daies ſayling he came to CRETE, and ſo at length to VENICE: where, as he had before vnto the Admirall, ſo there vnto the Senat he declared the dangerous eſtate of the citie, the ſtrength of the enemie, the weakneſſe of the defendants againſt ſo great a multitude, and the want of many things needfull for the holding out of the ſiege: and to be briefe, that except they ſent ſpeedie reliefe, the citie could not be kept. *Zanius* at that time Admirall, carefull for the beſieged, cauſed foure tall ſhips to be laded with all manner of victuall, and a great quantitie of gunpouder, and put into them ſeauenteene hundred ſelect ſouldiors: all which he ſent from CRETE to the reliefe of them of FAMAGVSTA, appointing *M. Antonius Quirinus* with twelue of the beſt gallies in all the fleet, to conduct the ſame thither. This *Quirinus* was a moſt valiant and expert captaine, meanly diſcended, but by ſeruice *Quirinus a Vitalians gentleman.*
D growne to be a man both of great reputaton and wealth: and therefore *Zanius* at his departure to VENICE, although he knew the matter required haſt, yet preſuming vpon his wiſedome and carefulneſſe, left it to his diſcretion, when, and how to performe that peece of ſeruice. *Quirinus* (not without cauſe) doubting to ſet forward, the ſeas as then full of the Turkes gallies, ſtaied vntill Winter was well ſpent, and then ſetting forward the ſeauenteenth of Ianuarie, kept aloofe 1571
from the ſhips, which with a proſperous wind came directly before FAMAGVSTA: in hope, that the Turkes gallies which lay in the mouth of the hauen, might ſo be drawne farther into the ſea, in hope of ſome good bootie, he himſelfe ſtaying with his gallies in place conuenient out of ſight. Neither had the euent deceiued his expectation, had not his fierce nature hindred the ſame: for the Turkes vpon the dawning of the day deſcrying the ſhips, made haſtily toward them. But
E *Quirinus* not able longer to ſtay himſelfe, and before deſirous to fight with them, ſhewed himſelfe too ſoone in the open ſea before the enemie was come neere the ſhips: whom as ſoone as the Turks had ſeene, and that there was no hope to withſtand him, they ſtaied their oares, and with all ſpeed retired. But *Quirinus* following faſter vpon them, they were glad for ſafegard of their liues, with all the power they could, to run three of their gallies aground, and to run to ſhoare themſelues: which three gallies, *Quirinus* did with his great ordinance beat all to pieces, and ſore gauled the other foure. The hauen thus cleared, he returned againe vnto the ſhips, and brought them with the ſupplie in ſafetie to FAMAGVSTA; vpon whoſe arriuall was great rejoicing, both amongſt the garriſon ſoldiors & the citiſens: for the Turks thought nothing leſſe than that the Chriſtian gallies durſt at that time of the yeare haue put into thoſe dangerous ſeas: which
F *Quirinus* well knowing, came foorth againe with his gallies, and roaming vp and downe at his pleaſure, tooke two of the enemies ſhips richly laded comming vnto the camp, with which bootie he enriched his ſouldiors: and farther incited by occaſion, landed his men in diuers places alongſt the ſea coaſt in PAMPHILIA, and there did great harme. So hauing filled the countrey with the terrour and fame of his name, he returned againe to FAMAGVSTA, where he notably

encouraged the garriſon ſouldiors, perſuading them to remember their woonted valour: and fil. G
ling them with hope, that the Chriſtian fleet would be with them in the beginning of the next Sommer, to deliuer them from their enemies, and to raiſe the ſiege. So hauing in twentie daies diſpatched that he came for, and done what good ſeruice elſe he could, he departed from FAMAGVSTA, and within fiue daies after arriued at CRETE.

Negligence ſeuerely puniſhed by Selymus.

It was not long, but *Selymus* had knowledge of this late ſupply put into FAMAGVSTA, and of the harmes done by *Quirinus*; wherewith he was ſo highly diſpleaſed, that he commaunded the Gouernour of CHIOS his head to be ſtrucke off, and the Gouernour of the RHODES to be diſgraced, whoſe charge it was to haue kept thoſe ſeas ſo that nothing ſhould haue been conuaied into FAMAGVSTA. Neither ſpared he *Pial Baſſa*, but depriued him of his Admiraltie, and placed *Pertau Baſſa* Admirall in his ſtead: for that he had not the yeare before diſcomfited the H
Chriſtian fleet at the iſland of CRETE, as it was ſuppoſed he might haue done.

From the beginning of this warre, the Venetians, with *Pius Quintus* then Pope who greatly fauoured their cauſe, had moſt earneſtly from time to time ſolicited *Philip* king of SPAINE, to enter with them into the participation and fellowſhip of this warre; which their requeſt ſtanding in deed with the good of his ſtate, he ſeemed eaſily to yeeld vnto: and therefore ſent *Auria* his Admirall the laſt yeare with his fleet to aid them, but with ſuch ſucceſſe as is before declared. As for to joyne with them in a perpetuall league and confederation (as it was tearmed) againſt the common enemie, that he referred vnto the diſcreet conſideration of the two Cardinals, *Granuellan* and *Pace*, and *Io. Zunica* his embaſſadour, ſent for that purpoſe to ROME: promiſing to performe whatſoeuer they ſhould on his behalfe agree vpon or conſent vnto. At the ſame time, and I
for the ſame purpoſe lay alſo *Surianus* the Venetian embaſſadour at ROME: vnto whom the Pope joyned Cardinall *Morone*, *Aldobrandinus*, and *Ruſticucius*, with certaine other of the chiefe Cardinals, as men indifferent to both parties, to moderat and compoſe ſuch differences and difficulties as ſhould ariſe betwixt the aforeſaid commiſsioners for the king, and the Venetians, concerning the intended league. But theſe graue men, ſent from ſo great princes about ſo great a matter (as well there could not be a greater) were no ſooner met togither and ſet in conſultation, but that forthwith they began to jarre about the capitulations of the league. Neceſſarie it was thought, that a league ſhould be agreed vpon againſt ſo puiſſant and dangerous an enemie, but to find the way how the ſame might be concluded to the contentment of all parties, ſeemed a matter almoſt impoſsible. Oftentimes theſe commiſsioners ſat, but the oftener the farther K
off: if one difficultie were by the diſcretion of ſome appeaſed, in ſtead thereof at the next meeting ariſe three others. The chiefe commaund of the armie to be raiſed, the proportion of the forces, the maner of the war, with many other ſuch like circumſtances incident to ſo great actions, made great differences among them: but moſt of all, the indifferent proportioning of the charge, the Spaniſh commiſsioners ſeeking to turne the greateſt part therof vpon the Venetians, and the Venetians vpon them: which was done with ſuch earneſtneſſe and ſtudie of euerie man towards his owne part, as if they had all there met for the bettering of the particular ſtate from which they were ſent, rather than for the common good: For the Spaniard, who in former time was glad to keepe the frontiers of his large dominions in ITALIE, SICILIE, SARDINIA, CORSICA, MAIORCA, MINORCA, yea and of SPAINE it ſelfe, with ſtrong garriſons for feare of the L
Turke: now that the warre was riſen betwixt the Venetians and him, and the danger thereof tranſlated farre off into other mens territories; enjoyed now in his owne an vnwonted quietneſſe, to the great content of his ſubjects, & eaſing of his owne charge in maintaining of ſo many garriſons as before: whereof many were now thought needleſſe. Beſides that, he by the indulgence of the Pope, raiſed ſuch great ſummes of money vpon his cleargie, as was thought by many ſufficient to diſcharge the charge of the warre: For which cauſes he cared not for entring into any farther league with the Venetians, but as it were of courteſie to ſend them a yearely aid to maintain a defenſiue lingering war, and ſo to keepe the Turke buſied vpon the Venetian a far off from his owne territories. But the Venetians, in whoſe dominions the fierce enemie daily raged, as well in DALMATIA as in CYPRVS, were euen for the ſame reaſons moued to haſten and M
ſhorten the war, that the Spaniard was to protract it: for beſide the neereneſſe of the danger, and the infinit calamities by the ſuſtained, their yearly reuenues ariſing for moſt part of their cuſtomes, were greatly empaired, and their traffique (the maintenance of their State) almoſt quite cut off; which cauſed them more earneſtly to confederat themſelues with the Spaniard. But hard it was

to

A to joyne in one, States ſo farre differing, in reſpect of their particular profit, and almoſt by nature contrarie. Thus was all the laſt yeare, and a great part of this alſo, ſpent by the aforeſaid commiſsioners in turbulent and fruitleſſe conferences, but nothing as yet concluded concerning the league: which troubled the Venetians not a little, being of themſelues too weake for ſo mightie an enemie as was *Selymus*, and yet no other certaine ſtrength from their friends to reſt vpon. But whiles they ſtood thus doubtfull of the league with SPAINE, and quite out of hope of any attonement with *Selymus*; vpon the ſudden when they leaſt expected, it was by good fortune laid as it were in their laps, to make choiſe whether they would (as they had before moſt earneſtly deſired) joyne in league with the Pope and the king of SPAINE, or elſe fall to agreement with *Selymus*: and that by this meanes.

B *Muhamet* the chiefe Baſſa, a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians of whom he had been of long time honoured, had no great liking of the proſperous ſucceſſe of *Muſtapha* in CYPRVS, and therefore deuiſed night and day how to croſſe the riſing of him, the competitour of his honours and withall, to help the Venetians vnto whom he was much beholden. He by ſecret meſſengers had before oftentimes ſounded the mind of the Venetian embaſſadour, and put him in hope that if ſute were made vnto *Selymus* for peace, it would vndoubtedly be granted; and farther promiſed, to be himſelfe an helper and interceſſour for the ſame. But finding the embaſſadour to caſt many perils, and to giue ſmall credit vnto their talke, who had before by truſting them deceiued him: he did not ſo giue ouer the matter, but referring the farther tempering with him vnto a more fitter time, for the preſent he tooke opportunitie to enter into diſcourſe with *Selymus* C himſelfe concerning the Venetians, and told him that it was reported, That they wearie of the long altercation they had had with the Spaniards concerning the league, and now deſtitute of all hope and aid, would now happily of their owne accord grant him that which they had before to him denied. And perceiuing him not vnwillingly to heare ſo of them, he proceeded farther in the matter, to know his pleaſure what he would haue done therein: cunningly by the way of good counſell perſuading him vnto that which he moſt wiſhed himſelfe to be done. Immediatly after he ſecretly aduertiſeth *M. Antonius* the Venetian embaſſadour, That there was great hope of peace, and that therefore the Senat ſhould vnder the colour of exchanging of priſoners, and redeeming of merchants goods, ſend ſome fit man to CONSTANTINOPLE, with whom he would in ſecret conferre of all ſuch matters as might further the pacification. This vnexpected D newes from the embaſſador brought to VENICE, was well heard of the Senat: for they thought it much to concerne their State, to haue a way opened whereby vpon tollerable conditions to make peace with the mightie tyrant, if that the league betwixt them and the king of SPAINE could not be concluded. Hereupon they made choiſe of one *Iacobus RagaZonius* to go about this matter to CONSTANTINOPLE. This *RagaZonius* was a man of great ſpirit and dexteritie of wit to take any matter in hand, and of a great reach and deepe judgement in the managing thereof; and withall exceeding rich, and of ſo good a carriage of himſelfe, as that he was therfore famous: all which things were thought of great moment, to win the fauour of that couetous and barbarous nation. The Senat, although they had not yet made proofe what men thought of the matter, yet doubted they not, but that vpon the report of the ſending of this notable man, E men would thereof diuerſly diuine euerie man according to his owne fantaſie: and that many of the wiſer ſort would indeed ſurmiſe, as the truth was, that he was ſent for to intreat of peace, although the exchange of priſoners, and redemption of merchants goods, were the onely things were openly pretended: and the Senat, although they thought it not amiſſe to haue it ſo vnderſtood, becauſe ſuch a ſuſpition was like enough to ſtirre vp both the Pope and the Spaniard to accept of ſuch conditions of the deſired league, as they had before rejected; yet leaſt the hope of the league (which they for many cauſes thought good to cheriſh) therby cut off, might cauſe the Pope and the Spaniard both to be cold in the matter, they certified both them and other Chriſtian princes, of the ſending of *RagaZonius*; yet of purpoſe concealing the ſecret drift of his going. *RagaZonius* throughly inſtructed by the Senat, was in a gallie conducted to RAGVSIVM; which F *Caſſan-beg* (the great Baſſa *Muhamets* ſonne, Gouernor of LIBVRNIA) vnderſtanding, met him vpon the frontiers, and told him, That he was ſent by his father both to meet him and ſafe conduct him: which the martiall man, contrarie to the manner of the Turkes courteouſly performed, honourably entertaining him, and afterward ſending him with a ſafe conuoy vntill hee was out of all danger. *RagaZonius* comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, was there by night ſecretly

Muhamet Baſſa a ſecret friend vnto the Venetians, putteth them in hope of peace.

The Venetians ſend an embaſſadour to Selymus to entreat with him of peace.

Ragazonius the Venetian embaſſadour commeth to Cõſtantinople.

The conference betwixt Muhamet the great Baſſa, and Ragazonius.

cretly receiued into the citie, and at firſt brought into a little baſe Inne, and a guard ſet ouer him that he ſhould ſpeake with no man. But after three dayes he was remooued to a much better place, and preſented with diuers kinds of daintie diſhes of ſundrie kinds of meats. The effect of his meſſage was, to trie the Turks minds, and after conference had with the embaſſadour to entreat of peace. At length hauing acceſſe vnto the great Baſſa *Muhamet*, after he dad deliuered vnto him (as he had in charge) his meſſage concerning the exchange of priſoners and marchants goods; *Muhamet* asked him, if he had nothing in charge from the Senat concerning a pacification to be made? Whereunto he anſwered, that he had, but that he muſt firſt ſpeake with the embaſſadour, without whoſe aduice and counſell he was not of himſelfe to doe any thing. At that firſt encounter the Baſſa to terrifie the meſſenger, declared vnto him the innumerable multitude of the Turks horſemen and footmen, which no nation (as he vainely boaſted) was able by force or policie to withſtand: alſo his great and inuincible fleets at ſea, with whom all the power of the Chriſtians vnited together, was not able to encounter; and much other ſuch like ſtrength and wealth of his: and that the Venetians were now no more able to withſtand *Selymus*, than they were in times paſt to reſiſt his father and his auncestors. Yet he diſcourſed of this matter in ſuch ſort, as not thereby to cut off the hope of the pacification: but ſaid, That the Venetians ſhould beſt haue prouided for the ſafetie of their ſtate, if at the firſt they had liſtened vnto him, friendly and faithfully aduiſing them not to haue entred into armes, in which doing they ſhewed more courage than power: and that yet, as the caſe now ſtood, and that *Selymus* was in a moſt aſſured hope, in ſhort time to become lord and maſter of the whole iſland; it ſhould bee to their great good to preferre the ſauour and good will of the Turks before warre, and by the voluntarie yeelding vp of CYPRVS gaine vnto themſelues perpetuall peace and tranquilitie. As for the iſland it ſelfe, it was not now worth the hazarding of ſo many dangers, being deſtitute of inhabitants, which were almoſt all either ſlaine or fled, the cattell driuen away, the towns ranſackt and burnt, and the whole countrey, of late moſt pleaſant and beautifull, now ſo ſpoyled and vnpeopled, that it could not of long time yeeld vnto him that ſhould haue it, any profit or commoditie. *Ragazonius* being a coole and aduiſed man, and withall perceiuing that the Baſſa was not to be contraried in his talke, ſo tempered his anſwere, as that he ſhewed no token of feare, neither let any word fall that might offend his eares, ſaying, That he was right glad, that he had found ſo much fauour in his ſight, as to haue acceſſe and leaue to talke with ſo great a prince, who for wiſedome and grauitie excelled all the reſt of the princes of the great emperours court: who ſo farre as he might, with his loyaltie towards his ſoueraigne, had alwayes moſt graciouſly fauoured the Venetian ſtate: who alſo not ignorant of the vncertainetie of worldly things, knew of all others beſt, that on both ſides were both men and armes, and that moſt mightie princes had oftentimes with ſmall forces beene ouerthrowne, the euent of things neuer deceiuing men more than in matters of warre; no power vpon earth being ſure, which could not within ſome bounds containe the ſtrength of it ſelfe: and that therefore he was in good hope, That he ſo worthie a man knowing beſt what belonged both to peace and warre, would deuiſe ſome ſuch courſe as might ſort to the good and quiet both of the Venetian ſtate and Turkiſh empire: in which doing hee ſhould find ſufficient matter for his eternall praiſe and glorie, if by his diſcreet wiſedome a pacification might be made. Such talke hauing paſſed at their firſt meeting, *Ragazonius* had leaue to ſpeake with the embaſſadour, who then lay at PERA vnder ſafe keeping. In paſsing ouer to PERA, *Ragazonius* might ſee a fleet of Turkiſh gallies one encountering with another, in manner of a fight at ſea, which the Turks had of purpoſe prouided, to ſhew vnto him as a ſtrange ſight. Whereat *Ragazonius* ſmiling, ſaid vnto the Turks that were preſent with him, That it was a pretie childiſh ſport for him that had neuer ſeene the like before: but not to the Venetians, who were acquainted with theſe matters in earneſt; as the Turkes ſhould well know, whenſoeuer they had a mind to make proofe what they were able to doe at ſea. *Ragazonius* comming to the embaſſdour, had conference with him at large, and reſolued with him what to do in his negotiation. And ſo returning to *Muhamet*, eaſily diſpatched with him for the exchange of priſoners & marchants goods: but when they came to talke of the capitulations of a pacification to be made, at the firſt they were ſo farre off, as if they would neuer haue met: but after much and often conference, ſometime the one yeelding, and ſometime the other, the matter was brought to ſome conformitie, ſo that there was no ſuch great difference betwixt them, but that they were like ynough to haue agreed. *Pius* the Pope, and *Philip* the king of SPAINE aduertiſed of the ſending of *Ragazonius*

to

A to CONSTANTINOPLE, began to imagine as the truth was, that he was ſent about ſome treatie of peace, what colour ſoeuer the Senat pretended to couer the ſame. And therefore doubting leaſt the Turkiſh emperour hauing once made peace with the Venetians, ſhould turne his great forces alreadie prepared, vpon the one or both of them, they thought it good for troubling of that peace, now with all ſpeed to haſten the league, which they had ſo long before delayed. For which purpoſe the Pope ſent the noble *Columnius* to VENICE: who admitted into the Senat, declared at large how matters had paſſed at ROME concerning the league: and afterwards what profit might ariſe of ſuch a league concluded, and what harmes might enſue of the ſame, neglected. And to haſten the matter, ſet as it were before their eyes, how much it concerned the common good, but them eſpecially, to haue the ſame with ſpeed confirmed. As for to giue any
B truſt vnto the Turks, was (as he ſaid) not beſeeming their deepe wiſedome and judgement, ſeeing they ſo often had beene by them rather deceiued than vanquiſhed. In concluſion, he requeſted them, That for his Holineſſe ſake, moderating in ſome part their hard demaunds, they would with ſpeed joyne with him and the king in a moſt firme and Chriſtian league. Although this ſpeech of *Columnius* had much moued the minds of the Venetians, ſo that many enclined to the league, yet were there many doubtfull thereof, and could not be reſolued whether it were better to embrace peace with the Turke, or the league with the Pope and the king. Peace pleaſed them, neither did the league diſpleaſe them: it ſeemed a matter moſt difficult whether to reſolue vpon. They were fearefull of the league either receiued, or rejected: the hope of victorie, the inconſtancie of the Turkes, their owne ſtrength at ſea, the large promiſes of the Chriſtian princes, the cer-
C taine hope of the league, and vncertainetie of the peace, perſuaded them to embrace the league. On the other ſide, the bad ſucceſſe of the yeare before, their forces ſhaken, and almoſt ſpent in CYPRVS, the ſuſpected and doubtfull faith of their confederates, with the vncertainetie of the ſucceſſe, induced them to preferre the hoped peace before the league. So the Venetians in ſuſpence betwixt both, gaue the embaſſadour dayly more doubtfull anſwers than other: neither by promiſe binding themſelues, neither by flat deniall cutting off the hope of the league, by examples & arguments rather refelling what was by others alledged, than any way declaring what they themſelues thought. Sometime they alleadged ſuch things as might make a man beleeue, that they were willing to joyne in league, and by and by againe they would ſeeme neither to re-
D ject nor accept of the ſame. In which doubtfulneſſe many dayes paſſed. At length the matter being propounded in the Senate, there found not vnlike diſpoſition of minds that it had amongſt the meaner ſort: for ſome of the Senatours enclined to the league, whoſe reaſons were grounded not vpon profit only, but vpon credit and honour alſo, which they wiſhed to be cheefely regarded: declaring alſo what great ſecuritie, honour, and glorie ſhould redound vnto them, by entering into ſuch an honourable league. But the remembrance of former loſſes, the ſtrength of the Turke poſſeſsing a great part of the world, compared vnto their owne, the terrour of the enemies name, the feare of euill ſucceſſe, the ſmall hope of preuailing, induced others to like better of peace: whoſe opinion was alſo confirmed by this, That the confederation with thoſe Chriſtians, was of no more aſſurance or continuance than the Turks peace: Beſides that, they alledged,
E That leagues were therefore of leſſe aſſurance, for that confederations and amities were ſeldome or neuer ſincerely and faithfully kept on both ſides, euery man commonly ſeruing his own turn, without care of other men. They alſo ſet as it were before their eyes what great occaſions, euen ſmall ſuſpitions might giue princes to breake their leagues, what ſtrange effects the feare of the loſſe of goods or ſome part of their territorie might worke. After this ſo weightie a matter had beene thus with great contention throughly debated on both ſides in the Senat, it was at laſt put to voices: and ſo by the conſent of the greater part the league was as more honorable receiued,
F and the Turks peace rejected: and a decree of the Senat to that effect made. *Ragazonius* by ſecret letters from the Senat vnderſtanding of all theſe matters, began to deale more warily with *Muhamet* the great Baſſa in matter concerning the pacification, and more hardly to yeeld to his demaunds; and propounding many difficulties of purpoſe deuiſed, requeſted of him, That hee might by his good leaue returne to VENICE, to be reſolued of many things by the Senat, whereof he was not able himſelfe to judge, and ſo to returne to him againe with more certaine inſtructions: aſſuring him, that the Senat would vpon knowledge of the conditions of the peace doe and deuiſe many things for the furtherance of the ſame: which could not ſo well bee done by letters, as if he were there himſelfe preſent to reſolue them vpon euery particular. This his requeſt

The Pope and the king of Spain fearing leaſt the Venetians ſhould make peace with the Turke, haſten the confederation

The Venetians reſolue to accept of the league with the Pope and the king.

queſt obtained, he with great ſpeed got him out of CONSTANTINOPLE; but was ſcarcely got G
out of the gates, when report of the league which the Venetians had made with the Pope and
the king of SPAINE, was brought vnto the Court, and had in ſhort time filled the citie: Which
made all the way as he trauelled more troubleſome, and fruſtrated that alſo which was before
concluded concerning the exchange of priſoners and marchants goods. *Ragazonius* being come
to VENICE, declared at large in the Senat the drift and purpoſe of the Turke, and what confe-
rence he had had with the great Baſſa, and in what forwardneſſe the peace was: for which his diſ-
creet carriage of the matter, his wiſedome was highly by the whole Senat commended, and he
himſelfe afterward honourably rewarded.

A perpetuall league concluded betwixt the Pope, the K. of Spaine, and the Venetians.

In the meane time the commiſsioners at ROME after long conſultation concluded a league, H
which they would haue to bee perpetuall, as well for inuaſiue as defenſiue warres againſt the
Turke: and was by ſolemne oath confirmed by the Pope, the king of SPAINE, and the Venetian
Senat the foure and twentith day of May, in the yeare 1571. For the execution of which league
it was agreed vpon, That the ſea & land forces ſhould conſiſt of two hundred gallies, an hundred
ſhips, fiftie thouſand footmen, and foure thouſand fiue hundred horſemen; with a proportionat
quantitie of great artillerie, victuals, & other things neceſſarie, to be euery yeare ready in March,
or at fartheſt in Aprill, to meet together at ſuch place in the Eaſt, as ſhould be vnto them for that
purpoſe appointed; to be employed as the Admirals ſaw cauſe, and as the preſent ſtate of things

The proportioning of the charge of the warres againſt the Turke: and the other capitulations of the League.

ſhould require. For maintenance of which charge it was agreed, That the king of SPAINE
ſhould defray the one halfe, and the other halfe to be deuided into three equall parts; where-
of the Venetians ſhould beare two parts, and the Pope the third; which if it ſhould be too hea- I
uie for him, then that remained by him vndiſcharged, to be deuided into fiue parts, whereof the
king was to diſcharge three, and the Venetians two. The charge thus proportioned, they tooke
order alſo for the prouiſion of victuals, to be at a reaſonable price taken vp in any the confede-
rats dominions, where the armie or fleet ſhould chance to ſtay: yet ſo, that it ſhould bee at the
king of SPAINE his diſcretion, out of his kingdomes of NAPLES and SICILIE, firſt to take
his prouiſion for the victualling of GVLETTA, MALTA, and his owne nauie. It was alſo agreed,
That if the king of SPAINE ſhould at any time, when as the confederats had no common war,
inuade ARGIERS, TRIPOLIS, or TVNES, that then the Venetians ſhould of their own charge
aid him with fiftie gallies well appointed: As alſo, that the king ſhould in like manner and with
like forces aid them, as oft as they ſhould by the Turkes be inuaded. But if it ſhould fortune the K
Romane territorie to be inuaded, that then the aforeſaid princes ſhould be bound with all their
forces, to the vttermoſt of their power, to defend thoſe places, and the perſon of the Pope. And
that in managing of the confederate warre, the three Admirals ſhould conferre together of all
matters, and whatſoeuer the greater part ſhould agree vpon, that to be reputed as agreed vpon
by them all: That *Don Iohn* of AVSTRIA, *Charles* the fifth his naturall ſonne, and brother to the
king, ſhould haue the cheefe commaund of the forces both at ſea and land: but not to diſplay
his owne enſigne, but the common enſigne of the confederates: Alſo, that ſuch places as ſhould
bee gained from the Turke by the confederat armie, ſhould be deuided amongſt the confede-
rat princes, excepting TVNES, ARGIERS, and TRIPOLIS, which ſhould remaine onely to
the king of SPAINE: That all controuerſies ariſing amongſt the Generals ſhould be decided by L
the Pope, vnto whom the Venetians ſhould lend twelue gallies, furniſhed of all things ſauing
men and victuals, which the Pope ſhould of his owne charge ſupplie: which gallies at the end
of the warre hee ſhould againe deliuer, in ſuch caſe as they then were: That an honourable
place ſhould be left for *Maximilian* the emperour, the French king, the king of POLONIA,
and the king of PORTINGALL to enter into this league, whom with the reſt of the Chriſtian
princes it ſhould beſeeme the Pope to ſtir vp in ſo good a quarrell: And that it ſhould not be law-
full for any the aforeſaid confederat princes to entreat of peace, or enter into league, without the
knowledge and conſent of the other confederates. And for the better proceeding of all things, it
was agreed, That euer in Autumne the confederat princes ſhould by their embaſſadours at
ROME conſult of the next yeares warres, and according as the time and occurrents ſhould M
require, to determine, whether their forces were to be encreaſed or deminiſhed. This league
thus at length with much adoe concluded, was not long after in Iune with great pompe and tri-

The league proclaimed.

umph openly proclaimed in ROME, VENICE, and SPAINE, to the great joy of the greateſt part
of Chriſtendome.

Whileſt

A Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the Venetians the more to entangle the Turke, thought it good to make proofe, if they might by any meanes ſtirre vp *Tamas* the Perſian king to take vp armes againſt him: who as hee was a prince of great power, ſo did hee exceedingly hate the Turks, as well for the difference betwixt the Perſians and them about matters of their vaine ſuperſtition, as for the manifold injuries he had oftentimes ſuſtained. There was one *Vincent Alexander*, one of the Secretaries for the State; who hauing eſcaped out of priſon at CONSTANTINOPLE, was but a little before come to VENICE, a warie wiſe man, and of great experience, who for his dexteritie of wit and skilfulneſſe in the Turkiſh language, was thought of all others moſt fit to take in hand ſo great a matter. He hauing receiued letters and inſtructions from the Senat, and furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, trauelling through GERMANIE, POLONIA, and B the forreſts of MŒSIA, in Turkiſh attire, came to MONCASTRON, a port towne vpon the ſide of the Euxine or Blacke ſea, at the mouth of the great riuer Boriſthenes: where hee embarked himſelfe for TRAPEZOND, but was by a contrarie wind driuen to SINOPE, a citie of great trafficke; from whence he trauelled by rough and broken wayes to CVTAY, keeping ſtill vpon the left hand, becauſe he would not fall vpon any part of the Turks armie (which was then marching towards CYPRVS through all thoſe countries) neuertheleſſe he fell vpon a part thereof, from which he with great danger rid himſelfe, being taken for a Turke, and by blind and troubleſome wayes, through rockes and forreſts arriued at length at ERZIRVM, a ſtrong citie of the Turks, then vpon the frontiers of the Turks dominions toward the Georgians. This journey of *Alexanders* was not kept ſo ſecret, but that it was vented at CONSTANTINOPLE by a ſpie, C who vnder the colour of friendſhip haunting the Venetian embaſſadours houſe at PERA, had got certaine knowledge of the going of *Alexander* into PERSIA. Whereupon certaine courrours were ſent out with all ſpeed to beſet the three ſtraight paſſages into PERSIA, whereby it was ſuppoſed he muſt of neceſsitie paſſe, with certaine notes alſo of the fauour of the man, of his ſtature, and other markes, whereby he was beſt to be knowne. But he in ſo dangerous a countrie doubting all things, and fearing ſuch a matter, leauing his companie behind him, with incredible celeritie poſted from ERZIRVM to TAVRIS, and was a great way gone before the Turks currours came into thoſe quarters: who yet hearing of him, followed after as farre as they durſt, but could not ouertake him. *Alexander* comming to TAVRIS, vnderſtood that the court lay at CASBIN, about twelue dayes journey further vp into the countrey; comming thither the foure- D teenth of Auguſt of this yeare 1571, he chanced to meet with certaine Engliſh marchants, with whom he had beene before acquainted: by whoſe helpe he not onely got to ſpeake with *Ayder Tamas* the kings third ſonne, but learned of them alſo the manners and faſhions of the Perſian Court, and how to beare himſelfe therein. The Perſians by reaſon of the intollerable heat doe moſt of their buſineſſe at that time of the yeare by night. Wherefore *Alexander* about midnight brought in to *Aider*, declared vnto him the cauſe of his comming: and the next night admitted vnto the ſpeech of his aged father, deliuered his letters of credence, and in the name of the Senat declared vnto him, with what perfidious dealing *Selymus* the Turkiſh emperor was about to take away CYPRVS from the Venetians, with what greedineſſe and pride he had ſet vpon the Chriſtians, and that diſcharged of that warre, he would of all likelyhood ſet vpon the Perſians; E hauing the ſelfeſame quarrell vnto the Perſians that he had vnto the Venetians, that is, an ardent and inſatiable deſire of ſoueraignetie: a ſufficient cauſe for the greedie Turke to repute euery king the richer that he was, the more his enemie. After that, ſetting foorth to the full the proweſſe of the Chriſtians, the wonderfull preparation they had made both at ſea and land, he perſuaded the king with all his power to inuade the Turke, now altogether buſied in the warres of CYPRVS; and to recouer againe ſuch parts of his kingdome as *Solyman* the father of *Selymus* had taken from him. Warres he ſaid were more happily managed abroad than at home: that ſithence he alone (the Chriſtian princes all then at quiet) had withſtood the Turks whole force and power, he needed not now to doubt of his moſt proſperous ſucceſſe, the Chriſtian princes now joyning with him: That he was much vnmindfull of his former loſſes and wrongs, if he thought he en- F joyed an aſſured peace; which he ſhould find to be nothing els but a deferring of war vnto more cruell times: and that the Turke if he ſhould ouerrun CYPRVS, would forthwith turne his victorious armes vpon him: The end of one warre was (as he ſaid) but the beginning of another; and that the Turkiſh empire could neuer ſtay in one ſtate; and that he would obſerue not the Turkes words, but his deeds; and how that the *Othoman* emperours according to the oportunitie

The Venetians the more to trouble the Turke, ſeeke to ſtirre vp Tamas the Perſian king to take vp armes againſt him.

Alexander the Venetian embaſſadour hath audience with the Perſian king.

tunitie of the times, vſed by turnes, ſometime force, ſometime deceit, as beſt ſerued their pur- G
poſes. That no princes had at all times by diſſembled peace and vncertaine leagues more de-
luded ſome, vntill they had oppreſſed others. He wiſhed alſo, that at length this his cunning
dealing might appeare vnto the world: and that princes would thinke, that being combined
together, they might more eaſily ouercome the Turke, than being ſeperated, defend their
owne: That in former times ſometime will, ſometime occaſion, was wanting to them to vnite
their forces: and that therefore they ſhould now combine themſelues for their common good
againſt the common enemie: That it concerned no leſſe the Perſians than the Chriſtians, to
haue the power of the Turke abated: and that this taking vp of armes, ſhould be for the good of
the Perſian king howſoeuer things ſhould fall out; if well, he ſhould then recouer what he had
before loſt, with much more that was the Turkes: if otherwiſe, yet by voluntarie entring into H
armes to countenance himſelfe, and to giue the Turks occaſion to thinke that he feared him not:
which was (as he ſaid) the onely way to preſerue their common ſafetie, which would be vnto all
the confederat princes eaſie enough, if they themſelues made it not more difficult than the power
of the enemie. The ſpeech of the embaſſadour was willingly heard: whereunto the king anſwe-
red, that he would conſider therupon what he had to doe: and in the meane while, a faire houſe
was appointed for the embaſſadour and his followers, and bountifull allowance appointed for
the kings charge. He was alſo many times ſumptuouſly feaſted by the noblemen, whom he
ſtill requeſted to be mediatours vnto the king, to take that honourable warre in hand. The king
had at that time a ſonne called *Iſmael*, a man of a great ſpirit, whom he then kept in durance, for
that he with too much inſolencie made roades into the frontiers of the Turkes dominions, to I
the diſturbance of the league his father had before made with the late Turkiſh emperor *Solyman*:
vnto him *Alexander* hauing acceſſe, was of him courteouſly heard; who fretting and languiſh-
ing for verie griefe of reuenge vpon the Turkes, wiſhed, that either the king his father had his
mind, or he himſelfe the power of a king; and ſaid, That if euer it were his good fortune to ob-
taine the kingdome, he would in deed ſhew what he then in mind thought. But of him more
ſhall be ſaid hereafter. Whileſt this matter went more ſlowly forward in the Perſian court than
the embaſſadour would haue had it, newes was brought vnto the court, of the great victorie
which the Chriſtians had much about that time obtained of the Turkes at ſea: vpon which oc-
caſion the embaſſadour ſolicited the king more earneſtly than before, to make himſelfe partaker
of the victorie of the Chriſtians, by entring into confederation with them, and by taking vp of K
armes; rather than to hold vncertain friendſhip with the Turkes in their miſeries, by whom he
had been ſo often wronged. This he ſaid was the onely time for the Perſian king to recouer his
former glorie, the like offer whereof would neither often chance, neither long ſtay: and that if
he ſuffered ſo fit an opportunitie to ſlip away, he ſhould afterwards in vaine wiſh for the ſame,
when it were too late. This ſo wholſome counſell was well heard, but preuailed nothing to ſtir
vp the aged king: who then troubled with rebellion in MEDIA, or wearie of the former warres
he had had with the Turke, and glad of ſuch peace as he had then with him, anſwered the em-
baſſadour, That for as much as the Chriſtian princes had made a perpetuall league amongſt
themſelues, he would for two yeares expect the euent, and afterward as occaſion ſerued, ſo to
reſolue vpon peace and warre. This improuident reſolution of the king, brought afterward vn- L
profitable and too late repentance vnto the whole Perſian kingdome; when as within a few
yeares after, all the calamities which the Senat had by their embaſſadour (as true prophets) fore-
told, redounded vnto the great ſhaking thereof. For the Cyprian warre once ended, and peace
concluded with the Venetians, *Amurath* the ſonne of *Selymus* ſucceeding his father in the Tur-
kiſh empire, inuading the Perſian king, tooke from him the great countrey of MEDIA, now cal-
led SILVAN, with a great part of ARMENIA the great, and the regall citie of TAVRIS, as ſhall
be hereafter in due place declared. At which time the Perſian, who now refuſed to take vp
armes, or joine in league with the Chriſtian princes, repented that he had not before hearkened
vnto the wholſome counſell of the Venetians: and taught by his owne harmes, wiſhed in vaine, M
that the Chriſtian princes would againe take vp armes and joyne with him againſt the Turke.

The anſwere of Tamas the Perſian king vnto the Venetian embaſſadour.

Muſtapha Baſſa returneth to the ſiege of Famaguſta.

Muſtapha the great Baſſa and Generall of the Turks armie, furniſhed of all things that could
be deſired for the maintenance of his ſiege; and ſouldiors in great number daily repairing vnto
him out of CILICIA, SYRIA, the Leſſer ASIA, and the countries thereabout, beſide great
ſupplies brought vnto him by *Haly Baſſa* from CONSTANTINOPLE; inſomuch, that it was
thought

A thought he had in his armie two thouſand men: began now that Winter was paſt, in the latter end of Aprill, to draw neerer vnto FAMAGVSTA, and with incredible labour to caſt vp trenches and mounts againſt the citie, of ſuch height, that the defendants from the higheſt places of the citie could ſcarcely ſee the points of the Turks ſpeares, or top of their tents, as they lay encamped: which was no great matter for the Baſſa to performe, hauing in his campe fortie thouſand pioners alwaies readie at his commaund.

The citie of FAMAGVSTA is ſcituat in the Eaſt end of the iſland, in a plaine and low ground betwixt two promontories, the one called S. *Andrewes* head, and the other the head of GRÆCIA. It is in circuit two miles, and in forme foureſquare; but that the ſide toward the Eaſt, longer and more winding than the reſt, doth much deforme the exact figure of a quadrant: it is al- B moſt on two parts beaten vpon with the ſea, the other parts towards the land are defended with a ditch not aboue fifteene foot broad, a ſtone wall, and certaine bulwarks and parapets. Vpon the gate that leadeth to AMATHVS ſtandeth a ſix cornered tower: other towers ſtand out alſo in the wall, euerie of them ſcarce able to containe ſix pieces of artillerie. It hath a hauen opening toward the Southeaſt, defended from the injurie of the weather by two great rockes, betwixt which the ſea commeth in by a narrow paſſage about fortie paces ouer; but after opening wider giueth a conuenient harbour to ſhips, whereof it cannot containe any great number, and was now ſhut vp with a ſtrong chaine. Neere vnto the hauen ſtandeth an old caſtle with foure towers, after the auntient manner of building. There was in the citie one ſtrong bulwarke, built after the manner of the fortifications of our time, with paliſadoes, curtaines, caſamets, and ſuch C like, in ſuch manner, as that it ſeemed almoſt impregnable. All which, although they made ſhew of a ſtrong and well fortified citie, yet for that there wanted many things, it was thought too weake long to hold out againſt the great power of the Turke: but what wanted by reaſon of the ſituation and weake fortification, that the Gouernour and other noble captaines ſupplied in beſt ſort they might, with a ſtrong garriſon of moſt valiant ſouldiours, the ſureſt defence of ſtrong places. There was in the citie two thouſand and fiue hundred Italians, two hundred Albanoies horſemen, before entertained by the Gouernour; and of the Cypriots themſelues were muſtered two thouſand and fiue hundred mo, all men reſolutly ſet downe to ſpend their liues in defence of their countrey.

The deſcription of Famaguſta.

The number of the defendants of Famaguſta.

Muſtapha with wonderfull celeritie hauing brought to perfection his fortifications, planted D his batterie of ſixtie foure great pieces; amongſt which were foure great baſilisks of exceeding bigneſſe, wherewith he continually without intermiſſion battered the wals of the citie in fiue places, but eſpecially that part of the wall that was betweene the hauen and the gate that leadeth to AMATHVS. And with great morter pieces caſt vp huge ſtones, which from high falling into the citie, with their waight brake downe the houſes they light vpon, and fell often times through their vaults, euen into the bottome of their ſellars, to the great terrour of the beſieged. The wals in diuers places ſore ſhaken and the houſes beaten downe, he began to aſſault the citie: which the defendants (their forces yet whole) valiantly repulſed, and not onely defended their wals and draue the Turkes from the breaches, but furiouſly ſallied out vpon them, and hauing ſlaine and wounded many, wonderfully diſturbed their fortifications, and abated their courage: neither did E the enemy with greater furie maintaine the batterie or aſſault, than did the Chriſtians the defence of the citie, ſtill ſending their deadly ſhot into the thickeſt of that great multitude; inſomuch that in few daies the Baſſa had loſt thirtie thouſand of his men: and the captains themſelues wondering at the valour of the defendants, as if they had not now to doe with ſuch Chriſtians as they had before ſo oftentimes ouerthrowne, but with ſome other ſtrange people, began to diſpaire of the winning of the citie. The Turkes thus doubting, and almoſt at a ſtand, the Chriſtians in the meane time made vp their breaches with earth, baskets, wool-ſacks, and ſuch like, not ſparing their verie beds and bedclothes, cheſts, carpets, and whatſoeuer elſe might ſerue to fill vp the breach. Amongſt many wants they feared, the greateſt was the want of pouder, which with continuall ſhooting began greatly to be diminiſhed: wherefore to reſerue ſome part thereof F againſt all extremities, they thought it beſt whileſt yet ſome ſtore was left, to vſe the ſame more ſparingly, and to ſhoot more ſeldome. But the Turks ſtill drawing neerer and neerer the citie, and caſting vp mounts higher than the wals of the citie, with earth and fagots filled vp the ditch: which done, they of the broken ſtones made wals on either ſide, to ſaue themſelues from the flankering ſhot of the Chriſtians: then giuing a freſh aſſault, they vſed not onely their ſhot and other

Famaguſta aſſaulted, and notably defended by the Chriſtians.

Famaguſta againe aſſaulted by the Turke.

other miſsiue weapons, but came foot to foot, and notably fought in the breach hand to hand. G
Which manner of fight (as if it had been ſo agreed vpon) they euerie day maintained for the
ſpace of ſix houres. And although the Turkes by reaſon of their multitude were diuided into
many parts, and freſh men ſtill ſucceeded them that were wearie; yet ſuch was the courage of
the defendants, that euerie man requeſted to haue the places of moſt danger, and from thence
with couragious hand repulſed the Turkes with exceeding great ſlaughter. But for all that, the
furious enemie maintaining the aſſault not onely by day, but by often alarums in the night alſo,
kept the Chriſtians continually in doubtfull ſuſpence and readineſſe, as if they ſhould haue recei-
ued a preſent aſſault: and as ſoone as it was day, with freſh men that had ſlept their fill, deſperatly
aſſailed the Chriſtians almoſt ſpent and maigre for lacke of ſleepe and reſt. Force not preuailing,
the reſtleſſe enemie leauing nothing attempted, by a queint deuiſe was like to haue taken one of H
the gates of the citie: There was growing in the iſland great plentie of a kind of wood much of
the nature of the firre or pitch tree, eaſie to be ſet on fire, but hardly to be quenched; but differing
in this, that in burning it gaue foorth ſuch a noyſome ſmell as was not by any man well to be
endured: of this kind of wood the Turkes brought a wonderfull quantitie to one of the gates
called LIMOSINA, which once ſet on fire, could not by the defendants by any meanes be quen-
ched, although they caſt whole pipes and tuns of water at once into it; but moſt terribly bur-
ning cloſe vnto the gate by the ſpace of foure daies, with the vehemencie of the heat and loath-
ſomneſſe of the ſmell, ſo troubled the defendants, that ſcarce any of them could endure to ſtand
vpon the wall, but forſaking the ſame, were euer and anone like to haue giuen the enemy leaue
to enter. I

Bragadinus encourageth the defendants.

Bragadinus the Gouernour, more carefull of the common ſafetie than of his owne danger,
ceaſed not ſtill to be going about from one place to another, telling the Italians, That now was
giuen the fitteſt occaſion they could deſire for them to ſhew their valour in, and to gaine great
honor of their barbarous enemies: that it would be to their eternall glorie, if by their only means
without any other helpe, the citie ſo farre off from the reliefe of the Chriſtians might be defen-
ded, and the great power of the Turke defeated: This (he ſaid) was the onely time wherein it
ſtood them moſt vpon to play the men; for if they could keepe that little was left, the reſt of the
iſland would be eaſily recouered: and although the Turkes army exceeded farre in number, yet
did they excell them in proweſſe and valour; whereby a few, and as it were but an handfull of
men, had oftentimes preuailed againſt moſt infinit multitudes: Now all the eyes of the world, K
as well friends as foes to be fixed vpon them, ſo that if they held out againſt ſo great a power,
both their enemies would admire their valour, and all Chriſtendome extoll their inuincible
courage and proweſſe; and that they themſelues ſhould thereby reape, both great profit and ho-
nour: Neither that any thing could be alleadged, why they ſhould not be compared with the
worthie knights of MALTA, who to their eternall fame had deliuered themſelues out of the
mouth of the Turke, and left vnto the world a moſt faire example for men valiantly to ſtand in
ſo good a quarrell vpon their owne defence: NICOSIA (he ſaid) was loſt rather by the cowar-
diſe of the defendants, than by the valour of the enemie. He alſo praiſed the fidelitie and cou-
rage of the Græcians, who for any feare or danger could neuer be remoued from the Venetians,
or induced to ſubmit themſelues vnto the Turkes gouernment: and perſuaded them, with the L
ſame reſolution to defend their owne citie that they ſaw in the Venetian ſouldiors, fighting for
them; and for their owne honour to ſtriue with the Italians, in defence of their State, their coun-
trey, their wiues and children, againſt the tyrannie of the Turkes; for as much as aid would in
ſhort time come, and ſet them free from all danger. The Senat alſo in like manner had ſent let-
ters to FAMAGVSTA, willing them to be of good cheere, and yet a while to hold out the ſiege,

Baleonius a valiant captaine.

and that they ſhould be in ſhort time relieued. *Baleonius* alſo Generall of the garriſon ſouldiors,
himſelfe in armes was preſent at euerie skirmiſh, carefully foreſeeing what was in euerie place
and at all times to be done; and by encouraging of his ſouldiors and aduenturing of his perſon
ſhewed himſelfe to be both a worthie commaunder and valiant ſouldior. Neither did the ſouldi-
ors alone, but euen the women alſo what they might, ſtriuing aboue the power of the ſtrength M
both of their minds and bodies; ſome bringing meat, ſome weapons vnto the defendants, and
others ſtones, beds, cheſts, & ſuch like ſtuffe to make vp the breaches. But victuals beginning now
to wax ſcant, 8000 of the vulgar ſort of the people were turned out of the citie, who all in ſafetie
were ſuffered to paſſe thorow the midſt of the Turks army, to ſeeke their liuing in the countrey.

Thus

A Thus whileſt open force preuailed not according to the Turkes deſire, they began in foure places to vndermine the citie, in hope ſo to haue found entrance. But the defendants doubting ſuch a matter, by diligent liſtening, and great veſſels ſet full of water neere vnto the wals, and drums laid vpon the ground, by the mouing thereof diſcouered their workes, and with countermines fruſtrated thoſe of the enemies: yet in ſo great a ſtirre and hurly burly, all things were not poſsibly to be diſcouered. Whereby it came to paſſe, that whileſt the defendants were altogither buſied in defending the wals; a mine not perceiued, was ſuddenly blowne vp neere vnto the tower ſtanding vpon the hauen: by force whereof, a great part of the wall thereabout was in a moment with a moſt horrible noiſe ouerthrowne. With the fall whereof, the Turks thinking the citie as good as taken, with an horrible ſhout and outcrie mounted the wall, and in the breach B ſet vp their enſignes; Countie *Peter*, who had the charge of that part of the wall, being not now able to defend the ſame, ſo ſuddenly ouerthrown: which *Neſtor Martinengus* quickly perceiuing, came ſpeedily from his owne ſtation, to repulſe the enemie now readie to haue entred. The fight became there moſt fierce and terrible: on the one ſide, hope; on the other, deſperation enraged their minds: the Turks were in hope, that if they forced themſelues but a little, they ſhould forthwith win the citie; and the defendants propounding nothing vnto themſelues, but ſhamefull death and torture, fought as men altogither deſperat. The Turks truſted to their multitude, and the Chriſtians to their valour. In the meane time, *Andreas Bragadinus* with certaine great pieces aptly placed, out of the caſtle ſlew a number of the Turks, as they were comming to the breach. *Baleonius* hearing of the danger, came in haſt with a companie of couragious ſouldiors C to relieue them that were fighting at the breach, and chearing vp his followers, thruſt himſelfe with the formoſt into the face of the breach: and there not only appointed what was to be done, and with cheerfull ſpeeches encouraged his ſouldiors, but with his owne hand hauing ſlaine manie, tooke one of the Turks enſignes (when as he had before ſlaine the bearer thereof) and tumbled him headlong into the ditch. With the ſight whereof, others encouraged, both on the right hand and on the left, made there a notable battell, as men fighting for their laſt hope. In fine the Turks were glad to retire, leauing behind them foure thouſand carkaſes of their ſlaine fellowes in the towne ditch, with fourteene of their enſignes, which were brought into the citie. Neither was this victorie gained without ſome loſſe of the Chriſtians: about an hundred were ſlaine, among whom were *Robertus Maluetius*, *Dauid Nocius*, *Celſus Feto*, *Eraſmus Firmo*, all D captaines.

The Turks ſeeke to vndermine the citie.

The breaches inhably defended.

For all this they in the citie tooke ſmall reſt, the Turks great ſhot ſtill thundring in amongſt them; and that in ſuch furious ſort, as that in one day (which was the eighth of Iune) were numbred about fiue thouſand great ſhot, ſhot into the citie. With which continuall batterie, one of the round bulwarks of the towne was ſo ſhaken, as that a part of the front thereof was fallen downe into the ditch, and another part ſtood leaning readie to fall; in ſuch ſort, as that it was not longer to be defended: which the Chriſtians perceiuing, preſently vndermined the ſame bulwarke, and in the mine placed certaine barrels of gunpouder. The Turkes comming to aſſault the place they had ſo ſore battered, the defendants after ſome ſmall reſiſtance faigned themſelues to retire for feare, ſo to draw the enemie the faſter on; who was no ſooner come to the place de- *They of Famagusta blow vp one of their owne battered bulwarkes, with ſix hundred Turkes thereon.*
E ſired, but that fire being put to the mine, blew vp the bulwarke with all them that ſtood thereon: of whom, ſome were ouerwhelmed with the earth it ſelfe, otherſome were blowne vp into the aire, and falling downe againe miſerably periſhed; and otherſome, ſhot as it were out of a gun, fell downe a great way off, and ſo were rent in pieces: which was vnto the defendants a moſt pleaſant ſight. About ſix hundred of the Turkes periſhed at this aſſault, amongſt whom were *Muſtapha* Generall of the voluntarie ſouldiours, and *Feregates*, a man of great marke amongſt the Turks. But by the haſtie fiering of the mine, there periſhed alſo about an hundred of the Chriſtians, ouertaken in their owne deuiſe, amongſt whom were alſo ſome of great account.

The Turkes enflamed with their loſſes, were more enraged with the ſpeeches and perſuaſi-
F ons of *Muſtapha* their Generall; who moſt earneſtly exhorted them with one conſent to aſſaile their enemies, now driuen into a corner of the iſland, ſpoiled of their countrey, truſting more vnto the ſtrength of the place than of themſelues, entreating for nothing more than with their liues to depart thence. But what place (ſaid he) is there impregnable for the Turks? NICOSIA, ZIGETH, and ſuch other ſtrong townes woon, what are they but the monuments and teſtimo-

nies of the cowardiſe of the Chriſtians, and the proweſſe of the Turks? This day (ſaid he) will confirme all your former labours and victories; which you before vndertooke for honour, but here ſhall you haue honour mixt with gold, and a prey ſufficient to make you all rich. The Turks encouraged with this ſpeech of their Generall, as men forgetfull of all dangers, began a more terrible ſiege than euer before: and hauing with incredible labour made three great mines, and blowing them vp, ouerthrew a great part of the wall with the caſtle, the notable defence of the hauen: which done, they with all their force oftentimes aſſailed the citie, as if it ſhould haue been their laſt labour; neither ceaſed they ſo to doe night or day. At which time alſo, that part of the citie which is beaten vpon with the ſea, was aſſaulted by them in the gallies alſo.

Famagvſta hardly aſſaulted.

The poore Chriſtians ſpent with deadly wounds, continuall labour, perpetuall watching both night and day, and now brought to a ſmall number; hardly withſtood the furious enemie, aſſailing them in ſo many places at once, and held out that tempeſt rather with courage than ſtrength. In the meane time the enemies armie encreaſed daily, the Turks in hope of the like ſpoile they had at NICOSIA, continually repairing out of the countries round about vnto the campe. The Chriſtian captaines ſeeing their men with continuall aſſaults ſore ſpent; inſomuch, that how many ſoeuer they ſeemed to be, there was not aboue three hundred ſound men left, but ſeauen barrels of pouder remaining, want of all things daily increaſing, hope of aid ſtill decreaſing, and the Venetians (their only comfort) ſo farre from them; the captaines (I ſay) themſelues, began to quaile in courage: and the rather, for that ſuch reliefe as was ſent from VENICE, could not poſsibly be brought vnto them, but ſtaid at CRETE, the Turkes gallies ſtill lying before FAMAGVSTA; ſo that nothing could in ſafetie be brought thither. This feare of the captaines themſelues, could not long be hid or diſſembled, but that it was by the citiſens perceiued: who hauing neither power to hold out the ſiege, neither place left to flie vnto, ouercome with neceſsitie, came flocking to the Gouernour, crauing of him aid and comfort, and with abundance of teares beſought him in this common deſperation, to take compaſsion on them, their wiues and children, a people that had alwaies ſo well deſerued of the Venetian State. Their wals (they ſaid) were beaten downe, their bulwarks ouerthrowne, the few ſouldiors that remained, ſpent with wounds, watching, and famine; the enemies ſtrength encreaſing daily, ſo that they muſt needs in ſhort time all periſh with the ſword, if the citie were by force taken: wherefore they beſought him, that yeelding to neceſsitie, which no power was euer able to withſtand, he would at laſt while time yet ſerued, prouide for the ſafetie of ſo faithfull and kind a people, and not to refuſe any conditions, how hard ſoeuer.

The citiſens of Famagvſta requeſt the Gouernour in time to yeeld vp the citie

The requeſts and teares of the citiſens of FAMAGVSTA, with the due conſideration of the deſperat ſtate of the citie, moued *Bragadinus* to compaſsion; who comforting them in beſt ſort he could, perſuaded them to be of good cheere, for that he had care both of them and their ſtate, and would ſo prouide for them, as that they ſhould neuer repent themſelues of their fidelitie and loyaltie to the Venetian State. He in the meane time conſidering the greatneſſe of the danger which preſently hung ouer all their heads, propounded the matter in a generall counſell called togither for the ſame purpoſe: wherein after a little debating of the matter, they all agreed to yeeld; onely *Baleonius* at the firſt diſſenting, as doubtfull of the Turkes faith, but afterwards yeelding vnto the opinion of the reſt. So an herauld being ſent vnto the Baſſa, a truce was taken for certaine daies to parley in, and hoſtages on both ſides giuen: during which time, not ſo much as a dart was throwne or an arrow ſhot from either ſide. After a few daies parley the conditions were agreed vpon, whereupon the citie ſhould be yeelded into the power of the Baſſa, which were theſe: Firſt, that the inhabitants of the citie yet left aliue, ſhould in ſafetie enjoy their liues, libertie, and goods, with the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion: That the Gouernour with the reſt of the captaines and ſouldiors might in ſafetie depart with bag and baggage, and at their departure to take with them fiue great pieces of ordinance, and three horſes, which ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe them to make choiſe of; and that the Turkes ſhould ſafely conduct them into CRETE, finding them both victuall and ſhipping: all which things were with more kindneſſe promiſed, than with fidelitie performed. Yet all theſe matters agreed vpon, and conceiued into writing, as alſo by ſolemne oath on both ſides confirmed: the Gouernour ſending a meſſenger before, requeſted that he might haue leaue to come to ſee the Baſſa, and to deliuer vnto him the keyes of the citie. Leaue being granted, *Bragadinus* the Gouernour, *Baleonius*, *Andreas Bragadinus*, *Laurentius Theupolus* earle of PAPHOS, *Io. Anthonius Quirinus*, *Aloyſius Martinengus*,

A parley betwixt them of Famagvſta and the Turks.

A *tinengus*, with a great ſort of other captaines came into the campe: but before they entred into the Baſſaes pauillion, they were commaunded to deliuer their weapons, which they all did. At the firſt meeting *Muſtapha* entertained them courteouſly, and with many glorious words, as if it had beene in admiration, extolled their worthie valour and courage: ſaying, that he was glad now to know them by face, whoſe valiant minds he had before knowne by their moſt valiant deeds. Now proweſſe and valour ſeemed not onely in ſafetie, but alſo honoured euen of the enemie: when after a long diſcourſe the falſe Baſſa reuolued vnto the miſcheefe and trecherie he had before reſolued vpon: complaining that certaine of his men taken at the ſiege, had beene afterward againſt all reaſon and order ſlaine. Which the Gouernour and the reſt vtterly denying, he ſtart vp as in a rage, and with high words and ſterne countenance vrging the fact, commaun-
B ded them all to be forthwith caſt in bonds: and ſo bringing them out of his pauillion, in the ſight of the armie, contrarie to his oath and promiſe, cauſed them all to be ſlaine. At which time *Bragadinus* and *Theupulus* were oftentimes commaunded to lay downe their heads, to haue had them ſtrucke off: yet was their execution deferred, and their liues reſerued, not to ſaue them, but with more exquiſit puniſhment and torture to ſatisfie the barbarous crueltie of the faithleſſe and vnmercifull tyrant. The next day after, *Bragadinus* hauing his eares before cut off in deſpight, was brought forth to be wondered at, and tortured with the moſt extreameſt kind of torture that tyrannie it ſelfe could haue deuiſed: for deſpoyled of his jewels and attire, and a basket layed vpon his ſhoulders, filled with earth, he was enforced oftentimes to cartie the ſame to repaire the ram-
C piers that were ouerthrowne; and euer as he paſſed by, the proud Baſſa inſulting vpon him to fall downe and to kiſſe the ground at his feet: and ſo buffeted with the Turks fiſts, and ſpurned as a dog with their feet, was in great deriſion and deſpight asked, Whither he hoped that Chriſt his God would come to helpe him or not? Which indignitie of it ſelfe bitter and miſerable, the dignitie of the man made much more miſerable: whoſe comely and ſtately countenance, with his long and reuerend beard, euen in that extreame miſerie, added vnto him a certaine majeſtie and grace. In this ſo foule a ſight of vertue troden vnderfoot, the poore Chriſtians could neither well ſtay their teares, nor let them fall, for feare of the diſpleaſure of the Turks. But the forſworne Baſſa, not onely forgetfull of all humanitie, but enraged rather with extreame crueltie, cauſed that noble and woorthie *Bragadinus* to be ſet in a chaire, and his skin to be flaine off from him quicke: a puniſhment vnworthie of him that ſuffered it, but moſt worthie him that inflicted the
D ſame. Yet in ſo great and horrible a torture he was not heard to let fall any word, not beſeeming a faithfull Chriſtian and the honour of his countrey: onely he called vpon God for mercie, and deteſted the Turks perfidious trecherie, and ſo breathed out his life. But the tyrant worthie eternall infamie, not ſatisfied with the torture of the liuing man, cauſed the head to be cut from the dead bodie, and vpon the point of a ſpeare to be ſet vp on an high place for all men to looke vpon. His skin alſo ſtuffed with chaffe, he cauſed to be hanged vp at the yards arme, and ſo to bee carried about: not ſo true a trophie of his victorie, as a teſtimonie of his perfidious and Turkiſh crueltie. Two dayes after, countie *Theupolus*, after he had beene moſt ſhamefully entreated, full of the markes of the Turks crueltie, was (to make an end withall) ſhamefully hanged in the mar-
E ket place. With what crueltie the Baſſa had tyrannized vpon the nobilitie, with the ſame he alſo raged vpon the meaner ſort of the citiſens, of whom ſome he ſlew, ſome he chained in the gallies, and carried away the reſt into bondage. Three hundred Chriſtians, ſome ſouldiors, ſome citiſens, which came forth with the Gouernour to ſee the Turkes campe, were there alſo all ſlaine. *Neſtor Martinengus*, a famous captaine, eſcaped the tyrants hands, being hidden by one of the Baſſaes eunuchs, who by the helpe of a Greeke fiſherman got to LEPTIS, and from thence to
F CRETE, and ſo afterwards to VENICE, where he faithfully reported to *Aloyſius Mocenicus* the duke, the whole proceſſe of that warre, with the loſſe of the citie; and that in the ſpace of threeſcore and ten daies there was aboue an hundred and fortie thouſand great ſhot diſcharged againſt the citie. Such noblemen and gentlemen as eſcaped out of this ſo generall a ſlaughter, baniſhed their countrey, and in miſerie, diſperſed without hope of returne, led afterward a miſerable and vagrant life, though ſome of them euen at this day (as I haue beene credibly enformed) are by the Venetian ſtate right well maintained. The countrey people and artificers were generally by the Turks ſpared, for the peopling of the countrey. This was the fatall ruine of CYPRVS, one of the moſt fruitfull and beautifull iſlands of the Meditetranean: the loſſe wherof not without cauſe grieued many Chriſtian princes, as ſometime a kingdome of it ſelfe, and now a prouince of the

Bragadinus ſhamefully and horribly murthered by the faithleſſe Baſſa.

The forſworne Baſſa tyranniſeth vpon the dead bodie of Bragadinus.

Theupolus hanged.

Neſtor Martinengus by good fortune eſcapeth.

Cyprus loſt.

Turkiſh empire: our ſinnes, or the euill agreement of Chriſtian princes, or both, the cauſe thereof I know not, neither if I did, durſt I ſo ſay. G

Whileſt *Muſtapha* yet lay at the ſiege of FAMAGVSTA, the other two great Baſſaes *Partau* and *Haly*, the one the Admirall, and the other Generall of the ſouldiors (appointed by *Selymus* for the keeping of the ſea, that no releefe ſhould be ſent by the Venetians to FAMAGVSTA, and further as occaſion ſerued to infeſt their dominions) about the middeſt of May arriued in EVBŒA with two hundred and thirtie gallies; whether *Vluzalis* viceroy of ALGIERS, with diuers other the Turks notable pyrats, reſorted vnto them with their gallies. With this fleet departing from EVBŒA, and ſayling alongſt the coaſt of MYSIA, IONIA, CARIA, and ſo directly toward the RHODES, they were met with thirtie gallies moe of the Turkes aduenturers. After that, hauing left certaine gallies for to lie before FAMAGVSTA, they directed their courſe for the H
The Turkes arriue in Crete with a great fleet. iſland of CRETE, and the thirteenth of Iune put into the bay of AMPHIMALEA, now called SVDA, and there landed twelue thouſand men.

The deſcription of Crete. This iſland of CRETE, now called CANDIA, is greater than CYPRVS, but leſſer than SICILIA or SARDINIA: but for fertilitie comparable with any of the iſlands of the Mediterranean. It was in auntient time famous for many things, but eſpecially for an hundred cities which therein ſtood, as witneſſeth amongſt others *Seneca: Vrbibus centum ſpacioſa Cretæ*, but at this day it hath onely three: CANDIA, a colonie of the Venetians, whereof the iſland now taketh name, CANEA, and RHETIMO. The circuit of the iſland is fiue hundred and twentie miles: full of hils: for which cauſe the people of the countrey are much delighted in hunting. In it is no nauigable riuer or venomous beaſt. It is now moſt famous through a great part of the world, I
for the good Malmeſey which there groweth, and is from thence in great abundance ſent into many farre countries. Therein alſo groweth great plentie of Cypreſſe trees, ſeruing for the vſe
The Turkes driuen out of Crete. of ſhipping. It is at this day ſubject to the Venetians. The Turkes being landed, and raunging vp and downe the countrey, did what harme they poſsibly could, burning and ſpoiling all as they went: vntill that at laſt they were vpon the ſudden encountered by *Franciſcus Iuſtinianus*, who but a little before their landing was come into the iſland with a thouſand ſouldiors; and now joyning with the iſland people, notably charged them, being altogether diſperſed and ſeeking after prey: and hauing ſlaine many of them, enforced the reſt to retire to their gallies. The next day the Turkes landing againe in greater number, burnt diuers townes, and ranſacked SETIA and RHETIMO, where they tooke a rich prey, and carried away many priſoners: but loded with K
their bootie, diſperſed, and fearing nothing leſſe than to be at that time ſet vpon, they were aſſailed by *Lucas Michael* a valiant captaine, two thouſand of them ſlaine, and with the loſſe of their bootie and priſoners glad to retire vnto their gallies. Thus repulſed from CRETE, they tooke their courſe to CYTHERA, ZACYNTHVS, and CEPHALENIA, iſlands ſubject to the Venetians: where beſide other harmes by them done, they carried away with them ſix thouſand poore Chriſtians into moſt miſerable captiuitie.

Departing thence, and ſayling alongſt the coaſt of EPIRVS, they came to SVPPOLO, an hauen towne in EPIRVS, which *Venerius* in the beginning of theſe warres had taken from the Turks, but was now againe by them recouered. After that, they came to DVLCIGNO, which the Turkes had but a little before beſieged by land, for that the Gouernour thereof and of ANTIVARI (another towne of the Venetians vpon the frontiers of DALMATIA) had compacted with three hundred Epirots, to ſtirre vp the countrey to rebellion, and to reuolt to the Venetians: for the effecting whereof the Epirots requeſted of the Venetians ſix thouſand ſouldiours to make head, which the Venetians promiſed to ſend them. Whereupon the aforeſaid Epirots forthwith tooke vp armes, and raiſed moſt part of EPIRVS into rebellion: vnto whom was ſent at the firſt one captaine with an hundred Italians from CATARO. But when the Epirots
A faire occaſion let ſlip. vainly expecting the promiſed aid, ſaw themſelues on euery ſide hardly beſet with their enemies; deſpairing of any good ſucceſſe, they yeelded themſelues vnto the mercie of *Achmetes Baſſa, Selymus* his great lieutenant in GRÆCIA (who to repreſſe that ſo dangerous a rebellion, was come M
thither with an armie of foureſcore thouſand Turks:) ſo was a moſt faire occaſion loſt, when as the reſt of the Epirots, enflamed with the hope of libertie, were readie to haue come vnto their friends, alreadie in armes, and by their example like ynough to haue raiſed all GRÆCIA into rebellion. But now deceiued of their expectation, bewayled their miſerie, that truſting to the promiſes of the Venetians, they had caſt themſelues and all theirs into moſt manifeſt danger. They

of

A of DVLCIONO seeing themselues hardly beset both by sea and land, sent to *Partau Bassa*, and couenanting with him, that they might in safetie depart, deliuered vnto him the towne: and so *Sara Martinengus*, Gouernor of the towne, with the garrison souldiors, were in foure ships conueyed in safetie to RAGVSIVM: as for the citisens, promise was kept with them after the Turkish manner. In the same hurle the Turkes tooke also the townes of ANTIVARI and BVDVA. ANTIVARI was both by situation and fortification strong, and furnished with a good garrison: nevertheless, *Alexander Donatus* Gouernour thereof, a man of no experience in martiall affaires, ouercome with the present feare, and despairing to be able to hold the towne, cowardly yeelded the same vnto the enemie. Which his beastly cowardise the Senat suffered not vnpunished, but confiscating his goods, and remooving him from the Senat, cast him into exile. From ANTI-
B VARI the Turks following their good fortune, departed with their fleet into the bay called RIZONICVS, but now the bay of CATHARO, and both by sea and land laied hard siege vnto the strong towne of CATHARO, called in auntient time ASCRIVIVM; against which they cast vp two great bulwarkes, and planted thereon nine great pieces of artillerie, wherewith to haue battered the towne and the castle: but the defendants as resolute men sallying out, put them from their ordinance, and enforced them againe vnto their gallies.

Duleigno, Antiuari, and Budua, strong townes of the Venetians vpon the coast of Epirus and Dalmatia, yeelded to the Turke.

Cowardise punished.

Whilest these things were in doing, *Vluzalis* and *Caracossa*, both men of great account and name amongst the Turkes, got leaue for ten dayes of the Admirall, with threescore gallies to spoyle the islands neere thereabouts, subject to the Venetians. Who comming to the island of
C CVRZOLA, about fourscore miles Eastward from RAGVSIVM landed their men, with purpose to assault the towne of CVRZOLA, of the same name with the island. Which *Anthonius Contarenus* the Gouernour thereof perceiuing, in the dead time of the night fled for feare out of the towne into the rockes and places of more safetie, after whom the townesmen followed also: so that in the towne were not left aboue 20 men, and about 80 women; who with weapons in their hands, after the rest were fled, came to the wals, as wishing rather there to die, than to fall into the hands of the barbarous enemie. But at such time as the Turks began to approch the towne, & the women with stones, fire, and such weapons as they had, were beating them off, and with greater courage defending the place than was to haue beene in their sex expected, by the goodnesse of God a great tempest suddenly arose out of the North, which so outragiously tossed the gallies, that *Vluzalis* and *Caracossa* were glad to giue ouer the assault, and to get them thence into a place
D of more safetie. Sayling alongst the coast, they by the way spoiled LYSNA, BRACIA, and LISSA, little islands vpon the coast of DALMATIA, out of which they caried away with them 1600 poore Christians into captiuitie. These arch pyrats at their pleasure roming vp and downe the sea, fortuned to light vpon a ship of the Christians bound from MESSANA to CORCYRA, which they tooke; and in rifling thereof found certaine letters directed to the Gouernour of CORCYRA, certifying him of the league, then but lately concluded amongst the Christian princes: which letters they sent in post to *Selymus* to giue him knowledge thereof, who therupon writ to his Admirals, with all hostilitie to infest any of the dominions of the Christian confederats.

Curzola forsaken by the men, is defended by the women.

Selymus aduertised of the league lately concluded betwixt the Christian princes.

The Turks fleet thus raging and raigning in the Adriaticke, brought a great feare not only vp-
E on the coasts of DALMATIA, ISTRIA, and the islands thereabouts, which were by them most afflicted; but also vpon the sea coasts of APVLIA, and all alongst that side of ITALIE, yea & vpon the citie of VENICE it selfe: insomuch that they were glad to fortifie as well the citie as the frontiers of their dominions, with new fortifications and garrisons: as did also the king, and the Pope in ITALIE: for why no ship or gallie could now looke out of any port, but it was presently surprised and taken by the Turks: which with the sundry calamities before receiued, so confounded the Venetians, that they in their assemblies and consultations seemed rather to quake for feare, than after their wonted maner gratuely to consult how the enemy was to be repulsed. Yet for the more safetie of their citie, and for feare least the Turks fleet should forcibly breake in vpon them, they strongly fortified the passages through the rocke or banke which defendeth the citie from the sea, and kept continually 12000 men in readinesse in the citie for the more assurance thereof.

F All the Turks fleet being againe met together, *Partau* and *Haly* departed from AVLONA the 26 of August, and sayled directly to CORCYRA, which little island seemed to bee compassed in round with the great enemies fleet. *Partau Bassa* at his first arriuall there, landed eight hundred horsemen and a thousand foot, who ranging vp and down the island did great hurt, and burnt the very suburbs of the citie: at which time the garrison souldiors sallying out vpon them with a thou-

ſand horſemen and fiue hundred foot, ſlew a great number of them, and amongſt the reſt one *Paphus Rays*, a man of great name. Thus the Turks fleet hauing done wonderfull harme in the Venetian territorie, as well in the iſlands, as vpon the frontiers of DALMATIA, enriched with the ſpoyle of thoſe countries, and carrying away with them fifteene thouſand moſt miſerable captiues; departing from CORCYRA, arriued all in the bay of CORINTH, now called the gulfe of LEPANTO, where we will for a while leaue them to ride in ſafetie. G

The Turkes put into the bay of Lepanto.

At ſuch time as this great fleet (the terrour of that part of Chriſtendome) firſt put into the Adriaticke, *Venerius* the Venetian Admirall then lying with fiftie gallies at CORCYRA, and fearing if he ſtayed there longer, to be enforced with ſo ſmall a power to fight againſt ſo ſtrong an enemie, or els ſo to be ſhut vp that hee could not joyne his forces with the Spaniſh fleet, which was dayly expected: vpon the comming of the fleet departed thence to MESSANA, there more commodiouſly and more ſafely to attend the comming of *Don Iohn* of AVSTRIA, Generall of the Spaniſh forces. At his comming, *Columnius* met him with twelue gallies (which the great duke of FLORENCE had ſent in the aid of the confederats) and three gallies of MALTA, who onely were yet come thither, and with great honour receiued him. Not long after, *M. Antonius Quirinus* and *Antonius Canalis* came thither alſo with threeeſcore and two gallies, before appointed by the Venetians for the releeſe of FAMAGVSTA, but now called backe againe to joyne with the reſt of the fleet: and in ſhort time the gallies of SICILIE arriued there alſo. At laſt after long expectation, in the latter end of Auguſt came *Don Iohn* with the Spaniſh fleet, a man then about foure and twentie yeares old, in whom wanted no honorable parts, his mothers blemiſh onely excepted: who although he was moſt deere vnto his father *Charles* the fifth, yet left he him nothing by his will, but onely at his death commended him vnto his ſonne *Philip*, as his brother. The Venetian and the Popes Admirals hearing of his comming, went to meet him, and that with ſuch triumph and joy, that all the former heauineſſe before conceiued of his long ſtaying, was turned into gladneſſe, with moſt aſſured hope of triumphant victorie: their doubled forces, and two great fleets joyned in one, encouraged them aboue meaſure, filling all the Weſt with the expectation of ſome great matter. The Venetian fleet conſiſted of an hundred and eight gallies, ſix galleaſes, two tall ſhips, and a great number of ſmall galliots. Vnto them were joyned twelue gallies of the Popes, of whom *Columnius* was Admirall. And with *Don Iohn*, the Generall, and *Auria* the Spaniſh Admirall came foureſcore and one gallies, of whom three were from the knights of MALTA. In this fleet, beſide marriners, were reckoned to be twentie thouſand fighting men: an armie not onely beautifull for ſhew, as conſiſting of moſt choice bodies; but indeed moſt ſtrong and puiſſant, old beaten ſouldiours almoſt throughout it, in euery place intermixed with others of leſſe skill: many knowne to be men of great experience, rich and luſtie bodies, were by name called forth to this ſo honourable ſeruice; and diuers other of great nobilitie, as well old men as yong and luſtie gallants, for the naturall hatred they bare vnto the common enemie, came and as voluntarie men cheerefully thruſt themſelues into that religious war: euery of which noble gentlemen, as they were greater by birth or power, ſo had they drawne after them a greater number of their fauourits and followers, ſtrong and able bodies, of their owne charge brauely armed; who ſought after no other pay for their paines and danger, but by ſome notable victorie to eterniſe their names, or honourably to ſpend their liues in ſo juſt a quarrell, as for the defence of the Chriſtian faith and religion. Amongſt theſe moſt honourable and reſolute men, were three of greateſt marke, *Alexander Farneſius* prince of PARMA, in time to be the honour and glorie of ITALIE his natiue countrey, whoſe vntimely death in the low countries euen his honourable enemies lamented; and being dead, is not without cauſe and worthie deſert accounted amongſt the moſt politicke and famous leaders of our age. The ſecond was *Franciſcus Maria* prince of VRBIN, a yong man both honourably deſcended and of an inuincible courage: and the third *Paul. Iordanus Vrſinus*, an honorable gentleman of the family of the *Vrſini* in ROME. H L

The forces of the confederat princes meet together at Meſſana.

Alexander Farneſius prince of Parma.

All the power of the confederat princes thus met togither at MESSANA, and all things now in readineſſe; a counſell was called by the Generall, to reſolue what courſe to take in thoſe moſt dangerous wars, againſt ſo puiſſant an enemy: vnto which counſell were admitted only *Don Iohn* the Generall himſelfe: and *Aloyſius Requiſenius*, of ſome called *Requiſenius*, great commendor of CASTILE, the Generals lieutenant, or rather director of his actions: *Sebaſtianus Venerius* the Venetian Admirall: and *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* Generall proueditour, of equall authoritie and reputation with the Admirall: and one ſecrettie: *Marcus Anthonius Columna* the Popes M

Don Iohn of Auſtria.

I

K

Admirall,

A Admirall, with *Pompeius Colonna* his kinſman. The chiefe point whereon theſe great commanders were to reſolue was, Whether they ſhould aduenture the generall fortune of a battel againſt ſo ſtrong an enemie, or onely ſeeke to defend the frontiers of their owne dominions? Which queſtion (as all other of like ſort) was of diuers diuerſly phantaſied; euerie man pleaſing himſelfe with his owne reaſons. *Requiſenius* (*Don Iohn* his chiefe counſellor, without whom he willingly did nothing, and vndoubtedly a man of great valour and experience) ſpeaking firſt, ſaid, That the enemies force was nececeſſarily to be known, before they committed all to the fortune of a battell: and that therfore delay was to be vſed, leaſt improuident haſt ouerthrew all. Matters of warre that were to be deſcided by the ſword, were (as he ſaid) with great and ſound aduiſe to be adminiſtred; for that the errours of battell, whereby all was to be put in hazard, were not to
B be againe amended. He highly commended the aduiſe of *Scipio Africanus*, who counſelled great commaunders, not to fight with the enemie but vpon ſome great Aduantage, or elſe therunto forced by Neceſsitie. But as things now ſtood, what opportunitie could be miniſtred or aduantage taken; the enemie keeping himſelfe cloſe within the bay of CORINTH, and no apparant meanes how to draw him out from thence? Neither that he for his part was of ſo great a ſpirit, as within the harbour in place of diſaduantage, without hope, to ſet vpon an enemie in common eſtimation ſtronger than himſelfe: for what diſhonour ſhould they incurre, if hauing receiued ſome notable loſſe, they ſhould be enforced with ſhame to giue ouer the enterpriſe begun? And to beſiege ORICVS, DIRRHACHIVM, or CASTRVM NOVUM, frontier townes of the Turks, ſo to draw them out to battell; what were this other than to ſhew a certaine feare and diſtruſt
C in themſelues, and to diſcourage the minds of the ſouldiors? for as well the enemie as the common ſouldior, would forthwith deeme ſuch a poore attempt to proceed of a meere feare, as to make a vaine ſhew of ſomething doing, when as they durſt not encounter the enemie in his full ſtrength. As for the other reaſon drawne from Neceſsitie: what neceſsitie had they ſo deſperatly to ſet vpon the enemie? who vpon the approach of Winter muſt needs in ſhort time lay vp his gallies: and being alreadie in ſafe harbour, would neuer be drawne to the hazard of a battell, eſpecially like hope, like ſtrength, and like danger appearing on both ſides. Wherefore, it were beſt (in his opinion) onely to make a great ſhow of their forces, ſo to terrifie the barbarous enemie: but in no caſe to hazard the hope of the whole Chriſtian common-weale, vpon the fortune of a battell. He farther alſo propounded vnto them, the vncertaine euents of things, the
D common chance of warre, the ſtrength of the enemie, as well by ſea as by land; with whom they themſelues were not (as he ſaid) in deed comparable: then, what an infinit heape of miſeries was like to ouerwhelme the Chriſtian common-weale, if they ſhould in any thing miſcarrie: And that therefore, ſafe aduiſe was in this caſe to be preferred before that which was attended vpon with greater danger.

On the other ſide, the Venetians, who thought all delay both infamous and dangerous to their State, were farre of another opinion. Wherefore *Venerius* and *Barbadicus* not only vehemently perſuaded but moſt inſtantly requeſted the Generall and the reſt of the great commaunders, that ſo ſoone as oportunitie ſerued, they would commit the matter to the triall of a battell, and not to make that counſell, which their couragious minds might make moſt glorious and
E fortunat, by declining of battell to become diſhonourable or fruſtrate. If deſire of honour (ſaid they) moue vs not, ſhall neither theſe things moue vs? the loſſe of ſo great and chargeable a preparation, the ſpoyling of our frontiers, and the inſolencie of our enemies, which we encreaſe by delay? We defend our ſelues and ours, we inuade not them: wee goe not about to driue the Turke out of his empire; but that we our ſelues be not by him driuen out of our owne countries. Wherefore we ought ſo much the more readily and ſpeedily to thinke of battell, by how much the neceſsitie of him is greater that repulſeth a danger, than of him that offereth the ſame. What, are our weapons blunt, or our hands benummed? ſhall the Turkes ſo often prouoke vs, and we ſtill be vnreuenged? ſhall we alwaies ſhew our weapons, and neuer fight? One fortunat battell is able to blot out the infamie of former time, and to fill vs with the hope of future hap-
F pineſſe: if nothing elſe, let the verie indignitie of the matter ſtirre vs vp to battell. And what doubt is there, but that the enemie ſwelling with pride, will come forth with his fleet and giue vs battell? Thinke you that a ſmall diſcredit will enſue to our honour and reputation, if contented with a vaine brag, hauing not once skirmiſhed with the enemie, or ſo much as ſeene him, we ſhall returne home, to the generall ſhame of all Chriſtendome? See how many peſtilent incon-

The Venetians vrge battell.

uenience

ueniences will enſue, if we ſhall take this courſe. This manner of proceeding, will fill all mens G
minds with diſpaire: the people will murmure, That they are to no purpoſe oppreſſed with exactions and tributs: the confederat princes (carefull of this warre) will ſay, that they haue in vaine wearied themſelues with often embaſſages and care thereof: the prowd enemie will account our departure, or declining of battell, for a manifeſt victorie. The next yeare we may looke for him againe with a greater and a ſtronger fleet, which ſhall not onely make a more heauie warre, but deſtroy and beare downe all before it: at which time, who can aſſure vs that the Chriſtians ſhall haue the like preparation, if we ſhall now delay to fight? what labour is to be taken, what coſt to be beſtowed, to ſet forth againe ſo great a fleet? Vnto theſe cauſes which impoſe vpon vs a neceſsitie and force to fight, is adioyned not onely a ſingular regard of our honour, but a moſt notable opportunitie alſo offered: we neuer had a greater fleet, nor better furniſhed with men, mu- H
nition, and all things elſe to be required for the gaining of a notable victorie: and who knoweth not, that the Chriſtian gallies are farre ſtronger than the Turkes? beſides that, the greateſt part of their beſt ſouldiors are in hope of prey gone into CYPRVS, who there ſeeking after the ſpoile, and forgetfull of the enemie, without controlment glut themſelues with the pleaſures of that rich iſland; whereby their fleet is ſo much the weaker. All which things, as they promiſe no hard victorie, ſo doe they propound vnto vs, honour, glorie, fame, and moſt honourable rewards; and open vnto vs the way both for the defence of the preſent, and recouerie of that hath been before loſt. What then ſtand we ſtill looking for? or why do we not in Gods name ioine that battell, which is vnto vs not only neceſſarie, but profitable alſo.

Thus much ſaid, they began to intreat and beſeech the Generall and the reſt, not longer to I
ſuffer the Chriſtian common-weale to receiue loſſe vpon loſſe, but to repoſe their only hope in the good ſucceſſe of one worthie battell: and neuer to looke for the like opportunitie, if they let ſlip the preſent. This matter of ſo great conſequence, thus throughly debated amongſt the greateſt commaunders, they thought it good to heare alſo the opinions of other notable captaines, of no leſſe experience than themſelues (then in the fleet) before they would conclude any thing.

Cornea and Serbellio perſuade the giuing of battell.

Amongſt the reſt, *Anthonius Cornea*, and *Gabriel Serbellio*, both Spaniards, and for their great wiſedome and valour had in generall reputation of all men; being demaunded their opinions, with moſt ſubſtantiall reaſons declared the neceſsitie of giuing battell, and that it was not ſo dangerous, as to be therefore ſhunned or delaied: For ſo much as that violent enemie was far eaſier to be dealt withall at ſea than by land; where he muſt fight without his huge multitude of men, K
the Turks chiefe hope and only meanes whereby they haue obtained ſo many victories againſt the Chriſtians. And ſo concluded their opinions, with an effectuall perſuaſion to ſet forward to CORCYRA, and without delay as occaſion ſerued to giue the enemie battell. Which their opinion being generally well liked, was ſhortly after by the Generall and the reſt approued, and a reſolution ſet downe for the giuing of battell: which was no ſooner knowne, but there was a generall rejoycing through the armie, euerie man cheerfully preparing himſelfe to lay downe his life in the publike defence of the Chriſtian common-weale: and that with ſuch an earneſt deſire of battell, that euerie day ſeemed now nothing elſe, but a delay of a moſt aſſured victorie.

The confederats put their fleet in order of battell.

Yet before they ſhould come into the ſight of the enemie, the three Admirals thought it good to bring forth the fleet into the ſea, and there to martiall the ſame, in ſuch ſort, as if they L
ſhould euen then preſently haue joyned battell: to the intent, that by ſuch orderly diſpoſing of their fleet, and by appointing vnto euerie man his place he was to keepe, they might ſo acquaint them with the order of the battell, as that they ſhould when time ſerued (of themſelues without farther direction) martiall themſelues, and ſo more readily enter into battell. The next day the Admirals brought foorth their fleets into the open ſea: in the right wing (which conſiſted of three and fiftie gallies) was *Auria* placed: in the left wing was *Auguſtinus Barbadicus* with the like number of gallies alſo: and in the middle battell ſtood the Generall with ſeauentie gallies: on the right hand of the Generall ſtood *Columnius*, and on the left *Venerius*, his aſſociats. Thus with equall front the fleet ſet forward, as if they ſhould euen preſently haue joyned battell. Betwixt the wings and the middle battell, was left no more ſpace but for three gallies to row: in M
the rearward behind the Generall, followed *Requiſenius* the great Commendor of CASTILE, with his gallies: after *Columnius* followed the Admirall gallie of GENVA, wherein was *Alexander Farneſius* prince of PARMA: and behind *Venerius* came the Admirall gallie of SAVOY, and in her the prince of VRBIN: in the ſpace betwixt the middle battell and the left wing, was placed

placed *Paulus Iordanius*: and betwixt the middle battell and the right wing, was *Petrus Iuſtinianus* with the gallies of MALTA: vpon the left wing attended *Anthonius Canalis*: and *Quirinus* on the right. About halfe a mile behind all the reſt, followed *Aluarus Bacianus* Marqueſſe of SANCRACE, and Admirall of the Neapolitane fleet, with thirtie gallies; a man of great expetience in matters at ſea; and now ſo placed, to be at all times readie to relieue this or that part of the fleet, as the fortune of the battell, or impreſsion of the enemie ſhould require. The Chriſtians had repoſed great hope in ſix galeaſſes, which furniſhed with great ſtore of ordinance and certaine ſelect companies of moſt reſolute ſouldiors, ſeemed rather like caſtles than ſhips. Theſe galeaſſes conducted by *Franciſcus Dodus*, a moſt expert captaine, were placed about a mile before the fleet; two of them before each wing, and the other two before the middle battell: ſo far distant one from another, as that with equall ſpace they anſwered the whole breadth of the front of the fleet, which was almoſt the ſpace of fiue miles, and ſerued the ſame in ſtead of moſt ſtrong bulwarks. The gallies throughout the fleet kept not cloſe togither, but ſuch a conuenient diſtance one from another, as might ſerue for them at libertie to diſcharge their ordinance when time ſhould require. In the wings, as alſo in the maine battell, were the Popes, the kings, and the Venetian gallies indifferently intermixed; that by the equalitie of the danger they ſhould haue more care to relieue one another than if they had ſerued apart. *Ioannes Cardonius*, a moſt valiant captaine, with eight gallies of SICILIE and two galiots, was appointed to go ten miles before the fleet to deſcrie what he might of the enemies doings, and in his returne to joine the one halfe of his gallies to the one wing, and the other halfe to the other.

Six galeaſſes.

In this ſort they departed from MESSANA, with purpoſe to ſeeke out the enemie: and not long after came to PAXO, where (of a ſmall broile) at the firſt was like to haue riſen a great miſchiefe: for the next day, whileſt *Don Iohn* ſtaied there to take a view of the Venetian gallies, and how they were furniſhed both of men and munition; he finding them but weakly manned for ſupplying of that want, appointed foure thouſand Spaniards and a thouſand Italians to be put aboord into the Venetian gallies, where moſt need was.

The Chriſtian fleet departeth from Meſſana to giue the Turks battell.

Amongſt theſe ſouldiors was one companie vnder the commaund of *Mutius Tortona* their captaine, a man of an vnquiet and furious nature: who going aboord the gallie of *Andreas Calergus*, firſt fell to words with the captaine of the gallie, and after much ſtirre into plaine fight; ſo that in a trice they were altogither by the eares, as well the ſouldiours as the captaines: of all which ſtirre *Mutius* was the onely author. *Venerius* being not farre off, and hearing of the matter, ſent the captaine of his owne gallie to appeaſe the tumult: who thruſting himſelfe into the middeſt of the furious multitude, was by *Mutius* in his furie fouly intreated, and diuers of them that came with him ſhrewdly beaten. Which thing *Venerius* (himſelfe alſo of an hoat nature) taking as done in diſgrace of the Venetians, and therewith exceedingly moued; to the terrour of others, cauſed *Mutius* and his enſign-bearer to be hanged vp at the yards arme of the ſame gallie, to the great offence of all the Spaniards. The Generall alſo taking this execution in euill part, full of choler and indignation, grieuouſly complained, That he himſelfe as Generall, was therein not a little wronged; and that it became euerie commaunder to know what belonged to his place, and not to encroach vpon his betters: ſo ſhould the conditions of the league be the better kept, if euerie commaunder could keepe himſelfe within the bounds of his owne authoritie. *Venerius* he ſaid, whoſe authoritie was inferiour vnto his, could not of right without his command determine any thing againſt *Mutius* a Spaniſh captaine: And that therein his honour was empaired: for which, if he had not a publike and honourable amends, he threatned by force of arms to redreſſe his wrong, and the league being broken, to carrie away with him the kings gallies. Neither wanted there ſome who fauouring *Don Iohn* his quarrell, and angrie with the Venetians, laid ſtill more coles on the fire that was alreadie too great. Hereunto *Venerius* ſent word vnto the Generall, That he ſhould do well to moderat his anger, and at leiſure to aduiſe himſelfe, and better to vnderſtand the matter, ſo ſhould he plainly ſee, that there was neuer more juſt or wholſome execution done vpon any, than vpon thoſe mutinous perſons: But if he, carried away with the heat of youth, ſhould attempt any more violent courſe than ſtood with the common quiet, it were not to be maruelled if hee afterward repented. He (as he ſaid) was alſo in armes, and readie to ſhew himſelfe a man. The matter was growne to that heat, that it was not onely not farre from the breaking off of the league; but euen at the point to haue ſet all on a broile, and to haue put the whole fleet in danger: had not *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, againſt this

Mutius Tortona a Spaniard, raiſeth a mutinie in the fleet at Paxo.

Tortona and his antient hanged.

Diſcention betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall.

this tempeſt oppoſed himſelfe : He with all his power laboured to cure the wounded mind of G
the Generall, and to appeaſe his anger : telling him, That the common enemie would hardly be
withſtood by them all, being at vnitie and concord amongſt themſelues ; but if vnto the forrain
danger were alſo joyned domeſticall diſcord, then were the Chriſtian commonwealth vndone.
But if he would moderat his anger, and more regard the honour and credit of the Venetian Ad-
mirall, than the puniſhment of a ſeditious man, euen they which were vnto him friends, and ene-
mies vnto the Venetians, would highly commend his moderation and ſtayedneſſe : yea, that
howſoeuer the matter was done, it could not now be vndone. But whatſoeuer *Venerius* had
done, was in his opinion juſtly done, That it was alwayes ſo accounted and obſerued, that when
many princes joyned their forces together in matters that concerned the common managing of
the warre, nothing was to be done without the commaund of the Generall : but in matters be- H
longing to the priuat gouernment of euery mans regiment, euery Generall had power of life
and death ouer them that were vnder his commaund : which to be ſo, was as he ſaid hereby to
be vnderſtood ; King *Philip* was king of many kingdomes, and that hee might long ſo bee, hee
heartily wiſhed : Now if any Millanoies had committed any capitall crime worthie death in the
kingdome of NAPLES, ſhould the judgement of that crime be of right to be referred vnto the
king himſelfe, as the cheefe ſoueraigne ? or vnto the Gouernour of MILLAINE, where the of-
fendour was borne ? or rather to the ciuile magiſtrate of NAPLES, in whoſe juriſdiction the fault
was committed, and ſo of right there to be executed ? What difference was there then, but that
Mutius might rightly ſeeme to haue beene juſtly puniſhed by *Venerius*, who although he were
a Spaniſh captaine, had yet raiſed a mutinie in a Venetian galley, which was vnder the command I
of the Venetian Admirall. Beſide that, the diſcipline of warre ſometime required a ſeuere and ex-
emplare kind of puniſhment : For which cauſe it was both notably and truly ſaid of *Clearchus*,
That a Generall ought to be more feared of his ſouldiours than the enemie : and that amongſt
the auntient Romanes it had beene the cuſtome euen for priuat men with more ſeuere puniſh-
ment to reſtraine the factious citiſen than the moſt cruell enemie : That the fact was not ſo
much to be regarded, as the intention of him that did it : That it was the dutie of commaun-
ders to withſtand the madneſſe of the mutinous. The author of ſedition and tumult hee ſaid
had ſuffered but condigne puniſhment to his fact : who if hee had eſcaped vnpuniſhed, would
but haue beene the more diſordered, but now by his exemplarie puniſhment would deterre
others from the like inſolencie. Beſides that, the externall danger was ſuch, as ought to recon- K
cile them, were they neuer ſo much enemies : That ſuch men as they were ſhould aboue all
things regard what might profit or hurt the common cauſe, in contemplation whereof all pri-
uat injuries were to be remitted : and the rather, for that the honour and diſhonour of the good
or bad ſucceſſe of ſuch important an action ſhould redound vnto themſelues, but eſpecially vnto
the Generall. His owne dutie he had as he ſaid diſcharged, in dealing ſo plainely and faithfully
with him, and could no more but pray vnto God, with mercifull eye to behold the troubled
Chriſtian commonweale in ſuch a moſt dangerous time.

Don Iohn ſtill beareth a grudge againſt Venerius

Thus was the mutinie at PAXO by the great labour of *Columnius* hardly appeaſed : neuer-
theleſſe *Don Iohn* could not afterwards endure to participate vnto *Venerius* his counſels, or ſo
much as to come in his companie : all was done by *Barbadicus* the Venetian Proueditor. This L

Barbadicus the Venetian Proueditor, a notable man.

Barbadicus was not inferiour to *Venerius* in courage and valour, but farre beyond him in diſ-
cretion ; a tall and goodly and perſonage, well coloured, his beard grizie, though not for age,
for why he was not aboue fiftie yeares old : beſides that, in his eyes and countenance appea-
red a viuacitie or liuelineſſe of ſpirit ; in his very gate and comely motion of his bodie, he car-
ried a certaine grace and majeſtie : his talke and ſpeech was alwayes calme and temperate, his
counſell graue and ſound, ſo that he was both greatly honoured and beloued of all men : his
cheefe endeauour alſo was, to further the hope of attonement betwixt the Spaniards and
the Venetians, ſo well begun by *Columnius*. And ſo all things brought into ſome reaſonable
tearmes, they departed from PAXO, and came to CORCYRA ; the ſpoyle whereof well de-

The Chriſtian fleet at Cephalenia.

clared the enemies late being there. From thence they departed to CEPHALENIA : where M
they by letters from *Pau. Contarenus*, Gouernour of ZACYNTHVS, were aduertiſed, That the
Turkes fleet of three-hundred and three and thirtie ſayle, of one ſort and other, lay in the gulfe
of CORINTH, now called the gulfe of LEPANTO. Whereupon they ſhortly after remooued,
with purpoſe to haue gone to PETALA, an hauen oppoſit oueragainſt the iſlands (or rather
rockes)

A rockes called ECHINADES, but now CORZVLARES, and ſo to the bay of CORINTH, to draw the enemie forth to battell: but ſtayed with contrarie winds, they put backe againe into the valley of ALEXANDRIA, another port in the iſland of CEPHALENIA: from whence they afterward departed to the iſlands CORZVLARES, where by the way they vnderſtood by letters out of CRETE, That FAMAGVSTA was loſt: with which bad newes they were no whit diſcouraged, but rather enflamed with the deſire of reuenge. From the iſlands they went to GALANOA, a good harbour, where they ſtayed one night, purpoſing the next day to haue gone to the mouth of the gulfe of LEPANTO, there to dare the Turks battell.

The Turkes Baſſaes *Partau* and *Haly*, who then lay in good ſafetie within the gulfe, hearing of the approch of the Chriſtian fleet, began to conſult with the reſt of their moſt expert captaines, Whether to giue the Chriſtians battell, or to keepe themſelues ſtill within their ſafe harbour: vpon which doubt they were amongſt themſelues of diuers opinions. Amongſt the reſt *Chiroche* a man of great yeares and authoritie, and withall a moſt noble captaine, exhorted the Baſſaes, in no caſe, when no need was, vpon a vaine glorie to aduenture all to the fortune of an vncertaine battell: it was (as he ſaid) the part of wiſe and worthie commanders, to moderat with reaſon their happie fortunes, for that thereunto were incident many accidents whereby their former felicitie might be diſgraced: They had alreadie run alongſt the enemies coaſts, ſpoyled the frontiers of his countries, and were with much honour and greater ſpoyle in ſafetie returned, hauing encreaſed the Turkiſh empire with many ſtrong townes of the enemies: The iſland of CYPRVS was with wonderfull good fortune brought vnder the Turks obeiſance, the enemies great C prouiſion at ſea fruſtrated, in ſuch ſort, as that hauing loſt diuers of their gallies, they were neuer yet able to draw their ſwords: They had with their fleet at their pleaſure romed vp and down the Adriaticke, and diſplayed their victorious enſigns almoſt vnto the very citie of VENICE. What could they then deuiſe or wiſh for more honourable or glorious, than with the ſafetie of their fleet, yea without any loſſe at all, to haue performed ſo great matters? Now the three generall commaunders of the enemies fleet to be ſo at diſcord amongſt themſelues, as that they were readie to fall in ſunder of themſelues; who now vpon the approch of Winter, and for want of victuall, muſt needs in few dayes returne home with their fleet, neuer after to meet againe with the like ſtrength at ſea: and therefore to what purpoſe were it, by force of armes and vncertaine battell, with danger to ſeeke for the ſoueraignetie and commaund of the ſea, which would forth- D with of it ſelfe without any danger fall vnto them? Neither ſhould they by the doubtfull victorie ſo much encreaſe their honour, as by the vncertaine euent of a battell blemiſh the ſame, if any thing ſhould fall out otherwiſe than well. And that therefore they ſhould doe well to take heed, that in ſeeking to augment their former victories, they hazarded not their honour alreadie gained; but wholeſomely delay the warre, and keepe themſelues in ſafetie with their fleet within the gulfe, and not to goe out at the enemies pleaſure, but when they ſhould ſee good themſelues, at ſuch time as the enemie was not ſo well prouided: ſo ſhould they (as he ſaid) without any great labour or danger attaine to the full of their owne deſires.

Chiroche diſſuadeth the Baſſaes from giuing battell vnto the Chriſtiani.

Partau Baſſa was of opinion, That the Chriſtians would not at all offer him battell: which opinion the Chriſtians had alſo of him: and in this queſtion, for giuing or not giuing of battell, E ſeemed neither to approue nor diſlike that *Chiroche* had ſo gruely ſpoken, but as a man indifferent and loath to incurre any blame, ſhewed himſelfe readie either to ſtay or to ſet forward, as ſhould be thought beſt by the greater part. But *Haly Baſſa*, a man of an hoter ſpirit, and the great champion of the Turks, could not endure to heare of any delay, but of preſent battell. The pleaſure of *Selymus*, the hope of victorie, the remembrance of the diſpleaſure *Piall Baſſa* had the laſt yeare incurred, for not giuing the Chriſtians battell, induced him now in no caſe to refuſe battell, but forthwith to goe out of the gulfe, and to accept thereof, if it were offered. In which his opinion he was the more confirmed by the relation of *Caracoza* a famous pyrat, and of great account amongſt the Turks: who in a ſwift galliot taking view of the Chriſtian fleet, had reported it to be much leſſe than indeed it was: deceiued as was afterward thought, by not taking full view F thereof, by reaſon of his poſting haſt; or els blinded by the iſland, which lying behind the fleet, ſuffered him not perfectly to deſcrie the ſame. Vpon which report there was great rejoycing amongſt the Turkes, who now after their accuſtomed manner dreamed of nothing but victorie and ſpoyle. So that *Haly* vainely perſuaded that his fleet was both the greater and ſtronger, would now needs fight, in hope that the Chriſtians vpon the firſt ſight of the Turks fleet would

Partau Baſſa ſtandeth indifferent for giuing or not giuing battell.

either

either retire and ſaue themſelues by ſhamefull flight: or els in aduenturing battell at ſo great ods, G
by their fooliſh hardineſſe receiue a notable ouerthrow. This opinion of the Baſſa was alſo not a
little confirmed by the perſuaſion of *Caſſanes*, *Barbaruſſa* his ſonne, *Vluzales*, and *Chais-Beg*, Go-
uernour of SMYRNA, all men of great marke and experience, eſpecially in matters at ſea. And
although *Partau* the other Baſſa ſtood wauering, as a man in doubt, and *Chirothe* Gouernour of
ALEXANDRIA, with *Carabuzes* Gouernor of CILICIA, and *Mechmet* Gouernor of EVBŒA,
men of no leſſe worth than the other, vpon better conſideration, were of a quite contrarie mind,
The Turkes re-ſolue to giue the Chriſtians battell for not giuing the Chriſtians battell: yet ſuch was the authoritie of *Haly*, or rather his importu-
nitie, forced to his owne deſtinie, that his opinion preuailed; ſo that now out they needs muſt,
and fight. Albeit that two other eſpials ſent out after *Caracoza*, & hauing more perfectly viewed
the fleet, returning with ſpeed, told the Baſſaes, as truth was, That the Chriſtians, very ſtrong and H
well appointed, were comming with enſignes diſplayed of purpoſe to fight: and that their fleet
was in number much greater than was before ſuppoſed. With which newes ſo farre contrarie to
their expectation, the Baſſaes were exceedingly troubled: and demaunding whether the formoſt
gallies were all Venetians or not: and being anſwered, that they were intermixt, ſome Veneti-
ans, ſome Spaniſh, and of the other Weſterne countries: they began to doubt the worſt, and be-
came exceeding penſiue. Neuertheleſſe knowing themſelues to bee of all things well furniſhed,
hauing new victualled in the bay of CORINTH, and there alſo taken in twelue thouſand Ianiza-
ries and Spahies, drawne out of the garriſons of ÆTOLIA, ACARNANIA, PELOPONESVS,
and the other countries thereby, all reſolute men, and foure thouſand other common ſouldiors;
and that they could not now with their honor ſhrinke backe, they held it ſtill for the beſt, to hold I
on their former reſolution for the giuing of the Chriſtians battell. Yet before their ſetting for-
ward, calling together the captaines and cheefe commaunders of the fleet, *Partau* the more to
encourage them, ſpake vnto them as followeth:

Partau Baſſa encourageth the Turks.

We are to fight (ſaid he) *fellowes in armes, with that kind of men whom our anceſtors haue driuen out of* EVBŒA, *the* RHODES, MYTILENE, PELOPONESVS, *and* TRIPOLIS, *and wee our ſelues but yeſterday out of the famous iſland of* CYPRVS: *whoſe cities and ſtrong townes, in number infinit, our emperour hath, as the rewards of his warres: whom we haue alwayes vanquiſhed, as well by ſea as by land: and ſhall it then now repent you, that you in this warre embrued in the Chriſtian blood, haue ſunke or taken many of their ſhips and gallies? That you haue caried away great and rich ſpoils?* K
That you haue taken whole iſlands and cities at the firſt aſſault? That we haue by proofe ſhewed vnto the world what force is in the Turke to ſubdue ſtrong cities and townes? and what little power is in the Chriſtians to defend the ſame? What direction brought vs victorie before, the ſame ſhall alſo at this preſent giue vs the like. Not to ſpeake of that, that we farre excell them both in number of men and gallies, this is more to be reckoned of, that we excell them in valour and proweſſe: for you being old expert ſouldiors, from your infancie trained vp in the warres, hardened in infinit battels, and full of courage and ſtrength, ſhall fight againſt weake, freſh water, and effeminat ſouldiors; who entertained for pay (of the refuſe of all nations) know nothing belonging to the warres; or forcibly preſſed out of cities, ſerue not becauſe they would, but becauſe they muſt neither will nor chuſe. But not to ſpeake more of the manner of the Chriſtian ſouldiors, who are nothing els than the perpetuall exer- L
ciſe of your renowne and proweſſe: and to come vnto him, vnder whoſe fortune and conduct they ſerue. What ſhould I ſay? ſhould I compare either of vs (who haue ſpent our liues in victories and triumphs: who borne and brought vp amongſt armes, haue with our right hands gained vnto our ſelues honour and fame) with this ſtripling and halfe moneths captaine, who neuer ſaw battels but theſe? who in a leſſe matter neuer ſhewed proofe of himſelfe, why ſhould he be accounted of in a greater? who in ſo weightie a cauſe needeth a tutor: and ſuch a one, as indeed beareth the name of a Generall, more for his honour, than for any worth in himſelfe. Beſides, amongſt the enemies is ſuch diſſention, that euerie man regardeth his owne priuat, ſerueth as pleaſeth himſelfe, contemneth, and is contemned: Whereas with vs is ſuch conſent, that it cannot be deuiſed, how the ſouldiors in generall ſhould more truſt their commaunders, or the commaunders their ſouldiours. What things were by the diſcipline of warre or M
*carefulneſſe of a Generall to be prepared, all thoſe you haue abundantly and plentifully in readineſſe: onely this laſt warlike labour remaineth; which once diſpatched, our enemies ſhall be diſcomfited euen in that wherein their greateſt confidence reſteth. They ſhall be deſpoiled of their honour and traffick at ſea: and that * citie once ſubdued, which is alone the glorie of the ſea, there ſhall be no hope left*

* VL. *Venice,*

for

A *for the Christians neither by sea nor land: and (that we haue alwaies wished)* ITALIE, *faire* ITALIE *(wherein these matters are plotted against vs) shall be in our hand and power: wherefore let vs with such courage assaile our enemies as beseemeth most victorious conquerours, men so many times conquered: And so set forward, as if you saw our emperour himselfe encouraging you, and giuing you the signall of battell; of his bountie, and the present victorie, expecting all felicitie and blisse.*

This comfortable speech with great grauitie deliuered by the Bassa, so encouraged the Turks, as that they all with one voice and mind, seemed to desire nothing more than battell: for they still possessed with the first report of *Caracoza*, and encouraged by the Bassaes speech, were in
B god hope to haue fought the battell vpon great aduantage, and therefore thought vpon nothing but present victorie. Whereupon setting forward with great cheerfulnesse, they came out of the gulfe, and shaped their course for the islands ECHINADES, about midway betwixt LEPANTO and PATRAS; before little islands or rather obscure rocks, scarcely appearing in the sea, but now to be made famous throughout the world, by the most notable battell that euer was fought in those seas.

The Turkes fleet commeth out of the gulfe of Lepanto.

The islands Echinades or Corzulares.

The Christians also comming still on towards the enemie, the seauenth of October in the afternoon, vnderstood by their espials, that the Turkes fleet was comming, and euen now at hand: whereupon the Generall commaunded the great ensigne of the confederats (the appointed signall of battell) to be forthwith displaied, and a great warning piece to be shot off out
C of his Admirall gallie. And himselfe glistering all in bright armour, with *Cardona* Admirall of SICILIA, and *Soto* his secretarie, in a long boat went to all the squadrons of the fleet one after another, exhorting them with cheerfull countenance to follow their leaders, and to play the men: remembring, that they that day carried in their hands, the wealth, honour, glorie, and libertie of their countries; yea and the verie religion of their forefathers; and that that daies victorie would bring vnto them and theirs perpetuall felicitie: whereas otherwise, if they should as cowards suffer themselues to be ouercome and vanquished, it would be vnto them the beginning of all manner of most wofull calamities. To which and other his like speeches, the captaines and souldiors (before of themselues cheerfull enough) in euerie place where he came gaue such applause with the joyfull crie of Victorie, Victorie, so often and so cheerfully in all places re-
D sounded, as that it was taken as a luckie aboadment of the glorious victorie shortly after ensuing. In like manner *Auria* in the right wing, and *Barbadicus* in the left (for the fleet kept the same order that they had appointed before at MESSANA) ceased not by all comfortable speeches to encourage their followers: shewing vnto them, That now the time was come they had so long wished for, wherein they not oppressed with multitude, might at length shew their true valour against the false and faithlesse enemies: who being in deed nothing else but base and contemptible slaues, borne to bondage, and hauing lost their owne libertie, came to impugne the libertie of others; bringing with them a greater terrour of their name, than valour of their persons: and that therefore, if euer, they would now shew themselues valiant and couragious, and that day wherein of all others true force was to be seene, to abate the pride of the barbarous and cruell
E enemie; and to make their rejoycing for the conquest of CYPRVS short, before they had well tasted the pleasure thereof. At which time also the captaines generally throughout the fleet, with cheerfull countenances and couragious speech, encouraged their souldiors: leauing nothing vnsaid, that might hatten them on; or vndone, that might further the victorie.

Neither were the Turks wanting to themselues (although it was fallen out much contrarie to their expectation, to see the Christians, who they before thought durst not haue shewed themselues, now readie to dare them battell) but encouraged with their former victories, and furthered with a faire gale of wind, came on prowdly with their fleet, orderly and gallantly set
F after their wonted manner in forme of a Croisant or halfe Moone, their fortunat ensigne: neuertheless in their comming on they were much troubled with the brightnesse of the Sun, which then shining full in their faces with his bright beames, so dazled their eies, that they could not well see how to their most aduantage to direct their gallies. In this fleet of the Turkes were two hundred and fiftie gallies, fiftie galiots, and twentie brigandines and other small vessels: all which a farre off shewed like a thicke wood, but comming neere hand, presented (as we said) the forme of a Croisant. The middle battell in number much like the Christians, was conducted by the

The number and order of the Turkish fleet.

great Baſſaes *Haly* and *Pertau*, attended vpon with *Agan* maſter of the Turkes Arſenall: *Muſtapha Zelibi*, the treaſurer: *Achmat Bey*, with *Mahomet* his younger brother, the ſonnes of *Haly*: *Achmat Aga*, Gouernour of THEVTHRANIA: *Aſsis Caiga*, Gouernour of CALIPOLIS: *Caracoza*: *Caſſanes*, the ſonne of *Barbaruſſa*: *Malamur*, Gouernour of MITYLENE: *Deli Solyman*: *Gider*, captaine of CHIOS: *Caſſambeius*, Gouernour of the RHODES: *Proui Aga*, captaine of NAVPLIVM: *Giapar Zelibi*, preſident of CALABA: *Dordagnan*: *Dondomeni*, and many others, whoſe barbarous names I purpoſely omit: all men of great account and place, and for their experience at ſea, the chiefe ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire. The right wing was by the appointment of the Baſſaes, commaunded by *Mahomet Bey* with fiftie ſix gallies, with whom were alſo many worthie captaines: and in the left wing was *Vluzales* the old Archpirat, but now the Viceroy of ALGIERS with nintie fiue gallies, accompanied with *Caraiolo* and *Arabey* his two ſons, with a multitude of pirats, men of his owne profeſsion, but moſt valiant and expert ſouldiours. In the rearward came *Amurates Dragut* with thirtie gallies, and diuers other ſmall veſſels. G H

The great and notable battell betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians, commonly called the battell of Lepanto.

Now was the day well ſpent, when both the fleets were readie to giue battell. The enemie ſtill comming on, almoſt in the ſame order that the Chriſtians did: for their middle battell came directly againſt our middle battell, and their wings againſt ours. So the ſignall of battell on both ſides giuen by the ſhooting off of certaine great pieces: the Turks, after their manner comming on with an hideous crie, firſt light vpon the ſix galeaſſes, which lying at anchor almoſt a mile before the fleet as moſt ſtrong bulwarks, out of their forecaſtles powred out their murthering ſhot vpon the Turkes, now come within their danger; and in their paſsing by, ſo plagued them I by diſcharging their whole broad ſides, firſt the one, and eftſoons the other vpon them, that hauing receiued great loſſe, and diuers of their gallies ſunke, they were enforced to breake their order, and to fall farther off. Which ſo much the more troubled the Turkes, for that they had before ſuppoſed, thoſe great carts and vnſeruiceable ſhips (as they accounted of them) to haue carried little or no great ordinance on their ſides, after the manner of their gallies: for the vſe of the galeaſſes was not vnto the Turkes knowne, vntill now that they had receiued from them moſt notable harme: which as it was the beginning of their miſerie, ſo was it vnto the Chriſtians of greateſt importance, for the gaining of the victorie. At which time alſo the wind, which all that day had much fauoured the Turkes, was now (God no doubt fighting his owne battell) come about to the Weſt, and with a pleaſant gale in the time of the fight, carried the ſmoake of the K great ordinance vpon the Turks, to their no ſmall diſaduantage. Yet for all this loſſe and diſorder in their fleet, the fierce enemie with wonderfull pertinacie paſsing by theſe galeaſſes, quickly repared againe to their places, and made good their diſordered ſquadrons, and with all their force

A terrible onſet.

aſſailed the Chriſtian fleet. The trumpets, drums, and other inſtruments of warre, had ſcarcely well ſounded, when all ſhooke with confuſed cries, flames of fire, thundring of artillerie, and other noiſe of the mariners and ſeamen: wherewith many were ſo aſtonied, as if they had been both deafe and blind, hauing vpon the ſudden almoſt loſt the vſe both of their ſight and hearing. At which verie inſtant, a man might haue ſeene whole ſhowers as it were of arrowes and darts mixt with the deadly ſhot, flying from the one fleet to the other; the maſts broken, the ſaile yards ſtrucke downe, the tackles rent, and all confuſed with horrour and feare. *Haly* beholding the L

A dreadfull and doubtfull fight betwixt the two Admirall gallies.

Admirall gallie (which was eaſie to be knowne by the flag) and vſing the ſurpaſsing cheerfulneſſe of his mariners and rowers, ran vpon her with ſuch violence, as if he would haue preſently ſtemmed her: but being with like force encountred by the Admirall, they met togither with ſuch violence, that both their beakes were with the feaze broken off, and ſo fell into the ſea. There began a moſt cruell fight betwixt thoſe two great commanders, who had before drawn vnto them the ſtrongeſt gallies in their fleets, and the choiſeſt men in their armies. In the Admirall gallie of the Chriſtians, were foure hundred ſelect men picked out of the whole armie, moſt of them captaines and auntients, men of approued valour: who not only valiantly repulſed the furious enemies, but with greater courage enforced them to ſhrinke backe, and preſsing hard vpon them entred the gallie euen to the maine maſt; where the enemie ſtrengthned with new ſupply, fought M couragiouſly, repulſed the Spaniards, and cleared againe their gallie. Many were there wounded on both ſides, and many ſlaine. *Don Iohn* ſeeing his men giue way, ſent in new ſupplie; wherwith the other encouraged, beſtirred themſelues more luſtily than before, and hardly charge the Turkes: who with like hope and like courage encounter them. The battell was like vnto the ebbing

A ebbing and flowing of the ſea: Thriſe the Turkes were driuen euen vnto the maine maſt, and thriſe ſtrengthened with new ſupplies, they with great ſlaughter repulſed the Chriſtians backe againe.

Venerius perceiuing the danger of the Generall, was about to haue aſſailed the poupe of *Haly* his gallie, ſo to haue endangered her being ſet vpon both before and abathe: but in comming thither he was encountred by *Pertau* the other Baſſa, who with a companie of gallies oppoſed himſelfe againſt him, and that with ſuch celeritie, that hauing made ſhew as if he would haue charged him afront, he by and by ſet vpon his ſide. Which vnexpected manner of fight ſo ſuddenly faſhioned, at the firſt much troubled the Chriſtians, who afterward gathering courage, notably defended themſelues. *Venerius* vpon whoſe valour the Venetian ſtate reſted, gal- *Venerius comming to the reliefe of Don Iohn is encountred by Pertau Baſſa.*

B lantly armed, not only encouraged his men, one while with intreating, another while with threatning, but was himſelfe in the midſt of them fighting: whoſe great honor much moued the minds of his ſouldiors, but his reuerend yeares more; to ſee him (being aboue threeſcore and ſeauenteene yeares old) to performe all the parts of a braue youthfull commaunder, in the verie face of the greateſt danger. The fierce enemie hauing ſlaine many of the Chriſtians, preſſed on more furiouſly, and fighting cloſe togither, entred the prow of *Venerius* his gallie now bared of defendants, and with their multitude rather than true valour oppreſſed the Venetians; who had *Venerius in danger.*

there no doubt been ouercome, had not *Ioannes Lauretanus*, and *Catherinus Malipetra*, two valiant captaines, and lying not farre off, ſpeedily come to their reliefe. By whoſe comming in, the fight was in the turning of an hand quite altered: ſo that they which a little before fiercely aſſai-

C led the Venetian gallies, were now glad to defend their owne: ſo for a ſpace the fight ſtood indifferent, but in proceſſe of the battell, thoſe two worthie captaines, whileſt they alſo performe *Lauretanus and Malipetra ſlaine* the parts of moſt reſolute ſouldiors, were both ſlaine; ſhot through with ſmall ſhot. The fall of theſe notable men, did rather enrage than diſcourage the minds of their ſouldiors; ſo that blinded as it were with furie, and ſuddenly become other men, they deſperatly preſſed in vpon the Turks. So that whileſt they on the one ſide kill and wound them, and *Venerius* more hardly chargeth them on the other; the terrour of the battell was turned from them that were euen at the point to haue beene vanquiſhed, vpon the victors. And our men after great ſlaughter of the Turkes, tooke two of their gallies: *Pertau* the Baſſa in a long boat eſcaped the danger, and ſo got him out of the battell. Not farre off thence, *Columnius* the Popes Admirall, as a valiant chieftaine

D hardly aſſailed other of the Turkes gallies, and made amongſt them great ſlaughter: one ſingled from the reſt, he tooke, and diſordered the other. *Lignius* the Admirall of GENVA, with like courage thruſt himſelfe into the thickeſt of the enemies, & there made a notable fight. Many an enemie fell about the prince of PARMA, *Rueres*, *Vrſinus*, *Cornea* and *Iuſtinianus*; who for their preſent honour and future fame, fought moſt couragiouſly.

At the ſame time *Chiroche* or *Sirocke* (of ſome called *Mahomet Bey*) with his right wing with great confidence came forward againſt the left wing of the Chriſtian fleet; but falling before he was aware into the danger of the galeaſſes, was from out of them miſerably beaten with *The right wing of the Turks fleet ſore gauled by the galeaſſes.*

the great ordinance, hauing many of his men ſlaine, and diuers of his gallies ſunke and torne, few of the hugie and deadly ſhot falling in vaine into the ſea, by reaſon of the thicke ſtanding of the

E Turkes gallies: where alſo diuers of the enemies were burnt with pots of wild fire, caſt into their gallies out of the tops of the galeaſſes. *Chiroche* to auoid the danger of the galeaſſes, and to ſhun the dangerous ſhelfes betwixt him and the maine (which the riuer Achelous running betweene the borders of ACHARNANIA and ÆTOLIA, and there falling into the ſea, maketh) ſent a great part of his gallies vnder the conduct of one *Alis*, a notable renegat of GENVA, to caſt about aloofe vpon the right hand, and ſo to come vpon the backe of *Barbadicus* the leader of the left wing of the Chriſtian fleet: Which he perceiuing, forthwith turned his gallies, and with their prows receiued the firſt onſet. The great ordinance firſt on both ſides diſcharged; diuers of *A terrible fight betwixt Chiroche and Barbadicus.*

the gallies grapled faſt togither, in ſuch ſort, as that they encountred one another, not with their miſsiue weapons onely (as with their ſmall ſhot, arrowes, and darts) but with their drawn ſwords

F foot to foot. Amongſt the reſt, the fight of two of the Chriſtian gallies was moſt notable, in the one was *Barbadicus* himſelfe, in the other *Marcus Ciconia*, vpon whom fell ſix of the enemies gallies, and vpon *Barbadicus* fiue: who although they were on euerie ſide diſtreſſed with a moſt doubtfull and dangerous fight, yet did they moſt valiantly with worthie reſolution endure the ſame. In the furie of this battell, *Barbadicus* encouraging his ſouldiors, and fighting himſelfe

euen there where moſt danger was, was hit in the left eye with an arrow, and ſo ſtrucke into the braine almoſt through the head: wherewith falling preſently downe, he was taken vp for dead; howbeit he died not thereof vntill three daies after. The ſuppoſed death of this worthie man much troubled the Chriſtians, and both the armies felt his fall (ſuch force there is in the valour of one worthie man) for the Turks now as conquerors luſtily boorded the gallie, troubled with the loſſe of the captaine, and the Venetians as men diſcouraged, gaue way: the gallie had there vndoubtedly beene loſt, had not *Federicus Nanius* and *Syluius Porcia* with their gallies ſpeedily come to her releeſe: by whoſe comming in, ſuch an alteration was made, as that the gallie before halfe taken, was not onely cleared, but diuers of the Turks gallies alſo bourded, and ſome of them taken, not without the great ſlaughter of the Turks. In this ſo hard and mortall a conflict, *Syluius* was grieuouſly wounded in the thigh, and in his right ſide. It is reported of *Barbadicus*, That ly-
The death of Barbadicus.
ing that euening at the point of death, the battell then ended, he like another *Epaminondas* asked which part had got the victorie: and being told that the Chriſtians had got it, and that the Turks fleet was moſt part taken, and the reſt ſunke or burnt: he with his eyes caſt vp vnto heauen, gaue vnto God immortall thankes therefore, and not long after joyfully departed this life, to liue in bliſſe for euer.

Ciconia hardly beſet, and in danger to haue been loſt, is relieued.

Ciconia in the meane time hardly beſet with ſix of the enemies gallies (as we haue beforeſaid) was himſelfe ſore burnt with wild fire, and hurt in the face: and hauing endured a long and terrible fight, was now euen at the point to haue beene loſt; when ſudden releeſe comming in, he was now contrarie to all hope ſaued, and therewith ſo much encouraged, that with his wearie and wounded ſouldiors, as men from death reuiued, he afreſh charged the enemie, and tooke one of his principall gallies, with one of the Turks faireſt enſignes, which in the Venetian Armorie is yet there to be ſeene: of his worthie valour, his honeſt wounds in his face and the forepart of his bodie, were moſt certaine and vndoubted witneſſes.

An hard fight betwixt Io. Contarenus and Chiroche.

Not farre off, in the ſame wing, *Ioannes Contarenus*, an honourable and valiant gentleman, did with his great ſhot exceeding great harme amongſt the Turks gallies: Which *Chiroche* perceiuing, and therewith enraged, ran ſo fiercely vpon the ſide of *Contarenus* his gallie, that with his beake he had well neere ſtemmed her; & preſently grapling faſt with her, was like to haue bourded her: whom neuertheleſſe the Chriſtians notably repulſed, with greater ſlaughter than was thought poſsible for ſo ſmall a number to haue made: neither did the enemies fall vnreuenged; but all embrued with the bloud of the Chriſtians. Seldome hath beene ſeene a more cruell fight, or more reſolute captaines to encounter hand to hand. But after the battell had of long time ſtood doubtfull, the hope of the Chriſtians encreaſed vpon two cauſes, for which the courage of the enemie quailed: firſt for that many of the Turks being ſlain or wounded, they were brought to a ſmall number; then for that both parties ſaw *Chiroche* himſelfe ſlaine: from which time the enemie, as well deſtitute of a leader to direct them, as of freſh ſupplies to relieue them, began to be cut downe right, or taken. Which their danger was the more encreaſed, becauſe the gallie, bulged with the great ſhot, was now leake, and in danger to ſinke: wherefore the Turkes in that wing ouercome with deſpaire, began to thinke rather how to ſaue themſelues by flight than by fight, repoſing their truſt in nothing more than in the neereneſſe of the maine. But as they were turning about toward the ſhore, they were preuented by the Chriſtians: who entring the gallie, and hauing ſlaine or driuen ouer boord almoſt all that were left, tooke *Chiroche*, yet breathing, but halfe dead; and ſeeing ſmall hope of his life, with freſh wounds made an end of him.

Chiroche ſlaine, and his gallie taken.

Diuers and doubtfull was the whole face of the battell: as fortune offered vnto euery man his enemie, ſo he fought; according as euery mans diſpoſition put into him courage or feare, or as he met with moe or fewer enemies, ſo was there here and there ſometime victorie, and ſometime loſſe. Many fights were in ſundrie places ſeene mingled together. Some gallies whiles they run to ſtemme others, are themſelues by others ſtemmed. Some, which you would thinke were flying away, falling by fortune vpon one victorious gallie or other, ſuddenly take them. Otherſome as if they had beene of neither part, row vp and downe betwixt the battels. The chance of warre in one place lifteth vp the vanquiſhed, and in another ouerthroweth the victorious. All was full of terrour, errour, ſorrow, and confuſion. And albeit that fortune had not yet determined which way to encline, yet the Chriſtians at length began to appeare much ſuperior both in courage and ſtrength: and the Turkes ſeemed now rather to defend themſelues, than to aſſaile their enemies.

An hard and doubtfull battell

Bacianus in the rereward intentiuely marked all the whole fight, and euer as need required ſent in preſent aid, without reſpect whether they were the Popes gallies, the king of SPAINES, or the Venetians, that were diſtreſſed. In this long and terrible fight it chanced, that the Turkes ſeeing the Chriſtian Generals gallie hardly charged on the prow by *Haly Baſſa*, to bee almoſt bared of defendants in the poupe, all the ſoldiors hauing their hands full before, were about to haue bourded her abath, and to that purpoſe were fetching a compaſſe about her: Which *Bacianus* quickly perceiuing, gliſtering in bright armour, came ſpeedily in with certaine gallies, and by oppoſing of himſelfe againſt them, ſtayed their courſe. In all the battell was not ſeene a more cruell fight: for hauing diſcharged many volleyes of ſhot, and arrowes and darts without number, they grapled at length together, and came to the ſword, where with the formoſt *Bacianus* not onely with words but with his preſence and valour wonderfully encouraged his ſouldiours, hauing receiued in his targuet of proofe two ſmall ſhot. Many were on both ſides ſlaine: the Spaniards attempting ſundrie times to haue entered the Turkes gallies, were with great loſſe repulſed: but not giuing it ſo ouer, neither giuing the enemie leaue to breath, or ſo much as to looke behind him, valour was vanquiſhed by pertinacie: and the Spaniards hauing ouerthrowne and ſlaine their enemies, enjoyed their gallies.

Now had *Don Iohn* with like courage and ſtrength, but with doubtfull victorie, fought three houres and more with *Haly Baſſa*: when after ſo dreadfull and dangerous a fight, and many a deadly wound on both parts giuen and receiued, our men began to faint, and brought to the vttermoſt of their deuoire, were in danger to haue beene ouercome, had not *Don Iohn* betaken himſelfe vnto his onely and laſt refuge. He had (as is beforeſaid) reſerued vnder the hatches foure hundred of his beſt and ſelect ſouldiours, for their valour choſen out of the whole armie againſt all the euents of ſo long and dangerous a battell: theſe men attentiuely attending euery becke of *Don Iohn*, vpon ſigne giuen, as was before appointed, ſuddenly ſtart out, and with a terrible crie and deſperat onſet aſſailed the enemie, before almoſt ſpent with labour and wounds. This freſh and vnexpected companie ſo ſuddenly growne vp, firſt aſtonied, and afterwards confounded, and with a great ſlaughter vanquiſhed the Turkes, and poſſeſſed the galley. The Baſſa deadly wounded in the head with a ſhot, and all embrued with bloud, was taken, and as a joyfull ſpectacle brought to *Don Iohn*: who ſeeing him readie to breath his laſt, commaunded him to be deſpoyled of his armour, and his head ſtrucke off. Which preſently ſet vpon the point of a ſpeare, hee for a ſpace held vp aloft with his owne hand, as a trophey of his victorie, as alſo with the ſight thereof to ſtrike a terrour into the minds of the other Turkes, who in the other gallies faſt by fought yet right valiantly: neither was he therein deceiued, for the Turks beholding the knowne countenance of the Baſſa, their late Generall, and a flag of the croſſe ſet vp in the top of his gallie, and the noiſe of the Chriſtians (crying victorie) running through the armie; were therewith ſo diſcouraged, that confounded with feare, they turned their gallies and with might and maine made toward the land, which was not much more than a mile off. Which *Canalis* and *Quirinus* yet breathing with the late ſlaughter of the Turkes, perceiuing, with their gallies hardly purſued the flying enemie, and ſunke and tooke diuers of their gallies. *Partau* his ſonne by the ſtaying of the reſt got time to run his gallie on ground, and ſo forſaking her, ſaued himſelfe and his men by running aſhore: ſo did alſo diuers others run themſelues aground and forſake their gallies, which preſently became a prey vnto the Chriſtians. In this hot conflict was *Caracoza* the famous pyrat (who abjuring the Chriſtian religion, had turned Turke, and of long time done exceeding much miſcheefe vpon the coaſts of the Chriſtian countries) valiantly fighting, ſlaine by *Buzzacharinus* of PADVA, by whoſe death many were deliuered of a great feare.

A terrible fight betwixt Haly Baſſa and Don Iohn.

Haly Baſſa ſlain.

The Turks middle battell diſcomfited.

Caracoza the famous pyrat ſlain.

Haly Baſſa had brought forth with him his two ſonnes *Achmat* and *Mahomet*, the one three and twentie yeares old, and the other thirteene, the nephewes of the great emperour *Selymus*, by his ſiſter married to *Haly*; them their father had placed in a great gallie, with a ſtrong guard of the Ianizaries: who ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the maine battell, and the danger now drawing neere vnto themſelues, were exceedingly afraid; and therefore to ſaue themſelues, thought it beſt with all ſpeed to make toward the maine. But in ſo doing, they were preuented by *Requiſenius* the great Commendour, who with his furious Spaniards bourding the Turkes, alreadie diſmayed and running away, ſlew of them a great number; and after a great fight and much cruell execution done, tooke the gallie, and that which pleaſed him more, the two ſonnes of *Haly* both aliue: in the time of which fight, the poore Chriſtians, who faſt chained in the gallie, had as

ſlaues long ſerued in great miſerie: now perceiuing the Chriſtians to preuaile, brake off their giues, looſed one another, and with ſuch weapons as firſt came to hand luſtily laid about them, and notably furthered the victorie. G

Notwithſtanding all this good ſucceſſe, the fortune of the battell ſtood yet doubtfull in the right wing. There ſtood in either battell two of the moſt noble cheefetains, one againſt another: on the Chriſtian part *Iohn Andreas Auria*, the Spaniſh Admirall; and for the Turks *Vluzales*: both moſt valiant and expert commaunders, well knowne the one to the other, for that they had of long vſed the ſame ſeas, equall for their militarie diſcipline, as alſo for their noble acts, but farre vnequall for number of their gallies: for the Turkes had of one ſort and other almoſt twice ſo many. *Auria*, whether it were for that he would in the beginning of the battell warily decline the danger, and not hazard his gallies, wherein his cheefe honour would be alſo endangered; or els afraid leaſt the enemie, who farre exceeded him in number of gallies, ſhould extend his wing at large, and encloſe the Chriſtian fleet behind; vpon the ſignall of battell giuen, ſhrunke further off from the reſt of the battell: but whether vpon policie, that it might be at his choice either to fight, if the reſt of the armie preuailed, or to retire, if they ſhould be ouercome; or that he vpon martiall policie declined the force of too ſtrong an enemie; diuers men diuerſly gloſed: but what the cauſe was indeed, the wiſeſt could not ſurely tell. Howſoeuer the matter ſtood, it ſeemed his purpoſe was by policie to counteruaile what he wanted in ſtrength. This his falling off ſeemed vnto the Turks moſt ſtrange, vnto whom his quicke departure ſeemed at the firſt in manner of a flight. Neither was *Auria* content with that ſpace he had firſt ſeperated himſelfe from the armie: but the ſecond time fell off further, and there ſtaying and houering aloofe off, ſeemed to await ſome good oportunitie, to take the enemie at ſome aduantage: hauing in the meane time one of the galeaſes of PISA lying before him, as it were in ſtead of a bulwarke, which with often ſhot much troubled the enemie. *Vluzales* alſo extending his wing, tooke ſuch a ſpace, as that he ſeemed able to haue compaſſed in and encloſed *Auria*; yet offered not battell, but rather lay as expecting if any aduantage ſhould be giuen him by the Chriſtians, than raſhly or vnaduiſedly to offer himſelfe or his gallies to any deſperat danger. He had not long ſo lien, but that according to his deſire twelue of the Venetian gallies, which had withdrawne themſelues from *Auria* (and without any order or direction romed too and fro) fell into his danger: theſe gallies cut off from the reſt, *Vluzales* with wonderfull celeritie encloſed; and with the multitude of his gallies bourding them one by one, ſlew the defendants, and tooke the gallies. In this fight many of the knights of the Order of S. *Stephen* moſt valiantly fighting, were ſlaine. *Benedictus Superantius*, a noble Venetian, ſeeing moſt part of his men ſlaine, himſelfe mortally wounded, and his gallie now almoſt taken, reſoluing rather preſently to die, than to fall into the hands of his enemies; deſperatly put fire to the ſtore of pouder he had in the gallie, and ſo blew vp himſelfe, his ſouldiors that were left, with a great number of the enemies together. The report of the great ordinance, and noiſe of the battell in that part of the fleet being heard, they which had now in the middle battell got the victorie, together turned their gallies thitherwards to aid *Auria*, but not in one ſquadron together, but comming along one after another, as euery man had ſooner or later cleared himſelfe of his enemie: amongſt the reſt *Petrus Iuſtinianus* (Admirall of the gallies of MALTA) comming formoſt, was encountered with three of the Turkes gallies, with whom he with his knights had a great and moſt terrible fight. Which *Vluzales* beholding, and aboue all others hating the knights of the Order, ſpeedily ſent in other three gallies to helpe their fellows. So *Iuſtinian* hardly beſet with ſix gallies, and oppreſſed with the multitude of his enemies, had loſt fiftie of his moſt valiant knights, with one of his enſignes, and with much adoe hardly defended himſelfe. But being now brought to the laſt caſt, and the gallie in the iudgement of all men giuen for loſt, loe two of the other gallies of MALTA, who had ſo valiantly fought with other three of the enemies gallies that they were now vpon point to haue taken them all, ſeeing the danger of their Admirall, forſooke their vanquiſhed enemies, and with all ſpeed came to reſcue him: where they found him yet aliue, but ſhot in with three arrowes, and ſtill fighting couragiouſly at the decke of his gallie, with thoſe few he had yet left, beſet round with their enemies: but by the comming in of theſe two gallies, as if it had beene by helpe ſent from heauen, the Turks were notably repulſed, and the Admirall with his gallie reſcued, as a prey out of the mouth of the greedie lyon. *Vluzales* vnderſtanding that the maine battell and right wing of the fleet was ouerthrown by the Chriſtians, for feare gaue ouer the fight; and leauing the gallies he had taken, and

The doubtfull ioyning of Iohn Andreas Auria with the right wing of the Chriſtian fleet.

Twelue of the Venetian gallies taken by Vluzales.

A notable fight of the knights of Malta.

Vluzales flieth.

A and hoising saile, was the first in that wing that fled. Which *Cardonius* perceiuing, who was come in before the rest, suddenly shewed himselfe at his backe, and by assailing the hindermost gallies, did what he might to stay their flight vntill the rest of the victorious gallies were come in. But whilest he so eagerly pursueth the flying enemie, fifteene of the Turkes captaines enraged with such an vnwonted disgrace, and mindfull of their wonted prowesse, staied their flight, and contrarie to the expectation of the Christians, turned themselues and renewed the battell: What minds they bare, the euent shewed, for in a trice almost all *Cardonius* his souldiors and mariners were slaine: nothing letted the taking of the gallie, but that *Vluzales* seeing *Don Iohn*, *Columnius*, and *Venerius* neere at hand, and making towards him, and *Auria* also comming fast on, was afraid longer to stay, and therefore giuing ouer the fight, fled as fast as he could: yet carrying
B away with him one gallie of CYPRVS, and one enfigne of the knights of MALTA, as testimonies of his owne valour when he should appeare before *Selymus*. The Christians, although wearie of the long fight which they had almost by the space of fiue houres endured, yet so long as they were in any hope to ouertake any of their flying enemies, hardly pursued them in chase: but when they perceiued it preuailed not to follow farther, and that it was more than time to see to their wearie and wounded souldiors and mariners, they staied from farther pursuit; for why the night came now fast on, vnder the couert whereof the craftie old pyrat flying for life with sailes and oares, escaped with thirtie (or as some write, fortie) gallies againe into the bay of LEPANTO.

The Christians hardly pursue the flying enemie.

It was a right horrible spectacle to see, how in this battell the sea stained with bloud, and co-
C uered with dead bodies, weapons, and the fragments of the broken gallies: besides the great number of them that were slaine, and beaten into the sea; many of the Turks blinded with feare, casting away their weapons, to escape the furie of the enemie threw themselues headlong into the sea: but finding no hope to recouer the land, laboured againe to come to the gallies; or else fainting by the way, were miserably drowned. Others, either halfe dead, weake, and vnskilfull of swimming, or ouercharged with their armour, the sea also deuoured: yea many that could well swim, wearied and wounded, sunke for feare. Others vpon plankes and the pieces of the broken gallies, sought to saue themselues, and not knowing what to follow or what to shun, wofully perished. Othersome swimming and pitifully entreating their enemies, rather to take them prisoners than to kill them, were (as it oftentimes chanceth where things are done vpon choller
D rather than vpon discretion) without compassion slaine: in which doing, the Christians thought they did rather reuenge former injuries to them done, than to doe them any wrong: with some mercie more preuailed than wrath, who remembring the common chance of warre, chose rather to take the Turkes prisoners, wofully crauing nothing but their liues, than without mercie to kill them. The number of the Turks lost in this most famous battell, could hardly be known, by reason that many of them were drowned. *Antonius Guarnerius* writing the historie of this warre, reporteth two and thirtie thousand to haue perished: but they which write more sparingly thereof, report not past halfe so many to haue beene slaine: of whom these were of greatest
E name; *Haly Bassa* the Generall, *Mahomet Bey* (otherwise called *Chiroche* or *Sirocus*) Gouernour of ALEXANDRIA, *Cassanes* the sonne of *Barbarussa*, with his sonne *Malamur* Gouernour of MITILENE, *Gider* Gouernour of CHIOS, *Cassambeius* Gouernour of the RHODES, *Proui Aga* captaine of NAVPLIVM, *Mustapha Zelibi* the great treasurer, *Caracoza* the famous pyrat, with many others whom but to name were tedious. The chiefe prisoners there taken, were *Achmat* and *Mahomet* the sonnes of *Haly Bassa*, both afterwards sent as presents to the Pope, of whom the eldest died by the way at NAPLES; the younger presented vnto the Pope by *Columnius* at ROME, was there honourably kept prisoner: and *Mechmet Bey* Gouernour of EVBŒA: and about three thousand fiue hundred others were in that battell taken also. The chiefe of them that escaped by flight were *Partau Bassa*, who seeing all go to wracke, fled in time in a long boat to land: and *Vluzales*, who (as it was afterwards certainly known) but with fiue and twentie gallies and ten galliots fled to LEPANTO. Of the enemies gallies were taken an hundred threescore
F and one, fortie sunke or burnt: and of galliots and other small vessels were taken about sixtie. The Admirall gallie then taken amongst the rest, was so goodly and beautifull a vessell, that for beautie and richnesse scarce any in the whole Ocean was comparable vnto her. The deck of this gallie was on both sides thrise as great as any of the others, and made all of blacke Walnut-tree like vnto Ebonie, checkered, & wrought maruellous fair with diuers liuely colours and varietie of histories.

The number of the Turks slaine in the battell of Lepanto, diuersly reported.

The surpassing beautie of the Admirall gallie.

hiſtories. There were alſo in her diuers liuely counterfeits, engrauen and wrought with gold, with ſo cunning hand, that for the magnificence thereof it might well haue been compared vnto ſome princes pallace. The cabbin gliſtered in euerie place with rich hangings wrought with gold twiſt, and ſet with diuers ſorts of pretious ſtones, with certaine ſmall counterfeits moſt cunningly wrought. Beſides this, there was alſo found in her great ſtore of the Baſſaes rich apparell, wrought with the needle, ſo curiouſly and richly emboſſed with ſiluer and gold, that his great lord and maſter *Selymus* himſelfe could hardly put on more royall or rich attire. His casket there alſo found with ſix thouſand duckats in it, with a yearely pention of three hundred duckats, was giuen in reward to a Greeke, borne in MACEDONIA, which ſlew the Baſſa; and was therefore alſo knighted by *Don Iohn*: who had alſo giuen vnto him the Burrell of the Turkes ſtanderd, which at his returne to VENICE (where he had of long time before dwelt, and ſerued in the Arſenall) he ſold vnto a goldſmith: Whereof the Senat hauing intelligence, redeemed it of the goldſmith, paying for euery ounce a duckat, and layed it vp amongſt the trophies of that moſt famous victorie. It was all of maſsiue ſiluer, guilt and engrauen round about with Turkiſh letters. On the one ſide was written: *God doth conduct and adorne the faithfull in worthie enterpriſes: God doth fauour Mahomet.* On the other ſide, *God hath no other God, and Mahomet is his Prophet.*

The Greeke that ſlew the Baſſa, honorably rewarded

This notable victorie thus happily obtained, *Don Iohn* the Generall, with *Venerius* and *Columna*, the other two Admirals, came together; whom the Generall friendly embraced, but eſpecially *Venerius*, calling him father, and atttributing vnto him the greateſt part of the victorie. Afterwards, all together with their hands and eyes caſt vp towards heauen, they vpon their knees gaue immortall thankes to Almightie God. So did alſo the reſt of the captaines and maſters, commending one anothers valour and good ſeruice: but eſpecially theirs, who for their religion and countrey had there moſt honourably ſpent their liues; which were in number about 7566. Amongſt whom, the cheefe men that were ſlaine, were *Io.* and *Bernardinus*, of the honourable familie of *Cardona* in SPAINE, *Horatius Caraffa*, and *Ferantes Bisballus*. *Virginius* and *Horatius*, noble Romanes, of the honourable familie of the *Vrſini*. Of the Venetian nobilitie, *Auguſtinus Barbadicus*, *Benedictus Superantius*, *Vincentius Quirinus*, *Ioannes Lauretanus*, *Marinus Contarenus*, *Catherinus Malipetra*, *Georgius* and *Andreas Barbadicus*, *Marcus Antonius Landus*, *Franciſcus Bonus*, *Hieronimus Contarenus*, *Antonius Paſchaligus*, *Hieronimus Venerius*, all of the order of the Senatours. Beſides diuers other honourable gentlemen, who well deſerued to be enrolled in the eternall monuments of fame. Of the knights of MALTA were alſo many ſlaine, amongſt whom of the Germane nation theſe were cheefe: *Ioachim Spart*, Commendour of MOGVNTIA and FRANCFORT, *Ro.* of *Hamberke*, Commendour of HEMMENDORF, and *Fra. Droſt*. Of them that were wounded, theſe were of greateſt name: *Don Iohn* the Generall, *Venerius* the Venetian Admirall ſhot through the foot, *Paulus Iordanus*, *Troilus Sauell*, and *Mar. Molinus*, with diuers others of leſſe fame, to the number of almoſt ſeuen thouſand.

The number of the Chriſtians ſlaine in the battell of Lepanto.

Great was the joy conceiued of this victorie, but to none more welcome than to the poore Chriſtians faſt chained in the Turkes gallies, of whom twelue thouſand were thereby deliuered from moſt miſerable thraldome, and contrarie to all hope reſtored to their auntient libertie.

A generall reioyſing, eſpecially in Venice, for the victorie.

Two dayes after this victorie, *Venerius* ſent *Humfredus Iuſtinianus* with newes thereof vnto the Senate at VENICE: who comming in at the Adriaticke port about noone the nineteenth of October, by ſhooting off of certaine great pieces, gaue warning vnto the citie of his comming, which at that time hung in great ſuſpence betwixt hope and feare. The citizens generally awaked with the report of the great ordinance, came flocking by heapes to the port, euery man longing to heare the firſt newes. There they might ſee *Iuſtinian* comming afarre off with his gallie, but when he was come neerer, they might perceiue all the marriners attired like Turkes, and foure of the Turkes enſignes hanging behind at the poupe of the gallie, which filled their minds with the hope of good newes, deeming it to be (as indeed it was) part of the ſpoyle of the enemie. But after that *Iuſtinian* was landed (which he had much to doe for the preaſe) and was gone to the Court, with a world of people following after him, crying out for newes; and had there deliuered his letters, and at large diſcourſed of all the ſucceſſe of the battaile; which was forthwith blowne into the citie; and the marriners alſo after his departure had reported the victorie; and that the enemie was in a great battaile ouerthrowne: good God, how

the

A the people as men ouerjoyed, ran vp and downe the ſtreets, doubling and redoubling the joyfull name of victorie. The Senatours alſo rejoycing together, gaue thankes to God with publicke prayers and joyfull hymnes in euery church: and afterwards by ringing of bels, peales of ordinance, bone-fires, and other ſuch like things, ſhewed all the tokens of joy poſsible. And to make this joy the more generall, all priſoners were ſet at libertie, and all debts that exceeded not the ſumme of fiue and twentie crownes, payed out of the common treaſurie; which was generally done through all the Venetian ſeigniorie: and a decree made, That that day whereon the victorie was gotten, which was the ſeuenth of October, dedicated to the memoriall of *Iuſtina*, ſhould for euer be kept holyday: and for the perpetuall remembrance thereof, a great maſſe of money was coyned, with the impreſsion of *Iuſtina* vpon it, and an inſcription declaring the victorie.

B Many alſo their neighbour princes ſent their embaſſadours gratulatorie to VENICE, namely, the dukes of SAVOY, FLORENCE, FERRARA, PARMA, MANTVA, and VRBIN, and the knights of MALTA. In which ſo publicke joy no man was ſeene to put on any mourning garments, or to ſhew any token of heauineſſe, although many had loſt their deareſt friends and neereſt kinſmen; whoſe liues they reckoned not loſt, but giuen vnto the Chriſtian commonweale. The like rejoycing was alſo made in ROME, in SPAINE, NAPLES, SICILIA, and MALTA, eſpecially at ſuch times as embaſſadours from their neighbour princes, came to joy them of this victorie: yea and afterwards in other countries further off was like rejoyſing and ſignes of joy, as with vs here in ENGLAND.

This is that notable battell, commonly called the battell of LEPANTO, fought neere vnto the

C iſlands CVRZOLARI, the ſeuenth day of October, in the yeare 1571, the like whereof was neuer fought at ſea againſt the Turke, wherein he loſt his cheefe ſtrength at ſea, with moſt of his beſt ſea captaines: and might thereby well perceiue what he and his ſucceſſours were to feare, if the Chriſtian princes at vnitie amongſt themſelues, all diſcord ſet apart, ſhould in zeale of their religion joyne their inuincible forces againſt them.

In the middeſt of all this joy, generally conceiued of the late victorie, one of the cheefe priſoners of the Turks, hearing it compared with the loſſe of CYPRVS (for that *Selymus* had therein loſt his fleet, his beſt men of warre, with great ſtore of ordinance) by a fit compariſon ſhewed it not to be ſo, ſaying, That the battell loſt, was vnto *Selymus* as if a man ſhould ſhaue his beard, which would ere long grow againe; but that the loſſe of CYPRVS was vnto the Venetians, as

D the loſſe of an arme, which once cut off, could neuer be againe recouered. Declaring therby the great inequalitie of the loſſe.

A witti and fit compariſon made by a Turke, to ſhew that the loſſe of Cyprus was greater than the loſſe of the battell at Lepanto.

The rich ſpoyle taken from the enemie in this moſt glorious victorie, was thus deuided amongſt the princes confederat. Vnto the Pope were allotted nineteene gallies, two galliots, nine great pieces of ordinance, two and fortie leſſer pieces, and fourſcore and one priſoners. Vnto the king of SPAINE eight and fiftie gallies and an halfe, ſix galliots and an halfe, eight and fiftie great pieces and an halfe, eight great murthering pieces and an halfe, an hundred twentie eight leſſer pieces, and a thouſand ſeuen hundred and thirteene priſoners. Vnto the Venetians were aſsigned for their ſhare, nine and thirtie gallies and an halfe, four galliots and a halfe, nine and thirtie great pieces and a halfe, fiue great murthering pieces and a halfe, fourſcore and ſix leſſer pieces,

E and a thouſand one hundred threeſcore and two priſoners. The reſt were beſtowed vpon ſuch other princes as had giuen aid aid, or otherwiſe well deſerued in that ſeruice.

The ſpoile of the enemie deuided amongſt the confederats.

The joy conceiued of this victorie was not ſo great amongſt the Chriſtians, but that the ſorrow thereof was amongſt the Turks farre greater. *Selymus* himſelfe was then at HADRIANOPLE, where eight dayes after the battell, newes was brought vnto him, That his fleet was ouerthrowne and almoſt all taken or ſunke by the Chriſtians. Which ſo ſoone as he heard, he was ſtrucken with exceeding greefe: and ouercome with melancholie, would not that day ſuffer any man to ſpeake with him. And the rumor of the ouerthrow ſtill encreaſing, had in ſhort time filled all places with feare, teares, mourning, and heauineſſe: ſome bewayling their parents, ſome their children, ſome their husbands, ſome their friends or kinſmen there loſt. But that which moſt

F grieued the Turkiſh emperour, was the loſſe of ſo many worthie and expert captaines, of ſo many skilfull maſters and notable ſouldiors; who brought vp all their liues at ſea, were not thought inferiour to any then liuing: beſides the perpetuall ignominie and vnwonted diſgrace, thereby inflicted vnto him and his poſteritie for euer. Wherefore full of wrath and indignation, he was about to haue commaunded all the Chriſtians in his dominions (in number infinit) to be put to death.

death. Doubting indeed nothing more, than that they wearie of the Turkiſh thraldome, and G
deſirous of innouation, ſhould with weapons put into their hands, riſe vp againſt him, and take
part with the other Chriſtians his enemies. But whileſt the other Baſſaes (as men diſmaied with
the crueltie of the commaund) ſtood all ſilent, *Muhamet Baſſa* for his former deſerts in great
fauour with the tyrant, thought it good to make proofe if his furie might by reaſonable perſuaſi-
on be mitigated, and ſome better courſe taken, both for the honour of *Selymus* himſelfe, and the
common good of the State: Yet well knowing how full of danger it was, in that tyrannicall go-
uernment, openly to ſpeake any thing contrarie to the good liking of the wilfull emperour, he
durſt not apertly contradict him: but leaning as it were to his opinion and pleaſure, by little and
little to draw him from himſelfe; and ſo before he were aware to lead him into his owne deuiſe,
and by delay to moderat the rigour of his former furie. To which purpoſe, he cunningly ſet H
vpon him in this ſort.

Muhamet Baſſa cunningly diſſuadeth Selymus from ſo rigorous a reſolution, by filling his head with moſt neceſſarie conſiderations.

Your anger (ſaid he) *moſt magnificent and inuincible emperour, againſt the Chriſtians, is moſt iuſt: and in this my deſire exceedeth all others, That they ſhould endure and ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as they haue of right deſerued. Yet it behoueth vs ſo to ſatisfie our wrath, as men better regarding their owne good, than the hot deſire of reuenge. And for as much as I am for your many and vndeſerued fauours, in all loyaltie bounden vnto your highneſſe aboue others; I reckon it in part of my dutie, ſo much the more frankly to deliuer my opinion, ſuch as it is, in matters of ſo great importance. Neither will I attemper my ſpeech in any reſpect to the comforting of your grieued mind: for how can it be that you, who following the worthie examples of your noble progenitors, haue alwaies heretofore ſhewed* I
your moſt heroicall and couragious mind, contemning all the chances of fortune; ſhould not for euer after ſhew your ſelfe to be rather dreaded of all men, than dreadfull of any? Let others, whoſe kingdomes built vpon vncertaintie are ſubiect to the reuolution of time and change of fortune, yeeld vnto their euill haps: as for you, whoſe empire is founded by the mightie hand of the moſt higheſt, and compaſſed about with an impregnable defence, and are your ſelfe by the power of God appointed king and commaunder of nations and people in number infinit, fortune may well a little pricke you, but neuer ouerthrow you. As for this late miſchance, if it muſt needs ſo fall out, as proceeding from ſome immutable and eternall cauſe; muſt it be therefore alwaies fix and permanent? Onely thoſe miſeries and miſchiefes which the cowardiſe or fooliſhneſſe of men bring vnto themſelues, haue their firme K
and certaine calamities: other common euents comming from other cauſes, haue alſo their common and ſudden changes: But how this late miſhap at ſea may be amended, and your former glorie there againe recouered, is hereafter to be conſidered. Now for the preſent (in mine opinion) this one thing, as of all others moſt neceſſarie is to be prouided; That the weake and worſt fortified places of your empire, moſt ſubiect to danger, may be preſently ſtrengthened with ſtrong garriſons; and that by your preſent repaire to the imperiall citie, you cheere vp the minds of your heauie and diſmaied ſubiects: which done, what ſhall let but that you may at your pleaſure be reuenged to the full of the Chriſtians? For there is no cauſe why we ſhould feare the Chriſtians, ſix hundred times and more before ouerthrowne: both our enemies and we are the ſame men we haue beene for many ages, we beare the ſame minds, the ſame bodies, the ſame ſtrength, the ſame weapons, wherewith we haue gotten infinit victories both L
of them and others. And although ſuch be the ſtate of man, as that he cannot otherwiſe but ſometime or other taſt of the worſe tun; yet I thinke this preſent miſfortune to be rather imputed vnto ſome fatall cauſe to vs vnknown, than to the valor of the Chriſtians. Beſides that, we may well enough oppoſe one ſmall ouerthrow againſt our ſo many and infinit victories: yea we are to giue immortall thanks vnto almightie God, that we haue by force of armes ſubdued the rich and famous iſland of CYPRVS, *and that your high deſignes haue in that point ſorted to your hearts deſire. And hard it is in mine opinion to iudge, whether this late vnfortunat battell ſhall more hurt vs, or the Chriſtians: for beſides that the multitude of the Turkes hath no feeling of ſo ſmall a loſſe, they will not as men diſcouraged, giue themſelues to mourning and vaine lamentations, but with greater courage and furie come forth againe into battell, and reuenge this loſſe with the infinit calamities of the Chriſtians:* M
who after this their good hap, will according to their wonted manner giue themſelues to exceſſe, pleaſure, carefulneſſe and eaſe, vnto their owne farther confuſion. Thus haue I in briefe faithfully declared mine opinion: yet with that ſubmiſſiue loyaltie, as that whatſoeuer ſhall proceed from the mouth of your imperiall Maieſtie, ſhall be of me deemed moſt wiſely and magnificently conſidered of.

The

A The Bassa was in such grace and authoritie with *Selymus*, that his opinion in counsell preuailed, and the tyrants wrath by his persuasion was well assuaged. But by the comming of *Vluzales* to court, the remainder of his former griefe and melancholie was fully quieted: who after he had excused himselfe of the late ouerthrow, and declared what he had himselfe done in the battell, and in testimonie thereof, presented him with one of the ensigns of the knights of MALTA, told him also how that he had left the Christian fleet so rent and torne as that it could not possibly be made seruiceable against the next yeare: which newes was both of *Selymus* and the rest gladly heard. In the meane time *Selymus* placed this *Vluzales* in the stead of *Haly Bassa* that was slaine: and straightly commaunded the great officers which had the charge of his nauie, to build new shipping night and day: and farther enjoyned euerie Gouernour out of his prouince he had *Selymus repaireth his nauie with all diligence possible.*
B in charge, to haue in readinesse one gallie or two against the next Spring, as well for the defence of his owne dominions, as to reuenge the losse he had so lately sustained; whereunto also many of his great men put to their helping hands, and cheerfully furthered his desire. New supplies of souldiors were also presently raised and put into his frontier towns, great store of new ordinance cast, weapons and armour prouided, and whatsoeuer else the necessitie of the present time required. So with the Turkes stood reason and industrie, rather than with the Christians, who (as some note) rather wanted discretion how to vse the victorie, than valour to gaine the same: which whether it chanced for that prosperitie begetteth negligence, or that men joying in their present blisse regard little the time to come, I leaue it to the judgement of the wiser to determine.

After this so memorable a victorie, the three great commaunders of the fleet sat in counsell to *The Christian fleet dissolued.*
C consult, what farther course they were best to take. But for as much as Winter began now to approach, and that they could not much doe vntill their fleet were new furnished and manned, they all resolued for that time to dissolue the fleet, and the next Spring in the beginning of Aprill, to meet togither againe at CORCYRA. Wherupon *Don Iohn* and *Columnius* returned to MESSANA, where they in safetie arriued in Nouember; and departing thence, and taking their leaue the one of the other, arriued, *Don Iohn* at NAPLES, and *Columnius* at ROME: where they were in both places with great joy and triumph receiued.

The Venetians for all that grieued with the losse of CYPRVS, gaue not so ouer, but repairing their nauie with thirtie gallies, wherein were embarked six thousand souldiors, woon a castle in EPIRVS called MARGARITA: and also recouered the towne of SVPPOTO, which the Turkes *Suppoto againe recouered by the Venetians.*
D had that Sommer before taken from them; but now hearing of this ouerthrow, did vpon the approach of the Venetian fleet, againe forsake it. The gallies also of CRETE conducted by *Canalis*, intercepted many of the Turkes vessels laded with captiues and the spoiles of FAMAGVSTA, as they were passing thence to CONSTANTINOPLE.

Although vpon the late obtained victorie, a certaine reconciliation had beene made betwixt *Don Iohn* and *Venerius*, yet of the former dissention remained an inward heart-burning of one of them against the other: for which cause, the Spaniards requested the Venetians to appoint an other Admirall in his place. *Venerius* was now indeed a man of great yeares, and his strength far spent; yet for that in his aged bodie rested great wisedome and courage, and that they thought him for his great deserts worthie all honour, they were wonderfull loath and vnwilling therein
E to gratifie the Spaniard: for why, they well knew there was no other cause of the Spaniards prowd hatred, but that he had stood against them vpon the honour of the Venetians: and farther, they liked not that the Spaniard should so presumptuously prescribe vnto them, whom they should place or displace in or out of their honourable offices. Neuertheless, not forgetting what commoditie came by concord, and what euils of discord, and that they might not against so mightie an enemie well spare the helpe of the Spaniard; they resolued to make choise of some other; who succeeding *Venerius*, might with one consent manage their wars togither with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*. There was then one *Iacobus Fuscarinus* their chiefe Gouernour in DALMATIA, who but a little before had notably fortified IADERA and the other frontier towns, and for the space of fourteene moneths had notably represled the furious incursions of the Turkes:
F of him then absent and not desirous of the place (as of a man of worthie desert) the whole State by generall consent made choise for their Admirall and Generall by sea against the Turke; which most honourable place he receiued not with all the solemne ceremonies thereto belonging, at VENICE, as the manner was, but at IADERA; from whence he in the Admirall gallie sent for that purpose by *Aloysius Grimanus* his successour in IADERA, sailed ouer to CORCYRA: where he found

found the old Admirall *Venerius*, with no leſſe care prouiding for all things, than if he ſhould himſelfe haue ſtill continued the warre. Of which great care *Fuſcarinus* at his comming eaſed him by taking it wholy vpon himſelfe. G

Caſtronouum in vaine attempted by the Venetians.

Whileſt *Fuſcarinus* thus lay making his preparation againſt the next Spring at CORCYRA, *Sara Martinengus* who had the charge of the Adriaticke (by the counſell of *Venerius*, who was now returned to VENICE) vpon the ſudden landed his men, and beſieged CASTRO NOVUM, a ſtrong towne of the Turks in the borders of ISTRIA; where at his firſt comming he tooke the ſuburbs, and had in ſhort time brought the towne to great extremitie. But in the height of his hope to haue woon the towne, hearing that the Beglerbeg of GRECE was with great power comming thither, he was glad to raiſe his ſiege, and with all ſpeed to get him againe to ſea. The Turkes in like manner, to diſtreſſe the ſtrong towne of CATARO holden by the Venetians in H the bordets of DALMATIA, built a great and ſtrong fort vpon the paſſage from ſea to the town, wherein they placed great ſtore both of men and artillerie: in hope by keeping them of the towne from all reliefe by ſea, at length to gaine the towne which they had many times in vaine attempted by force; for by land it was alreadie enuironed with the cruell enemie, poſſeſsing the

Superantius relieueth Cataro, and taketh a great fort of the Turks.

countrey round about it. *Iacobus Superantius* the great Prouidetour, then lying at CORCYRA with the Admirall, vnderſtanding how CATARO a towne of no ſmall importance, was thus both by ſea and land by the enemie diſtreſſed: with twentie gallies manned with the moſt choiſe ſouldiors could be pickt out of the whole fleet, tooke vpon him the raſing of the fort, and relieuing of the towne. *Superantius* with this ſelect companie, and certaine other gallies which met him by the way, came by night before the mouth of the bay of CATARO, and there diuiding I his fleet, left the one part thereof at anchor before the fort, and with the other himſelfe couragiouſly paſſed by the fort, further into the bay: at whom the Turkes out of the fort made diuers ſhot, but (by reaſon it was darke) to ſmall purpoſe. In paſsing by, *Superantius* tooke ſuch view as he could of the fort, and by and by began on that ſide to batter the ſame; as did alſo the other gallies on the other ſide: and withall, landed their men on both ſides; who vpon ſignall giuen, ran reſolutly to the fort, and by plaine force entring the ſame, preuailed vpon the feareſull Turks, and put them to the ſword euerie mothers ſonne; ſo that of all that great garriſon, was not one left aliue to carrie newes of the ſlaughter. This fort was in length fiue hundred paces, but not ſtrong towards land, from whence no ſuch feare was doubted. In it was taken ſeauenteene great pieces of ordinance, with much faire armour, and great abundance of victuals: and ſeauen K galliots which lay at anchor vnder the fort. CATARO thus relieued, *Superantius* with victorie returned againe to CORCYRA.

1572 *Fuſcarinus* the Venetian Admirall with all things in readineſſe, hauing long lien at CORCYRA expecting the comming of the confederats, as was before appointed; ſent *Superantius* the Prouidetour with fiue and twentie gallies to MESSANA, to haſten the comming of *Don Iohn*, and to attend vpon him by the way. But comming thither, and thinking to haue found a great fleet and a ſtrong power in good forwardneſſe to haue ſet forward; he found ſuch ſmall preparation, as well ſhewed the Spaniards ſmall care for repreſsing of the Turke, and that they would not be verie forward in the ſeruice intended. Which filling him with griefe and indignation, cauſed him to complaine vnto himſelfe of their vnfaithfulneſſe, and to bewaile the ſtate of his L countrey, with the whole Chriſtian common-weale: for *Don Iohn* had before ſolemnly promiſed vnto the Venetian embaſſadour, that all things ſhould be in readineſſe againſt the appointed time: but now a great part of Sommer was paſt, when ſcarce ſome few companies and about fiftie gallies were met togither at MESSANA; and when *Auria* would come with the reſt, no man could tell. So that the carefull Prouidetour ſtood now no leſſe in doubt of the Spaniards delay, than of the Turks furie.

Selymus, after the great ouerthrow he had receiued at the iſlands CYRZOLARES, for feare he ſhould be driuen quite out of the ſea; was aboue all things carefull for the renewing of his nauie: And hauing partly new built, partly repaired two hundred gallies, commended them to the con-

Selymus ſendeth out Vluzales with two hundred gallies.

duct of *Vluzales*, with expreſſe charge, That by how much things had fallen out worſe the laſt M yeare, he ſhould with ſo much the more care now beware the like danger; and not to go out of the bounds of the ARCHIPELAGO, or to aduenture battell but vpon aduantage, or at leaſtwiſe vpon an euen hand.

This *Vluzales* (otherwiſe called *Occhiall*) was an Italian borne in CALABRIA, who in his youth

A youth taken at ſea by the Turks and chained in the gallie, and afterwards renouncing his faith, by many degrees grew vnto the higheſt preferments amongſt the Turkes, and ſo became an exceeding plague, as well to his owne countrey as to all other of the Chriſtians bordering vpon the Mediterranean. He now Admirall for the Turke, after the manner of the prowd Barbarians, threatned with fire and ſword to be reuenged vpon the Venetians: which knowne at VENICE, much troubled them, as well acquainted with the furie of the old Archpyrat. Beſide that, *Ant. Barbarus* their embaſſadour, all the time of this warre kept in ſafe cuſtodie at CONSTANTINOPLE, had by letters certified them, what a great fleet, and what a ſtrong armie *Selymus* had prouided againſt them: and that he himſelfe told two hundred and fiftie ſaile of gallies when they ſet forward from CONSTANTINOPLE, beſide ſome other that were to meet with them at GA-
B LIPOLIS: and that therefore they ſhould beware how they encountred with the Turkes fleet, but vpon equall ſtrength. It was alſo at the ſame time commonly reported, that king *Phillip* chiefe of the confederats, careleſſe of the warres againſt the Turke in the Eaſt, was about to turne his forces vpon the kingdomes of TVNES or ALGIERS, neerer vnto him (as in deed he did the yeare following.) The Venetians entangled with ſo many difficulties, were euen at their wits end, and day by day the Senat ſat from the riſing of the Sunne vnto the going downe of the ſame, conſulting how all theſe miſchiefes were to be remedied. But for as much as the greateſt danger was to be feared frō the Turks fleet, as then houering euen ouer their heads, they by letters commanded *Fuſcarinus* their Admirall, That whether the confederats came vnto him or not, he ſhould forthwith take his courſe towards the Eaſt; and there according to the enemies deſignes,
C and his owne diſcretion and valour, to doe what he ſhould thinke beſt to be done for the common good of his countrey: and not to refuſe to joyne with the enemie in battell, if he ſaw any good hope of victorie. Neither ceaſed they at the ſame time (both by their embaſſadours and letters) earneſtly to call both vpon the Pope and the king, to haſten their forces to encounter the enemie before he ſhould come out of his owne ſeas; and to carrie the terrour of the warre home to his owne doores, rather than to receiue it at their owne. The like meſſage was alſo done to *Don Iohn*, putting him in mind what his place; what the time, and what the danger of the time required: entreating him (if it were poſsible) of himſelfe to adde ſomething vnto that haſt which the neceſsitie of ſo important a cauſe required. Who neuertheleſſe for all the meſſages and letters to him ſent (which were many) went ſtill on faire & ſoftly, delaying from day to day; telling,
D that he would by and by come, and that the Spaniards would alwaies be ſo good as their word. Which was ſo far from his thought, that afterwards finding one excuſe after another, he not only ſtaied his comming, but called back again *Requiſenius* alſo, whom he had ſent before with 20 gallies to CORCYRA. Now were two months (fitteſt for the wars) vainly ſpent; when *Superantius* grieued to ſee time to no purpoſe ſo ſlip away, & fearing leaſt the reſt of the Sommer ſhould to as ſmall effect in like manner paſſe alſo, with great inſtance importuned him to haſten his journey. Then at length *Don Iohn* anſwered, that the Venetians requeſted but reaſon, neither that he wiſhed for any thing more than to ſatisfie their deſires: but that a greater care hindred the leſſe, which was firſt to be preuented: He was aduertiſed (as he ſaid) that the French king pretending the ſuppreſsing of certain pyrats, had aſſembled a great fleet at ROCHEL, with purpoſe indeed to inuade
E SPAINE, now that the king was buſied in theſe wars againſt the Turk: & that therfore they muſt pardon him, if he preferred the regard of SPAINE before others, being expreſſely commanded from the king not to depart from MESSANA, vntill he had other commaundement from him. But whether this his excuſe by FRANCE, proceeded of a true feare or otherwiſe, the Venetians much doubted; and the rather, for that the French king vnderſtanding therof by the Venetians, was therewith (as reaſon was) exceedingly offended: proteſting, that he was euer ſo farre from that purpoſe of hindering any the confederat princes in that their religious warre, that if the troubles of his owne countrey would haue ſo permitted, he would gladly haue giuen them aid therein. Many there were alſo, that thought, *Enuie the auntient enemie of vertue and valour*, to haue had a great power in this delay: doubting whether the Spaniards would more rejoyce of
F the victorie well hoped for, if they ſhould joyne with the Venetians, or grieue if the ſame ſhould by the Venetians be obtained without them. *Superantius* wearie of diſcourſes and long expectation, and almoſt out of hope of any helpe in time from the Spaniard; how vntowardly ſoeuer things went, thought better yet warily to moderat his griefe, than in ſo dangerous a time to giue any occaſion for the Spaniard to fall quite off. Yet ſpake he not fauningly or flatteringly of the

Vluzales a renie-gate Chriſtian, and now the Turks Admirall.

Superantius haſteneth Don Iohn

matter, but with a certaine modeſt grauitie declared, That he had thought heauen would ſooner G
haue fallen, than that *Don Iohn* would not at the appointed time haue come to CORCYRA. And
withall beſought him, and wiſhed him to beware, that he brought not the common State into
ſome great danger: if they had to doe with ſuch an enemie as might be delaied with, then he ſaid
he could eaſily abide delay; but now for that the warre and the enemie was ſuch, as wherein, or
with whom neuer any Generall had dalied without loſſe, to what end did he longer deferre or
trifle out the time? or what other fleet did he expect? If they ſhould diuide their forces, then
were they all too weake; but vnited togither, ſtrong enough to defend the common cauſe: The
neerer the enemie came, the more haſt were to be made to joyne with the Venetian fleet. And
what could be (as he told him) more honourable or glorious, than for him a noble yong gentle-
man roially deſcended, of whom the world had conceiued a great hope, that he would in martiall H
honour exceed the glorie of his moſt famous auncеſtours, againe to vanquiſh the prowd Turke,
the greateſt and moſt mightie monarch of the world; to fight the battell of the higheſt, to aſſure
the Chriſtian common-weale againſt ſo puiſſant an enemie, and to purchaſe vnto himſelfe im-
mortall glorie and renowne. As for the French, there was no ſuch thing to be feared as was pre-
tended, who with ſuch ſlender preparation not worth the name of a fleet, was not ſo vnaduiſed
as to ſet vpon a kingdome of ſuch ſtrength and power as SPAINE. Furthermore (he ſaid) that
it concerned not the Venetians more than the king himſelfe, to haue the Turke repreſſed; whoſe
kingdomes of NAPLES, SICILIA, and SPAINE, were no leſſe than their territorie, expoſed to
danger by ſea. The good ſucceſſe of their affaires in the Eaſt, would open the way for the con-
queſt of AFFRICKE: but if the Turke ſhould preuaile, then were they to deſpaire, not of AF- I
FRICKE, but of all ITALIE, SICILIE, yea and of SPAINE it ſelfe. The time (he ſaid) and ne-
ceſsitie of the warre, with the extremitie of the danger of the whole and common State, requi-
red that he ſhould with all his power and ſpeed poſsible, take vpon him the defence of the com-
mon cauſe, or to ſay more truely of the Chriſtian common-weale, then ſo dangerouſly impug-
ned. Theſe reaſons drawn from the common good and the truth it ſelfe, much moued the Gene-
rall: but the kings pleaſure was to be preferred before all reaſons or dangers that could be allea-
ged. But hearing afterward what reſolute commaund the Venetian Senat had ſent vnto their
Admirall, he became exceeding carefull: for he feared leaſt if the Admirall ſhould without his
helpe fight the battell and gaine the victorie, he would conuert all the glorie thereof vnto him-
ſelfe; but if he ſhould chance to be ouerthrowne, it would turne to his vtter reproach and per- K
petuall infamie, that in ſo neceſſarie a time he had withdrawn himſelfe from the common cauſe.
Wherefore as a man perplexed, and in doubt what to doe, he ſtood for a while as one at his wits
end: yet at laſt, he vpon deliberation reſolued to take a middle courſe, and ſo neither without
the commaund of the king (by whoſe preſcript order, all was to be done) to depart with the fleet
from MESSANA; neither altogither to fruſtrat the confederats of the expected aid. And to that
purpoſe ſent two and twentie gallies vnder the conduct of one *Lilly* of ANDRADA (a noble gen-
tleman) to the Venetian Admirall at CORCYRA; with whom went alſo *Columnius* with the
Popes fleet. Now was *Pius Quintus* the late Pope dead, and *Vgo Boncompanius* by the name
of *Gregorius Decimus Tertius*, Pope in his ſtead, who vpon the ſame conditions with his pre-
deceſſour, had entred into the league; and liking verie well of *Columnius*, kept him ſtill for his L
Admirall.

Don Iohn in doubt whether to ſend aid to the Venetians, or not.

He ſendeth Lilly of Andrada with 22 gallies.

Long had *Fuſcarinus* expected the comming of the confederats, and albeit that the yeare was farre ſpent, Auguſt being then come, and no ſuch aid ſent as he had expected; yet deſiring to doe ſomething worth the remembrance and beſeeming their honour, he earneſtly perſuaded *Columnius* and *Lilly* to ſet forward with him toward the Eaſt, and with their vnited forces to giue the enemie battell: telling them, That if they were all of like courage, they ſhould go not only to the glorie of the preſent battell, but to the great honour and aduancement of the whole Chri-
ſtian common-weale. After that he extenuated the power of the enemie, ſaying, That he could not but maruell, from whence ſuch a number of gallies as was reported, could ſo ſuddenly be ga-
thered; or whereupon ſo great confidence and boldneſſe was growne vnto them, ſo lately ouer- M
throwne and put to flight: The enemies fleet (he ſaid) was the yeare before ouercome and diſ-
perſed, the captaines and marriners ſlaine; and that therefore it was not credible, that ſo many
gallies could with ſuch celeritie be built, and ſuch a number of mariners and maſters as was need-
full, in ſo ſhort time prouided: That the prouiſion of the enemie was by flying fame made farre

greater

greater than indeed it was, or posibly could be; for why, they might easily guesse what the enemie was able to doe, by the Christians themselues, who could not without much adoe and great labour build their fleets, and traine vp their marriners and masters: and that therefore letting fame flie, which commonly maketh things greater and more dreadfull than they are, he was verily persuaded, that the enemie was glad to vse most vnskilfull and ignorant as well marriners masters as souldiors; who suddenly taken vp in the inland countries, and put into the gallies, knew not so much as the very names of the ropes and tacklings, and other equippage: and then those gallies which they had, were like ynough to be but weake, as of them which were the last yeare rent and brused, and now againe botched vp; or in hast built of greene timber, could not be nimble or greatly seruiceable. Wherefore he exhorted them, as valiant men, to set forward against the enemie; and that with the greater courage, for that the last yeares victorie had opened vnto them the way for the gaining of another. Which if it should so fall out, as good hope there was, they should thereby take from the proud enemie both power and hope (but in long time) to be able to recouer his strength at sea: so that they in the meane time without feare might at their pleasure take the rich islands in the ARCHIPELAGO. Now if the Turks declining battell, should retire themselues into the HELLESPONT, then might they with fire and sword spoyle all the frontiers of their dominions on this side the straits, and open a way vnto the Christians to doe great matters.

Hardly were *Columnius* and *Lilly* perswaded by the Admirall: neither did they thereunto giue their consent, vntill it was decreed, That they should not in any case joyne battell with the enemie, but with their galleons and galleasses first placed in the front of the battaile, in whom consisted the greatest hope of the victorie. So setting forward toward the enemie, and come to COMMENTITIA, letters were brought vnto them from *Don Iohn*, certifying them, That he was now by letters from the king commaunded to come towards the East, and to joyne his forces with the confederats; but yet that for certaine dayes he could not come, vntill he were better prouided of all things necessarie: and that therefore they should in the meane time carefully looke vnto all things, promising so soone as he posibly could to come vnto them. Vpon these letters *Columnius* and *Lilly* began to doubt, Whether to goe on further, or to expect the comming of the Generall: yet for as much as he had not expressely written any thing concerning their staying, and *Fuscarinus* vrged them forwards, on they went, with the fleet deuided into three battels. The whole fleet consisted of an hundred fiftie fiue gallies, six galleasses, and twentie tall ships: in the right wing was *Superantius:* in the left wing *Canalius:* and in the middle battaile *Columnius*, *Fuscarinus*, and *Lilly:* and in the reteward followed *Quirinus*. Before each battell went two of the galleasses, still in readinesse for present battaile. In this order they came first to ZACYNTHVS (commonly called ZANTO) and so to CERIGO: the next day after to COLVERARIA (commonly called DRAGONARIA, ouer against CERIGO:) Here *Angelus Surianus*, a valiant gentleman, sent before to discouer the enemie and what strength he was of, returning vnto the fleet, declared vnto the Admirall, That the Turkes fleet, consisting of an hundred and threescore gallies, threescore galliots, and foure great ships, lay about MALVASIA, in the entrance of the bay called SINVS ARGOLICVS, vpon the borders of PELOPONESVS, about fiftie miles off from the Christian fleet. Shortly after the same fleet was againe discouered, making for MALEA: whereupon the Christians before resolued to fight whersoeuer they should meet the enemie, forthwith put themselues in order of battaile, and so with their galleasses in the front, made with what speed they could toward him. These two fleets were thought for many respects almost equall: the enemie was in number moe, but inferiour in strength. The Christian fleet by reason of the heauinesse of the galleasses, made but small way; and the enemie afraid of the great store of ordinance the galleasses carried, durst not come neere them. The Turks fleet was rather nimble than strong; but ours more firme and forward. Looke wherin each exceeded the other, therwith they endeuoured to helpe themselues and annoy the enemie. The Christians fearing to be circumuented by the multitude of their enemies, opposed their ships and galleasses before them as a most sure fortresse: and the Turke, by how much he had had the worse succesſe the yeare before, was so much the more carefull to beware how he endangered himselfe within the reach of the galleasses. The Christians desired nothing more than to fight, & to come to handy blows: but the Turke, who thought it sufficient for the present not to be ouercome, sometime made away as fast as he could, and by and by stayed againe, if happily he might haue taken the gallies

The number and order of the Christian fleet.

The Christian fleet and the Turkes almost equall.

The Turke warily declineth battell.

 sepe-

ſeperated from the gallies, neuer ſeeming willing to aduenture further than reaſon and diſcretion were. The enemie ſeeing the Chriſtian fleet comming ſtill on, and readie to giue battaile, firſt ſeemed as if he would haue done the like, but afterwards turned his courſe vpon the right hand, and kept alooſe alongſt the coaſt of MALEA: At which time the Chriſtians, although they were very deſirous to haue followed them, yet the Turks with their nimble fleet were quickly too farre gone for the Chriſtian fleet to ouertake them, eſpecially with their heauie ſhips. That day almoſt ſpent as it were in the chaſe of the enemie, towards the going downe of the Sunne the enemie put into the current of the ſea betwixt CERIGO and the Harts iſland, in breadth about ten miles; and there deuiding their fleet into three parts, lay in good order, as expecting the comming of the Chriſtians, with the prows of their gallies turned, as if vpon the confidence of the place, which they had filled ouerthwart, they had purpoſed nothing more than to fight. Yet both fleets ſeemed reſolued; the one not to fight without the galleaſſes, & the other not to come neare thoſe hot ſhips, from whom they had but the yeare before receiued ſo great harme. And although the enemie, as was afterwards knowne, purpoſed nothing leſſe than to fight, but vpon great aduantage: yet fearing by open flight to diſhonour his lord and maſter, and by graunting as it were of victorie, to encreaſe the fame of the Chriſtians, the craftie pyrat made a great ſhew of that he leaſt indeed purpoſed. For pretending a great deſire to fight, he indeed deluded the Chriſtians hope: who although the wind had failed them, yet in hope the enemie would abide them battell, with much labour and rowing came ſo neere him, that the great ſhot began to flie too and fro on both ſides: but when the matter ſhould haue come to haue been tried by dint of ſword, then it plainely appeared what the enemie had indeed purpoſed; for ſtill keeping the prows of his gallies vpon the Chriſtians, hee by little and little ſhrunke backe: and beſide that the ſhaddow of the night began then to approch, he cauſed all his great ordinance, charged only with pouder, to be ſhot off, and ſo in the thicke of the ſmoke retired vnſeene; colouring his ſubtile departure alſo by certaine lights left in their cocke-boats, making ſhew as if the whole fleet had ſtill there ſtayed. By this meanes the Turks with great celeritie eſcaped, being alſo holpen in this, that the Chriſtians hindered by the heauineſſe of the galleaſſes, could not but faire and ſoftly purſue them: for theſe galleaſſes, as they are veſſels of great ſeruice, ſo are they alſo heauie and vnweldie, and not fit for chaſe. The departure of the enemie at length known, the Chriſtians alſo vnwilling to fight by night, returned to CERIGO. Two dayes after the Turks ſtayed in the bay of TENARVS, now called METAPAN, and the Chriſtians at CERIGO; contented in that, that the enemie was the cauſe that the battell was not fought, and reckoning his warie and couert declining of battell, as a ſecret confeſsion of the victorie. The third day after, the Chriſtians deſirous of nothing more than to joyne in battell with the enemie, in their former order ſet forward from CERIGO, and ſayling all the night, were in the breake of the day deſcried from land by the Turkes: whereupon *Vluzales* by ſhooting off of certaine warning pieces, commanded all his men to goe abourd, and to put themſelues in readineſſe for battell. And now the Chriſtians were not farre off, when as the Turkes (leaſt declining of battell might reprooue them of feare) came out of the hauen, with their fleet deuided into three battels: whereof the left wing was extended a great way into the ſea, the right wing ſtill keeping neere vnto the maine, and in the middle battell was *Vluzales* himſelfe: who came all on no faſter than the tide draue them, ſtaying their courſe oft times of purpoſe, to haue drawne the gallies of the Chriſtians from the galeaſſes and ſhips. *Vluzales* ſeeing his fleet thus in order, and fearing nothing more than the galeaſſes, commaunded both the wings of his fleet (hauing in each of them foureſcore gallies) to fetch a great compaſſe about, the one on the right hand, and the other on the left, alooſe off from the galleaſſes, and ſo to aſſaile the wings of the Chriſtians on the ſides or behind: in hope ſo to haue diſordered their battell, and without danger to haue drawne the gallies from the galleaſſes and the other heauie ſhips. Which their intent the Chriſtians perceiuing, in their wings turned about their gallies alſo, in manner of the new Moone, their maine battell ſtill facing the middle battell of the Turks. The wings of the Turks fleet thus farre ſeperated from the middle battell, ſeemed to preſent vnto the Chriſtians a great aduantage: which *Fuſcarinus* (intentiue to all the offers of good fortune) quickly perceiuing, and calling vnto *Columnius* and *Lilly*, and ſhewing them the enemies maine battell at hand, and the wings gone a great way off, requeſted and perſuaded them, That not ſtaying for the heauie ſhips and galleaſſes, they would with him vpon the ſudden aſſaile the enemies middle battell, now deſtitute of the wings: not doubting, but ſo to ouerthrow the

Vluzales meaning nothing leſſe, yet maketh ſhew of battell.

The Turks politickly retire.

The Chriſtians deſirous of battell, goe againſt the Turks.

A the enemies greateſt ſtrength there, before the wings could, now they were ſo farre gone, joyne themſelues to the battell againe. What could as he ſaid haue happened more wiſhedly, than to haue their battell deuided? So that they might at more aduantage fight againſt euery part thereof, now ſeperated, than againſt all three parts at once. If they had thought themſelues not onely equall, but too ſtrong for the whole enemies fleet vnited, ſhould they not the better ouercome them apart and diſperſed? The oportunitie he ſaid was but ſhort, and therefore to be forthwith reſolued vpon. If they would take the preſent occaſion of victorie then offered, and as reſolute men charge their enemies, little fearing any ſuch thing, they ſhould by their celeritie and valour teach the Turks, what the Chriſtian diſcipline of warre and power was able to doe: but if they would therein vſe delay, they ſhould ere long in vaine wiſh for the like occaſion they had let ſlip,
B when as their battell was againe ſtrengthened with the wings. This the Admirals ſpeech was of moſt that heard it joyfully receiued, and his counſell well liked; and that with ſuch a generall cheerefulneſſe of the ſouldiors, as ſhewed in them no want of courage to haue giuen the enemie preſent battell. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* being of the ſame mind they had beene alwaies, ſaid it were dangerous ſo to doe, for feare of drawing the whole three battels of the enemie at once vpon them, againſt which they ſhould be too weake, without the helpe of the galleaſſes and heauie ſhips: and therefore ſaid flatly, That without thoſe veſſels, ſo much feared of their enemies, they would not in any caſe hazard the fortune of a battell. But whether *Columnius* and *Lilly* were of that opinion, for that they ſo thought, or were ſo charged by *Don Iohn* (of whom they altogether depended) not to fight in his abſence, many doubted. The wings of the
C Chriſtians in turning about to confront the wings of the enemie, were a little diſordered: which the Turks perceiuing, and taking the preſent oportunitie, with fifteene of their gallies were about to haue charged the ſtragling gallies. Which *Superantius* perceiuing, to ſtay their courſe, went out courageouſly againſt them with foure gallies, and made with them a great fight: in the heat whereof, *Superantius* ſeeing fortie moe of the enemies gallies making towards him, and doubting to be encloſed, with all ſpeed ſent for releeſe, which came preſently in, namely, twentie gallies, with two of the galleaſſes: which forthwith ſent their thundering ſhot ſo thicke and furiouſly amongſt their enemies, that in a little time eighteene of their gallies were by them all rent and torne; and the Turkes therewith diſmayed, were glad in ſuch haſt to returne, as if they had rather fled than retired. *Superantius* hauing in that fight but one of his gallies ſhot through, re-
D turned againe vnto his place. Of this light fight many deemed what would haue been the euent of the whole battell, if the opinion of *Fuſcarinus* had preuailed. Both the fleets falling againe into their order, although the Chriſtians could not ſo faſt follow, as the Turks went before them; yet came they ſo neere them, that oftentimes they changed bullets, as well with their ſmall ſhot as their great. And yet for all that, it was by many ſignes gathered, that neither the Turks would abide preſent battell, neither the Chriſtians longer delay, if by their enemies they ſo might. The Chriſtians had agreed (as is before ſaid) not to joyne in battell without their galleaſſes and tall ſhips: which *Vluzales* well vnderſtood both by the fugitiues and his owne eſpials, as alſo by their manner of ſayling. And he himſelfe although he had no great deſire to fight: yet to be the better able to fruſtrate the endeuours of the Chriſtians, who with great labour drew with them
E the galleaſſes and other heauie ſhips, ſent his chargeable great ſhips to MALVASIA, there to be vnrigged; whereby he diſcharged himſelfe of a great burthen, and made himſelfe able at his own choice and pleaſure to leaue or take, to fight or not: and alſo with ſuch ſouldiors and other neceſſaries as were in the ſame great ſhips, ſupplied the wants of his whole fleet. By which policie the matter was brought to that paſſe, that if the Chriſtians would needs draw the enemie to battell, they muſt of neceſsitie forſake their galleaſſes, their moſt aſſured ſtrength: or if they would not leaue them, then they could not by any meanes enforce the readie enemie to fight. The day now declining, the enemie ſuppoſing himſelfe to haue done ynough for that time, both for the abating of the heat of the Chriſtians, and encouraging of his owne people, in ſeemely or- *The Turks fleet at Corcira, and the Chriſtians at Cerigo.*
F der, as one not afraid, ſayled with his fleet to CORONA. The Chriſtians in like manner retiring themſelues to CERIGO.

Whileſt things thus went, *Don Iohn* by a frigot ſent of purpoſe gaue knowledge to the fleet, *Don Iohn ſendeth word to the fleet to meet him at Zacynthus.* that he was come to CORCYRA, ſharpely blaming the great commaunders for their departure, and that they ſtayed not for his comming: and further commaunded them as their Generall, all other things ſet apart, foorthwith to meet him at ZACYNTHVS, there to reſolue of all matters.

Columnius wholly deuoted to the Spaniards, and preferring the fauour of *Don Iohn* before the reſt, hearing this meſſage, was in ſuch haſt to haue returned, that he would haue perſuaded *Fuſcarinus* to haue left the heauie veſſels and other weake gallies at CERIGO, and with an hundred of the beſt gallies with all ſpeed to haue returned to the Generall. Of which opinion was alſo *Lilly*. But *Fuſcarinus* more carefull than the reſt, as he whom the danger more concerned, would not yeeld to that perſuaſion: for that in ſo doing they ſhould (as he ſaid) leaue the ſhips and galleaſſes, the cheefe part of their ſtrength, in danger to be ſpoyled by the enemie; whom they now kept at a bay, without the helpe of the Generall; and ſhould, as he well hoped, by often prouoking of him, at one time or other draw him to battell, and haue ouer him a notable victorie. And therefore requeſted them for the loue of God, and the zeale they bare vnto the common good of all Chriſtendome, not to depart further off, nor to ſuffer the enemie to eſcape out of their hands, neither by their departure to leaue the iſlands of the Venetians ſubject to the furie of the enemie: whereas the Generall might at his pleaſure and without danger come vnto them, they lying betwixt the enemie and him. But *Columnius* and *Lilly* reſolutely ſet downe, hap what hap ſhould, to do what *Don Iohn* had commaunded, would not liſten vnto the reaſonable perſuaſions of the Venetian Admirall, but told him flatly, That if he would not in that they had ſaid yeeld vnto them, they would forthwith leaue him vnto himſelfe, and with their gallies preſently return to ZACYNTHVS, as the Generall had commaunded. Whileſt they were yet thus diſcourſing, newes was brought, That the enemie was come with his fleet into the fret of CERIGO: which cauſed them all with one conſent to reſolue in ſuch order to paſſe by the enemie, as if they ſhould haue giuen him preſent battell: whereas before, they were determined by the perſuaſion of *Fuſcarinus*, to haue gone to CRETE, and there leauing the ſhips and galleaſſes in ſafetie, to haue afterwards returned to the Generall. In ſuch order the Chriſtians paſſed by the enemies fleet, which lay ſtill in the fret of the ſea without mouing, ſtanding as it were rather vpon the guard of themſelues, than reſolued for battell. In three daies ſailing they came to ZACYNTHVS, where they found not *Don Iohn*, but two of his gallies, and commandement, that they ſhould there leaue their heauie ſhips, and with their gallies come to CEPHALENIA, where they ſhould not faile to meet him. Hereupon the Venetians were exceedingly grieued, and muttered through the whole fleet, That the Spaniards bearing themſelues vpon their wealth, were too proud, and in compariſon of themſelues regarded neither the conditions of the league, neither any other mans credit, but trode all men vnderfoot; and would now vſe the Venetians not as their friends and confederats, but as their ſlaues and vaſſales, feeding them in the meane time but with vaine hope. Yet for as much as the time and neceſsitie ſo required, they were content to be ouerruled: and ſo leauing their ſhips and galleaſſes at ZACYNTHVS, went with the reſt of the fleet to CEPHALENIA: whither *Don Iohn* was not yet come, but had ſent word thither, That if they had any deſire to joyne their forces with his, they ſhould yet come further backe vnto him to CORCYRA. This meſſage, which they had rather feared than expected, much troubled the Venetians: who readier to ſuſpect euery miſchiefe, than to hope for any good, began to fret and complaine, That the Spaniards could very well tell the Venetians what they had to doe, and forget in the meane time what was on their owne part to be performed. A hard thing it was to ſay (and yet to be ſaid) that now they had more to doe with thoſe their dallying friends and confederats, than with their enemies: for with their enemies they were to fight but in time of battell, but with them they were to wreſtle and ſtriue at all times and in all places. They were by them (as they ſaid) drawne from the ſight of their enemies, when as they might haue beene ouerthrowne: not to the intent that with their vnited forces they might more ſafely fight againſt them, or vnder the conduct of *Don Iohn* gaine the victorie; but rather leaſt any thing ſhould haue beene done, which might be to the honour or profit of the Venetians: and that time which was to haue beene beſtowed in the managing of the warre, ſpent in lingering and delaying, and vaine going forward and backward to no purpoſe. One onely way there was (as they ſaid) to haue diſpatched with the Turke, which was, by ouercomming him in another notable battell, and ſo to haue vtterly broken his ſtrength at ſea: which courſe the confederats made no leſſe difficult by their ofwardneſſe and delaies, than the enemie by declining of battell: That they had long ago by many ſecret ſignes probably conjectured, that the Spaniards had more care to hinder and croſſe other mens doings, than to doe any thing of themſelues: That their indeuours were, to fruſtrat thoſe great hopes which promiſed vnto the Chriſtian common-weale the greateſt felicitie and happineſſe, togither with immortall

Don Iohn ſendeth for the fleet to Cephalenia, where he alſo faileth to meet the.

Don Iohn commaundeth the fleet to repaire vnto him to Corcyra.

A mortall glorie: and, That the Turkes, of late diſcouraged with the fortunat proceedings of the Chriſtians, might again rejoice at their miſhaps.

The Venetians, notwithſtanding all theſe their murmuring ſpeeches, loath to fall off from the Spaniard, kept ſtill on with the reſt vntill they came to *Don Iohn* at CORCYRA, who then lay with three and fiftie gallies and eighteene ſhips at SPILCA, in the vttermoſt end of the iſland. At their firſt meeting, *Don Iohn* ſhewed himſelfe not a little offended, that they had not with more dutie before attended his comming: and they againe not a little complained of his long ſtay, with many other their grieuances, which were tedious here to rehearſe. The fleet now all with much adoe at length met togither, which conſiſted of two hundred gallies, nine galeaſſes, and thirtie ſix tall ſhips: it was by generall conſent agreed, that they ſhould againe ſet forward
B toward the enemie. They were not yet vnder ſaile, when two of their eſpials brought them newes, that the enemies fleet (weakly furniſhed both of marriners and ſouldiors) was come to NAVARINVM: which filled them all with good hope, that the Turkes fleet ſo euill prouided, might in that place vpon the ſudden be eaſily oppreſſed; and the rather, if they came vpon them vnexpected. Wherefore, becauſe they would not be deſcried, they kept not their courſe on right foorth, but ſayling by night, kept aloofe vpon the right hand: and hauing paſſed ZACYNTHVS, came with great ſilence vnto the STROPHADES, where they lay at anchor all that day. In the euening they looſed thence, ſo caſting their courſe, that the more to terrifie the enemie they might before day fall vpon him; and be ſeene in the mouth of the hauen where he lay, before there could be any report made of their comming thither. But this courſe ſo well ſet, the
C time was ſo euill caſt, that it was faire day long before they could come to the appointed place; when the Turkes out of their watch towers diſcouering a farre off the comming of the Chriſtian fleet, gaue warning thereof vnto their fellowes: whereupon an alarum was preſently raiſed in the towne, and all men in armes ran headlong to the wals and to the hauen. But the Turks out of hope with their euill rigged fleet to be able to withſtand the Chriſtians, and not daring to truſt to that weake harbour, and all now in a great hurly burly, ran confuſedly hand ouer head, ſouldiors and marriners aboord: and whileſt they had yet time, got them in haſt out of that harbour, and as men chaſed by their enemies got them into ſafe harbour at MODON, a ſtrong town of PELOPONESVS about ſix miles off. *Columnius* was ſent before the reſt of the fleet to haue purſued them: but they were got ſo farre before him, that they had recouered the harbour be-
D fore he could ouertake any of them. The Chriſtian fleet comming before the harbour, and leauing a ſpace as it were of purpoſe for the enemie to come out into, there lay in the face of the towne, daring the Turkes battell. But when they had ſo lien almoſt all that day, and no man durſt come out; and now toward the euening certaine ſignes of tempeſt appeared, the Chriſtians fearing to be by force of weather driuen on ground, put farther off againe to ſea. Then at length *Vluzales* ſent out certaine light gallies to follow in the taile of the fleet, when the confederats ſuddenly ſtaying their courſe, and turning their prows vpon them, draue them headlong againe into the harbour: and afterwards retired themſelues with the whole fleet into the iſlands OENVSÆ, now called SAPIENTIA, right oppoſite againſt MODON. The next day wanting freſh water, they remoued vnto the bay of MESSENA, there to water in the mouth of the riuer
E Pamiſus, which there falleth into the ſea: where in paſſing by CORONE, they were oftentimes ſhot at out of the towne; and landing their men to water, were encountred by certaine troupes of horſemen, ſent for that purpoſe by *Vluzales*. There was water deerly bought with the liues of many there ſlaine on both ſides: in the end, the Chriſtians preuailing, watered, and ſo againe returned vnto the OENVSÆ from whence they came.

The Chriſtian fleet altogether at Corcyra, ſetteth forward againe toward the enemie.

The Chriſtians offer the Turke battell.

METHONE or MODON (for it is by both names knowne) ſtandeth almoſt in an iſland ſtretching farre into the ſea, where toward the Weſt runneth out a long point of the land a great way into the ſea; in the vttermoſt part whereof, ſtandeth a great round tower. The towne it ſelfe is on the one ſide encloſed with the ſea, and toward the land ſo ſtrongly fortified, as that it ſeemeth almoſt impregnable. Towards the South commeth in a faire bay about three miles wide, ſafe
F from all winds except the Northerly wind only: and ſhut vp by a little iſland in the mouth of the bay, maketh a ſafe and quiet harbour, with two entrances thereinto on either ſide of the iſland. Within this bay lay the Turks fleet, with the ſternes of their gallies toward the land, and their prows towards the ſea. At the Southerly comming in of the bay ſtandeth an hill, which the inhabitants call ALBVS; on the top whereof, the enemie had placed ſix great pieces of ordinance, where-

The deſcription of the bay of Modon.

wherewith to keepe the Chriſtians from entring that way. So had they alſo vpon that point of the maine, which (as we ſaid) runneth out from the towne, and vpon S. *Bernards* rocke, planted other great pieces of ordinance to defend that paſſage alſo. The Chriſtians comming vnto the mouth of the bay, there lay with their fleet diuided into foure parts, but yet doubtfull what to doe: for beſide that the entrances of the bay were but narrow, they were alſo farre more dangerous to be entred, by reaſon of the great ordinance planted vpon them. Neuertheleſſe, the Venetian Admirall in hope of good ſucceſſe, and loth to let the fearefull enemie ſo to eſcape out of their hands, would faine haue perſuaded the Genetall, with his whole fleet to haue entred the bay, and there in the harbour to haue oppreſſed the enemie: which he ſhewed to be no matter to doe, for that the enemie was too weake in ſtrength, and could not be from land relieued. In which doing, they ſhould indeed ouerthrow but one fleet; but in the ouerthrowing of that one, cut in ſunder all the ſinewes of the Turkiſh empire by ſea: and raiſing a tumult in the bay, and filling all with a generall feare, ſhould vndoubtedly at the firſt onſet put the enemie to flight. Which done, what ſhould let, but that carrying about with them the terrour of the victorie, they ſhould with their victorious fleet, take from the Turke all the iſlands of the Ægæum? That truly and wiſely it was ſaid of *Themiſtocles*, That whoſoeuer had the commaund of the ſea, muſt needs alſo preuaile in the reſt, and at length carrie away the victorie by land alſo. It was (as he ſaid) the part of good chieftains, not to be wanting vnto themſelues when occaſion was offered: beſides that, they were the ſame Turkes whom they had but the yeare before vanquiſhed; and what had that one yeare either taken from them, or giuen vnto the Turks? or what ſhould they feare ſix pieces of ordinance mounted vpon an hill, who if they ſhould vndertake the battell, were not to feare the great ſtore of ordinance in two hundred and threeſcore of the enemies gallies and galliots? I my ſelfe (ſaid he) will be the guide and leader, in whatſoeuer ſhall ſeeme moſt difficult and dangerous: and will in perſon my ſelfe be the firſt that ſhall enter the harbour, and aduenture the firſt danger. Great victories (he ſaid) were not to be gained but with great aduentures; and that therefore the matter were to be haſted, before more aid ſhould be ſent vnto the Turkes. Wherefore they ſhould as reſolute men attempt that, the Turks thought the Chriſtians durſt not to haue attempted; and with the ſame courage breake into the bay, wherwith they had but the yeare before broken the ſtrength of the ſame enemy; and by the power of God, carrie away another notable triumph of the vanquiſhed Turks: who ouercome in a ſecond battell at ſea, muſt needs depart with all their maritime territories. With euill liking of the Spaniards was the Venetian Admirall heard. And *Don Iohn* the Generall, deeming both the time and place vnfit for the attempting of ſo great an exploit; rehearſed on the one ſide, the ſtrength of the enemie, the diſaduantage of the place, the difficulrie of the battell, with the manifold and great calamities receiued by the ouerhaſtie and raſh attempts of their enemies: That the enemies ſtrength was not to be ſo much deemed by the eye, or by report, as by reaſon; and that many in ſeeking to increaſe their former glorie, had in ſo doing ouerthrowne the ſame: That the Chriſtians in entring and aduenturing the harbour, ſhould on the one ſide be beaten with the artillerie from the hill; and on the other with the artillerie out of the caſtle of MODON: And that it was not like, that *Vluzales* ſhould if need were, lacke aid from land, who but the other day had ſent great troupes of horſemen to haue kept the Chriſtians from watering: That a matter of ſo great importance, was (by *Fuſcarinus* his leaue) not raſhly to be taken in hand, vpon an heat and hautineſſe of ſtomacke, but vpon graue and mature deliberation: for if they ſhould in a place of ſo great diſaduantage, hazard the fortune of a generall battell, it ſhould ſeeme that either he knew not that kind of fight, and force of the enemie, or elſe would make the bay of MODON more famous by the ouerthrow of the Chriſtians, than was the CVRZVLARI by the ſlaughter of the Turks. Then what a ſhame would it be, if they which were about to oppreſſe the enemies fleet, ſhould themſelues be ouerthrowne, and that in their owne deuiſe. He had rather (as he ſaid) preſerue his owne fleet, than to take ſix hundred of the enemies gallies; and to account the ſame for a greater honour. Which he determined not, for that he would not haue any thing done, but that vnripe occaſions ſhould not be too much haſtened, and as it were thruſt headlong forward: whereas time would giue opportunitie for the ouerthrow of the Turks fleet, ſo that they ran not blindly on headlong: and that in future time, the Venetians would rejoice that they had ſo moderated their deſires. The Chriſtians (he ſaid) had ſufficiently preuailed, if thoſe things ſhould fall out well, which were warily and aduiſedly conſidered and reſolued vpon.

Don Iohn refuſeth to follow the counſell of the Admirall.

The

A The matter thus on both ſides debated, and nothing done, they returned with the fleet into the port of NAVARINVM. This proceeding, as it diuerſly mooued the Spaniards and the Venetians, ſo brought it foorth diuers ſpeeches, euerie man ſpeaking in fauour of his owne nation. The Spaniard openly vaunted, that he had moſt prouidently reſolued; for that how deere the counſell of the Venetian Admirall would haue coſt if it had beene followed, the thing it ſelfe (as he ſaid) ſhewed, by the extreame danger thereof preſented, not in the doubtfull opinion of men, but laied open before their eies. The Venetians on the other ſide more deſirous of battell, the neerer they had ſeene the opportunitie to haue preuailed vpon the enemie, the more impatiently they endured ſo aſſured a victorie to haue beene let ſlip out of their hands: and thereof ſpake accordingly.

B The Chriſtians lying at NAVARINVM, conſulted of many things what they were beſt to take in hand: and reſoluing at laſt by ſea and land to beſiege the caſtle of MODON, which kept the paſſage into the bay, and defended the Turks fleet; they returned againe thither, and landed ſeauen thouſand of their beſt ſouldiors to beſiege the caſtle. And at the ſame time, appointed the galeaſſes with certaine gallies to batter it alſo from ſea: which the more commodiouſly to doe, they joyned two of their greateſt gallies togither ſide to ſide, which they made faſt with maſts and ſtrong ropes, and ſo bourded them cleane ouer, whereon as on a platforme, they placed gabions all afront, filled with earth, and great ordinance betwixt to haue battered the caſtle. But when this engine (in manner of a floating fort) ſhould haue performed the ſeruice for which it was deuiſed, it prooued vnſeruiceable, after it had with much adoe been brought thither, being C readie to ſinke with the waight of the great ordinance and other things wherewith it was ouercharged. For which cauſe, and for that they vnderſtood a great number of horſemen to be come into the towne, they gaue ouer the ſiege vainly begun, and put againe with their fleet to ſea. It fortuned at the ſame time, that a tall ſhip of VENICE departing from ZACYNTHVS, and comming alongſt the coaſt of PELOPONESVS with prouiſion for the fleet, was deſcried by the enemie; who thinking to doe the Chriſtians a great diſhonour, if they could almoſt in the ſight of their fleet ſurpriſe her, they ſent out certaine light gallies to haue taken her; *Vluzales* in the mean time with the reſt of his fleet, lying in the verie mouth of the bay, readie to come out if the Chriſtian fleet ſhould once ſtirre to relieue her. Which the Chriſtians perceiuing, and well hoping that ſo the enemie would be drawne to battell, ſent out *Columnius* with his gallies to reſcue the D ſhip; and others alſo which lying alouſe, might get in betwixt the Turks gallies and the bay: *Don Iohn* and the Venetian Admirall, lying readie to haue giuen battell, if *Vluzales* ſhould haue come foorth. But the Chriſtians comming on with a ſmall gale, the enemie being afraid, by ſhooting off of certaine warning pieces within the bay, in time called backe the gallies that were alreadie gone out of the bay: who all forthwith came in, excepting *Mahomet* the nephew of *Barbaruſſa*, a moſt famous captaine amongſt the Turkes, who as one of great courage, and deſirous of honour, ſtaied a little without the bay, with greater courage than diſcretion, expecting who ſhould aſſaile him. Him the Marques S. *Crucis* ſet vpon, and had with him a great and terrible fight: but in the end, the Marques preuailing, ſlew *Mahomet* with all his Turks, and with honour carried away the gallie. So the diſhonor which *Vluzales* would haue done the Chriſtians, fell vpon E himſelfe, hauing in his owne ſight loſt one of his beſt captaines with his gallie.

The Caſtle of Modon in vaine beſieged by the Chriſtians.

Mahomet ſlaine.

The next day, becauſe the yeare ſhould not paſſe without ſomething done, nor the hope of ſo great a preparation come to nothing, the Chriſtians determined to beſiege the caſtle of NAVARINVM (which was in auntient time called PYLVS) more famous for nothing, than for that it was the natiue place of old *Neſtor*. The citie of NAVARINVM ſtandeth vpon a riſing ground, ſtretching ſomewhat into the ſea; whereinto it hath a large proſpect, and a faire large hauen, but ſubject to the Northwind. It is defended with a point of the maine running compaſſe into the ſea, whereon ſtandeth an old caſtle. Some ſent before to view the ſituation of the place, brought word backe, that the caſtle might in three daies be woon. The performance of which exploit, was committed to *Alexander Farneſius* prince of PARMA, whom the Venetians furniſhed with F munition and victuall. He landing with two thouſand Italians, a thouſand Spaniards, and fiue hundred Germans, began with twelue great pieces to batter the caſtle. And albeit that the batterie was planted ſo farre off, as that it did the enemie no great harme; yet happily the enterpriſe had taken effect, if by taking the ſtraight and troubleſome paſſages through a rough and thicke forreſt, the citie had been kept from reliefe: but for as much as thoſe paſſages were left free, the enemie

The prince of Parma in vaine beſiegeth Nauarinum.

enemie cunningly oppoſed policie againſt force, for ſallying out of the citie, they gaue the Chriſtians an hot skirmiſh: and in the meane time whileſt the Chriſtians were ſo buſied, by a port toward the forreſt on the other ſide of the citie, receiued in great number both of horſe and foot. The report of this new come aid cauſed the prince to raiſe his ſiege, and to goe againe aboord. And now reſted all the hope of the gaining of the towne in the ſtrength of the fleet: and that not ſmall, for that the Turkes not relieued with victuals by land, were by the confederates kept from them alſo by ſea: for at that time the Turks were troubled with two great miſcheefes, the plague, and famine. For no prouiſion had there beene made, as in a thing not feared; and that little being ſpent that was in the towne, they were enforced to ſeeke for victuals further off: which comming but ſparingly, as in time of dearth, was oftentimes by the way intercepted by the ſouldiors that lay about in the countrey villages, wanting victuals no leſſe than they in the citie. And the moe men the Beglerbeg of GREECE brought down for defence of the ſea townes, ſo much the more the wants of all things dayly encreaſed. So that no man doubted, but that in ſhort time all would be brought to extreame penurie. What a death the mortalitie had made, the want of men in the gallies well declared: for many of the gallies for lacke of marriners and ſouldiors were ſent away into EVBŒA, or left at MALVASIA, or carried away to CONSTANTINOPLE. Thoſe which ſtayed in the bay of MODON, were ſcarce an hundred gallies, and fortie galliots: and they ſo ſlenderly manned, that the greateſt gallies had ſcarcely an hundred and twentie men left in them, and they ſo meigre and faint, as that they could ſcarcely hold vp their weapons. The Chriſtians vnderſtanding of theſe things, were in good hope, that by continuing the ſiege, they ſhould without danger gaine a notable victorie: For which cauſe *Fuſcarinus* perſuaded the Spaniards, of whoſe conſtancie he doubted, to hold it out, as men of reſolution; ſhewing them, that in the euent of this action reſted for them for euer to be feared or contemned of the Turks: who except they ſhould be changed into fiſhes or into birds, could not (as he ſaid) without a notable ouerthrow eſcape their hands out of the Bay. But vnto this his hope and counſell the euent was not correſpondent: For the Spaniards, whether it were for the tediouſneſſe of the ſiege, or for want of victuals, or for the approch of Winter, or els moued with ſome other reaſons, began to thinke of the matter diuerſly: and at the firſt a report was raiſed, That the Chriſtians giuing ouer the ſiege, would ſhortly returne home: and the reaſon was, for that they wanted bisket, and had ſcarcely victuals left for fifteene dayes, which was to be reſerued for their long journey home: Beſides that, the approch of Winter did call them from the action: and that hauing done what they might, they could neuer draw the enemie forth to battell; and that therefore hauing ſufficiently and as farre as was poſsible alreadie diſcharged their duties, they were now alſo to regard their ſafetie, and to foreſee that their fleet, wherein the welfare of them all was repoſed, were not too farre endangered. At the firſt theſe ſpeeches were divulged by the common ſouldiours and marriners of ſmall credit or reputation; but afterwards by moe, and they alſo men of better place and ſort: Yea *Don Iohn* himſelfe, whether it were to ſome other purpoſe, or that he ſo ſpake in good earneſt, began to lay the fault vpon others, why that hee, ſo lately come from MESSANA, ſhould in ſo ſhort time want victuals and all things els neceſſarie.

The weakeneſſe of the Turkes fleet.

The Venetians murmure againſt the Spaniards.

With theſe vnexpected reports, and ſo farre different from the confederation, the Venetian Admirall with the reſt of the Venetian commaunders were exceedingly troubled and grieued aboue meaſure: for it ſeemed not credible, that they which but a little before were come from the moſt fertile and plentifull countrey of SICILIA, in all ages the moſt faithfull and abundant granarie and ſtorehouſe of ITALIE, both in peace and warre, could ſo ſoone want victuals. Could eighteene tall ſhips (which ought by the capitulations of the league to haue come loaded with bisket, victuals, and other warlike and neceſſarie prouiſion) become emptie? or but to haue brought ſo much as might but ſuffice for a month onely? If this were done without the knowledge of *Don Iohn*, where was then the care of a Generall? If he winking thereat, where was his zeale to the confederation? or to what purpoſe came he to CORCYRA? was it to auert the Chriſtian fleet (hauing once or twice met with the enemie) from doing any good vpon him? Could it come into any mans head (beſides that in ſo doing he was therein to extinguiſh the glorie of a moſt certaine victorie, like to worke the Turks confuſion) by the infamie of a voluntarie returne to encreaſe the glorie and renowne of his enemie, and bring a perpetuall ignominie and diſgrace vnto the honour of the Chriſtians? verely the Spaniards, therein to ſhew themſelues not ſo willing

willing to haue the power of the Turks abated, as the ſtrength of the Venetians not encreaſed.

These things *Fuſcarinus* and the Venetians ſometimes fretted at amongſt themſelues; and otherwhiles the Admirall himſelfe expoſtulated the ſame with *Don Iohn* and *Columnius*: and in the preſence of the greateſt counſellours ſhewed, not onely how profitable but alſo how neceſſarie perſeuerance was in all martiall affaires: That it was an old and vſuall matter for men in beſieging of their enemies to ſuffer many difficulties: if they ſhould, hauing performed nothing, returne with the fleet, who would doubt but that both their labour and charge was againe the next yeare to be renewed? And what could this delay be els, but a prorogation of their further calamities? That therefore it much concerned the Chriſtian commonweale, although they had not all things in abundance, yet reſolutely and with patience to endure the ſcarcitie of victuals. If want of bisket were feared, the Generall might eaſily remedie that matter, by ſpeedily ſending for thoſe ſhips which lay laded with victuals good ſtore at TARENTVM; which thing might in ſhort time be performed. In the meane time he promiſed to ſupplie the Spaniards wants with part of his own ſtore: and that he had rather his men ſhould liue with roots, than to let the enemies fleet coupt vp, ſo to eſcape his hands: That the deſire to protect the honour of the Chriſtians, would ouercome all difficulties. Beſides that, the matter would be but ſhort, if it were done at once, in one continued courſe; and would vndoubtedly be by them performed, if they gaue not ouer the thing they had ſo well begun, vntill they had accompliſhed it. They (as he ſaid) might in good ſafetie lie with their fleet in the ports of NAVARINVM, SAPIENTIA, and CAPRARIA: whereas the enemie, lying ſhut vp in the bay of MODON, ſhould haue but a bad and dangerous Winter harbour; and October being now begun, ſhould in ſhort time be in danger to periſh with bluſtering ſtormes and rage of the ſea, familiar vnto that time of the yeare; or els enforced with the extremitie of the weather, and with want, to aduenture into the open ſea and with their weake forces to joyne battell. What ſhould therfore let, why they ſhould not for ten or for fifteene daies continue the ſiege, as beſt beſeemed the honour of themſelues, the valour of their ſouldiors, and worthineſſe of the Chriſtian name? What a terrour it would be vnto the enemie, to ſee the Chriſtians readie to endure all extremities and wants to gaine the victorie ouer the Turks? Againe, what diſhonour and diſcredit would it be vnto themſelues, if they ſhould ſuffer the enemie (ſhut vp and not daring to fight) to eſcape: eſpecially, when as they might ſitting ſtill, end the warre? The Senat of VENICE he ſaid moſt reſted vpon the valour and courage of *Don Iohn*, and therefore he requeſted him not to deceiue the great hope they had of him conceiued: For how much ſhould he himſelfe blemiſh his owne honour, if when he had before relieued the afflicted ſtate of the commonweale, he ſhould now, when it was moſt of all to be holpen, forſake the ſame? Which ſhould not be much vnlike, as if a man ſhould with great labour purchaſe great ſtore of pretious pearles, and vpon an humourous paſsion caſt them all into the ſea: That men generally held a great opinion of him the Generall, an honourable remembrance of his victorie, and regard of his valour; all which, how much the more pregnant and honourable ſhould they be, by the ſecond vanquiſhing and ſubduing the moſt mightie monarch of the world: And that if the action well begun ſhould be effectually proſecuted by the goodneſſe of God, the direction of the commaunders, and the reſolution of the ſouldiors, in ſhort time the Chriſtians ſhould carrie the victorie from the Turkes, and make him their Generall equall not onely with the great cheefetaines of the preſent time, but euen with the moſt famous commanders of all former ages. Whereunto *Don Iohn* replied, That the action then in hand no leſſe concerned the Spaniards than the Venetians: and that he had in his life deſired nothing more, than to ſtand the Chriſtian commonweale in ſtead: That he pointed at the ſame marke with *Fuſcarinus*, and in zeale to doe good vnto the Chriſtian commonweale, gaue place to no man; but indeed to performe it, was a thing much more difficult than to ſay it: Leſſer things he ſaid were to be ouerpaſſed, to reſerue themſelues for the performance of greater: and therefore maruelled that *Fuſcarinus* alone could not ſee things moſt manifeſt before his eyes, who otherwiſe could with his piercing wit ſee through the deepeſt matters: Could he thinke by any other meanes to abate the power of the Turke, than if they kept their fleet whole? That it was euer the manner of the greateſt and moſt worthie commaunders, rather to ſhun the preſent dangers, than to encreaſe their territories: That nothing was ſo well purpoſed, which might not be of ſome wrongfully ſuſpected: but his faithfull meaning to be pure and without ſpot; and albeit that the oportunitie ſerued not for him to ſhew it, yet was his deſire and endeuour nothing the leſſe: And that *Fuſcarinus*

The Venetian Admirall perſuadeth the Spaniards in no caſe to returne from the enemie.

Don Iohn repleeth vpon the Venetian Admirall

rinus ſhould doe well more intentiuely to conſider, what the cauſe, the matter, and the time requited: That the manner of warre at land and at ſea, were much different: And that although warres of both ſorts were to giue place vnto the moſt vnſeaſonable time of the yeare, vnfit for any kind of warre; yet might men at land, better endure the winter ſtormes in their tents and cabins than at ſea in their gallies, where oftentimes, will, skill, wiſedome, nor valour helpe not: but that (except it be ſo prouided and foreſeene, that the ſeaſonable time of the yeare, and commodious for ſayling may be taken) all muſt togither periſh by ſhipwracke. What, would hee haue them to ſtriue aboue their power with the winter ſtormes, and famine, the greateſt extremities of nature? Beſides that, he was verily perſuaded, that the Turks enjoying the commodities of a good harbour, and of a rich citie, would there in ſafetie winter; the countrey of PELOPONESVS relieuing them with all neceſſaries: When as the Chriſtians in the meane time, except they in time returned home, ſhould lie expoſed to the rage of the ſea, ſtanding as it were in a continuall watch, not laying away their weapons in the depth of winter and dead time of the yeare, which in reaſon ought to giue reſt to all men. And that therefore euerie man ought for the preſent to beare his owne grieuances, and not by the harmes of his friends and confederats, to ſeeke his owne auaile. And that he, bearing himſelfe vpon the inward integritie of his good will toward the Venetians, would this ſay, howſoeuer *Fuſcarinus* ſhould vnderſtand it, That if the kings fleet ſhould by long ſtaying there periſh, it would no leſſe concerne the Venetians than the king himſelfe: and taking God to witneſſe, would ſolemnly promiſe, Nothing to be vnto him more leifer or religious, than to be preſt ſo ſoone as the time of the yeare would giue leaue, and by his endeuour to make all men to know, that he had no leſſe care of the Venetian State than of the kings affaires; neither deſired any thing more, than to be accounted, and in deed to be, a moſt conſtant vpholder of that moſt Chriſtian league; and that beyond all expectation, euen in the judgement of the Venetians themſelues: but for the preſent they muſt pardon him, if he gaue place vnto the neceſsitie of the time. As for the offer of the communicating of their victuals, that would not be any helpe, but the deſtruction of both the fleets; for ſo they ſhould both ſooner feele the want: wherefore it were much better to preſerue the fleet which they might vſe in the next yeares warres, than wilfully to caſt away the ſame by famine, and the rage of the ſea. In briefe, what an indignitie ſhould the Chriſtians ſuſtaine, if they themſelues ſhould by the ſame meanes be ouerthrowne, whereby they had thought to haue ouerthrowne others.

The Spaniards about to returne without the knowledge of the Venetians.

Now the Spaniards were ſo reſolutely ſet downe for their departure, that not only without the conſent of the Venetians, but euen without their priuitie, their departing was reſolued vpon, and ſecret commandement giuen vnto the maſters of the gallies, with all the haſt that might be, to depart thence to MESSANA. Which the Venetian Admirall vnderſtanding, and therewith troubled as with an vnexpected matter, came aboord the Generall, and greatly complained of his purpoſe, for ſo ſudden a departure: requeſting him a while to ſtay, vntill the two gallies made faſt togither in the harbour of NAVARINVM (as is before ſaid) with the ordinance vpon them, might be put in good ſafetie; and neither they, or any thing elſe left for a prey vnto the enemie. With much adoe, *Fuſcarinus* perſuaded him to ſtay that night, that thoſe gallies might bee brought out of the harbour, and all things put in order for their departure. The reſt of the night was ſpent in debating of the matter too and fro: where *Don Iohn* would needs haue it conceiued into a publike inſtrument in writing, That the fleet by the generall conſent of the three Admirals, returned for lacke of victuals: whereunto the Venetian Admirall hardly conſented. But when the inſtrument ſhould haue been made and confirmed, *Don Iohn* better aduiſed by one of his ſecretaries, That the ſame would redound vnto the great diſhonour both of the king and himſelfe, that the fleet comming out of the fruitfull countrey of SICILIA, ſhould in a moneths ſpace want victuals; changed his mind for the writing, and onely requeſted the Venetian Admirall to credit him and *Columnius*, in that they had ſaid concerning the want of victuals: promiſing him, that if vpon the way he ſhould meet with the victuals that were ſent for, he would forthwith returne and giue him aid, as the time and occurrents ſhould require: but in the meane time to proceed by common conſent, to doe that which was moſt needfull. Hereupon they returned: and comming to CORCYRA, they met the expected ſhip laded with victuals. Now is not *Fuſcarinus* vnmindfull of his dutie, but comming to *Don Iohn*, put him in remembrance of his promiſe; telling him, That it was not vnlike, but that the enemie ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood of their departure, would come out of the bay, and returne with his fleet towards CONSTANTINOPLE; and being

A being but weakly manned, and worſe furniſhed of marriners, might eaſily be ouertaken vpon the way, and ouerthrowne. But *Don Iohn* was not by any meanes to be thereunto perſuaded, pretending, that he was by the king commaunded forthwith to returne. So the expectation of great matters to haue been this yeare done, came to nought but vaniſhed into ſmoake: and nothing performed worth ſo long a diſcourſe, more than to ſee with what difficultie great actions are managed, wherein the hands of many great ones are required; who jealous of their owne honour, or enuying at others, corrupt with delaies the faireſt opportunities, and by their croſſe dealing, no leſſe than the enemie, hinder the common good whereat they would all faineſt ſeeme to aime. From CORCYRA *Don Iohn* departed to MESSANA, and *Columnius* vnto ROME. *Fuſcarinus* with greater honour than ſucceſſe, returned to VENICE; where he was with great
B joy receiued, both of the Senat and the citiſens in generall: and ſo (no leſſe famous for his patience and moderation towards the other confederats, than for his pollicie and valour) with the good liking of all men gaue vp his charge, in few yeares after to receiue a greater.

About this time, *Amida* king of TVNES (of whom much is before ſpoken in the life of *Solyman*) being but a little before driuen out of his kingdome by the Turkes (who had of long by little and little encroached vpon him) and as a priuat man liued in exile with his two ſonnes at GVLETTA with *Franciſcus Touares* Gouernour thereof: hearing of the great ouerthrow of the Turkes at LEPANTO, and of the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians, ſent embaſſadours to *Don Iohn* Generall of the confederat princes then lying in SICILIA, humbly requeſting his aid for the recouerie of his kingdome, promiſing to defray the whole charges of the warre, and for euer to
C hold his kingdome of the king of SPAINE, as his vaſſaile and tributarie. Which his requeſt well conſidered of, and the matter thought of no ſmall conſequence, for the ſafetie of the Chriſtian countries lying ouer againſt that part of AFFRICKE, to haue ſo dangerous an enemie remoued: *Don Iohn* the yeare following (in the beginning of October) by the commaundement of the king of SPAINE his brother, depatting from DREPANVM in SICILIA with an hundred and fiue gallies and fortie ſhips, arriued the next day about noone at GVLETTA, where the gallies of MALTA came vnto him; and ſhortly after, *Io. Andreas Auria* the Admirall with nineteene mo; and *Columnius* the Popes Admirall with fourteene mo, all well appointed. At his arriuall at GVLETTA, he vnderſtood by *Amida* and the Gouernour, the whole eſtate both of the citie, and of the kingdome of TVNES: and that the Turkes and Moores, terrified with ſo great a
D fleet, were about to forſake the citie. Wherefore hauing well viewed the place, he the next day after landed his forces about foure miles from the citie, and ſent 2500 footmen before the reſt of the armie to the citie; who found it all deſolat, the Turks and Moors being before for feare fled, ſome to CARAVANA, ſome to BISERTA: who entring without reſiſtance, came to the caſtle, wherein they found two hundred Moores, who ſaid, they kept it for *Amida* their king; but yet would by no meanes ſuffer the Chriſtians to enter. All which was forthwith made knowne to *Don Iohn*, who then becauſe it was almoſt night would not moue, but early the next morning ſet forward with his whole armie: and entring the citie before abandoned by the inhabitants, and ſo comming to the caſtle, found nothing therein, but great ſtore of oyle, butter, and wooll.

Amyda the exiled king of Tunes craueth aid of Don Iohn.

1573

E *Amida* the late king, by the commaundement of *Don Iohn*, all this while ſtaied at GVLETTA. But whileſt *Don Iohn* was yet at TVNES, newes was brought vnto him the thirteenth of October, That the Turks garriſon before fled out of TVNES, with diuers Moores, comming to BISERTA, were there kept out by the citiſens and not ſuffered to enter: For which cauſe they began to burne and ſpoile the countrey thereabout. Whereupon the Generall ſent *Touares* the captaine of GVLETTA thither with part of the armie; who encountring with thoſe Turks, ouerthrew them, and had the citie by the citiſens peaceably deliuered vnto him.

The iuſt iudgement of God vpon Amyda the late K. of Tunes.

The kingdome of TVNES thus eaſily once againe recouered from the Turkes, *Don Iohn* throughly enforced of the faithleſſe and cruell dealing of *Amida* the late king, and that in deteſtation of the Chriſtians and their religion, he had alreadie had intelligence with the Turkes, and
F procured the death of ſome of the Chriſtians: gaue this definitiue ſentence vpon him, being yet in the caſtle of GVLETTA: That for as much as he had of long time been the authour of great diſcord, and endleſſe troubles in that kingdome, and had moſt vnnaturally depriued *Muleaſſes* his father, firſt of his kingdome, and afterward of his ſight; and in like manner tyrannized ouer his naturall brethren, the rightfull heires of that kingdome, whereby the Turks had taken occa-

sion both to inuade and possesse the same: he should therefore by the commaundement of the king of SPAINE, be carried prisoner with his two sonnes into SICILIA, there to remaine for euer. Which heauie doome hee taking most grieuously, and yet crying out for mercie, was forthwith thrust into a gallie, and with his wife and children transported into SICILIA, there to liue in perpetuall exile: the just reward of his mercilesse and vnnaturall dealing with his father and brethren, God no doubt requiting him with the like measure he had before measured vnto them.

Mahomet, Amyda his brother, made king of Tunes, and vassale to the king of Spaine.

After that (the king of SPAINE so commaunding) *Mahomet*, *Amida* his elder brother, and right heire of that kingdome, was appointed king in his place: who departing from GVLETTA to TVNES, was receiued as king, and there by solemne oath promised for euer to be the king of SPAINE his vassaile, and to doe whatsoeuer he should commaund.

There was before departed out of TVNES fortie thousand Moores, who now came and offered their supplication to *Don Iohn*, that they might againe returne and liue with their new king: which their request being easily granted, they in great numbers euerie day returned into the citie. Shortly after, fifteene hundred Turks, with three thousand of those wild people which some call Arabians, some Alarbes, sore troubled all the passages about the citie; who were at last by the Christians ouerthrowne, and an hundred and fiftie Christians whom they had taken prisoners, rescued. After that, *Don Iohn* by the aduise of his most expert and skilfull captaines, commaunded a strong castle to be built in the middle way betwixt GVLETTA and TVNES: and for the performing thereof, left *Gabriell Serbellio* with two thousand Italians, and *Salazar* a Spaniard with other two thousand at GVLETTA. And so hauing performed that he came for, and disposed of all things as he thought best, returned againe into SICILIA.

A griefe of griefes it is, and sorrow almost vnconsolable, when worthie actions most happily begun, sort not to such happie end as was in reason hoped for. The greatest and the most famous victorie of all ages gained against the Turke, seemed to haue lightened the Christian common-weale: and great hope there was, that the Christians falling into vnitie among themselues, would by an happie exchange make the Turkish empire the seat of their warres; and to turne into the Turkes dominions, the terrour, slaughter, and other calamities of warre, which had so many yeares afflicted the Christian common-weale. But by how much the more the joy was amidst such daily calamities and teares; so much greater was the sorrow, so great an hope to be come to nought, and men to be so blinded with the darkenesse of enuie and disdaine, that they could not so much as thinke with what dishonour and danger of the common state, they should shrinke from so iust, so honourable, and so needfull a seruice, including in it selfe the generall good of all Christendome. When posteritie shall consider what things might then haue beene done, and the deuises whereby the common cause was ouerthrowne; it will worthily blame, and greatly lament so notable a victorie and fit opportunitie, sent as it were from heauen, for the effecting of great matters, to haue been let slip and passed ouer so lightly regarded. This made, that they who before had reposed all their hope in armes, had now no other confidence or hope of their welfare, but in concluding of peace. Truly the Venetians both spoke and thought honourably of king *Phillip*, as of a most faithfull, just, deuout, and honourable prince: yet greatly blaming his officers, and others of great authoritie about him, as men more regarding their owne priuat, than the good of the Christian common-weale. In these perplexities of the Venetians, king *Phillip* promised them to set forth a greater and stronger fleet against the next yere, and to be sooner in readinesse with all his forces and warlike prouision, and so to help them in all he might: who for all that, gaue small credit vnto those promises, for that with the like they had been oftentimes before deceiued. And therefore as trusting most vnto their owne strength, they with all carefulnesse and expedition entertained mo souldiors; of whom, some they put into their fleet, the rest they placed in their garrisons, in CRETE, in DALMATIA, and their frontier townes in EPIRVS. Neither were the Turkes then idle, as the report went; yet were they thought to manage that warre with greater fame than strength: for they had of purpose giuen it out, That they would the next Spring with diuers armies, inuade the Venetian territories in CRETE, in DALMATIA, in EPIRVS, yea and in ITALIE it selfe; and with their innumerable multitude both of horse and foot, so ouerwhelme the Venetians, that they should not be able possibly to hold out. This & more too they brauely vaunted of: but in deed *Vluzales* comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, had brought his fleet so shaken and so weake, as that it seemed not possible, but in long time

The Venetians wearie of the delayes and crosse dealing of the Spaniard, resolue to sue vnto the Turke for peace.

to

A to be againe repaired, and furniſhed with ſouldiors and marriners, in ſtead of them that had been loſt, ſome in fight, but moe by the contagiouſneſſe of the infection. But howſoeuer the matter ſtood, the Venetians carefull with the expectation of great matters, and in ſmall hope of good ſucceſſe, comparing their owne ſtrength with the ſtrength of the enemie: yet were they no leſſe diſcouraged with the delayes and croſſe dealing of the confederats, than with all the prouiſion of the enemie. It ſtucke in their minds, how that the Spaniards at ſuch time as CYPRVS might haue beene defended, delayed their comming ſo long, that NICOSIA being loſt, it was time to returne: Neither could they forget that lingering delay to haue beene the cauſe of the great mortalitie amongſt their men, lying in the fleet at IADERA: They remembred alſo, that the commodities, which of ſo notable a victorie were moſt plentifully to haue beene reaped;
B were by the ſlender proſecuting of the ſame, ſo ſparingly taken, that the former dangers ſtill remained: And that *Don Iohn*, who ought by appointment to haue beene at CORCYRA in the beginning of Summer, was ſcarcely come thither in the latter end of Auguſt: and that he in the third yeare of this warre, at ſuch time as their fleet was with great labour and charge againe repaired, would not or liſted not to aduenture to haue againe ouerthrowne the enemies fleet, but in the very action to haue alwayes trifled away the greateſt part of Summer, before his Spaniards could ſet forward: and when hee might ſafely haue come to CERIGO, to haue called backe *Fuſcarinus* and the reſt, then facing of the enemie, and euen readie to haue giuen him
battell: It was then ſecretly ſuſpected, the Spaniards to haue ſtayed of purpoſe, and to haue dallied on the time, that the Venetians hauing ſpent their forces might be the more expoſed and
C ſubject to their injuries: It ſtucke faſt not in their minds onely, but euen almoſt in their eyes, what things had happened of former times in their confederations with that nation: They were grieued in the ſpace of three yeares an hundred times, twentie hundred thouſand duckats to haue beene to little or ſmall purpoſe ſpent in that warre: Beſides that, they doubted leaſt the Flemmings with their confederates ſhould ſo entangle the king of SPAINE in defending of his owne territories, as that he ſhould not be at leiſure to ſend any aid into the Eaſt: in which caſe, what hope or helpe were they to looke for? How ſhould they then defend the reſt of their Seigniorie in the Eaſt? How ſhould their emptie cofers ſuffice to maintaine ſo great armies both by ſea and land, as might withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemie? Long were the diſcourſes, and effectuall the perſuaſions, that the Venetians had amongſt themſelues, to induce one another, and all in gene-
D rall more circumſpectly to conſider, not onely what had alreadie paſſed, or was preſently in hand; but alſo right warily to foreſee, what would be the courſe and what the euent of a matter ſo important: and betime to breake off the confederation, which they had alwayes found to haue ſtood them in ſmall ſtead. In reuoluing of theſe things, onely one remedie ſeemed moſt effectuall for the curing of their afflicted ſtate: which was, By deſiſting from warre, to conclude a peace with the Turke, howſoeuer: which they were the rather in good hope to obtaine, for that diuers ſpeeches concerning the ſame had paſſed at CONSTANTINOPLE, and were from thence againe reported at VENICE. All men thus enclining to peace, the Senat referred the proceeding therein vnto *M. Antonius Barbarus* their embaſſadour (who all the time of theſe wars had lien in ſafe cuſtodie at CONSTANTINOPLE) willing him therein to vſe the helpe of the French em-
E baſſadour, who had alwayes beene a perſuader of peace.

Selymus hauing got the iſland of CYPRVS and diuers other places from the Venetians, and yet well wearied with the harmes and loſſes he had himſelfe receiued both by ſea and land, was alſo deſirous ynough of peace. So that the French embaſſadour might, as it was thought, haue got a reaſonable and indifferent peace, if he had but expected the opportunitie of time: But he, (whether mooued with the common harmes, or ſome other ſecret cauſes to him beſt knowne) in making too much haſt, and ſeeming too deſirous of peace, much hurt the common cauſe of the Venetians, which he moſt deſired to haue furthered. *Selymus* hauing found him, reſolued with *Muhamet* the great Baſſa, what he would haue done: who at ſuch time as the ſame embaſſador came vnto him about the matter, told him, That he had himſelfe many times mooued, yea and
F ſo farre forth as he might importuned his great lord and maſter for peace, but could neuer find him willing to heare thereof, vntill that now at length ouercome and wearied with the continuall ſollicitation of ſuch as might doe moſt with him, he had yeelded thereunto. So the thing that *Selymus* himſelfe vndoubtedly deſired, that the craftie Baſſa ſeemed him with much difficultie to graunt, rather vpon the inſtance and contemplation of them that laboured for the ſame, than for

Selymus himſelfe deſirous of peace.

Muhamet Baſſa dealeth cunningly with the Frech embaſſadour, ſollicising the peace in the behalfe of the Venetians.

any deſire he had thereunto of himſelfe. For certaine dayes at the firſt the French embaſſadour was moſt courteouſly heard, and the Baſſa with faire and cunning ſpeech promiſed that the matter of pacification ſhould eaſily and in ſhort time be compoſed: and ſo at their firſt conferences things paſſed rather in generall tearmes, than that any conditions of peace were particularly agreed vpon: onely this was on both parties conſented vnto, That the Venetians ſhould ſend their embaſſadour of purpoſe, for the full concluding and confirming of the deſired peace. G

The Venetians ſend their embaſſador of purpoſe to Conſtantinople, to intreat a peace.

Which charge was by the Senat committed to *Iacobus Superantius*, in whoſe wiſdome and valour they had repoſed great hope and confidence. He was no ſooner come to CONSTANTINOPLE, and the Turks deliuered of the feare of the Chriſtian ſword by the diſſolution of the confederation, but that all things were changed; and the Venetians glad perforce to endure the proud lookes of the Turkes, their diſdainefull eares, their deſpightfull ſpeeches, their long and H inſolent attendance, with many other ſhamefull indignities: Yea the Baſſa was ſo ſhameleſſe, as proudly to aske them, How they durſt be ſo bold, as to impugne the great emperour *Selymus* his fleet at ſea? Whereunto the embaſſadour anſwered, That the Venetians had alwayes honoured the majeſtie of the Turkiſh emperours, neither had at any time taken vp armes againſt them, but in their owne reaſonable defence, when force was by force to be repulſed; a thing lawfull euen for the wild beaſts in the wide wilderneſſe to doe. At the firſt entreatie of the peace, the Baſſa ſeemed to put the Venetian embaſſadour in good hope, that the Venetians according to his requeſt ſhould enjoy their territories in DALMATIA in as ample manner as in former times, and bounded with the ſame bounds, whereof they had in theſe warres loſt ſome part about IADERA. But when the matter ſhould haue come to the ſhutting vp, the Turke began to ſhrinke from that he I had before promiſed, refuſing not onely the reſtitution of the territorie they had indeed by treaſon got; but by cautelous expoſitions of his meaning, framing the concluſion of the preſent peace vnto the forme of their former leagues, required, That as the Turks had then yeelded vnto them MALVASIA and NAVPLIVS, ſo now they ſhould redeliuer vnto them other two places of like worth and importance: As for not reſtoring the territorie they had taken about IADERA, to colour their deceit, they pretended, That they might not by their law reſtore vnto the Chriſtians any towne or place, wherein were any church or temple dedicated or conuerted vnto the Mahometane religion, as was there; and further, That the ſame territorie was alreadie giuen by *Selymus* in reward to his ſouldiours, men of deſert, from whom without great injurie it might not be againe taken. Hereupon the French embaſſadour complained, That promiſes were not perfor- K med: & the Venetians ſo fretted, that they were euen about to haue returned, as men ſhamefully deluded, without concluding of any thing. Yet when no better could be obtained, the Turke ſtill ſtanding vpon ſo hard tearmes, the embaſſadours by the appointment of the Senat concluded a peace with the Turke, whereof theſe were the cheefe capitulations: firſt, That the Venetians ſhould giue vnto *Selymus* three hundred thouſand duckats; one hundred to be preſently payed, and the other two hundred by equall portions in two years next following: then, That the marchants goods ſhould be indifferently on both ſides reſtored: and laſtly, That ſuch places of the Venetians as the Turke was alreadie poſſeſſed of, ſhould ſtill remaine vnto the Turkes; but that ſuch townes or places as the Venetians had taken in the Turkes dominion, ſhould be againe forthwith reſtored. For the firſt payment of the money, the Turke was earneſt, thereby as by a L fine for an offence committed, to make this league vnto him more honourable.

A peace concluded betwixt Selymus and the Venetians.

This peace at CONSTANTINOPLE concluded the eleuenth day of Februarie, in the yeare 1574, was by the decree of the Senat confirmed: and afterwards the thirteenth of Aprill following ſolemnely proclaimed in VENICE, to the great wonder of the other confederates. For the better ſatisfying of whom, the Popes Nuntio, with the embaſſadour of SPAINE, were ſent for into the Senat houſe. And although there were many things that grieued the Venetians, yet did they forbeare all hard ſpeeches, and of that their moderation receiued ſo much the more honour, as it is more difficultie for an angrie man to ouercome himſelfe, than others. The duke with calme and temperate ſpeech, framed to the purpoſe, declared vnto them, That anger and hope, two euill counſellors, being ſet apart, he had concluded a peace with the Turke: not for that he M was deſirous of the Turkes friendſhip, which what account it was to be made of, he right well knew; but for the loue he bare to the State, which was not only with loſſe, but euen with death it ſelfe, to be maintained. How he had beene ſpoyled of the kingdome of CYPRVS, he further declared: and that the Venetian ſtate grew euery day weaker and weaker by the continuall war:

1574

The peace proclaimed at Venice.

and

A and that therefore, before it were by losse vpon losse come to the vttermost of extremitie, they not able to maintaine so heauie a warre, were to take some better course for the preseruation of that which was yet alreadie left of their Seigniorie: for that the safetie of the Venetian state should at all times be a sure fortresse and defence for the Christian commonweale against all the furious attempts of the enemie, and vncertaine euents of time.

The fame of this sudden and vnexpected peace was for the just and common hatred of the Christians against the Turkes, generally euill taken: and the Venetians for the concluding thereof hardly spoken of, as if they had betrayed the whole Christian commonweale, or at leastwise their confederats. For men were for the most part of opinion, That the Turkes peace would be but fained and deceitfull; and that hauing gained time to set things in order, according to his de-
B sire, he would for the naturall grudge he bare vnto the Christians, come to his old course, and as he had alwayes done, breake the league, and take vp armes. Some said, That the Venetians, forsaken of their friends and confederats, would in their owne deuices perish; yet so, as that their destruction should turne to the generall harme of all Christendome: and these men were of opinion, That in that case, and against that enemie, a dangerous warre was to be preferred before an vncertaine and dishonourable peace. Neuertheless the Venetians, besides that they for the pre- *The peace by experience found profitable vnto the Venetians.*
sent eased themselues of many an heauie burthen, so haue they thereby enjoyed the fruits of a long and happie peace, and found the same vnto their state both wholesome and profitable euen vntill this day. It was thought by the sequell of matters, that *Selymus* was the more willing to haue peace with the Venetians, that he might the better recouer the kingdome of TVNES,
C and the strong castle of GVLETTA from the Spaniards: who with the knights of MALTA now gaped more after TRIPOLIS and the other port townes holden by the Turkes vpon the coast of BARBARIE, than how to defend the Venetians their confederates. Thus with the losse of CYPRVS, and some part of the Venetian territorie in DALMATIA, ended the mortall and bloudie warre betwixt *Selymus* and the Venetians. In the course whereof is well to be seene, what great matters the vnited forces of the Christian princes were able to doe against this most mightie enemie, if all discord and contention set apart, they would in the quarrell of the Christian religion joyne with heart and hand against him, and fight the battell of Christ Iesus.

Selymus now at peace with them who before most troubled him: to keepe his men of warre
D busied, shortly after conuerted his forces against *Iohn*, Vayuod of VALACHIA, and so at length joyned all that prouince to his empire. This countrey of VALACHIA was in auntient time called DACIA: it hath on the East the Euxine (now called the Blacke Sea) on the South the famous riuer Danubius, on the West TRANSYLVANIA, and on the North RVSSIA. It is deuided into two parts, the one called TRANSALPINA, and the other MOLDAVIA (of the riuer Moldauus running through the middest thereof) but farre passing the other both in greatnesse and abundance of pasture. That part called TRANSALPINA, *Mahomet* (surnamed the Great, which woon CONSTANTINOPLE) made subject to the Turkish empire; but vpon MOLDAVIA, the other part, he only imposed a yearely tribute of two thousand duckats. After which time the Vayuods of that country, aided sometime by the Hungarians, and sometime by the Polonia-
E ns, rise vp oftentimes against the Turks, and refused to do their homage. It chanced, that *Bogda-* *Selymus chaseth Bogdanus out of Moldauia, and placeth Iohn Vayuod in his stead.*
nus, Vayuod of that countrey, fauouring the Polonians, and joyning in league with them, liued much in RVSSIA, as purposing from thence also to haue taken his wife. Which *Selymus* suspecting, with a great power chased him into exile, and placed in his stead one *Iohn* (called of his countrymen *Iwan*, and of some *Iuonia*) the supposed son of *Stephanus*, sometime Vayuod of that country: who with *Ieremias Czarnieuieczius* (a Moldauian, who afterward notably betraied him) hauing of long time liued amongst the Turks, to be the more gratious amongst them, renounced his faith, and being circumcised, turned Turke: and following the trade of merchandise, became among them a marchant of such fame, that he became very familiar & well acquainted with the great Bassaes of the Court, and at length with *Selymus* himselfe. Hee vnderstanding by his
F friends neere about the Turkish emperor of his purpose for the remouing of *Bogdanus*, corrupted with rewards the great Bassaes, to be mediators for him to *Selymus*, that commended by them, he might be preferred to be Vayuod of MOLDAVIA; still encreasing the suspition *Selymus* had conceiued of *Bogdanus*, and telling him, That he supported by the Polonians, was like ynough in short time to reject his obedience to his imperiall majestie. *Selymus* at the instance of the Bassaes

nominated this *Iohn* to bee Vayuod: who with a great power of the Turkes horſemen entring G
into MOLDAVIA, eaſily poſſeſſed himſelfe of the countrey, *Bogdanus* being then abſent in RVSSIA, and as then ſuſpecting no ſuch matter: who yet afterwards attempted in vaine by the helpe of the Polonians to haue againe recouered his countrey, but finding no poſsibilitie ſo to doe, fled afterwards into MVSCOVIA, where he long time after liued.

Iohn the Vayuod falleth into ſuſpition with Selymus and the Baſſaes of the Court.

Iohn now quietly poſſeſſed of MOLDAVIA, for ſome few years held the ſame with the good liking of the Turke, paying him his wonted tribute: but afterwards repenting himſelfe of his wicked reuolt from the Chriſtian faith, and now eftſoones againe embracing the ſame, and (ignorant of his owne fortune) perſecuting with too much ſeueritie thoſe which withſtood his comming into the countrey, eſpecially ſuch great men as tooke part with *Bogdanus*; and now after his returne vnto the Chriſtian faith, not fauouring the Turkes as he was wont, but croſsing them H
in many matters, became ſuſpitious both vnto *Selymus* and the Baſſaes his old friends. Which the Vayuod of the leſſer VALACHIA (commonly called VALACHIA TRANSALPINA) vnderſtanding, he became a ſuter vnto the great Baſſaes of the Court for his brother *Peter*, and earneſtly trauelled with them, That as *Iohn* ſupported by *Selymus*, had driuen *Bogdanus* out of MOLDAVIA, ſo *Peter* his brother might in like manner by his helpe driue *Iohn* out alſo. In which his ſute he ſpared for no coſt, neither ceaſed by malicious ſuggeſtions to encreaſe the ſuſpition alreadie conceiued of *Iohn* the Vayuod: who hauing reiected the Mahometane religion, and againe embraced the Chriſtian faith, would (as he ſaid) in ſhort time, as had *Bogdanus*, joyne hands with the Polonians, and caſt off his obedience towards the great Sultan, by whom he had beene ſo highly promoted. Beſide that, this malicious man offered, That his brother *Peter* for ſuch his preferment ſhould pay yearely vnto *Selymus* twice ſo much more as did *Iohn*, namely an hundred and twentie thouſand duckats by the name of a tribute. I

The Baſſaes before corrupted and mooued with the greatneſſe of the tribute, perſuaded *Selymus*, by an embaſſadour to ſend for *Iohn* the Vayuod, to come vnto him himſelfe in perſon, and to commaund him to giue place to ſuch a man as he ſhould ſend thither in his ſtead: which if he ſhould refuſe to doe, then to denounce vnto him open warre. Hereunto *Selymus*, who had euen then much emptied his cofers with the loſſe of his fleet in the battell of LEPANTO, & the chargeable warres againſt the Venetians, was eaſily induced: and to that purpoſe ſent his embaſſadour to the Vayuod; who hauing audience the one and twentieth of Februarie, at the ſame time that *Henry Valois*, afterward the French king was crowned at CRACOVIA, deliuered his meſſage K
as followeth:

The commaunding ſpeech of the Turks embaſſador to Iohn the Vayuod.

Selymus *the great emperour of the Turkes ſendeth me vnto thee* Iohn, *Vayuod* of VALACHIA *his tributarie, with this commaund (whereunto his pleaſure is, that thou ſhouldeſt without delay ſend him anſwere:) firſt hee chargeth thee to ſend him not ſuch a tribute as hee was wont, but twice ſo much more, to wit, an hundred and twentie thouſand duckats. If thou ſhalt refuſe ſo to doe, there is another readie to giue it, both for himſelfe and his poſteritie. But* Selymus *mindfull of thy conſtancie, fidelitie, and valour, will not be troubleſome to thee in thy gouernment, if thou foorthwith ſend the aforeſaid tribute. Which if thou ſhalt refuſe to doe, then his will is, that thou ſhouldeſt giue place to another, and thy ſelfe returne with me to* CONSTANTINOPLE, *there to anſwere the matter: otherwiſe I am in his name to denounce all hoſtilitie, and the calamities of warre both vnto thee and thy countrey.* L

This proud meſſage of the embaſſador ſtrucke further into the mind of the Vayuod than any would haue thought: yet diſſembling his greefe, he commanded him to be brought to the lodging appointed for him, telling him, That in a matter of ſo great importance, and ſo much concerning the whole ſtate of his countrey, he could not giue him ſo preſent anſwer as he required; but that vpon mature deliberation had with his nobilitie and counſell, he would in ſhort time anſwere him accordingly. The embaſſadour being gone to his lodging, the Vayuod forthwith began deepely to conſider of *Selymus* his demaunds; and that in the Turkes faith was no aſſurance, M
which he kept or brake with the Chriſtian princes, as beſt fitted his owne turne: and beſides that, that if he ſhould graunt to pay that ſo great and heauie a tribute, in ſo great pouertie of his kingdome, ſore waſted with ciuile warre, *Selymus* would not be therewith long contented, ſo long as any man would giue him more, but happily would the next yeare exact a greater, and in the end

A end ſuch an one as he with all his ſubiects ſhould not be able to pay; which it ſhould not be ſafe for him at any time to refuſe, ſo long as any man would giue it. Wherefore calling togither the nobilitie and ſtates of his countrey, he brake with them in this ſort.

The ſpeech of the Vayuod vnto his nobilitie and ſubiects.

If euer you were to conſult and deliberat of a moſt important and difficult matter, this verily is that time: for Selymus *the Turkiſh emperour, enflamed with inſatiable auarice, and I know not by whoſe perſuaſion, not contented with his wonted tribute, exacteth of vs twiſe ſo much more. If you ſhall grant it, it ſhall not much concerne me, as not to be paied by me your ſoueraigne, but by your ſelues and your poſteritie: if we denie it, forthwith he denounceth vnto vs fire and ſword, with all the calamities of warre. And in this bareneſſe of our kingdome, almoſt ſpoiled by ciuile warres, how*
B *ſhall we be able to pay it him? wherefore declare your mindes. Verily I foreſee, that if you ſhall in this yeeld vnto* Selymus, *and grant him ſo great a tribute, he will not therewith long hold himſelfe contented, but euerie yeare extort a greater, vntill he haue altogither eaten vs vp. Wherefore it were better for vs (in mine opinion) to loſe our liues togither with our wiues and children, than to ſuffer ſo great an indignitie: neither is it mine owne eſtate that troubleth me, for why it is you that are to pay it, and not I. Wherefore if you liſt not to endure this ſo diſhonourable and baſe a ſeruitude, let me forthwith ſo vnderſtand from you: and I will for my part ſo prouide, as that I will not onely not pay vnto the barbarous tyrant the new and heauie tribute he demaundeth, but not ſo much as any tribute at all; ſo that you be not wanting both to your ſelues and me. I know right well (beloued and fellowes in armes) what I owe both vnto you and the common-weale, for whoſe good and welfare I am alwaies*
C *readie to lay downe my life.*

He had no ſooner thus ſaid, but that a ſecret ſorrow and vnwonted ſilence, had as it were oppreſſed the whole aſſembly. At length, as men awaked out of an heauie and dead ſleepe, they murmured among themſelues, that the Turkiſh emperour ſhould ſo without reaſon oppreſſe them, with doubling and redoubling of his tribute: and were generally of opinion, That the Vayuod had not ſo plainely as truly ſpoken of the intollerableneſſe thereof: and that therefore they had rather die, than to endure ſo great diſhonour, joyned with ſo foule a ſlauerie. And thereupon offered vnto the Vayuod to ſerue vpon their owne charge, and with him vpon the banke of Danubius to meet the proud enemie, and there in defence of their liues and libertie, to fight
D it out vnto the laſt man. The Vayuod in few words commending their fidelitie, and taking of them an oath for the faithfull performance of that they had ſo reſolutely promiſed, ſent for the Turks embaſſadour, and gaue him this ſhort anſwere.

The anſwere of the Vayuod vnto the Turkes embaſſadour.

I, for the auntient fidelitie and allegeance which I owe vnto my lord and dread ſoueraigne, the mightie emperour Selymus, *would willingly yeeld vnto him the tribute he requireth, were it not that I know the minds of my people to abhorre the ſame: wiſhing rather to endure all calamities, hap whatſoeuer hap may, than to yeeld vnto ſo diſhonourable and ſhamefull ſlauerie. Wherefore ſithence I cannot by any meanes extort the ſame from my ſubiects, tell my lord* Selymus, *That I moſt humbly requeſt him, not to take the ſame in euill part; whoſe amitie I wiſh to be vnto me, rather an ornament*
E *and refuge, than diſgrace or hinderance. And that vpon that good hope I both asked, and for my ſingular fidelitie obtained of him the Vayuodſhip of* MOLDAVIA: *which my good hope I moſt heartily beſeech him may not deceiue me.*

With this anſwere he diſmiſſed the embaſſador vnrewarded, and with a ſafe conuoy brought him vnto the banke of Danubius: which his homely vſage of the embaſſadour, cauſed him not a little to be ſuſpected, to be in mind changed from *Selymus*. The embaſſadour ſent away, the Vayuod not ignorant of the ſudden inuaſions of the Turkes, forthwith began to raiſe his army: and at the ſame time, ſent embaſſadours vnto *Henrie* king of POLONIA his neereſt neighbour, certifying him of the dangerous ſtate of MOLDAVIA, the ſureſt bulwarke of the Polonian king-
F dome, which once ouerthrowne, opened a faire and eaſie way for the common enemie into POLONIA: and therefore requeſted him, that as the kings of POLONIA had of auntient time, euen for the ſafetie of their owne ſtate, protected that countrey; ſo it would pleaſe him now in like manner in ſo dangerous a time, to giue him aid; or at leaſtwiſe to giue leaue vnto ſuch of his ſubiects as were willing to ſerue for entertainment, to come vnto him, whom he would with all honour

honour and bountie vſe according to their place and qualitie. Whereunto the king anſwered, G
that for as much as he and his predeceſſours the kings of POLONIA, had for the ſpace of more
than an hundred yeares beene in league with the Turkiſh kings and emperours, he could not ei-
ther ſend him aid, or yet giue leaue vnto any of his ſubjects to ſerue againſt the Turke as he deſi-
The Vayuod entertaineth the Polonian Coſſacks. red. With this anſwere the Vayuod was much troubled, as there deceiued where he moſt ho-
ped for reliefe: yet hearing of certaine companies of the Polonian Coſſacks, which hauing long
lien in hope of prey vpon the ſide of the great riuer Boryſthenes, were returning emptie home,
he by fit meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, offered them great entertainment to ſerue him in his warres
againſt the Turke; of which his offer, they (as men liuing for moſt part by ſeruice) gladly accep-
ted; and ſo without the knowledge of the king went vnto him, to the number of twelue hun-
dred, with their captaines, men of great courage and valour, of whom *Suierceuius* was chiefe: H
who were by the Vayuod honourably entertained, and did him in theſe wars right worthy ſer-
uice. Theſe Coſſacks are light horſemen, lying moſt commonly vpon the borders of the Polo-
nian kingdome towards the Tartars: an hardie and valiant kind of men, whoſe beſt liuing, is the
ſpoile they take from the enemie; and their beſt lands, their horſe and launce. For albeit that the
Turkes and Tartars are moſt commonly in league with the Polonians, and ſeeme neuer ſo deſi-
rous of peace; yet doe they oftentimes in great numbers, vpon the ſudden breake into the coun-
tries of PODOLIA and RVSSIA, part of the Polonian kingdome, and there doe great harme, if
they be not in time repreſſed or cut off by the aforeſaid light horſemen, who for that purpoſe lie
alwaies in wait for them, as doth the hawke for the prey.

Selymus ſendeth his forces againſt the Vayuod. *Selymus* vnderſtanding the anſwere of *Iohn* the Vayuod, was therewith exceedingly enra- I
ged, and the more by the bitter complaint of the embaſſadour, who angrie with the Vayuod
that he was of him no better regarded nor rewarded, ſpared not to the vttermoſt of his power, to
incenſe the angrie emperour againſt him, as if his honor had been in the perſon of himſelfe con-
temned and violated. Wherfore without delay, he ſent thirtie thouſand Turks, and two thou-
ſand Hungarians vnto the Palatine of VALACHIA TRANSALPINA, that joyning thoſe forces
to his owne, he might take *Iohn* the Vayuod, and ſending him in bonds to CONSTANTINO-
PLE, to place *Peter* his brother, Vayuod in his place. The Palatine glad of this commaund, and
hauing raiſed his owne power, togither with the Turks and the Hungarians, ſwam ouer the riuer
Moldauus, hauing in his armie about an hundred and two thouſand fighting men: a power, not
onely ſufficient to haue driuen the Vayuod out of MOLDAVIA, but alſo to haue ſhaken a right K
puiſſant king in his kingdome. The Palatine in the middeſt of ſo great a ſtrength, little fearing,
and leſſe regarding the ſudden comming of the Vayuod, ſuffered his men with their horſes to lie
diſorderedly here and there, diſperſed in the large medowes and paſtures all alongſt the faire ri-
uers ſide; ſo the better to refreſh themſelues, wearie of their long trauell. In the meane time cer-
taine ſcouts came to the Vayuod then at dinner, certifying him, that the enemie with an huge ar-
mie, the certaine number wherof they could not well deſcrie, was come ouer the riuer: and now
reſting themſelues, had turned off their horſes into the rich medowes thereabout, in ſuch diſor-
dered and careleſſe manner, as that they might with a ſmall power be eaſily ouerthrowne. The
Vayuod glad of this newes, forthwith ſent before *Suierceuius* with his Coſſacks, and fiue thou-
ſand other light horſemen, more certainly to deſcrie what the enemie did, with the manner of his L
lying; and he himſelfe with the reſt of his armie, followed faire and ſoftly after. *Suierceuius* with
great ſilence approaching the enemies campe, ſuddenly light vpon the enemies ſcouts, in number
about fiue hundred; who encloſed before they were aware, were taken euerie man by the Coſ-
ſacks, and by them ſtraightly examined of the ſtate of their armie and campe. Who for ſafegard
of their liues now in their enemies power, frankly confeſſed, how that the Palatine lay ſecurely
there by, reſting his armie, not ſo much for the refreſhing thereof after his trauell, as with greater
ſtrength to ſet vpon the Vayuod with his freſh ſouldiours: and that in the armie were about ſea-
uentie thouſand Valachians, thirtie thouſand Turks, and three thouſand Hungarians; who now
diſperſed, and ſleeping in ſecuritie, might eaſily be ouerthrowne. Of all theſe things *Suierceuius*
aduertiſeth the Vayuod, requeſting him with all poſsible ſpeed to haſten his comming, for the M
obtaining of a moſt notable and aſſured victorie: he in the meane time lying cloſe with his men
The Palatine with the Turks ouerthrowne by the Vayuod. not farre from the enemie. The Vayuod certified of all theſe things, came without delay, and
forthwith commaunded *Suierceuius* with his men to giue the onſet vpon the enemie: purpoſing
himſelfe with the reſt of his armie on the other ſide, to charge the diſordered campe in three pla-
ces.

A ces. *Suiercenius* according as he had in charge, with a great and terrible outcrie, ſuddenly ſet vpon the ſecure enemies: who diſmaied with the ſuddenneſſe of the vnexpected danger, ſtood as men aſtonied, not knowing which way to flie, or how to make reſiſtance. But whiles *Suiercenius* with his light horſemen thus on the one ſide filleth the campe with tumult, terrour, ſlaughter, and feare; behold, euen as a ſudden tempeſt commeth the Vayuod, bearing all the diſordered campe downe before him: neither had the enemies any meanes to flie, hauing put their horſes a great way off from them into the rich paſtures; but there taken vnarmed, were miſerably ſlain. In all the campe was lamentation and mourning, death raging in euerie place, with ſuch furie, that of ſo great an armie as of late paſſed the riuer, few or none eſcaped, more than the Palatine, with *Peter* his brother; who by great chance with much adoe getting horſes, ſwam ouer the ri-
B uer, and ſo came to the caſtle of BRAILOVIA in VALACHIA; all the reſt were ſlaine and left to be of the beaſts of the field and birds of the aire deuoured. It was a moſt horrible ſpectacle to ſee the ground couered with the bodies of the dead, all ſtained with gore bloud, and their weapons of all ſorts lying by them. In the campe were found great riches, all which the Vayuod gaue vnto his ſouldiors, and there ſtaied foure daies to refreſh his wearied men. After that, he with his victorious armie entred into VALACHIA, the Palatines countrey, where he tooke manie caſtles and townes, and put to the ſword all that came in his way, men, women, and children, without reſpect of age or ſex: and burnt all the countrey townes and villages before him as he went; ſo that all that part of the countrey of VALACHIA TRANSALPINA, was couered with ſmoke and fire, to the terrour of the beholders. The aged fathers were in cuetie place drawne
C forth to ſlaughter, the young babes were cut in pieces, the matrons and virgins defiled, and afterwards ſlaine; and in briefe, all the crueltie that could be deuiſed, performed: in the bloudie execution whereof, the Vayuod commended his men, perſuading them in like manner ſtill to proſecute the victorie, and that the reſt of their labours was all but for prey and bootie, for the enriching of themſelues. In this hauocke of all things, it was told him, that the Palatine with his brother *Peter*, the men whom he moſt ſought after, were in the caſtle of BRAILOVIA not farre off: whereupon he forthwith marched thither with his armie. The citie of BRAILOVIA ſtandeth vpon the riuer Danubius, and had in it a caſtle of ſome good ſtrength, defended both by the nature of the place, and a ſtrong garriſon of the Turks which *Selymus* had appointed for the keeping thereof, as the key of the countrey: not farre from this citie the Vayuod encamping his
D armie, writ vnto the captaine of the caſtle, forthwith to deliuer vnto him the Palatine, with *Peter* his brother, his mortall enemies; who neuer wronged by him, had inuaded his countrey, and ſought after his life, and being ouerthrowne in battell, were fled vnto him: which if he ſhould refuſe to doe, he threatned neuer to depart thence, vntill he had to his farther harme, conſtrained him by force to yeeld them. Theſe letters he ſent by two Valachian captiues, to be deliuered vnto the captaine of the caſtle: whereunto he returned anſwere by foure Turkes, two of the citie, and two of his owne ſeruants, by whom he alſo ſent ten great ſhot, and as many ſmall, with two Turkiſh arrowes, and this meſſage.

For that I know thee to be the ſeruant of my dread ſoueraigne Selymus, *I regard thee: and will*
E *not denie the ſame men to be with me, whom thou ſo much requireſt. But for as much as I vnderſtand, that thou of late haſt ſlaine a great number of the ſeruants of the great emperour, who by his commaundement were bringing* Peter *the brother of the Palatine into* MOLDAVIA: *I therefore tell thee, that except thou betime raiſe thy ſiege, I will feed thee and thy followers, with ſuch diſhes as theſe; whereupon thou and thine armie gorged to the full, ſhall all afterwards dangerouſly ſurfeit and caſt. Farewell.*

The blunt anſwere of the captaine to the Vayuod.

This rough anſwere ſo much mooued the Vayuod, that he commaunded hands to be laid vpon the aforeſaid foure meſſengers: and their noſes, lips, and eares being cut off, both their feet to be with great nailes faſt nailed vnto a long piece of timber, and ſo with their hands hanging
F downward, to be ſet vp before the citie, and ſo left for the captaine and the citizens to gaze vpon. Signifying withall vnto the captaine that ſent them, that he himſelfe with the other fugitiues his gueſts, ſhould in like manner be ſerued, if they fell into his hands. Immediatly after he aſſaulted the citie, and vſing the cheerfulneſſe of his ſouldiors, by plaine force tooke the ſame, the defendants being not able to hold them out. There was made great ſlaughter of the Turkes, whereas no

Barbarous crueltie.

The citie of Brailouia taken by the Vayuod and raſed downe to the ground.

no man was taken to mercie; the very babes were ſlain, together with their mothers, and bloud ran like riuers into the Danubius. For the ſpace of foure dayes this bloudie execution endured; no place ſerued for refuge, euen the moſt ſecret and obſcure places were ſearched, and the poore creatures there found, drawne forth and ſlaine. The furie was ſo great, that no liuing thing, no not ſo much as the very dogs, were ſpared. Much gold, ſiluer, plate, jewels, and other rich ſpoyle was there found, all which became a prey vnto the greedie ſouldiours: for that citie was of all others in thoſe quarters the richeſt, as a place much frequented, & enjoying long peace, as after ſuch time the Turkes were fully poſſeſſed of GRÆCIA, not being troubled with any warres; vntill now, that it was by the Vayuod firſt ranſackt, and afterwards raſed downe to the ground, and nothing thereof left ſtanding, more than the bare caſtle it ſelfe: which the Vayuod durſt not adventure vpon, for that it was well fortified, and furniſhed with ſo ſtrong a garriſon, as that it could not without his great loſſe be taken.

The Turks again ouerthrowne by the Vayuod.

Whiles the Vayuod was thus buſied in the ſpoile of BRAILOVIA, newes was brought vnto him of the comming of fifteene thouſand Turkes to the reliefe of the caſtle: againſt whom hee forthwith ſent *Suierceuius* with his Coſſackes, and other eight thouſand Moldauian horſemen; who ſuddenly comming vpon the Turks, diſordered and fearing no ſuch matter, ſlew almoſt fourteene thouſand of them, and chaſed the reſt vnto the caſtle of TEINA. Of this victory *Suierceuius* in all haſt certified the Vayuod; and withall, that there was another great power of the Turkes comming, which might eaſily be alſo ouerthrowne, if he leauing the ſiege of the caſtle of BRAILOVIA, would without delay come and joyne his forces with his. He glad of that news, and well perceiuing how difficult and dangerous that ſiege would be vnto him, riſe forthwith with his armie, and went to *Suierceuius*: and afterwards vpon conference had with him, laid ſiege to TEINA: which citie taken without much labour, he put to ſword all the people found therein, not leauing one aliue: and by the ſeruice of *Suierceuius* ouerthrew the Turks comming towards BRAILOVA.

Selymus in doubt to haue beene thruſt out of Valachia by the Vayuod.

Selymus in the meane time much troubled with the proceedings of the Vayuod, and doubting to be quite thruſt out of VALACHIA TRANSALPINA (which he was like ynough to haue beene, had not the treaſon of *Czarnieuiche* hindered the matter) prepared new forces for that ſeruice, and after the manner of the Turks, in time of their greateſt diſtreſſe appointed generall ſupplications and prayers to be made vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, for the better ſucceſſe of his wars, the vndoubted ſigne of his feare.

The Vayuod after ſo many victories againſt the Turkes, purpoſing for a while to breake vp his great armie, called vnto him his old friend *Ieremias Czarnieuiche*, vnto whom, as vnto the man he of all others moſt truſted, he had reſolued to commit the charge, with part of his armie, to keepe the Turks from paſsing againe ouer the riuer Danubius into his countrey: and in deliuering to him his charge, ſpake vnto him as followeth:

The kind ſpeech of the Vayuod to Czarnieuiche.

Sith fortune hath hitherto anſwered our deſires (worthie Czarnieuiche*) with moſt rare and perpetuall ſucceſſe againſt the Turkes, our moſt cruell enemies, we are thankefully to take the ſame, and to render moſt humble and heartie thankes vnto Almightie God, that it hath pleaſed him, the author of all victorie, ſo to haue proſpered our endeuours againſt theſe fierce and deuouring enemies. Now what remaineth for the preſent, but to disband mine armie, wearied with labour and trauell, and to giue my ſoldiors leaue to depart home to reſt themſelues, that ſo I may as occaſion ſhall require againe vſe their freſh forces for our better ſeruice: you in the meane time with thirteene thouſand of my ſelect ſouldiors, ſhall lie vpon the ſide of Danubius, to keepe the Turkes from paſsing the riuer. Haue good regard I pray you vnto this your charge, which I vpon an eſpeciall truſt, grounded vpon your antient loue and fidelitie, haue at this time impoſed vpon you. And let me from time to time with all expedition vnderſtand from you of euery motion of the enemie, that ſo we may in due time prouide for him accordingly.*

And ſo in token of his greater fauour, taking his leaue of him with a kiſſe (as the manner of thoſe people is) gaue leaue vnto the greateſt part of his ſouldiors to depart home, yet with this charge, to be alwayes in readineſſe whenſoeuer they ſhould be called vpon.

Czarnieuiche hauing receiued his charge, and promiſing vnto the Vayuod the vttermoſt of his faithfull deuoire, went towards Danubius, and there moſt carefully kept the paſſages with continuall watch and ward. It was not long but that great numbers of the Turkes were come downe

to

A to the other ſide of the riuer, and moe were ſtill comming, yet none of them was ſo hardie as to aduenture the great riuer; *Czarnieuiche* with his horſemen lying in the faces of them, readie to receiue them on the other ſide. Which the Baſſa whom *Selymus* had ſent with his armie, perceiuing, ſent certaine men pickt out for the purpoſe, to *Czarnieuiche*, to ſound him, if he might by any meanes be drawne to come ouer, in ſecret to talke with him: and the more to mooue him, beſide his conduct for his ſafetie, ſent him by the ſame meſſengers thirtie thouſand Hungarian duckats for a preſent. With which ſo faire a bait *Czarnieuiche* allured, receiued the money, and faithfully promiſed to come. And ſo ſhortly after, ſecretly paſsing ouer the riuer, had conference with *Peter* the Palatines brother, who then lay on the further ſide of Danubius, with a great power of the Turkes. In this conference, *Peter* declared vnto him in how great danger the Vay-
B uod ſtood; and how highly *Selymus* was offended with him, That he his tributarie and vaſſale ſhould worke the deſtruction of his ſo great armies: which his heauie diſpleaſure he could no otherwiſe ſatisfie but with his head: and that therfore he ſhould no longer rule in MOLDAVIA, for that gouernment was by the great emperour giuen vnto him. Wherefore (ſaid he) if thou be wiſe, whileſt it is yet in thy power, gaine the good will of *Selymus* by ſome good deſert: for an eaſie matter it is to begin any warre, but an hard matter to end the ſame. For as much as it is not alwayes in the ſame mans power to begin warres, and at his pleaſure to make an end. Euery foole may when he liſt enter into armes, but muſt lay the ſame downe when it pleaſeth the conquerour. Now you haue a faire oportunitie, and it is in your owne power to procure his friendſhip for euer, better ſtanding with your affaires than war. And albeit you may hope well of the power
C of the Vayuod, yet wiſedome would not, that you ſhould preferre vncertainetie before things certaine: you haue now receiued thirtie thouſand duckats, the earneſt of your further deſerts; which ſhall hereafter haue alſo their due rewards in moſt full and bountifull meaſure. Wherfore if you will doe your ſelfe good, and prouide both for your ſafetie and preferment, confound not your owne good fortune, with the broken and deſperat ſtate of the Vayuod, but ſuffer the Turks to paſſe as friends ouer the riuer of Danubius. For I am come (ſaid he) with a great and puiſſant armie from the mightie *Selymus*, to take vpon me the gouernment of MOLDAVIA, and to ſend the Vayuod in bonds to CONSTANTINOPLE: and of me, being once Vayuod, what is it that for ſo great deſert thou and thine may not aske and obtaine? Wherefore I pray thee conceale the comming of the Turks, and withdraw thy ſelfe from the riuer: ſo ſhall we, paſsing ouer the
D riuer with our populous armie, eaſily oppreſſe the Vayuod with all his power, and at once reuenge all the former injuries and diſgraces done both vnto *Selymus* and vs.

Czarnieuiche hath ſecret conference with Peter the Palatines brother, who cunningly perſuadeth him to giue the Turks paſſage.

With greedie men what will not the foule deſire of gold worke? *Czarnieuiche* ouercome with the golden promiſes of *Peter*, and forgetfull of his faith before giuen vnto the Vayuod, yeelded vnto all he requeſted: and drawing his forces further off from the riuer, as if it had been for his more ſafetie, gaue the Turks free paſſage. There was then in the Turks armie two hundred thouſand men, well appointed, and furniſhed with great ordinance and all other things neceſſarie both for the field and for ſiege, who by the ſufferance of the falſe traitour paſſed quietly ouer the riuer. *Czarnieuiche* forthwith poſting to the Vayuod, certified him, how that the Turks truſting to their multitude, had paſſed the riuer of Danubius, againſt whom he was not able (as
E he ſaid) to make head: and that therefore he ſhould doe well, without delay to goe againſt them with ſuch forces as he had then in readineſſe; which joyned vnto his, might eaſily ouerthrow them. Glad was the Vayuod of this newes, and filled with the hope of good ſucceſſe, demaunded of him what ſtrength the enemie might be of? They are (ſaid he) not much aboue twelue thouſand that be already come ouer, but are ſtill comming more and more, and will before your comming thither be aboue fifteene thouſand.

Czarnieuiche corrupted, giueth the Turkes leaue quietly to paſſe ouer the riuer of Danubius.

The Vayuod lay then at the ſiege of the caſtle of TEINA (hauing before taken the citie) but hearing this newes, raiſed his ſiege, and ſo in foure dayes came and encamped within three miles of the enemie: and forthwith ſent forth *Suierceuius* with his Coſſackes, and *Veremias* Generall of the horſemen, with ſix thouſand horſe, to take view of the enemies campe, and to vnderſtand
F what might be of their deſignes. Theſe two captaines marching together, chanced to fall vpon the Turkes ſcouts, in number about ſix thouſand horſemen, with whom they had a light skirmiſh, and in a ſhort time put them to flight. Of theſe ſcouts they tooke one, and him grieuouſly wounded: who being examined of the ſtrength of the enemie, and feeling himſelfe wounded to death, told them diſſemblingly, that the Turks were not in number many. But the Coſſackes doubting

doubting of the truth of that report, and probably conjecturing by ſo great a number of ſcouts, G
that the enemie was of farre greater ſtrength than was ſuppoſed or reported; quickly certified the
Vayuod thereof, wiſhing him in time to prouide for the ſafetie of himſelfe and his armie, and not
too much to truſt *Czarnieuiche*, whom they had a good while before ſuſpected. But the Vay-
uod nothing doubting of the faith of him whom he had of long time found moſt faithfull in
the time of his hardeſt diſtreſſe, and vſed as a moſt truſtie companion in all his trauels, anſwered
nothing, but that he knew whom he truſted; and that it was not now time to ſtand in doubt, or
to be afraid; and that he would ere long come and take a view of the enemies campe himſelfe:
for that he was not come ſo farre to flie, but to fight in defence of his countrey and ſubjects,
euen to the laſt gaſpe. And ſo fortifying his campe neere vnto a lake that runneth out of Danu-
bius (for the more conuenient watering of his armie) he ſet forward with all his power againſt H
the enemie.

Neere vnto the enemies campe was an high hill, from whence the Vayuod had thought to
haue deſcried the number of them, with the manner of their lying: but comming thither, he
could deſcrie nothing but foure companies of ſcouts afarre off, one companie from another; who
alſo vpon the ſight of the Moldauians withdrew themſelues of purpoſe out of ſight vnto the ar-
mie, which then lay in a low valley behind an hill, not to be diſcouered vntill a man were almoſt
vpon it. The Vayuod ſuſpecting the enemie to be at hand, deuided his horſemen, in number thir-
tie thouſand, into thirtie companies, and placing before euery companie certaine field pieces, ſo
marched readie to giue battell. His footmen, in number many, a rude and homely kind of peo-
ple, but vnto him of all others moſt faithfull, and armed with ſuch countrey weapons as they I
had, he placed by themſelues. So marching on, he came to another hill, from whence he might
not farre off eaſily deſcrie the huge armie of the enemie, and how he had been by the treaſon of
Czarnieuiche deceiued: whereupon he preſently ſent for him; who ſent him word backe againe,
That he could not now come, the enemie being ſo nigh at hand, but that he ſhould forthwith ſee
him in the field as forward as the forwardeſt againſt the enemie. *Czarnieuiche* had then vnder his
commaund thirteene thouſand of the moſt choice ſouldiors in the armie: who vpon the ſignall
of battell on both ſides giuen (for the Turkes were now alſo readie) firſt according to his promiſe
Czarnieuiche reuolteth vnto the Turke. ſet forward, as if it had beene to haue giuen the onſet: but being come neere vnto the enemie,
forthwith (as he had before agreed) cauſed his enſigne to be let fall, and his men with their caps
vpon the points of their ſpeares and ſwords, in token of their voluntarie yeelding and ſubmiſsion, K
to bow downe their heads and bodies; whom the Turkes with their ſpeares and launces holden
vp on high, joyfully receiued as their friends, or rather as men taken to mercie. The reſt of the
armie almoſt diſcouraged with this ſo ſudden a reuolt of ſo great a man, retired in haſt to the
Vayuod, crying out vnto him, that all was loſt. But he nothing diſcouraged therewith (as a moſt
reſolute man in the moſt ſudden dangers) with comfortable words cheared them vp, willing
them as couragious men to follow him againſt the enemie, whom they in all things exceeded,
excepting number, which alwayes gaue not the victorie. The Turkes perceiuing the Moldauians
lately reuolted vpon the joyning of the battell (as men in conſcience wounded) to ſhrinke backe,
Traitours iuſtly rewarded. thruſt them perforce into the head of their battell, making of them no more account, but to
blunt the enemies ſwords; and ſuch as hung backe, they themſelues ſlew: vpon whom as falſe L
traitors the Vayuod cauſed his field pieces to be moſt furiouſly diſcharged; ſo that moſt part of
theſe trecherous men there ſlaine, ſome by the Turkes, ſome by their owne friends, receiued
the juſt reward of their infidelitie and treaſon, accompanied with perpetuall infamie. Ouer
The battell betwixt the Turkes and the Moldauians. the dead bodies of theſe traitors the Turkes comming on, were at the firſt notably encountered
by the Moldauians; and after a moſt cruell fight, as if they had beene diſcouraged, began to re-
tire, but indeed of purpoſe to haue drawn the Chriſtians before they were aware, within the dan-
ger of their great ordinance, and ambuſhes, which they had before aptly and couertly placed for
that purpoſe. Which *Suierceuius* well acquainted with the Turkes fineneſſe, perceiuing, with
much adoe ſtaied their further purſuite, and ſo auoided the danger prepared for them. The Turks
deceiued of their expectation, came on againe afreſh, with no leſſe furie than at the firſt: whom M
the Chriſtians right valiantly receiued, and made with them a moſt cruell and mortall battell;
wherein many both of the Turkes and Chriſtians fell, and neuer riſe againe. But what was ſo
The Moldauians ouerthrowne. ſmall a power againſt ſuch a world of men? After long fight, the Moldauians oppreſſed with the
multitude of their enemies, began to giue ground: and ſeeing no other remedie, but either to flie

or

A or to die, betooke themſelues to flight, wherein moſt part of them were ſlaine, the furious enemie ſtill hardly purſuing them at the heeles: of the Coſſackes were left onely two hundred and fiftie. The horſemen (the chiefeſt ſtrength of the Vayuod) thus by the treaſon of *Charniauiche* ouerthrowne, the Vayuod with twentie thouſand footmen, and ſuch horſemen as had now after the battell joyned themſelues vnto the footmen, retired vnto a towne not farre off, which he but a little before had raſed; but was now glad in the ruines thereof to fortifie himſelfe againſt the ſudden and furious aſſaults of the Turks: who the ſame night ſo beſet the Vayuods campe with ſuch a multitude of men, that no man could go in or out of the campe; or the vttermoſt part of that hugie armie be from any place deſcried.

The Vayuod hauing fortified himſelfe within the ruines of an old towne, is beſieged by the Turke.

The next day (which was the eleuenth of Iune) the Turkes ſhot diuers great ſhot into the
B Vayuods campe, but to ſmall purpoſe, for the Chriſtians had (for ſo ſhort a time) notably fortified themſelues within the ruines of the old towne. Which the Turks well perceiuing, and withall conſidering how hard and dangerous a matter it would be to aſſault the Vayuod in his ſtrength: they ſent meſſengers vnto him, to perſuade him without delay to yeeld himſelfe, and to repoſe more truſt in the mercie of the Turks, than in his owne broken forces; eſpecially in his ſo hard diſtreſſe, being ſo beſet, as that he could not poſsibly eſcape, and out of hope of all reliefe; and therefore ſhould by ſuch voluntarie yeelding, ſeeke for grace of his enemies, rather than by a deſperat obſtinacie to caſt himſelfe into a moſt certaine deſtruction, where no mercie was to be expected. Whereunto the Vayuod anſwered, That he was not ignorant into what danger he was brought, rather by the treaſon of *Charniauiche* and his followers, than by the valour of the
C enemie; yet had left with him a ſtrong power of moſt valiant and reſolute men, who would in his quarrell and defence of themſelues, ſell their liues verie deare vnto the Turks: neuertheleſſe, that to auoid the farther effuſion of bloud, he could for his part be content to yeeld vnto his hard fortune, ſo that the great commaunders of the Turks armie would condiſcend vnto ſuch reaſonable conditions as he ſhould propound, and for the performance thereof giue him their faith, not once or twiſe, but ſeauen times by ſolemne oath to be taken. Of this his offer the Turks accepted, willing him to ſet downe the conditions: which were, firſt that the Polonian Coſſackes might in ſafetie depart into their countrey, with their horſes and armour: then, that they ſhould without any violence offered to his perſon, ſend him aliue and in good ſafetie vnto the great emperour *Selymus*, before him to anſwere his owne cauſe: as for the Moldauians, he ſaid he nee-
D ded not to couenant any thing, for that the injurie offered vnto them tended alſo to the hurt of the emperor himſelfe, and of him whom he ſhould appoint Vayuod, whoſe ſubjects they were. Theſe conditions (as reaſonable) were well liked of the Turkes, and ſo according to his deſire, confirmed ſeauen times by the ſolemne oath of euerie captaine and commaunder in the armie, both for themſelues and their followers. Vpon this agreement, the Vayuod brought all his armie out of the trenches wherein they had lien ſtrongly encamped, and there with heauie heart tooke his laſt leaue of his ſouldiors, to the generall griefe of them all: amongſt whom he diuided ſuch money and jewels as he had, as a remembrance of his kindneſſe. And there in the ſight of them all diſarming himſelfe, accompanied onely with *Oſmolius* a Polonian, went in manner of a ſuppliant vnto the Turks campe, where he had full foure houres talke with the great comman-
E ders of the armie; vntill that at laſt *Capucius Baſſa* (either offended with his ſpeech, or vnmindfull of his faith before giuen) with his ſcimitar vpon the ſudden ſtrucke him a great blow ouerthwart the face, and an other croſſe the bellie: whom ſo wounded, and as yet but halfe dead, the Ianizaries tooke and cut off his head, which was forthwith ſet vp vpon a launce, for all men to behold. His dead bodie they bound by the feet vnto two camels, and ſo ſhamefully tore it in pieces: and happie was he that could get any little piece thereof, or embrue his ſword with the leaſt drop of his bloud. This was the lamentable & wofull end of *Iohn* the Vayuod of MOLDAVIA, a right valiant and worthie man, ſhamefully murthered by the perfidious Turkes, who had he beene more conſtant in the Chriſtian faith, had not happily fallen into ſo great miſerie. Whoſe wofull fall may ſerue as a moſt notable example of the vncertaintie of theſe worldly things: for as no
F man for a time had of the Turkes moe or more glorious victories, ſo in the end, and as it were in demonſtration of mans fragilitie, no man periſhed more miſerably. The Vayuod thus perfidiouſly murthered, the Turkes with like treacherie forthwith ſet vpon the Moldauians, and ſlew them downeright as beaſts appointed for the ſlaughter. Which the Coſſackes beholding, and hoping for no better meaſure, thruſt themſelues into the thickeſt of their enemies, and there valiantly

The Vayuod ſhamefully and perfidiouſly murthered by the Turkes.

liantly fighting were all ſlaine, except ſome few of the better ſort reſerued for raunſome, amongſt whom was *Suierceuius* with ſome other captaines; who were afterwards for great ſums redeemed, when as they could by no meanes be perſuaded to forſake their religion and turne Turke. G

All Valachia made ſubiect to the Turkes.

After this victorie and ſhamefull murther of the Vayuod, the Turkes ouerran all MOLDAVIA, and put to ſword all the nobilitie of that countrey, with many of the countrey people: of whom they alſo as their manner is in countries new conquered, ſent great numbers in Colonies into the farther parts of the Turkiſh empire: and for the more aſſured poſſeſsion thereof, placed ſtrong garriſons in euerie towne and caſtle, as they thought it moſt conuenient. Thus all VALACHIA (both the higher and the lower) fell into the Turkes hands in the yeare 1574, and was by *Selymus* joyned vnto the Turkiſh empire, none of the leaſt things by him done: For beſide the gaining of ſo great a countrey (the moſt aſſured bulwarke of POLONIA) he hath thereby opened a faire and eaſie way for his ſucceſſours, at their pleaſure to enter into PODOLIA, or RVSSIA, parts of the Polonian kingdome, yea and into POLONIA it ſelfe: which they will vndoubtedly in time doe, if God in mercie bridle not their immoderat deſires, and with his mightie hand protect the dangerous ſtate of that kingdome. H

The loſſe of Moldania dangerous to Polonia.

Selymus at the ſame time, not a little grieued with the loſſe of the kingdome of TVNES, and that *Don Iohn* had there done the yere before; began forthwith to caſt in his mind, how he might againe recouer the ſame, and withall, thruſt the Spaniards out of the ſtrong caſtle of GVLETTA; which they had now almoſt fortie yeares kept, euer ſince that it was by *Charles* the fift taken from *Barbaruſſa* in the yeare 1535: for hee well ſaw it to be a matter of no ſmall moment, to whom that ſtrong fortreſſe (ſtanding ſo commodiouſly in the frontiers of AFFRICKE) belonged. There was (and ſtill is) vpon that coaſt diuers of the Turkes aduenturers, which liuing altogither vpon ſpoile, had to that place ſafe recourſe, as to a moſt aſſured refuge: and if no booty were to be met with thereabout, then would they run out towards MALTA, SARDINIA, SICILIA, and the other iſlands thereabouts; yea oftentimes into ITALIE and SPAINE, and from thence carrie away with them great booties both of men and cattell, and whatſoeuer thing elſe came in their way: for which cauſe, many of the Turkes men of warre reſorted thither in hope of purchaſe. But after that GVLETTA was poſſeſſed by the Spaniards, they were not onely depriued of that ſo commodious an harbour, but many times intercepted euen by them of that place, and by the gallies of MALTA: which two places ſerued as two moſt ſure bulwarks againſt the Turkes and Moores aduenturers, by whoſe meanes they many times came ſhort home. For which cauſe the Turkes, eſpecially theſe pyrats (of whom the Turke maketh great account, as not his leaſt ſtrength at ſea) wonderfully deſired to haue both thoſe ſtrong places gotten out of the hands of the Chriſtians. In the caſtle of GVLETTA was continually a ſtrong garriſon of a thouſand Spaniards, who kept them of TVNES in great ſubjection, and oftentimes cut ſhort theſe pyrats and rouers, who much troubled thoſe ſeas. Wherefore the Turkiſh emperour *Selymus*, hauing made great preparation both for ſea and land ſeruice, commaunded *Sinan*, *Piall*, and *Vluzales*, his chiefe Baſſaes, and men of great experience, with all ſpeed to paſſe ouer with his fleet into AFFRICKE, to beſiege TVNES and GVLETTA. Who when they had put all things in readineſſe according as they had in charge, ſet forward, and with three hundred ſaile of gallies came before GVLETTA the thirteenth day of Iuly: whither alſo reſorted vnto them other the Turkes men of warre, from ALEXANDRIA, ALGIERS, and other places, in ſuch number, as that all that coaſt ſeemed to be couered with ſhipping. The Turkes at their firſt arriuall laied ſiege to the water tower, wherein were eight hundred ſouldiors well prouided of all things needfull for defence, who moſt valiantly maintained the place, vntill ſuch time as that moſt of them being by the often aſſaults of the enemie ſlaine: the reſt by the commaundement of the captaine retired to him into the caſtle. In taking of this tower the Turkes loſt 3000 of their men. I K L

Guletta beſieged by the Turks.

After that, they began to beſiege the caſtle of GVLETTA, againſt which they caſt vp diuers mounts, and from thence moſt terribly battered the caſtle: from whence the deadly ſhot was ſent againe amongſt them not ſparingly; ſo that in one day two hundred great ſhot were reckoned to haue been ſhot out of the caſtle amongſt the thickeſt of the enemies. But after manie furious aſſaults, too tedious to report, and much harme done on both ſides, the Turkes to their great aduantage tooke the chanell of the lake of TVNES; and fearing leaſt ſome reliefe ſhould be ſent to the beſieged, maintained their aſſault day and night without intermiſsion. Neuertheleſſe, certaine companies of Spaniards ſent from the new caſtle by *Serbellio*, got into GVLETTA; after M

which,

which, they in the beſieged caſtle ſallied out, and the twentith of Auguſt repulſed the Turkes, with an exceeding great ſlaughter. But the Baſſaes fully reſolued vpon the winning of the place to gage their whole forces, and without ceaſing ſtill bringing on freſh ſouldiors, after they had all the day continued a moſt terrible aſſault, at length about two houres after Sun ſet, they tooke the caſtle the three and twentith day of Auguſt, when there was now ſcarcely two hundred ſoldiors left aliue to defend the ſame; who altogither with the other weak people in the caſtle were without mercie cut in pieces. What wealth the Turkes found in this caſtle, is hard to ſay; but certaine it is, that they had therein great ſtore of victuals, armour, ſhot, and pouder, and foure hundred great pieces of artillerie. *Guletta taken by the Turkes.*

GVLETTA thus taken, the Turkes forthwith laid ſiege to the new caſtle, appointed by *Don Iohn* the yeare before to haue beene built betwixt GVLETTA and TVNES, which was not yet altogither finiſhed: wherein the two auntient and valiant captaines, *Serbellio* and *Salaçar* (left there of purpoſe for the building thereof by *Don Iohn*) lay with a garriſon of four thouſand good ſouldiors. The Baſſaes when they gaue the firſt ſummons to the caſtle, the foure and twentith of Auguſt, required to haue it forthwith deliuered vnto them: to whom *Serbellio* ſtoutly anſwered, That he had promiſed the king his maſter, to giue him a better account of the place; and being now alſo verie old, could not endure the Turkes heauie yoake, but would therefore hold it out vnto the laſt man: which both he and *Salaçar* truly performed, not omitting any thing that was by men to be done for defence of the place; and ſallying out, ſometimes the one, and ſometimes the other, made great ſlaughter of the Turkes, giuing them alſo repulſe vpon repulſe when they came to the aſſault. But the great Baſſaes, little feeling, and leſſe regarding the loſſe of men, ſo that thereby they might gaine the place; after many moſt terrible and deſperat aſſaults, at length (namely the thirteenth day of September) when they had with all their force for the ſpace of ſix houres, furiouſly aſſaulted the caſtle and ſlaine moſt of the defendants, at laſt tooke it. *Serbellio* ſhot in with two bullets, and wiſhing rather to die than to fall into the hand of the enemie, thruſt himſelfe into the middeſt of the Turkes, there to haue periſhed: but by the haſtie comming in of *Piall Baſſa*, both he and *Salaçar* were taken aliue; as for all the reſt that followed them, they were put to the ſword. The Baſſa in his rage ſtrucke *Serbellio*, and the more to grieue him, cauſed his ſonne to be cruelly murthered before his face. Neither was this victorie by the Turkes obtained without bloud, hauing in leſſe than three moneths ſpace that the ſiege endured, loſt aboue thirtie thouſand men. *The new caſtle beſieged.* *The notable aduenture of Serbellio.* *The new caſtle taken.*

Theſe ſtrong holds (the greateſt ſtrength of that kingdome) thus taken, the Turks marched to TVNES, which they eaſily tooke, and afterwards ouerthrew the fortifications therof, becauſe it ſhould no more rebell. *Muhomet* the young king, but the yeare before placed in that kingdome by *Don Iohn*, was there taken, and in bonds ſent aboord to be carried with *Carrera* captaine of GVLETTA, priſoners to CONSTANTINOPLE. And thus the kingdome of TVNES, with the ſtrong caſtle of GVLETTA, fell againe into the poſſeſsion of the Turkes, to the farther trouble of the Chriſtian countries lying ouer againſt it. The prowd Baſſaes hauing (as they thought) beſt diſpoſed of all things at TVNES and GVLETTA, departed thence, and with their fleet of 400 ſaile, came the fourth of October within ſight of MALTA. But vnderſtanding that they of MALTA were prouided for their comming, and remembring what diſhonor their moſt magnificent emperor *Solyman* had not many years before there ſuſtained, wherof diuers of them had been eye-witneſſes, they turned thence, and ſailed directly to CONSTANTINOPLE. *Tunes yeelded to the Turke.*

Shortly after, this great emperour *Selymus* ſpent with wine and women, vnto whom he had giuen his greateſt ſtrength, died, the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1574; when he had liued one and fiftie yeares, and thereof raigned eight, and lieth buried at HADRIANOPLE. He was but of a meane ſtature, & of an heauie diſpoſition; his face rather ſwollen than fat, much reſembling a drunkard. Of all the *Othoman* kings and emperours he was of leaſt valour, & therfore leaſt regarded, altogither giuen to ſenſualitie and pleaſure: and ſo dying, left his empire vnto *Amurath* his eldeſt ſonne, a man of more temperance, but not much greater courage; who neuertheleſſe by his valiant Baſſaes and men of warre did great matters, eſpecially againſt the Perſians, the mortall and dangerous enemies of the Turkes, as ſhall be hereafter in his Hiſtorie declared. *Selymus dieth.*

FINIS.

Christian princes of the same time with Selymus the second.

- *Emperors of Germanie* — *Maximilian the second.* — 1565. 12.
- *Kings*
  - *Of England* — *Queene Elizabeth.* — 1558. 45.
  - *Of Fraunce* — *Charles the ninth.* — 1560. 14.
  - *Of Scotland* — *Queene Mary.* — 1543. 20.
  - *Of Scotland* — *Iames the sixt, that now raigneth.* — 1567.
- *Bishops of Rome* — *Pius the V.* — 1566. 6.
- *Bishops of Rome* — *Iulius the XIII.* — 1572. 12.

Non ego fortis eram: Quis tanto nomine dignus?
Ni fortem faciat mens generosa virum.
Me tumidum fortuna tumens euexit in altum,
Et par fortunæ, mens mea semper erat.
Sic quamuis tenero mihi nil nisi molle placeret:
Nominis augendi raptus amore fui.
Emisiq́ meos ad fortia facta ministros:
Per quos sublatum est, nomen in astra meum.
Mustapha, Ferrhates, Sinan, & ter maximus Osman:
Terrores orbis succubuere mihi
Armenios domui fortes Medosq́ feroces:
Et mihi paruerat Regia Taurisij.
Sed mihi quid prodest tantorum parta labore
Gloria? Si subito maxima queque ruant?
Et nihil est tanti, quod non breuis auferet hora
Sic mea cum multis gloria victa iacet.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

In English thus.

The Worthies praise I challenge not:
for who deserues the same?
Except the noble Worthies minde,
deserue the Worthies fame.
Prowd fortune set me prowd aloft,
in honours highest grace:
And still my hautie thoughts they were
equall vnto my place.
So that although naught pleasd but that
best fitted my desire:
Yet to increase my fame, I still
did more and more aspire.
And sent my mightie Worthies out,
to mannage my great warres:
By whose knowne valour my prowd name,
is mounted to the starres.
Prowd *Sinan*, *Ferrat*, *Mustapha*,
all men of high degree:
The terrours of the world so wide,
were vassales vnto me.
Th'Armenians stout I vanquished,
and fild the Medes with feare:
And Regall TAVRIS stately towers,
at my commandment were.
But what availes my glorie great,
got with such Worthies paine;
If in the twinckling of an eye,
it come to nought againe?
And nothing is of so great State,
which Time shall not cast downe:
Euen so with many others moe,
must perish my renowne.

R. Knolls.

THE

THE LIFE OF AMVRATH,
THE THIRD OF THAT NAME,
SIXT EMPEROVR OF
THE TVRKES.

THe death of the late emperour *Selymus* was for feare of the insolent Ianizaries notably concealed by the great Bassaes, vntill such time as *Amurath* his eldest sonne, then in ASIA, by speedie messengers aduertised thereof about twelue dayes after, arriued at CONSTANTINOPLE: and there receiued into the Seraglio, tooke possession of the empire, the fiue and twentith day of September, solemne amongst vs Christians for the natiuitie of our Sauiour Christ Iesus. He was about thirtie, or (as some write) seuen and twentie yeares old, when he began to reigne: of a manly stature, but pale and corpulent, wearing his beard thin and long: in his countenance appeared not the fierce nature of the *Othoman* princes, being indeed himselfe of a peaceable disposition, a louer of iustice, and in the manner of his superstition very zealous. The roiot and excesse growne amongst the Turks by his fathers euill example, he reformed, by his owne temperance, and the seuere punishment of notorious drunkards: yet is it reported, that he would oftentimes himselfe drinke plentifully of wormewood wine: he was much subiect to the falling sickenesse, and sore troubled with the stone: more spare handed than was for the greatnesse of his state: and yeelding more to the counsell of his mother, his wife, and sister, than of his great Bassaes; which was of many imputed to him for simplicitie. At his first comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, to appease the murmuring of the Ianizaries (grieued to see themselues so disappointed of the spoyle of the Christians and Iewes, which they were wont to take in the vacancie of the empire) he beside the vsuall largesse which the Turkish emperours at their first entrance into the empire bestow vpon them, augmented also their dayly wages, and graunted them this priuiledge, That their sonnes as soone as they came to be twentie yeares old, should be enrolled amongst the number of the younger Ianizaries, and be partakers also of their immunities; whereby he woon their fauors exceedingly. And immediatly to rid himselfe of all competitours, he after the vnnaturall manner of the Turkish policie, caused his fiue brethren, *Mustapha*, *Solyman*, *Abdulla*, *Osman*, and *Zihanger*, to be all strangled in his owne presence. The mother of *Solyman* pierced through with the cruell death of her young sonne, as a woman ouercome with sorrow, desperatly strucke her selfe to the heart with a dagger, and so died. At which so tragicall a sight it is reported that *Amurath* let some teares fall, as not delighting in such barbarous crueltie, but that the state and manner of his gouernment so required.

Amurath taketh vpon him the Turkish empire the 25 day of December, in the yeare 1574.

The description of Amurath.

He pacifieth the Ianizaries, and augmenteth their priuiledges

He strangleth fiue of his brethren.

A desperat woman.

In the beginning of his reigne he established diuers wholesome lawes, altered the coyne, and bountifully relieued the poore. And albeit that he was of a mild and peaceable nature, yet because he would not seeme to degenerate from the *Othoman* princes his progenitors, he prosecuted his fathers warres, and by the Tartars (called Præcopenses) in the moneth of October, in the yeare 1575 entred into RVSSIA, part of the Polonian kingdome, where he burnt and destroyed two hundred noblemens houses, besides an infinit number of townes and villages, made great slaughter

1575

Russia inuaded by the Turks.

Leon. Gorecius de Bello Iuoniæ.

ſlaughter of the poore countrey people, and carried away great numbers of cattell and priſoners bound in thongs made of raw hides. But whileſt they were deuiding the ſpoyle with *Peter* the new Vayuod of VALACHIA, who had before ſolemnely promiſed to giue the Tartars no paſſage that way, the Polonian Coſſackes, who had lien waiting for their returne vpon the riuer Boryſthenes, brake into the Tartars countrey, and there requited them with like harme, and brought backe with them a number of old captiues, who little expected that their ſo ſudden deliuerance. G

The Polonians at this time were at variance among themſelues about the election of their new king (*Henry Valois* their late king being the laſt yeare, after the death of *Charles* his brother the French king, ſecretly ſtolne from them into FRAVNCE, to take vpon him that kingdome: after whoſe departure ſome of the Polonian nobilitie made choice of *Maximilian* the emperour: otherſome no leſſe enclining vnto the choice of the great duke of MOSCOVIE, and ſome vnto others alſo.) Whereof *Amurath* vnderſtanding, and loth that either of thoſe two great princes his enemies ſhould be inueſted or ſtrengthened with that ſo great a kingdome, and ſo neere vnto him: to hinder that their election, and to bring in another of leſſe power, and ſo leſſe dangerous vnto himſelfe, euen in the beginning of his reigne wrote vnto the Polonians to that purpoſe, commending vnto them *Stephen Battor* the Vayuod of TRANSYLVANIA, for their king, in maner as followeth: H

Amurath God of the earth, Gouernour of the whole World, the meſſenger of God, and faithfull ſeruant of the Great Prophet: vnto the moſt honourable Nobilitie and Counſellors of the kingdome of POLONIA, greeting. I

Amurath his letters vnto the Nobilitie of Polonia.

It is not vnto the world vnknowne (moſt honourable and mightie Senatours) our noble progenitours to haue of long time and for many yeares holden good friendſhip and religious leagues with the kingdome of POLONIA: *For which cauſe it hath ſeemed good and reaſonable vnto vs, to put you in remembrance of this ſo auntient a league and bond of friendſhip; for that we vnderſtand your kingdome to be of late become deſtitute of a king, by the departure of the noble king* Henry, *your crowned king (deſcended of the royall race of the French kings) our friend: who for the ſmall regard you had of him (ſo great and worthie a prince) and for your diſloyaltie, is departed out of your* K *kingdome, without purpoſe of returning any more into* POLONIA. *Whereupon, as it is reported vnto vs (but how truly we know not) you paſſing ouer your ſaid crowned king* Henry, *are about to make choice of a new king, and eſpecially of* Maximilian *the emperour, or of the duke of* MOSCOVIE, *both men of running wits, and of vs greatly hated: for why, you may well know they will bee troubleſome and grieuous not vnto euery one of you onely, but euen vnto vs alſo. Wherefore be you ware that you be not deceiued; and take heed leaſt your confederations and leagues cannot long by their valour and proweſſe be eſtabliſhed; and withall conſider well the great dangers and loſſes which you may thereby fall into, whereof we haue thought good to giue you a taſt: wherefore beware that heauier things befall not your State. We know there are right noble and wiſe men amongſt you, which know better than they how to rule and gouerne: and if ſo be it pleaſe you not to make choice of any of* L *your owne nation; there is not farre from you one* Stephen Battor, *prince of* TRANSYLVANIA, *a man of great honour and valour, by whoſe labour and dexteritie you may eaſily procure the peace and quiet of your kingdome. Whereas if you ſhall doe otherwiſe, we take to witneſſe your God, and his ſeruant our Great Prophet, to deſtroy all your wealth and goods, which together with you ſelues, your wiues and children, ſhall be giuen for a prey vnto our ſouldiors; with the cheefe men of your cities of* CRACOVIA *and* LEPERIS: *which for all that we ſay not, as any thing at all doubting of your fidelitie and conſtancie towards vs. As for the reſt which it pleaſed vs by word of mouth to haue told vnto you, we haue giuen charge vnto this our embaſſadour and counſellour, vnto whom our deſire is that you ſhould giue full credence. From* CONSTANTINOPLE *the laſt of September in the yeare of our Prophet* Mahomet 983, *and firſt of our reigne.* M

This the great Sultans commendations ſo much preuailed with the Polonians, that notwithſtanding that *Maximilian* the emperour was by the Archbiſhop of GNESNA and ſome others choſen king, yet was that his election by the greater part of the Nobilitie reuoked, and both

A both he and the great duke of MVSCOVIE being passed ouer, the noble princesse *Anne* (of the most honourable *Iagellonian* house) chosen queene of POLONIA, yet with this condition, That she should marrie *Stephen* the Vayuod of TRANSYLVANIA, to them by *Amurath* commended. Who afterward elected king, all the time of his life right worthily gouerned that noble kingdome, not onely defending the same in such state as he found it, but also notably extending the bounds thereof, enlarging it with such territories as he by force of armes got from his neighbours, especially the Muscouite. Of this election *Amurath* would oftentimes afterwards boast and say, That he had giuen the Polonians their king. But of him and of the league by him made with *Amurath*, more shall be said hereafter.

Stephen Vayuod of Transyluania vpon the commendation of Amurath chosen king of Polonia.

The yeare following great troubles arose in PERSIA, whereby the flourishing state of that
B most mightie kingdome was sore shaken, and opportunitie giuen for the Turkish emperour to inuade the same; which he laying hold vpon, entered into that bloudie warre, which to the great quiet of the Christian commonweale, for long time after exercised the forces of those most puissant princes one vpon the other. For the better vnderstanding wherof, it shall not be amisse compendiously to set down the same troubles of the Persian kingdome, the very ground of the long and mortall warre betweene those two most mightie Monarchs. 1576

Old *Tamas* the Persian king, sonne to the noble *Hismaell*, who with great glorie had more than fiftie yeares worthily gouerned that large kingdome, and mightily withstood the often inuasions of the Turkish emperours, now spent with yeares, died the eleuenth of May in the yeare 1576, leauing behind him eleuen sonnes, namely, *Muhomet* the eldest, of an infirmitie in his eies
C surnamed *Codabanda*, a man of a peaceable and quiet disposition, more delighted with the sweet pleasures of a contented life than the carefull honors of so great a kingdome: *Ismahel* the second sonne, of a more fierce and troublesome nature, so much abhorring quietnesse, that not regarding the league hardly concluded betwixt his aged father and the Turkish emperours *Solyman* and *Selymus*, he would now and then without his fathers knowledge vpon a youthfull heat breake out into the frontiers of the Turkes dominions, and there make great spoyle; for which doing although he was both of his father and the people the more regarded, yet was he by his fathers commaundement (who in outward shew seemed to mislike of those his youthfull prankes, tending to the breach of the league) restrained of his libertie, and sent to the castle of CAHACA, betwixt TAVRIS and CASBIN; where he remained at the time of his fathers death: *Aidere* the
D third sonne, no lesse ambitious than was his brother *Ismahel*, but not of like valour, kept by *Zalchan*, *Piry Mahamet*, and other his kinsfolkes, all men of great power and authoritie: The other eight were, *Mamut*, *Solyman*, *Mustapha*, *Emanguli*, *Alichan*, *Amet*, *Abrahin*, and *Ismahel* the younger.

The eleuen sonnes of Tamas the Persian king.

The old king before his death had by his last will and testament solemnely appointed *Ismahel* his second sonne to succeed him in the kingdome; as of all his sonnes most fit to take vpon him so great a charge. Which thing *Mahomet* his elder brother seemed not much to dislike, contenting himselfe with such honours as his father had before bestowed vpon him.

Ismahel appointed by his father to succeed him in the kingdome.

Tamas thus dead, *Ismahel* was by the Sultans sent for to CAHACA, to take vpon him his fathers kingdome at CASBIN; when in the meane time there arose a great tumult in the citie, yea
E euen in the kings pallace: for *Aidere* the third brother, who in the time of his fathers greatest sickneesse had entered the chamber where he lay drawing towards his end, and in his sight most presumptuously set the royall crowne vpon his head, to the manifesting of his ambitious desires, for which he was then worthily reproued: now after the death of his aged father, carried headlong with the same aspiring humour, and supported by *Zalchan*, and other his mightie fauourits, had so effectually dealt with the great ladie *Periaconcona*, his eldest sister, and the other Sultans counsellours of estate, put in trust to see the will of the dead king put in execution, as that the succession could not be any longer kept from him, and preserued for *Ismahel*, but by the helpe of some fine and secret deceit. This ladie *Periaconcona* (elder than all the young princes the sonnes of *Tamas*, her brethren, a woman of great spirit and deepe conceit) left in great trust by her father,
F seeing the proceeding of her brother *Aidere*, durst neither openly to mooue any thing vnto the Sultans, prejudiciall to his designes; neither could she in her heart endure so great an injurie to be done to her brother *Ismahel*, appointed by his father to succeed him. Wherfore in this perplexitie she cast in her wily head, how to satisfie her ambitious brother present, how to saue the right of *Ismahel* absent, the honour of her dead fathers will and testament, and the safetie of the kingdome.

Aidere aspireth to the kingdome of Persia.

dome. For hauing throughly debated the matter with the Sultans, ſhe reſolued, That *Aidere* in- G
ueſted in royall apparrell, and ſetled in the great gallerie, ſhould attend the acclamation of the people, and be there openly enthroniſed, as the very elected king. With which vaine ſhew the vnwiſe youth (blinded with ambition) ſuffered himſelfe to be led: and being ſet in his majeſtie, verely perſuaded himſelfe, that he ſhould now be honoured both of his friends and foes as king. But vnto theſe his ſo haſtie and proſperous deſignes, the ſucceſſe that ſprung from the ſubtiltie of thoſe counſellours and his diſſembling ſiſter, were nothing conformable: for that ſhe by their aduiſe tooke order for the gates of the pallace to be preſently locked, leauing at euery paſſage a ſure guard, and onely one wicket open, ſafely warded with a companie of moſt faithfull and valourous captaines and ſouldiours, wholly deuoted to *Tamas* and *Iſmael*: with ſtreight charge, to ſuffer euery man to enter in, ſauing onely the knowne friends of *Aidere*. In this ſort did ſhe H
thinke to haue entertained the young man, vntill ſuch time as *Iſmahel* ſhould arriue from CAHACA, and ſo put in execution what he thought beſt for the honour of himſelfe and the generall quiet of the kingdome.

Who joyeth now but *Aidere?* in conceit a king, repleniſhed with vnwonted joyes, receiuing honour from all men, ſauing from his beſt friends. By meanes wherof perceiuing now the prohibition of them, and moued alſo with the great ſtirre of *Zalchan* his greateſt fauourit (who diſcouering the deceit, and crying vpon king *Aider*, threatened the ladie, the Sultans, and the reſt that waited vpon the faigned ſucceſsion, indeed ordained but for the ſcorne and deſpight of the ambitious man) ſtrucken with an exceeding feare, and full of ſorrow, he withdrew himſelfe cloſely amongſt certaine women of the Court, hoping ſo to find ſome way to eſcape with life. I

In the meane time ſo greatly encreaſed the cries and threatenings of the friends and fauourits of *Aidere* (who now had all of them prepared themſelues for ſome dangerous and pernitious attempt) that the counſellors with conſent of the ladie his ſiſter, were enforced to take order, That to bereaue this tumultuous & ſeditious people of all their hope and courage, *Aidere* ſhould
Aidere ſlain, and his head caſt amongſt his fauourits. be depriued of his life. Whereupon *Sahamal* the Georgian, vncle to *Aidere* by the mothers ſide, by the appointment of the ladie *Periaconcona* and the Sultans, after long ſearch made for him, at laſt found him hidden amongſt the women, and without further delay taking him by the lockes, ſtrucke his head from his ſhoulders; and in the place where *Zalchan* and the reſt of his vnfortunat fauourites ſtood crying and threatening, amongſt the thickeſt preaſe of the proud conſpiratours flung the head all bloudie, and as it were yet breathing for heat, crying aloud vnto them: *Be-* K
hold there your king, enioy him at your pleaſure. At which ſudden and horrible ſpectacle euery man burned in rage and anger: neither for the preſent wanted there many a raſh head, that vainely threatened moſt cruell reuenge. But in the end, when they perceiued the neere ſucceſsion of *Iſmahel* ineuitable, and the death of *Aidere* irreuocable, euery man betooke himſelfe to his owne priuat affaires, and ſo at laſt deuided themſelues one from another, and ſo departing from the pallace, ſcattered themſelues ſome one way ſome another euery man as hee thought beſt for his owne ſafetie.

Iſmahel ſaluted king. Shortly after *Iſmahel* the deſired king arriued at CASBIN, where he was of his ſiſter and the Sultans joyfully receiued, as their lawfull and vndoubted ſoueraigne, and with the great acclamation of the people ſaluted king: who as ſoone as he ſaw himſelfe poſſeſſed of the royall ſeat, and L
his power now anſwerable to his deſires, he (after the manner of the Turkiſh pollicie) moſt vn-
He murdereth eight of his yonger brethren. naturally cauſed the heads of his eight yonger brethren to be ſtrucken off: and withall vſed ſuch further diligence, that not onely all thoſe which were neere vnto them in bloud or affinitie, were bereaued of their liues, but alſo all the fauourits of his late ſlaine brother *Aidere*, were deſtroied in that publicke ſlaughter: ſo that all the ſtreets of CASBIN were defiled with bloud, and all the citie reſounded with mourning and complaints. Which vnexpected crueltie, altogether vnworthie ſo worthie a thought king, ſo altered the minds of his ſubjects in generall, that all their former hopes were now conuerted into new feares, and their joy into mourning. But much greater and farre more lamentable did the miſeries grow, as ſoone as it was giuen out, That hee would change the religion of the Perſians (who with great deuotion honor their fooliſh Prophet *Aly*) M
into the ſuperſtition of the Turks (who with no leſſe impietie obſerue and maintaine the wicked rites of *Ebubekir*, *Haumer*, *Oſman*, and others, by them ſuppoſed to be the moſt true ſucceſſours of their great Prophet *Mahomet.*) For by meanes of this vncouth noueltie and vnexpected change, and by force of an edict concerning that matter, publiſhed by this new king, many of his

prophane

A prophane prieſts, many of the gouernours of his friendly and ſubject cities (too much deuoted to their former ſuperſtition) were driuen ſome into exile, ſome clapt into priſon, ſome had their eyes pluckt out (among whom was the Caliph of CASBIN) and not a few others in ſundrie ſorts depriued of their liues. Yea many ladies (joyned in bloud with *Iſmahel* himſelfe, and diuers others of his kinsfolks, to whom neither ſex, nor age, nor innocencie could be a ſufficient defence) endured ſundrie torments and ſtrange calamities: ſo that in PERSIA was neuer felt greater troubles, or a more dangerous change.

In this ſo great an innouation, and among theſe tumults, there went abroad withall a generall rumour, not in the cities of PERSIA onely, but in the regions of the Turks alſo, euen as farre as CONSTANTINOPLE, That *Iſmahel* with a puiſſant army of ſuch as fauored this new proclaiB med vanitie, was determined in perſon himſelfe to go to BABYLON, now called BAGDAT, there to receiue the crowne of the empire, at the hands of him that he ſhould find to be the ſucceſſour of their great Caliph, and in the chiefeſt place among their vncleane prieſts: as had ſometime *Solyman* the great emperour of the Turkes, and the Perſian kings of auntient times. In this world of troubles, when as the feare of farther miſeries increaſed, rather than any hope of auntient quietneſſe; he was when he leaſt feared, by the helpe of the aforenamed ladie *Periaconcona* ſuddenly bereft of his life: but whether ouertaken in ſome of his owne amorous practiſes, or poiſoned by his ſaid ſiſter; or that ſhe (as ſome probably affirme) hauing ſecretly conſpired with *Calil Chan*, *Emir Chan*, *Pyry Mahamet*, *Curchi Baſſi* (being all at that time men of great account, and as it were preſidents of the kingdome) who diſguiſed in womens apparell and brought in by her, ſtranC gled him at ſuch time as he had priuatly withdrawne himſelfe amongſt his parmours, is vncertaine. Howſoeuer it was, ſufficeth it, that he by the helpe of the ſaid ladie *Periaconcona*, was by vnnaturall death taken out of this world the foure and twentith day of Nouember, in the yeare of grace 1577; to the exceeding joy of all thoſe nations, who by his death thought themſelues now freed of many great and dangerous troubles: when he had raigned one yeare, ſeauen moneths, and ſix daies.

Iſmahel ſuddenly murthred by the deuiſe of his ſiſter Periaconcona.

1577

Iſmahel thus taken out of the way, the ladie began forthwith to perſuade with the great Sultans (the miniſters of *Iſmahels* death) that as they had for the generall good of PERSIA contriued the death of the late king: ſo now that they would take vpon them the protection of that great kingdome, with the preſeruation of the majeſtie and libertie thereof, vntill ſuch time as it D were knowne who ſhould worthily ſucceed in that crowne, which now remained in their hands. There was at that time many of the greateſt princes and Gouernors of that kingdome aſſembled at CASBIN, there gaping after ſuch mutations of thoſe troubleſome times, as might beſt ſerue their priuat deſsignes. *Emir Chan* burning in ambitious deſires, was in hope by means of a match to be made with a ſiſter of *Periaconcona* (who was alreadie greatly enclining vnto him) to be exalted to the ſoueraigntie of all PERSIA. *Mirize Salmas* the chiefe Sultan, hoped on the other ſide to aduance into the eſtate, either *Mahamet Codabanda* the eldeſt brother of the dead king, or elſe *Hamze* the eldeſt ſonne of the ſaid *Mahamet*; and by beſtowing vpon him his daughter in marriage (as afterwards he did) ſo to encreaſe the glorie of his houſe. Others there were, that thought they ſhould be able to draw *Abas Mirize* (the middlemoſt ſonne of *Mahamet*) out of E HERI, and to make him king. Neither wanted the infant *Tamas* his aſpiring friends, whoſe tutour waited likewiſe for ſome opportunitie to ſettle him in the kingdome, and ſo by meanes of his greatneſſe, to make himſelfe greateſt amongſt his fellowes. A number of others there were that ſecretly waited vpon euerie occaſion that time ſhould preſent for their preferment. Howbeit in this ſo great varietie of thoughts, the Sultans anſwered the ladie with one conſent, and promiſed her in moſt liberall tearmes, all the protection that their forces could affoord, or their weapons procure: and yet did euerie one of them, both in action and word, clearkly diſſemble their ſeuerall imaginations, whereunto their minds were as prone and readie, as their hearts were cunning cloſely to conceale them.

Amurat the Turkiſh emperours now wakened, firſt at the death of the old renowmed *Ta*F *mas*, and then at the rumour of the deſire *Iſmahel* had to paſſe with an armie to BABYLON, as alſo at the freſh report of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition newly publiſhed in PERSIA; and withall throughly inſtructed what harme this late king had done in PERSIA, what diſſentions he had raiſed, and how hardly the prouinces of that empire had endured thoſe calamities: began forthwith to thinke hereby a faire occaſion to be miniſtred vnto him, to take vp armes againſt the Perſians;

Amurat attempteth to the ſtirs in Perſia.

Perſians, and matter ſufficient ſuggeſted for him to put in execution the great deſire he had of G
ſome new conqueſt. For it is an antient cuſtome, which is grown to be as it were a law amongſt
the *Othoman* kings, That they may not challenge their due honours in their life time, nor their
prowd monuments after their death, vnleſſe they attempt ſome great and ambitious actions and
enterpriſes, and performe ſome exploit conformable to their majeſtie. *Amurath* therefore bent
vpon theſe great ſtirs in PERSIA, would not direct his mind any other way, or take any other
war in hand, vntill he might firſt ſee what iſſue theſe maruellous innouations in PERSIA would
bring forth: which in the perſon of *Mahamet* the ſucceeding king, ſeemed to be more pregnant
than euer before, and miniſtred vnto *Amurath* new occaſions of victorious and ſtrange hopes.
For as ſoone as *Iſmahel* was dead, the aforenamed *Mirize Salmas* (in dignitie chiefe man among
the Sultans, though in bloud and nobilitie inferiour to them all) after many letters diſpatched to H
and fro, at laſt aſſured *Mahamet Codabanda*, how with all quietneſſe of mind and ſecuritie of per-
ſon, he might come and poſſeſſe himſelfe of the kingdome. He was alſo aduertiſed by the ſaid
Salmas, of the whole conſpiracie plotted againſt his brother to bring him to his end: and like-
wiſe made acquainted, how the fraudulent ladie (with the Sultans) had capitally conſulted againſt
himſelfe; and how ſhe fauouring *Emir Chan*, and *Abas Mirize* of HARI (her nephew and his
ſonne) more than became her, did little regard the due and rightfull ſucceſsion of him being the
Mahamet reſolueth to take vpon him the kingdome of Perſia. eldeſt brother. So *Mahamet* bearing himſelfe vpon the faith and diligence of *Mirize Salmas*,
and deſirous withall to ſee his eldeſt ſonne *Hamze Mirize* aduanced to ſome ſuch ſoueraign dig-
nitie, as he ſaw was due to the liuely hope euerie man perceiued to be in him, in regard of his
vertue and prudence for mannaging the common-wealth, and matters of warre (wherein alſo he I
ſhewed himſelfe vnto his father jealous and ſuſpitious, leaſt ſome other man ſhould vſurpe vpon
him, that honour and authoritie which ſo properly appertained vnto him) reſolued in the end
not to leaue the kingdome in the hands of priuat perſons, nor the lightneſſe of an vnconſtant
woman of ſuſpected modeſtie, and a rebellious conſpiratour againſt her owne bloud, wherwith
ſhe had without any pittie or remorſe of conſcience, now twiſe defiled her ſelfe. And therefore
he wrote backe againe, That he was minded to take the rightfull ſucceſsion vpon him, and that
for the ſame purpoſe he was putting himſelfe vpon his journey: with ſtraight charge notwith-
ſtanding, that *Mirize Salmas* ſhould before his entrance within the gates of CASBIN, preſent
him with the miſchieuous head of *Periaconcona*; a woman (in reſpect of the ſcorne exerciſed
againſt her brother *Aidere*, and of the treacherous death of her other brother *Iſmahel*, and of K
the peruerſe imaginations which ſhe had conceiued to cauſe the ſucceſsion to fall into other
mens hands, and of the prodigall familiaritie which ſhe had with ſome of the Sultans) well wor-
thie of a thouſand deaths. Secretly did *Mirize Salmas* put in execution whatſoeuer *Mahamet*
Mahamet proclaimed king of Perſia. had priuatly enjoined him, ſo that by his means he was preſently and ſolemnly proclaimed king
of PERSIA. And afterwards hauing gathered togither many ſquadrons of men, wholy deuo-
The head of Periaconcona preſented to Mahamet on a launce ted to the bloud and name of *Mahamet*, the ſame *Mirize Salmas* met him on the way, carrying
the head of that manlike Virago *Periaconcona* vpon the point of a launce, with her haire diſper-
ſed, and ſome other vncouth ſights to the terrour of the beholders. From which nouelties (one
miſchiefe as it were hudling vpon the necke of another) there ſprung vp diuers inward hatreds,
ſundrie tumultuous ſeditions, and much ciuile warres: this new king by the inſtigation of *Mi-* L
rize Salmas, ſeeking on the one ſide to be reuenged on the Sultans for his brothers death; and
they on the other ſide oppoſing themſelues with all their power againſt him, the ſtate of PER-
SIA began to fall into great inconueniences, and of theſe nouelties to reape new loſſes. *Saha-*
mal the Georgian fled into his mountaine of BRVS, fearing the wrath of this new lord: *Leuent*
ogli likewiſe an other of the lords of GEORGIA, vnderſtanding of the flight of *Sahamal* his neigh-
bour, eſtranged himſelfe ſo farre from his old loue and auntient deuotion towards the Perſian
kings, that he ſeemed now to deſire ſome new innouation. The nations alſo that were neigh-
bours to the Turkes, and the people of MEDIA ATROPATIA, now called SIRVAN, diſliked of
this new king; and in the end it appeared, that PERSIA vnder this king through many mutati-
ons was in ſhort time fallen into moſt notable miſerie, and the ſtate thereof more weakned than M
it had been of long time before.

Of all theſe things had *Amurath* from diuers places intelligence, but more particularly from
Vſtreff of VAN, a citie of ARMENIA the greater, ſituat vpon the lake Actamar; who ſent him
moſt perfect information of all the ſtirs in PERSIA: Diſcourſing vnto him of the death of *Iſ-*
mael,

A *mahel*, the conſultations of the Sultans, the trecheries and death of *Periaconcona*, the broiles betweene the king and the Sultans, the nature of the new king (being diſeaſed in his eyes, little eſteemed of his ſubjects, beſotted in affection towards his ſonnes) the facilitie to ouerrule the cheefe Gouernours of the Georgians, and the people of SERVAN, euill affected towards the new king: and to be breefe, whatſoeuer had in truth ſucceeded in PERSIA, and might enflame the mind of the ambitious Sultan, to conuert his forces againſt an enemie of ſmall counſell, and much confuſion: adding thereunto, that neuer was there greater opportunitie to ouercome that king than now was offered; and therefore wiſhed him, not in any caſe to let ſlip ſo faire an occaſion, as the *Othoman* kings had neuer before, for the obtaining of ſo certaine and ſo glorious victories.

B *Amurath* of long time wholly bent to marke the euent of the troubles in PERSIA, now ſtirred vp with theſe aduertiſements from *Vſtref*, ſetled himſelfe more deepely in his former conceits to proue his forces in ſubduing the Perſian king, the auntient enemie of the *Othoman* emperors, and his onely corriuall and odious competitour in the Eaſt. But no one thing did more enflame him thereunto, than to thinke, how he ſhould haue to his enemie a king not acquainted with deeds of armes, doting vpon his children, and weakened with the diſſention of his ſubjects: and on the other ſide entering into the conſideration of his owne forces, of the infinit number of his men, both horſe and foot, of the meanes he had to find money, of his artillerie and engines of warre, wherein he farre ſurpaſſed the Perſians; he did more and more reſolue with himſelfe, to take the occaſion that was now offered him to begin the warre. For the compaſsing of which
C his purpoſe he was greatly fauoured by the preſent ſtate of Chriſtendome, at that time being wholly in league and amitie with him. So not finding any thing contrarie to his deſignements, he reſolued at laſt to conferre with the cheefe Baſſaes, which had the gouernement of his empire, Whether it were better vpon this occaſion to begin the prepenſed warre; or if they thought not this opportunitie to be ſo fit, then to lay it aſide, and to conuert his forces and counſell againſt the commonwealth of Chriſtendome. For ſuch is the barbarous pollicie whereby this empire is mannaged, That it is lawfull for them to breake any league, be it by neuer ſo many promiſes or ſolemne oathes confirmed, whenſoeuer any enterpriſe is to be attempted for the aduauncing thereof. So that although this warre could not be moued either againſt the Perſians or Chriſtians, without breach of their promiſed faith: yet among the manifold conſultations that paſſed
D among the great Baſſaes, there was not any man found that made any account of that defect, but all with one accord, without further reſpect ſought to ſet forward the ambitious deſire of their proud lord and maſter. At laſt after long conſultation and large diſcourſes it was agreed vpon by the great Baſſaes *Mahomet*, *Sinan*, and *Muſtapha*, That it would be better and leſſe danger to attempt warre againſt the Perſians, than againſt the Chriſtian princes. *Muſtapha* among the reſt preferring the valour of the Latines (whereof he had made good triall eſpecially at FAMAGVSTA) before the armies and forces of the Georgians and Perſians. Whereby it is apparent to the world, that neither the zeale of their religion, nor any injurie receiued from the Perſian king, but onely the ambitious deſire of *Amurath* (to ſubdue a kingdome, both in his owne conceit and other mens relations, euill gouerned, by an effeminate and ſottiſh king, and through ciuile diſ-
E ſention brought into great danger) was the firſt prouocation of making this warre.

No aſſurance in the Turkes leagues.

Ambition the cauſe of the Perſian warre.

Vpon this reſolution there aroſe new conſultations touching the manner thereof, and vpon what coaſt they ſhould begin their journey, for the more honourable ſucceſſe thereof. Which point *Amurath* greatly vrged, proteſting before his cheefe counſellours, That he would not enter into that war, except he were in great hope to beare away the victorie. Some thought it moſt conuenient to ſend the armie to BABYLON, and from thence to SYRAS, called in old time PERSEPOLIS, the cheefe citie of the countrey of PERSIA: others there were that gaue aduiſe, That the armie ſhould be directly ſent to TAVRIS, there to erect ſtrong fortreſſes, and to take poſſeſſion of all the country round about it: and there wanted not ſome (as it is reported) that thought
F it better to ſend two ſeuerall armies for both the forenamed places; and ſo by bringing the enemie into a ſtraight, to enforce him to yeeld to whatſoeuer ſhould be of him required. But *Amurath* durſt not repoſe ſuch confidence in his forces, as to thinke, that with his battels deuided and ſo weakened he ſhould be able to conquer that enemie, who had alwayes moſt valiantly fought againſt the monſtrous and puiſſant armies of his auncеſtours. And therefore firmely reſolued with himſelfe, to ſend one onely armie, and ſo with his vnited forces to ſeeke the ouerthrow of

A conſultation holden amongſt the Baſſaes about the manner of the inuaſion of Perſia.

the enemie. And ſo preferring the ſtrong hope he had conceiued to conquer the countrey of G
SIRVAN, and the cheefe cities of MEDIA the great, before the difficultie of making warre vpon
the coaſt of SCYRAS, repoſing alſo great hope in the notable help that was promiſed him by the
Tartars called Præcopenſes, he confirmed the great Baſſaes his counſellours in the ſame opini-
on: and withall diſcouered vnto them a matter, which to all of them, but eſpecially to *Sinan*, ſee-
med moſt ſtrange; namely, that he was determined not to goe himſelfe in perſon with his army,
but to ſend one of his worthieſt captaines in his ſtead. The cauſes why he ſo did, were many, but
eſpecially, for that he was troubled with the falling ſickneſſe, and feared greatly (and that not
without good cauſe) leaſt his ſonne *Mahomet* (being much fauoured of the people) might perad-
uenture in his abſence be vntimely aduaunced to the empire; beſide the dangers that he ſuſpected
at the hands of the Chriſtian potentates: and withall perſuaded it to be vnto himſelfe a great ho- H
nour to performe thoſe things by his ſeruants, which had in thoſe countries beene vnfortunatly
attempted by his moſt noble predeceſſours in their owne perſons.

While they were thus conſulting about this expedition, and the great Baſſaes, *Sinan*, *Muſta-*
pha, and others, made meanes to be ſent as the ſoueraigne miniſters of their lords deſignement;
he diſpatched away ſundrie poſtes and light horſemen with order to the Baſſaes and Gouernors
of VAN, BABILON, and ERZIRVM, in the frontiers of his dominions, That they ſhould by of-
ten inrodes ſpoyle the townes and caſtles of the Perſians, and by all meanes to doe them what
Vſtref Baſſa beginneth the wars in Perſia. harme they could. Which they were not ſlacke to put in execution, and eſpecially *Vſtref* (or
rather *Huſreue*) Baſſa of VAN: who with often incurſions did much miſcheefe, as well in the
countries tributarie, as ſubject to the Perſian king. A forcible preparatiue for greater troubles I
to enſue.

Now in theſe great preparations for the Perſian warre (which for many yeares after notably
exerciſed the greateſt part of the Turks forces, to the great quiet of the Chriſtian commonweale)
Stephen Bathor the late Vayuod of TRANSYLVANIA, but now by the commendation of *Amu-*
rath become king of POLONIA, in the beginning of his reigne by his embaſſador the great lord
Iohn of SYENNA, entered into a ſtrong league and confederation with the great Turkiſh Sultan
Amurath at CONSTANTINOPLE. Which for that it ſheweth in what tearmes that famous
kingdome then and yet ſtandeth with the Turkes great empire, and withall containeth matter
well worth the Chriſtian conſideration, it ſhall not be impertinent to our purpoſe (omitting the K
long and glorious ſtile of that barbarous Monarch, ſeruing to no other end but to ſhew the
greatneſſe of his power) plainely to ſet it downe as it was on his part at the ſame time by him
confirmed.

The League betwixt the moſt puiſſant and mightie Princes, Sultan *Amurath* the Turkiſh emperour, and *Stephen* king of POLONIA, agreed vpon and concluded at CONSTANTINOPLE, in the yeare of our Sauiour Chriſt Ieſu 1577, and of the Prophet *Mahomet* 985.

The League betwixt Amurath the Turkes Sultan, and Stephen king of Polonia.

I Sultan Amurath *the ſonne of* Selym *Chan, the ſonne of* Solyman *Chan, the ſonne of* Selym L
Chan, the ſonne of Baiazet *Chan, the ſonne of the Great Emperour* Mahomet *Chan, &c. Prince of*
theſe preſent times, the onely Monarch of this age, of power able to confound the power of the whole
world, the ſhaddow of diuine clemencie and grace, Great Emperour of many kingdomes, countries,
prouinces, cities, and townes, lord of MECHA, *that is to ſay, of the houſe of the glorie of God, of the*
reſplendent citie of MEDINA, *and of the moſt bleſſed citie of* IERVSALEM, *prince of the moſt fruit-*
full countrey of ÆGIPT, IMEN, ZENAN, ADEN, *and many other ſuch like: in moſt louing manner*
declare, That the moſt glorious and renowmed Stephen *king of* POLONIA, *great duke of* LITHV-
ANIA, RVSSIA, PRVSIA, MASOVIA, SAMOGITIA, KIOVIA, LIVONIA, *and many other*
countries moe, prince of the couragious followers of Ieſus, Gouernour of all the affaires of the people
and familie of the Nazarets, the welcommeſt cloud of raine, and moſt ſweet fountaine of glorie and M
vertue, eternall lord and heire of the felicitie and honour of the aforeſaid noble kingdome of PO-
LONIA, *vnto whom all the diſtreſſed repaire for refuge, wiſhing a moſt happie ſucceſſe and bleſſed*
end to all his actions: offering vnto vs many religious vowes and eternall praiſes worthie our perpe-
tuall loue and moſt holy league, and with great deuotion performing theſe and other like honours, as

for

A for the dispatch of his letters to our most glorious court, for the new confirming of the most sacred league and confederation with vs, sending the honourable lord Iohn of SYENNA (his most faithfull counsellour) his embassadour to our imperiall court; declaring his loue and integritie, and purging himselfe of all the suspition of hostilitie, hath requested the league and confederation to be renewed. At whose instance we haue giuen these our letters confirming the said league of peace and confederation: wherein we commaund, that none of our Counsellors, Beglerbegs, Sanzacks, Generals of our armies, Captaines or seruants, shall doe, or on my behalfe presume to doe any hurt vnto the kingdome, countries, cities, castles, townes, islands, or whatsoeuer else to the kingdome of POLONIA belonging. And in like manner, that none of the Nobilitie, Generals, Captaines, or others whosoeuer belonging vnto the king of POLONIA, shall dare to doe any harme vnto my kingdomes, cities, castles, or towns
B confining vnto the kingdome of POLONIA. In briefe my will is, that he being a mortall enemie vnto mine enemies, and a fast friend vnto my friends, shall doe no grieuance or harme vnto any my subiects, or things whatsoeuer vnto my iurisdiction belonging. So in like manner commanding also, that no hurt by any meanes, or for any occasion be done by our people vnto the subiects, or whatsoeuer else vnto the iurisdiction of the king of POLONIA appertaining.

The creatures, embassadours, messengers, and men of whatsoeuer condition else, shall on both sides freely without let or trouble come and go without any harme receiuing, either in their persons or goods.

It shall be lawfull also for the king of POLONIA his subiects, to seeke throughout out empire for any the Polonian captiues taken before the time of this league; and the same so found (if they haue
C not receiued the Turkish religion, but still remaine Christians) to redeeme, without the contradiction of any man.

And that whatsoeuer shall be taken and carried away after the confirmation of this league, shall be all againe freely and without any thing paying, deliuered and restored.

That the merchants on both parts may freely traffique with all kind of merchandise in the blacke and white sea, as also vpon the maine; and so paying their vsuall and lawfull custome, to be in nothing wronged or molested.

If any of the Polonian merchants shall die in our dominion, the goods of him so dead shall not be embeseled, but kept in safetie vntill his brethren or other his friends shall come with the king of PO-
LONIA his letters: vpon the shewing whereof, hauing also our letters mandatorie, the goods shall be
D forthwith restored vnto the dead mans heires. In which sort also my merchants shall be dealt withall, if any of them shall chance to die in the kingdome of POLONIA.

If any wrong be done within the limits of mine empire, vnto any belonging vnto the kingdome of POLONIA, after the date of these letters confirming the league; the doer of the wrong shall by my commaundement be sought out, and being found shall be punished, and the wrong done, without any delay or contradiction, forthwith recompenced. And the like instice to be also on the behalfe of the king of POLONIA administred.

If any debtor shall depart out of mine empire into the Polonian territorie, whereseoeuer he shall chance to be found by his creditor, he shall be brought to the iudge of that place to be examined, and whatsoeuer it shall be proued him of right to owe, the iudge of that place shall according to the equitie
E of the cause make the creditor to be satisfied.

But if the debtor cannot himselfe personally be found, no other man shall by reason of an other mans debt be taken, detained, or molested: neither shall the innocent be troubled for the guiltie, in either or both our kingdomes.

In briefe, vpon whatsoeuer conditions and capitulations the league of peace and confederation was in the time of my father, my grandfather, or great grandfather of famous memorie, made with the kings of POLONIA, vpon the same conditions and capitulations be it now made also.

Whatsoeuer hurt hath hitherto been done to either part by reason of the disagreement of the Gouernors and captaines, shall all be on both parties neglected and forgotten.

Also after the time of these letters confirming the league and confederation, Whereas the king of
F POLONIA shall in time pay a certaine summe of money vsed to be paied vnto the Tartars; the Tartar Chan and his sonne Mirzeleby their princes, shall restore the same againe, and not to dare to suffer his armies by any meanes to hurt the Polonian territories. So that on the part of the Tartars and their armies, no harme shall be done vnto the kingdome of POLONIA: neither on the part of the Polonians to the territories of the Tartars. And if any harme shall by the Tartars be done in the king

of POLONIA his territories, it shall by my commaundement be againe restored. And so likewise on the part of the Palatine of MOLDAVIA, or the inhabitants of the kingdome of MOLDAVIA, no harme shall be done vnto the countries subiect vnto the king of POLONIA: but if any be done and certainly knowne, to be by my commaundement againe recompenced. G

On the part also of the king of POLONIA and his subiects, whatsoeuer harme shall be done vnto the territorie or subiects of the Moldauian Palatine, or Tartars; the harme so done to be recompenced, and the dooers thereof punished.

Also that all such fugitiues as hauing done any notorious felonies or other villanies in MOLDAVIA, and so are fled into POLONIA, shall at my request, or at the request of the Palatine of MOLDAVIA, be restored, and in no case denied.

That all the Polonian captiues within my dominions, yet professing the Christian religion, may by the king of POLONIA his subiects be redeemed, not paying any more for them than their lords and masters paid: euerie such master of the slaue taking his oath that he cost him so much. But such captiues as haue receiued the Turkish faith, to be forthwith set at libertie: and so the Turkes slaues in the kingdome of POLONIA to be likewise manumised. H

That our embassadours on both sides (so long as we are in league and amitie) may freely come and go, and not be staied in any place; and being willing to meet together, may at their pleasure so doe. And being entred into the confines of either part, to be forthwith by some good and faithfull guide appointed vnto them, conducted vnto the place they are to go vnto. And this to be on both sides kept.

No man to dare to hurt, or stay any Merchant, hauing paied his thirtith part, or lawfull custome.

If any of our subiects shall haue any suit with any of the king of POLONIA his subiects, the iudges shall without delay be bound to administer iustice. All theeues and robbers shall be diligently sought out; and being found, to be seuerely punished: and the goods taken away, without impeachment to be restored vnto the right owners, their heires, or to the king. I

The Sanzacks of SILISTRIA and BOLOGRAVE, the Customers and water-baylifs shall not suffer any man but merchants and such as are sent in our seruise, to passe ouer the riuer Nyester; who passing ouer, if they shall bring with them any slaue or bondman out of POLONIA, he shall be sent backe againe. The shepheards, if they will transport their sheepe into the iurisdiction of the king of POLONIA, shall not so doe without the leaue of the Polonian Gouernours, before whom they shall also number their sheepe: of whom if any shall be lost, the Gouernours shall cause them to be sought for, and to be restored vnto the shepheards, as also to pay for their hey. K

The Zauzij, Ianizaries, or Posts, shall not dare in time of peace or war, to take any horses from the Polonian merchants, or other the kings subiects comming into our kingdome.

The Palatines of MOLDAVIA, in whatsoeuer condition they haue been towards the former kings of POLONIA, they shall now also still so be hereafter. The thirtiths and customes of both parts, shall continue in their old manner, and not be increased. The Polonian kings subiects and merchants, as well Armenians as of any other nation, whensoeuer they shall enter into MOLDAVIA, or any other part of our empire, shall not trauell by vncertaine and vnknowne, but by the common and high waies: wherein if they shall suffer any losse or harme, either in their goods or persons, the dooers of such wrongs shall be sought for, and seuerely punished. Which merchans shall be suffered without any molestation quietly to come and go, hauing paied their thirtiths: and no merchant to be troubled for anothers debt. L

If any the Polonian kings merchants or subiects, be willing for readie money to redeeme and carrie away any slaues taken out of the Polonian kingdome, and yet professing the Christian religion; the iudges shall in no case withstand them, neither presume to take them from them, or againe to redeeme them. But if any of such slaues haue receiued the Turkish religion, they shall not be againe demanded by the king of POLONIA.

Such slaues as haue not receiued the Turkish religion, if after a certaine space they shall be set at libertie by their masters, and in the letters testimoniall of their libertie, it shall be declared that they haue receiued the Turkish religion; yet shall they not by the iudges be therefore detained.

In the citie of BVRVSA, the Polonian merchants hauing paied their vsuall thirtiths, shall not be farther pressed with any other vnusuall payment. M

My will is also, that the territories at this present in the possession of the king of POLONIA, as hereafter to be by him taken from the Muscouite or any other the Christian princes, to be comprised within this league, and so to be royally by him possessed.

And

A *And for the confirmation of the articles and conditions in theſe our letters of confederation contained, I ſweare by the power of the moſt mightie God, and of his moſt holy prophet, and by the moſt cleane and pure ſpirits of all the prophets; that for all the daies of my life, and ſo long as nothing ſhall on the behalfe of the king of* POLONIA *be done contrarie to the peace and league, nothing ſhall alſo on my part be done contrarie vnto the ſame. Witneſſe the Almightie, the vpright iudge and decerner of mens actions. From* CONSTANTINOPLE *the yeare of the holy prophet* Mahomet *985, the 14 of the moneth Cziemaſi Eumel, and of Chriſt 1577.*

This league betwixt theſe two mightie princes *Amurath* and king *Stephen* thus concluded, and after the death of *Stephen* by *Sigiſmund* the third (which now raigneth) renewed; as it hath
B been euer ſince vnto the Polonian kingdome for the time commodious, ſo hath it as with an Adamantine band ſo bound that moſt famous kingdome, as that in the hatdeſt diſtreſſes of the Chriſtian common-weale, and moſt in deed concerning it ſelfe, it hath affoorded no more helpe than hath the members farther off, which is (I rue to ſay it) none at all. As in theſe late and preſent warres betwixt the Chriſtian emperour and the two laſt Turkiſh Sultans, is too plainely to be ſeene: wherein had it in due time giuen but ſuch reaſonable helpes as it might well haue ſpared, much no doubt might haue been done for the repreſsing of the common enemie, and the recouerie of the greateſt part of that is loſt of HVNGARIE: But thus bound, ſtandeth as a dead member, ſeruing to no vſe more than to the more ſpeedie deſtruction of it ſelfe, togither with the reſt of the ſicke bodie. For what aſſurance it can haue in this long (I muſt needs ſay) but euill aſ-
C ſured peace, is well to be ſeene in that in the great conſultation of this great Sultan *Amurath* with his Baſſaes after the Perſian warre, for the inuading of Chiſtendome; the Polonians for all this league ſo ſolemnly conſtrained, were nothing the more regarded, but laied in the ſame ballance with the reſt, and preſerued onely by the Prouidence that all gouerneth: which leading the Turke againſt the Chriſtian emperour their neighbour, hath giuen them that peace they were otherwiſe hardly to haue looked for. Vnto whom for all that, hauing to his endleſſe praiſe maintained a long and moſt chargeable warre, they haue not lent any great helpe or friendly hand; yet lying themſelues ſtill in the lyons mouth, and like enough to be the next (God grant I be therein deceiued) that is to be of him deuoured.

But leauing theſe the heauie conceits of a melancholy mind, and ominous forbodings of that
D I wiſh not, to returne againe toward PERSIA, *Amurath* his greateſt care. Amongſt many the ambitious competitours for the mannaging of theſe Turkiſh ſo great deſſeigns, was the great Baſſa *Muſtapha* (euen he, who in the raigne of the late emperour *Selymus* conquered CYPRVS, carrying thence togither with his victorie perpetuall infamie, for his faithleſſe and cruell dealing with *Bragadine* the worthie and renowmed Gouernour of FAMAGVSTA) appointed Generall of the Turkes armie into PERSIA: and authoritie giuen him, to prouide whatſoeuer hee ſhould thinke needfull for ſo great a warre. And commaundement giuen vnto the Baſſaes, and other commaunders of the greateſt part of the Turkiſh empire Eaſtward, that they ſhould themſelues with their ſouldiors of all ſorts, bound by their perpetuall annuities to go to the warre, in the beginning of the Spring this yeare 1578, repaire to ERZIRVM, a citie of CAPADOCIA bor-
E dering vpon ARMENIA, there to attend the commaund of their new Generall. Who hauing his diſpatch from CONSTANTINOPLE, and for faſhion ſake conducted by moſt of the court ouer the ſtrait to SCVTARI, and from thence paſsing through the countries of AMASIA and SIVAS, in the verie beginning of Sommer arriued at ERZIRVM; and there ſtaied vntill ſuch time as his people, victuals, artillerie, and other his neceſſarie prouiſion was come thither. From whence he departed for SIRVAN, hauing firſt taken a diligent ſurueigh of his whole armie, muſtering the ſouldiors of euerie nation by themſelues: namely, of the Meſopotamians twelue thouſand, of the Aſſyrians and Babylonians fourteene thouſand, of the Syrians two thouſand, of them of the leſſer ASIA (now comprehended vnder the name of NATOLIA) ten thouſand, of the Iewes and Philiſtims one thouſand, and of the Cilicians foure thouſand. After whom followed the ſol-
F diors of GRÆCIA, the glorie and hope of all the campe, valiant men to the number of ten thouſand: and after them the familiar and faithfull guard of the Generall, ten thouſand Ianizaries of CONSTANTINOPLE with harquebuſiers on their ſhoulders, and ſcimitars by their ſides: of the citie alſo of ERZIRVM, and the juriſdiction thereof, appeared foure thouſand vnder the enſigne of *Beyran Baſſa* their Generall. All theſe were ſtipendaries to the Turkiſh emperour: vnto

Muſtapha Baſſa made Generall of the Turks armie.

1578

Muſtapha commeth to Erzirum and there muſtereth his armie.

whom other voluntarie aduenturers joyned themſelues, in number not inferiour to the reſt, but better furniſhed, and of greater courage. So that in this generall ſuruey of the armie were found about an hundred and ten thouſand men, moſt part horſemen: yet was there not any ſtirred out of ARABIA, ÆGIPT, AFRICA, or HVNGARIE, or other places alongſt the ſea coaſts: neither were the prouinces from whence theſe ſouldiours were drawne, left deſtitute or vnfurniſhed of their ordinarie garriſons. Beſides this multitude of men, *Muſtapha* brought with him fiue hundred ſmall pieces of artillerie, with many loads of mony for his ſouldiors pay, with further order for the taking vp of more at ALEPPO, and other places, if his occaſions ſhould ſo require. He cauſed alſo great quantitie of corne to be tranſported by the Great ſea called in antient time Pontus Euxinus, to TRAPEZONDE, ſo to be conueyed to ERZIRVM, being but foure dayes journy diſtant thence. To be ſhort, hauing taken order for all things he thought neceſſarie for the warre, he in ſeemely array departed from ERZIRVM, and in eight dayes arriued at the ruins of CHARS, and in the fruitfull countrey thereabout reſted himſelfe: but was there ſurpriſed with ſuch a violent tempeſt of wind and raine, as rent in ſunder his tents and did great harme, by meanes whereof many fell ſicke and were conſtrained to forſake the armie.

Muſtapha at Chars.

Hauing ſtayed three dayes at CHARS, the bounder of the Turkiſh and Perſian empires, he departed thence with his armie, and that euening lodged vnder the mountaines of CHEILDER, ſuppoſed to be part of the hils PERIARDO: where hearing the Perſians to be in armes, he thought it beſt for the ſecuritie of his armie, ſo to pitch his tents as that he might well diſcouer the comming of the enemie, and not to be aſſaulted at vnawares. And therefore planting himſelfe in the plaine, he gaue order that *Beyran*, Baſſa of ERZIRVM, ſhould take poſſeſsion of a certaine hill on the right hand; and *Deruis* the Baſſa of CARAMIT ſhould keepe another hill that ſtood on the left hand; and with them *Oſman Baſſa*, *Mahamet Baſſa*, *Muſtaffade Baſſa*, aduenturers, with many others as well ſtipendarie as voluntarie men, ſhould likewiſe pitch their tents vpon the ſame hils, in ſuch ſort, as that they making as it were two wings to the campe, might diſcouer the comming of euery man, and yet he himſelfe being ſhaddowed with the two hils, might lie vnperceiued of any.

Muſtapha cunningly encampeth his armie at Cheildir.

Mahamet the new king of PERSIA, as yet ſcarcely ſetled in his kingdome, ſtirred vp by the fame of theſe motions, reſolued in himſelfe to ſtand vpon the defence of his ſtate, and for a time to diſſemble the conceiued hatred which he bare to ſome of the Sultans of PERSIA, and princes of GEORGIA, and to make ſome apparent ſhew that he was reconciled to them; for that without them he could not promiſe vnto himſelfe any forme of an armie, or defence: wherein (notwithſtanding all the troubled ſtate of his kingdome) he wrought ſo cunningly, that almoſt all the great men of account tooke vpon them the protection of his ſtate and kingdome. And ſo *Tocomac* a Sultan, the Chan and Gouernour of REIVAN, a famous man, well knowne vnto the Turkes, and of great reputation amongſt the Perſians, was choſen Generall of this expedition; with charge, That gathering together the greateſt number of men he could out of ATROPATIA, out of MEDIA the greater, and other places neere vnto the Turks, he ſhould by all meanes poſsible ſtop their paſſage into GEORGIA and MEDIA ATROPATIA. And thereupon precepts were ſent out into all parts of the kingdome, That all the Chans, Sultans, and ſouldiours whatſoeuer ſhould come readie preſt to attend vpon their new Generall. Many obedient to the kings proclamation came, but many there were that would not ſtirre a foot, for their obſtinacie in the broiles begun, and for the ſuſpition they had of vnlooked for miſcheeſes: at whoſe diſobedience the king much grieued; but now there was no remedie but to make the beſt of the matter, and for the ſafegard of his honour to make the beſt reſiſtance they could. So with thoſe few which for the loue of their prince and countrey were met together in thoſe parts, being in number not aboue twentie thouſand, *Tocomac* was diſpatched about his buſineſſe, if happily he might with theſe ſmall forces oppreſſe the enemy in ſome ſtraight or troubleſome paſſage, where the great multitude ſhould rather ſerue to the confuſion of themſelues than to the helpe of one another. Theſe twentie thouſand were all horſemen, armed with ſcimitar and bow, with ſome harquebuſies among, and furniſhed with very fine and well tempered armour; but aboue all, courragious they were and reſolute, and well the more for the valour and proweſſe of their Generall. So prouided of all things neceſſarie, they ſet forward, and keeping the way of TAVRIS and GENGE, they came to the turning of CHARS, where they were aduertiſed that the enemies armie was alreadie paſſed.

Tocomac Generall of the Perſians.

They

They were now come within a dayes journey of CHIELDER, when they ſent quicke and faithfull ſcouts to bring them certaine newes of the condition and number of the Turks armie; who came thither euen at the very time that *Muſtapha* was encamping his armie betweene the two hils, whereupon the two Baſſaes *Beyran* and *Deruis* with their people had alreadie pitched their tents. Theſe ſcouts diſcouering the Turkiſh hoaſt aloft, perſuaded themſelues that there was not any other battell than thoſe which they ſaw vpon the hils; whereof with all ſpeed they could they returned newes to *Tocomac*, who at eaſe had followed theſe his ſcouts afarre off. *Tocomac* thus miſenformed by his ſcouts of the number of his enemies, held on his way boldly, with purpoſe to aſſault them: and hauing diſcouered their tents vpon the hils, was throughly confirmed in the opinion he had before conceiued of the number of his enemies and the ſcouts relation, and with ſo much the more confidence ſet forward to aſſaile them. But *Beyran* and *Deruis*, who quickly from the hils perceiued the Perſians comming in the plaine, although they knew them to be men of great courage, yet repoſing an aſſured confidence in their Generals battell, with all ſpeed mounted vpon their horſes and ran to meet them. So in the aforeſaid plaines vnder CHIELDER, within one houre after noone was joyned a moſt bloudie battell, wherein at laſt were ſlaine ſeuen of the Turkes Sanzackes, with a very great number of ſouldiours, without any apparent loſſe at all among the Perſians; who fighting cloſe together in great heat, and all bebloudied, vrged their happie and fortunat victorie.

But *Muſtapha* who perceiued all that had paſſed, and ſtayed waiting till the fight was at the hoteſt, and the medley at the thickeſt, that ſo the flight of the enemies, might breed their greater diſorder: and now ſeeing that his people could no longer endure the furie of the enemies rage (euen as if it had lightened and thundered, and as though the earth had ſhaken) with ſuch cries and exclamations as the Turks vſe in their aſſaults, for the more terrour of the enemies, exciting his armie, ran as it were headlong vpon his aduerſaries, and ſo renewed a moſt terrible battell. The Perſians with wonderfull courage endured this vnexpected and dreadfull aſſault, and with incredible ſignes of valour, in that little time of daylight that was left (for the night began now to approch) continued their manifold ſlaughters, and at laſt being fauoured by the darkeneſſe of the night, withdrew themſelues with as little loſſe as poſsibly they might. Neither durſt *Muſtapha* any longer purſue them, but was glad by night to returne to his campe. Of the ſucceſſe of this battell the Perſians certified their king: as alſo of the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh armie, with their further purpoſe for the annoying thereof. And by the Turkes alſo were preſented to *Muſtapha* (who had alreadie ſent away poſtes with newes to *Amurath*) fiue thouſand heads, which by their colour, countenance, and beards, bewraied themſelues to be Perſians, and three thouſand Perſians aliue. Of this victorie *Muſtapha* greatly rejoyced, and to make it ſeeme the greater (ſeeking by all meanes to conceale his owne loſſes, and to raiſe a greater terrour by the fame thereof among his enemies) cauſed the heads of thoſe three thouſand that were brought before him aliue to be preſently cut from their ſhoulders, and gaue order, that of thoſe heads there ſhould be framed a bulwarke in thoſe fields for a moſt horrible and vncouth ſpectacle.

Muſtapha commeth with his battell to relieue his diſtreſſed people.

A bulwark made of the heads of the ſlaine Perſians.

The ſame day that *Muſtapha* employed himſelfe about this barbarous and cruell work, there came vnto him certaine meſſengers from *Manucchiar*, the younger ſonne of the Georgian widdow *Dedeſmit* (a great prince in that countrey) who told him, That with his good fauour and leaue *Manucchiar* their lord and maſter was comming to ſalute him, and to offer himſelfe vnto him as his obedient and deuoted ſeruant. At which newes *Muſtapha* redoubling his joy, gaue commaundement, That all the Baſſaes and captaines of the armie with all ſolemne pompe, with trumpets, drums, peales of ordinance, and all other ſignes of munificall and joyfull entertainment ſhould goe forth to meet the ſaid *Manucchiar*, and to accompanie him to his preſence. Which they did accordingly, and ſo encountering him with all ſignes of honour, conducted him to the great pauillion of *Muſtapha*, who there cauſed him to be againe ſaluted with like triumph. *Manucchiar* diſmounted from his horſe, and againſt his will beholding the ſtrange and vncouth pile of heads, all pale and filthie to behold, and indeed imagining what the matter meant: yet notwithſtanding, before all other things hauing done his due reuerence to the great Baſſa, and according to his degree placed himſelfe next to his ſide, after he had preſented him with ſuch gifts as his countrey yeelded, he gaue him to vnderſtand, That for the honour and eſtimation which he bare to the Turkiſh valour, he was alwayes deuoted to the houſe of the *Othomans*; and as he had oftentimes deſired to ſpend his goods and life in their ſeruice, ſo at this preſent time, moued by

The ſpeech of Manucchiar to Muſtapha.

by his auntient deſire, allured by the ſtrange fame of this victorious and wonderfull armie, and G
ſtirred vp by a particular phantaſie, to learne the painefull and hard precepts of the art militarie,
vnder ſuch a Generall, commaunder of other commaunders; he offered him all deuotion and
ſeruice, more than euer he had done to any heretofore, and himſelfe hauing nothing in the world
more deere vnto him, conſecrated his owne life to his commaundements; deſiring that the ſame
might be employed in the conflicts of warre vnder his banners, among warriours and ſouldiors
of fame and renowne: and therefore beſought him to accept of him in the name of *Amurath*,
whoſe obedient vaſſale he vowed himſelfe to remaine for euer.

The anſwere of Muſtapha.

Graciouſly did *Muſtapha* receiue all this diſcourſe from *Manucchiar*, and hauing ſhewed him
againe the pile of heads, together with his battels, armour, and prouiſion of war, told him, That
as all theſe forces are the gift of God, who alwayes fauoured the righteous counſels of the *Otho-* H
man emperours, in ſuch ſort, that they Lord it ouer all the world, euen to the aſtoniſhment of all
that liue in the world at this day: ſo had he for his particular choſen the better part, in comming
now to yeeld himſelfe, and to ſubmit his obedience to his lord, although it had beene better if
he had done it before. And as-concerning the deſire he had to be his companion and fellow in
theſe warlike affaires, he did very friendly accept of his comming, and promiſed him all good
entertainement and aſſured ſafetie. And ſo in exchange of the preſents which he brought him,
he apparrelled him in cloth of gold, honoured him with a battle axe and targuet, wrought with
gold and ammell, and neuer permitted him to go from his pauillion without a traine of his ſlaues
following him.

This Georgian prince thus ſolemnly entertained, the Generall gaue order through his camp, I
That they ſhould the next morning remoue from thoſe mountaines: and now euery man was
A terrible raine and tempeſt. putting himſelfe in readineſſe, when as there riſe a moſt terrible tempeſt of wind and raine, mixt
with thunder and lightening; which continued with ſuch violence by the ſpace of foure dayes
together, as if the heauens had beene diſſolued into waters. Whereby it came to paſſe, that out
of the dead carkaſſes and heads before mentioned, iſſued a moſt horrible ſtinke: ſo that thereby,
and by the fouleneſſe of the weather, with the other annoyances alwaies attending vpon ſo great
a campe, the whole armie was exceedingly troubled, and diuers diſeaſes aroſe among the Turks.
But at the laſt the weather breaking vp, *Muſtapha* riſe with his campe, and ſet forward toward
TEFLIS: and being not able by reaſon of the fouleneſſe of the way to paſſe any further, that day
ſtayed in the plaines, where the lake CHIELDER GIOL ſtandeth, and there refreſhed his ſicke K
and wounded ſouldiors: remooving thence, the next day about noone he came to the caſtle of
ARCHICHELEC, ſometime a caſtle of the Georgians, but taken from them by *Solyman* in his
Muſtapha ſurueyeth his armie at Archichelec, and lacketh fortie thouſand of his men. warres againſt *Tamas*, and euer ſince holden by the Turkes. Here *Muſtapha* ſurueyed his ar-
mie, and by diligent account taken, found himſelfe to want fortie thouſand of his ſouldiours:
whereof ſome were ſlaine in the battell, ſome were dead of ſickneſſe, and many wearie of ſo long
and perillous a journey were by night ſtolne out of the campe and returned to take their eaſe at
home. From thence the armie remoued, and lodged at night neere the mariſh, called of the
Turks PERVANA GIOL, or lake of ſlaues, and the next day came to TRIALA: where at this day
are to be ſeene the ruines of a great citie, and of many churches; whereof ſome are yet repaired
and maintained by deuout Chriſtians, the reliques of thoſe happie and religious forces, that with L
ſo great and faithfull zeale paſſed the ſeas and mountaines through thoſe barbarous nations into
the holy land, men worthie of eternall praiſe. The next day the Turkes aſcended the high and
craggie mountaine that ſtandeth vpon TEFLIS: from the top whereof deſcending the day fol-
lowing, they ſeized vpon a caſtle of the Georgians, called by the Turks GIVRGI CHALA. De-
parting thence, and lodging in certaine plaines, the next day they came neere to the riuer that
The Turkes victuallers cut off by the Georgians. runneth by TEFLIS. But in theſe foure dayes march from ARCHICHELEC, where *Muſtapha*
tooke view of his armie, many of the Turks, who in ſeeking for victuals for themſelues and their
horſes, had ſtragled from the armie, were cut off by the Georgian captaines; who with a number
of their owne countrey ſouldiors ſecretly followed the Turks armie, and well acquainted with all
the waies of the country, lay in ambuſh vpon ſuch places as the victuallers were to paſſe through, M
and ſo ſuddenly ſetting vpon them, ſpoyled them at once both of their goods and liues.

Muſtapha comming to TEFLIS, found that caſtle emptie, for that *Daut Chan* lord therof, hea-
ring of the comming of the Turkes, forſooke the ſame, and betooke himſelfe to the fields: proui-
ding better for himſelfe in ſo doing, than by ſtaying ſtill in the caſtle, to haue been there taken pri-
ſoner.

A ſoner. This caſtle for the conuenient ſituation thereof *Muſtapha* cauſed to be repaired and fortified, and planted therein an hundred pieces of artillerie, and appointed *Mahamet Baſſa* Generall Gouernour of that place, with a garriſon of ſix thouſand ſouldiors: which done, he departed for SIRVAN. At which very time thoſe of SORIA which had brought a thouſand loads of rent corne to the campe from ALEPPO, being themſelues in number a thouſand perſons, with fiue hundred others of OMPS (in antient time called HVS, the citie of the patient *Iob*) and other places of SORIA, men neither of dutie bound, nor of themſelues willing to follow the campe, returned homewards towards their owne countrey: but vpon the way they were ſet vpon by *Aleſſandro*, *Ginſuf*, and *Dauid* (three of the Georgian lords) and all ſlaine, except ſome few, who by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes eſcaped with *Naſſardin* their captaine.

B Now after that *Muſtapha* had paſſed the diſcent of the ſteepe mountaines of TEFLIS, the next day he encamped in certaine low plaines: where the embaſſadours of *Aleſſandro* ſurnamed the Great, ſonne of *Leuent* a Georgian prince, came vnto him and told him, That their lord was readie, if it ſo pleaſed him to come vnto him to doe him reuerence, and by word of mouth to promiſe him that deuotion he had alwayes in mind borne to the *Othoman* emperours. With a glad heart and cheerefull countenance did *Muſtapha* receiue theſe embaſſadours: and preſently ſent them backe to will their lord to come, and to tell him, That his friendſhip ſhould be vnto him moſt deare and acceptable. And after their departure tooke order with all the commanders of his armie to receiue him with all the ſignes of joy that might be; which at his comming was accordingly by them performed. Who after he had preſented vnto the Generall the rich gifts he
C had brought with him, he offered his obedience to the Baſſa with moſt liuely ſpeeches he could poſsibly deuiſe, calling *Amurath* his lord: ſeeming to take it in euill part, that he paſſed not through his territorie, where he ſhould (as he ſaid) haue had plentie of all things for the releeſe of his armie; yet hoping, that in his returne from SIRVAN, he would take it in his way, where as he ſhould find him moſt readie to beſtow all that he had in the ſeruice of his lord: telling him moreouer, That although he could not for many vrgent reſpects goe with him into SIRVAN, yet he would alwayes accompanie him in mind, and continually pray vnto the Creator of all things for his proſperitie and moſt happie ſucceſſe. Courteouſly did *Muſtapha* receiue both his preſents and ſubmiſsion, and in exchange thereof beſtowed vpon him certain gifts after the Turkiſh manner, and in magnificall tearmes gaue him anſwere, promiſing him in his returne to paſſe
D through his countrey: and ſo diſmiſſed the Chriſtian duke with like honour, wherewith he was entertained at his comming.

Aleſſandro the Georgian ſendeth embaſſadors to Muſtapha.

Aleſſandro courteouſly entertained by Muſtapha.

Muſtapha holding on his journey toward SIRVAN, through mooriſh and troubleſome wayes, in twelue dayes after he departed from TEFLIS came into the confines of SIRVAN, neere to the riuer of Canac, and there reſted on this ſide the riuer one day. At which time they of the citie of SECHI bordering vpon the Siruanians and Georgians, foure dayes journy from SVMACHIA, came to offer themſelues to *Muſtapha*, as ſubjects to the Turkes. Of whoſe ſubmiſsion the Generall gratiouſly accepted, promiſing to them his aſſured protection.

The Turkes armie ouerwearied with the continuall trauell of twelue dayes march, but yet farre more afflicted with hunger, not finding in thoſe parts ſo much as one wild beaſt to aſſuage
E their greedie deſire of meat, ſought by all meanes euery man for himſelfe to get ſomething, eſpecially when they vnderſtood their Generall would paſſe the riuer into a countrey vnto them all vnknowne, where they were altogether vncertain what to find for their releeſe. So whileſt they were enquiring among themſelues, who were able to conduct them to ſome ſuch place as where they might ſupplie their wants, behold certaine Perſians were taken; who being ſtraightly examined on that point, after much reſiſtance at laſt told them, That not far off, after they had paſſed certaine mariſhes, where Canac diſchargeth it ſelfe into Araxis, they ſhould find many fields full of Ryſe and corne in the blade, and a little further certain fat heards of cattell, ſufficient to relieue the whole armie. Of this newes was the Generall certified: who although he greatly doubted the ſubtilties of his enemie; yet to gratifie his ſouldiors, and to make them more willing to fol-
F low him into SIRVAN, he licenſed euery man that had a deſire thereunto to goe and prouide themſelues of victuals, and ſo ſuffered all that would to goe freely. Whereupon there went of themſelues, and were ſent by their captaines about ten thouſand ſeruile perſons, with cammels, horſes, and mules, to fetch away this prouiſion of corne and cattell: but the euent anſwered not to their deſires. For *Tocomac* with the other Perſian captaines, and the reſt of the ſouldiors that were

The Turks army afflicted with hunger.

were eſcaped from the ouerthrow giuen them in the plaines of CHIELDER, hauing gathered to- G
gither the remainder of the armie, and recouered ſuch places as they thought ſafe and friendly
for them, carefully attended the marching and paſsing of the Turkiſh armie. And being certain-
ly enformed by them of REIVAN and GEORGIA what way they kept, and that of neceſsitie
they muſt arriue at the banks of Canac; they began to deuiſe how they might in ſome meaſure
be reuenged of their former loſſe, and empeach their enemies entrance into SIRVAN. But wan-
ting rather ſtrength than courage to aſſaile the whole armie, they thought it beſt to ſtay in
ambuſh in ſome fit place, vntill ſome part of the Turkiſh armie (allured with the prey of the
corne and cattell) ſhould for the reliefe of their common neceſsities deſcend into thoſe fields. And
the rather to draw them on, ſent out diuers men, who as if they had gone about their owne buſi-
neſſe, and by chance at vnawares had lighted vpon the Turkes campe, reuealed vnto them as a H
great ſecret, what a good prey was hard by them. And ſo withdrawing themſelues out of ſight
priuily, awaited the comming of the Turks: when as within the ſpace of three daies it ſo fell out,
that the aforeſaid ten thouſand forragers arriued at the wiſhed place; where they had no ſooner
begun to charge themſelues with the prey, but they were ſurpriſed by the Perſians, and all ſlaine,
ſauing a few who by haſtie flight ſaued themſelues. The noiſe of this hoat skirmiſh being heard
into the Turkiſh hoaſt, cauſed *Muſtapha* to imagine that the matter was fallen out euen as in
deed it was: and therefore riſing with his whole armie, haſted with all poſsible ſpeed to haue ſuc-
coured the poore people, who were now all ſlaine. And albeit he came not in ſo good time as to
yeeld them reliefe, yet came he verie fitly to reuenge their death vpon the Perſians, ſtaying too
long to load themſelues with the ſpoile of their enemies. I

Ten thouſand of the Turks forragers ſlaine.

The place from whence the Turks were to haue had the aforeſaid bootie, was almoſt in man-
ner of an iſland, encloſed with the riuers of Araxis and Canac: whereinto *Muſtapha* entred with
his whole power, *Deruis Baſſa* leading the one wing as did *Beyran Baſſa* the other, and he him-
ſelfe comming on in the middle with the maine battell. The Perſians ſeeing *Muſtapha* with all his
forces haſting towards them, and withall remembring the late ouerthrow by them receiued in
the plaines of CHIELDER; began to bethinke themſelues, how much better it had beene for
them to haue contented themſelues with the late ſlaughter of the forragers, and with ſpeed to
haue got them away out of that ſtrait, than by ſtaying longer to be encloſed with the multitude
of their enemies, as that they could now no way eſcape without moſt manifeſt perill. In this
perplexitie, diſcourſing among themſelues whether it were better for them to flie, or with ſo great K
diſaduantage to joyne battell, and ſo rather to die with honour than to liue with reproach: at
laſt they reſolued to reſerue themſelues to the farther ſeruice of their prince and countrey; dee-
ming it rather a point of wiſedome than of diſhonour, Not to aduenture vnto moſt deſperat and
aſſured death, ſo many worthie men as might in future time ſtand their countrey in great ſtead:
yet did they not ſee how by flight well to eſcape, for that they were in ſuch ſort ſtrained within
the riuers, as that there was no ground left for them to eſcape by, than that which contrarie to
their expectation was by the Turkes alreadie poſſeſſed. In theſe difficulties euerie man began to
betake himſelfe to his owne priuat conceit and fortune. *Tocomac* with *Emir Chan*, and other the
great commaunders of the armie were the firſt that turned their backes, and by the helpe of their
couragious horſes, got ouer the riuer of Canac: whoſe example moued many others to attempt L
the like, though not with like fortune; for that their horſes being not of ſuch courage, and out
of breath, lay many of them drowned in the riuer. Wherwith others being amazed, as perceiu-
ing ineuitable death in flying preſent before their eies, and repoſing all their hope euen in deſ-
paire, ran as it were headlong in a rage and furie vpon their enemies, and in fighting ſhewed vn-
ſpeakable valour: but what was one againſt an hundred? for there they were alſo all ſlain, though
worthie of immortall fame. Thus was the Perſian armie quite diſcomfited in this demy iſland,
being firſt ſtained with the bloud of the enemie, and afterward with the ſlaughter of the neigh-
bour and proper inhabitant: and ſo became the perpetuall ſepulcher of a moſt couragious and
warlike people. The Turkes in this laſt conflict, loſt not aboue three thouſand men, beſide the
ſlaughter of the ten thouſand forragers: although *Tocomac* to make his loſſe to ſeeme the more M
tollerable, made report to the king of a greater ſlaughter made. The Perſian captaines full of
ſorrow for this vnexpected ouerthrow, with the licence of their Generall departed, euerie man
to his ſeuerall gouernment: as *Emanguli Chan* to GENGE, *Serap Chan* to NASSIVAN, *Tocomac*
himſelfe to REIVAN, and all the reſt to other cities, to the gouernment whereof they were be-
fore

The Perſians flie, and in flying are many of them drowned in Canac.

A fore by the king appointed, and ſo remained expecting his farther pleaſure from CASBIN.

Muſtapha was now come to the riuer of Canac, which he was to paſſe ouer into SIRVAN, and therefore made ſtraight proclamation through his whole armie, That euerie man ſhould be in readineſſe againſt the next day to paſſe the riuer. At which proclamation all his people ſuddenly aroſe in a tumult, and with injurious tearmes euen to his face reproued his folly and inhumanitie, propounding vtter danger vnto himſelfe, and an vniuerſall confuſion vnto the whole armie: and therfore praied him to ſurceaſe from proceeding any farther, vnleſſe he were minded to caſt them all away. But his reſolute mind was not by their threats or entreaties to be remoued, neither gaue he them other anſwere than this: *That ſo had* Amurath *commaunded: and that if all the reſt ſhould ſhew themſelues vnwilling to obey their Soueraigne, hee himſelfe would not nor* B *could not, but would be the firſt man to attempt and performe that, which they all ſo abhorred and reproued. Valiant ſouldiors (he ſaid) were diſcouered and knowne, not in idleneſſe and eaſe, but in great paines taking, and difficult enterpriſes: who neuer ought to be afraid to change this momentarie life for euerlaſting honour, or to ſhun death, if the ſeruice of their prince ſo required. And for mine owne part (ſaid he) I moſt earneſtly requeſt you, that after I haue attempted the paſſage of the riuer, if any thing happen vnto me otherwiſe than well, yet carrie my dead bodie to the other ſide of the riuer: to the end, that if I cannot whileſt I yet liue execute the commaundement of my ſoueraigne, I may yet at leaſt performe the ſame when I am but a ſpeechleſſe and liueleſſe carkaſſe; for as much as the deſire of my lord is not in any ſort to be fruſtrated, for making too great account of mine owne life.*

The reſolute anſwere of Muſtapha to his tumultuous ſouldiors.

Diuers and ſundrie mutmurings and whiſperings followed vpon this ſpeech of the Generall, C who notwithſtanding the next morning did firſt of all wade ouer the deepe and ſwift riuer himſelfe: after whom preſently followed the Baſſaes with all their ſlaues, by whoſe example the reſt alſo were induced at laſt to doe the like, and ſo continued vntill the darkneſſe of the night interrupted their paſſage; by which occaſion more than halfe the armie could not then get ouer. In this paſſage, being with great tumult and diſorder attempted, it came to paſſe that about eight thouſand perſons carried away with the violence of the riuer, were miſerably drowned, with the great outcrie of all the hoaſt. The like happened alſo to many mules, camels, and ſumpter horſes, vpon whoſe backes diuers perſons being mounted, in hope to haue paſſed drie ouer the riuer, were likewiſe headlong ouerwhelmed therein. With great complaints and blaſphemous curſings was the whole night ſpent, by them that were yet on this ſide the riuer; whoſe feares were D not a little increaſed, by the example of their vnfortunate fellowes before drowned. And like enough it was, ſome peſtilent ſedition to haue enſued thereupon, had there not a ſhallow foord by great chance been diſcouered, which gaue ſafe paſſage to thoſe that were left. For in the paſſage which the people made that followed *Muſtapha*, the grauell of the bottome of the riuer being raiſed and remoued by the heauie hooues of the cattell, was driuen downe the riuer to a place, where by great good hap there was alſo a foord: and there gathered togither in an heape, had in ſuch ſort raiſed the depth of the channell, that it made as it were a ſhelfe for their commodious paſſage, ſo that the remnant of the armie, carriages, and artillerie paſsing ouer the ſame, there was not ſo much as one man that periſhed. So hauing with much difficultie at laſt got ouer the riuer of Canac, they reſted themſelues that day and the next, and there ſtaied vntill the whole E armie was muſtered, and againe put in order. Remouing thence, the day following they encamped in certaine barren Champaines, where was neither corne nor cattell: neither could they perceiue or learne, that in thoſe quarters were any villages at all. By meanes whereof the hunger of their beaſts increaſing, they were enforced to giue their horſes and mules, leaues, and ſtalkes of verie drie and withered reeds, and ſuch other like things of little or no ſuſtenance at all: and the men themſelues were faine to ſatisfie their hunger with thoſe vttermoſt reliques, which they were faine to picke out of ſuch poore victuals, as now by corruption were become loathſome to mans nature: and that which worſe was, they ſaw no end of theſe miſeries they were ſo entred into. Notwithſtanding there was now no looking backe, but needs on they muſt, and follow the fortune of their leaders: among whom *Muſtapha* before all the reſt ſet forward on his F determined iourney. He had not long marched, but there was diſcouered good ſtore of ſundrie plants, and ſhortly after a verie large plaine countrey all greene and flouriſhing, and garniſhed with many trees: by the onely ſight whereof, euerie man was refreſhed with the hope of reliefe; and with more than ordinarie paces, haſted vntill they were entered into thoſe Champaines, abounding with all kind of corne and fruits that could be of an hungrie man deſired. In this place did

Eight thouſand Turks drowned in paſſing the riuer.

Famine in the Turks hoaſt.

The Turks army refreſhed.

did euerie man ſatisfie his appetite, and forgot in part the forepaſſed calamities. Through this fruitfull and pleaſant countrey *Muſtapha* leading his armie, at laſt ariued at ERES, the chiefe citie in that coaſt of SIRVAN as you trauell from GEORGIA. G

This citie of ERES was forſaken of a number of her inhabitants, as ſoone as it was knowne that the Turkes were come to Canac; who all followed their Gouernour *Samir Chan*: who with *Ares Chan* Gouernour of SVMACHIA, and other the Gouernours of SECHI and other places of SIRVAN, forſooke the cities, and altogither withdrew themſelues into the mountains, as places of more ſuretie, attending the euent of theſe ſo great motions. So that as the Turkes entred the citie vndiſturbed, ſo were they with the prey they found therein, nothing enriched: for that in this common danger, euerie man had carried away with him the beſt things he had. Here ſtaied *Muſtapha* two and twentie daies, during which time he erected a fortreſſe in the ſaid citie: whereupon he placed two hundred ſmall pieces of artillerie, and for the keeping thereof appointed *Caitas Baſſa*, with a garriſon of fiue thouſand ſouldiours. In the meane time alſo he commaunded *Oſman Baſſa* (one of the voluntarie captaines) with ten thouſand men to poſſeſſe SVMACHIA, ſometime the Metropoliticall citie of that prouince, with the title of Viſier and Gouernour Generall of SIRVAN. Giuing him farther in charge, that in any caſe he ſhould cleare the paſſage to DERBENT, and giue preſent aduertiſements to the Tartarians of his arriuall there: whom he ſuppoſed by that time to be come into thoſe quarters, for that they had before ſo faithfully promiſed to *Amurath*. *Oſman* comming to SVMACHIA, preſently ſeazed vpon the citie, and was friendly entertained of thoſe that remained there: whom he likewiſe courteouſly entreated, without doing or ſuffering any outrage to be done vpon them. Of which his courteous vſage they of DERBENT vnderſtanding, ſent preſently to offer their citie vnto him, beſeeching him to receiue them into his protection, and to defend them from the Perſians: vnder whom, although they had long liued in ſubjection, yet differed they from them in the ceremonies of their Mahometane ſuperſtition, wherein they better agreed with the Turkes. H I

Muſtapha returneth out of Siruan.

Muſtapha hauing thus brought the countrey of SIRVAN into the Turkiſh ſubjection, and finiſhed his fortreſſe at ERES, and put all things in ſuch order as he thought beſt: importuned by the Ianizaries and the people of GRÆCIA, and ſomewhat enforced by the ſeaſon of the yeare which was now farre ſpent; departed from ERES, and turned his courſe homeward toward the countrey of *Alexander* ſurnamed the Great, as he had promiſed in his late paſſage into SIRVA. And hauing trauelled a long iourney, he ſent before him certaine engines and pioners to make a bridge ouer Canac, ſo without danger to paſſe ouer his armie. Hauing paſſed the riuer, he gaue notice to *Sahamall* (one of the lords of GEORGIA) of his arriuall, who preſently came and yeelded himſelfe as vaſſall to the Turkes: and being entertained of the Baſſa with great pompe, and rewarded after the Turkiſh manner, tooke his leaue, and ſo returned into his mountaine of BRVS. K

Muſtapha ſetting againe forward, and trauelling by night becauſe he would not loſe the opportunitie of the faire weather; by the errour of his guides loſt his way, and ſo fell into rough and difficult paſſages, whereby he was enforced to ſtay and wait for day light: which ariſing, did manifeſt vnto them, that they were now entred into the countries of his friend *Alexander*. And therefore he gaue forthwith proclamation through all his armie, That no man vpon paine of death ſhould be ſo hardie as to moleſt or diſquiet any of the ſubjects of *Alexander*, but to haue good reſpect vnto them, and to entreat them with all courteſie. The day following he ſtill trauelled on in the ſame countrey, when there arriued from ZAGHEN certaine embaſſadours of *Alexanders*, with great aboundance of cattell, corne, fruits, and other reliefe ſent for a preſent to the Generall, with a ſolemne excuſe, that he came not himſelfe, becauſe the infirmitie of his bodie would not ſuffer him. Wherewithall *Muſtapha* reſted ſatisfied, and leauing the citie of ZAGHEN on the right hand, cauſed the meſſengers of *Alexander* to guide him the way to TEFLIS: which they ſo directly did, that within the ſpace of three daies they conducted him thither with his armie, without the feeling of any annoiance; from whence they returned, being well rewarded for their paines by the Generall. L

Muſtapha relieueth his diſtreſſed garriſon at Teflis.

Who now come to TEFLIS, found the garriſon he had there left for the keeping thereof, ſo hardly pinched with famine, that they were glad to eat cats, dogs, ſheepskins, and ſuch like vnwonted food: for neither durſt they for feare of the enemie go out of the caſtle to prouide for themſelues; nether if they had ſo done had it any thing auailed, ſuch was the carefulneſſe of the enemie in keeping of his things: but now by the com- M

ming

A ming of the Generall they were relieued with meat, money, and plentie of all things. Hauing ſtaied there two daies, he put himſelfe againe vpon his way, and with fire and ſword deſtroied whatſoeuer came in his way in the Champaines ſubiect to the ſaid citie: onely the ſepulchers of *Simons* progenitors (lord of that countrey) were left vntouched by the Turkes furie. The next day they trauelled ouer rough and ragged mountains, full of a thouſand difficulties, which were the more encreaſed by wonderfull great ſnowes that were fallen: by reaſon whereof, many ſouldiors, horſes, camels, and mules periſhed. In which diſtreſſe the armie continued two daies; during which time the ſouldiors were fallen into ſuch a diſorder, that forgetting the feare of the enemies countrey wherein they were, euerie man without regard tooke vp his ſeuerall lodging apart, ſome here, ſome there, where they might find either ſome thicke buſh or ſome ſmall cot-
B tage, or ſome quiet valley to ſhelter themſelues in from the wind, the ſnow, and the ſtormes. Of which diſorder certaine Georgian lords vnderſtanding by the ſcouts which from time to time waited vpon the Turkes armie, ioyned themſelues together and in the night ſecretly approached vnto it, expecting the opportunitie of performing ſome notable exploit: and hauing obſerued, that *Hoſaine Bey* had withdrawne himſelfe with his regiment from the reſt of the army vnder certaine mountaines, to defend himſelfe from the ſtorme and wind; they tooke the occaſion preſented, and ſo aſſailing him, ſlew his ſlaues and all his ſquadrons; tooke a great bootie of many loads of money and apparell; lead away with them all his horſes, and whatſoeuer elſe they could find, and ſcarce gaue him leiſure to ſaue himſelfe, by flying into the tents of *Beyran Baſſa*. The next morning the Turkes remoued, and in the euening came to a caſtle called CHI-
C VRCHALA, where they ſtaied a whole day to make prouiſion of victuall: which was attempted by ſending abroad many of their ſlaues into the fields, conducted by them of the caſtle; who were all miſerably cut in pieces by the Georgians. From this place the Turkes armie departed in great hunger, ouer diuers rough places of the Georgians, where they were faine oftentimes to reſt themſelues: and at laſt came to the confines of *Dedeſmit*, of her called the widowes countrey. In the entrance whereof, they muſt needs paſſe through a narrow ſtrait, betweene certaine mountaines, where the riuer Araxis windeth it ſelfe with a thouſand turnings in the low vallies: a dangerous place, and ſo narrow, that no more but one man alone could at once paſſe through it. Betweene this ſtrait and a verie thicke and hilly wood, they lodged vpon the banke of the ſaid riuer: and from thence they remoued the next morning, and trauelled ouer verie ſteep
D mountaines and rough forreſts, ouer yſe and ſnow more harder than marble, and ouer other hanging rocks, in ſuch miſerable ſort, that many camels, mules, and horſes, tumbling downe headlong into the riuer, there miſerably periſhed. Through theſe ruinous crags and diuers other miſeries, they marched all the next day, and after that another day alſo, as miſerable to the armie as the former. And ſo at laſt being ſore afflicted with hunger, ſpoiled of the enemie, tormented with the hard ſeaſon of the yeare, and ſituation of the place, they arriued in the territories that lay vnder ALTVNCHALA, or Golden caſtle, the princely widowes pallace, where they had all manner of reliefe, for all the miſeries they had endured ſince their departure from CHIVRCHALA, by the ſpace of ſix daies: which if it had been a faire common trauelled way, might haue been performed in one onely daies iourney.

The miſeries of the Turks armie in paſſing the ſtraits of Georgia.

E The widow, with *Alexander* her eldeſt ſonne, came downe from her caſtle, and went vnto the pauillion of *Muſtapha*; offering him diuers preſents, and promiſing vnto him all faithfull obedience. Whom *Muſtapha* courteouſly receiued, declaring vnto her, what honourable entertainment he had giuen to *Manucchiar* her yonger ſonne there preſent, who had been with him in all the expedition into SIRVAN. And for the preſent, diſſembling the priuie diſpleaſure he bare againſt *Alexander* (whom he thought to haue been one of them that ſpoiled the Sorians in their returne from the campe) he embraced him courteouſly, and praied her to be content to leaue him alſo there with him: giuing her farther to vnderſtand, that he would ſend both her ſons to CONSTANTINOPLE to *Amurath*, with letters of credence for their yeelded obe-
F dience, for their fauour ſhewed to his armie, in giuing it ſo ſecure paſſage, and ſo many helpes; and laſtly, that for their good deſerts, they might be of the ſaid great Sultan both honourably entertained and rewarded. The aged ladie, although her mind was herewithall ſore troubled, yet outwardly in her countenance ſhewed her ſelfe pleaſed; and ſeemed courteouſly to yeeld, what ſhe was of neceſsitie conſtrained to grant: as well for that he was alreadie poſſeſſed of one of her ſonnes, as alſo for that both her ſelfe and her whole ſtate were now in his power, and as it

The Georgian widow ſubmitteth her ſelfe, with her ſonne Alexander to Muſtapha.

were at his deuotion. And therefore leauing both her ſonnes behind her, ſhe returned her ſelfe heauie to her caſtle. G

Muſtapha commeth to Erzirum, and diſchargeth his armie.

In this place *Muſtapha* hauing refreſhed his armie two daies, departed thence toward CHARS, and after many dayes trauell at laſt arriued at ERZIRVM, to the great rejoycing of the whole armie, which was there preſently diſcharged by the Generall, without any muſtering at all, & leaue giuen for euery man to returne into his countrey.

Muſtapha magnifieth his owne exploits to Amurath.

Muſtapha ſetling himſelfe in ERZIRVM, diſpatched poſtes with letters of plentifull aduertiſements to his great lord and maſter, of all things that had paſſed: not forgetting to magnifie his owne exploits aboue meaſure. He certified him of the battels he had had with the Perſians, the obedience he had receiued of the Georgians and Siruanians, the mutinie of his owne ſouldiors, the fortreſſe he had built at ERES, the garriſons left in that citie with *Caitas Baſſa*, and in SVMACHIA with *Oſman Baſſa*: and in breefe, whatſoeuer els had paſſed, and whatſoeuer he had taken from the enemie. Neither did he faile to propound vnto *Amurath*, what he thought conuenient to be attempted the next yeare, for the ſtrengthening of thoſe places he had alreadie conquered, and for preparing the way for new enterpriſes. And principally he put him in mind of a fortification to be made at CHARS, a place very fit for any paſſage into GEORGIA or ARMENIA, by ſituation fruitfull and commodious both for men and cattell. And withall he ſent vnto him the widdowes two ſonnes, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, the Georgian princes, certifying him of their ſubmiſsion, and that he had receiued in their country all good entertainment and friendly welcome: and withall declaring his opinion, That *Manucchiar* was the meeter man for gouernment than his brother *Alexander*, and the readier to doe him ſeruice. Greatly did *Amurath* commend the valour and diligence of *Muſtapha*, and highly pleaſed himſelfe with this conceit, That of theſe beginnings might grow mightie conqueſts, to the enlargement of his empire, and that by this meanes he ſhould be able to ſurpaſſe the glorie of his predeceſſours. And the more his ambitious thoughts were occupied about theſe wars, the leſſe he troubled himſelfe with thinking how to annoy EVROPE with his forces. H I

It was not long after the departure of *Muſtapha* from ERES, but that the Tartarians hauing left the fennes of MEOTIS, and the vnmountable ſhores of the Blacke ſea, and hauing paſſed ouer the rockes vpon CHOLCHIS, and ſurueyed the froſen crags of the mountaine CAVCASVS, were now arriued vpon the confines of SIRVAN, and there attended the commaundement of the Turkes. Theſe Tartarians being of them that are called Præcopenſes, to the number of thirtie thouſand, conducted by their lord and captaine *Abdilcherai*, a young man of great valour and fame, and of a comely perſonage, were come according to the faithfull promiſe of *Tatar Chan*, with a full reſolution to attempt whatſoeuer ſhould be commaunded them in the name of *Amurath*. Now *Oſman Baſſa* vnderſtanding of their approch, according to the charge before giuen him by *Muſtapha* the Generall, enuited them to enter into SIRVAN, and by encreaſing of the Turkes forces to further theſe beginnings of *Amurath* his glorie, and theſe his conqueſts (or more truly to ſay, theſe magnificall & famous tearms of victorie.) All which was moſt diligently put in execution by *Abdilcherai*: who hauing entred the yron gates where DERBENT ſtandeth (which by the Turks at this day is called *Demir Capi*, and ſignifieth the gates of yron) and ſo from thence paſsing into the countrey of SIRVAN, there ſtayed, and thereof gaue aduertiſement to *Oſman*, as was by him appointed. *Ares Chan* late gouernour of SVMACHIA, who for feare of the great armie of the Turkes had abandoned the citie the cheefe place of his charge, and betaken himſelfe to the ſafegard of the mountaines, hearing of the departure of the Turkiſh Generall, reſolued with the other Gouernours of ERES and SECHI (who following his example, had in like manner fled) now to returne againe to their forſaken countrey, and to make proofe if he could by any meanes take reuenge of the injurie done vnto him by the Turkes. So paſsing vnder SVMACHIA, and hauing put to the ſword certaine of *Oſmans* ſtragling victuallers that were gone out of the citie, he encamped with all his people a little from SVMACHIA, and by good fortune ſurpriſed certaine meſſengers ſent from *Abdilcherai* the Tartar, to certifie *Oſman Baſſa* of his arriuall, and to know his pleaſure what he ſhould put in execution. Theſe Tartarians brought before *Ares*, after much torture diſcloſed the letters they carried: which the Perſian captaine read, and conſidering the great number of the Tartarians that were come (for the letters made mention of thirtie thouſand) he reſolued not to ſtay any longer in thoſe quarters, but preſently raiſed his campe, and retired towards Canac, meaning from thence to certifie the king of theſe nouelties, and vpon the K L M

bankes

A bankes of the ſaid riuer to attend the kings anſwere. The Tartarian captain comming to SVMACHIA, was appointed by the Baſſa to paſſe ouer the riuer of Canac into GENGE, the countrey of *Emanguli* Chan, with the ſpoyle thereof to enrich himſelfe, and by all meanes to make his arriuall vnto the Perſians moſt terrible. With this charge the Barbarian departed, thirſting now for nothing more than for the bloud and ſpoyle of the enemie: and with poſting journies came to Canac, where *Ares* Chan was yet encamped: whom he vpon the ſudden moſt furiouſly aſſaulted, and like a deuouring flame diſcomfited all his hoaſt. And taking him aliue, ſent him to SVMACHIA to *Oſman*, who forthwith cauſed him to be hanged by the necke out of a lodging in the ſame Statehouſe where he had not long before ſat as Gouernour. The Tartarian after that, ſwimming ouer the riuer, and courſing a little aboue GENGE, found *Emanguli* Chan with his wife, and
B all his familie, and a great part of the nobilitie of GENGE in a valley hunting the wild Bore; and aſſayling him, put him to flight, tooke from him his wife, all the ladies, and many ſlaues, and ſlew many of the reſt that were come thither to ſee the ſport: and after that rode on to GENGE, which he tooke, and yeelded it wholly to the furie and luſt of his barbarous ſouldiors, who left no manner of inhumane crueltie vnattempted, in ſatisfying their immoderat and barbarous affections. And ſo being loaded with the ſpoyles, and wearie with the ſlaughter of their enemies, they returned merrily toward SIRVAN: and paſsing againe ouer Canac, came to the hither ſide of ERES into certaine low champaigns, enuironned about with hils, and there hauing pitched their tents, without any feare ſetled themſelues to ſleepe and to reſt their wearie bodies.

Ares Chan hanged at Sumachia

Emanguli Chan taken, & Genge ſacked by the Tartarians.

In the meane time, and long before theſe actions, were newes come to the Perſian Court of
C all the Turks proceedings: whereupon the Perſian king hauing gathered new forces, had diſpatched *Emir Hamze Mirize* his eldeſt ſonne with twelue thouſand ſoldiors to paſſe into SIRVAN, to ſee what hurt the enemie had done, and to attempt the reuenge of the forepaſſed injuries; but aboue all things to puniſh the villanie of them of SECHI, and the other cities of SIRVAN, that not induced with any neceſsitie, had ſo voluntarily yeelded themſelues to follow the obedience and religion of the Turkes. The Perſian prince departing from CASBIN, accompanied with his mother *Begum*, who would needs follow her beloued ſonne, was on his way towards SIRVAN, vnder the guiding and gouernment of *Mirize Salmas*, cheefe of the Sultans; and had now left behind them the countries of ARDOVIL and CARACACH, when he was certified by the aduertiſements come from *Ares* Chan, of the arriuall of *Abdilcherai*, with his great number of Tar-
D tarians; and was thereby at the firſt ſtrucken into a great quandarie, and almoſt out of comfort: yet prickt forward with an honourable deſire of glorie and reuenge, he proſecuted his entended enterpriſe for SIRVAN, and haſtening his journey, came to ERES long before the king his father thought he could haue ſo done. This his notable celeritie ſerued him to great purpoſe, for that *Caitas Baſſa* was boldly gone out of the fortreſſe, and went ſpoyling the countrey, carrying away with him whatſoeuer he met withall, and committing ſuch inſolencies as hungrie ſouldiours beyond all honeſtie vſe to doe in ſtrange and fruitfull countries. But when he was in the middeſt of theſe ſpoyles, and leaſt feared the enemie, he was ſuddenly aſſailed by the prince; and hauing no meanes to eſcape his furie in this extremitie, after a fierce and bloudie battell (wherein the Turks although in number few, yet ſhewed many effects of valor) he was there ſlaine with all his ſoul-
E diors, leauing the fortreſſe, the ſpoyles, and the countrey committed to his cuſtodie, free to the pleaſure of the victor: which the Perſian prince hauing once againe gotten into his poſſeſsion, tooke away the two hundred pieces of artillerie that were left in the fort by *Muſtapha*, and preſently ſent them to CASBIN to his father.

Eres recouered by the Perſians.

The prince encouraged with ſo happie a beginning, leauing his mother at ERES, followed on his journey toward SVMACHIA, but by the way deſcending the hils, he diſcouered where the Tartarians lay encamped. Whereupon he ſtood in great doubt, whether to aduenture vpon ſo mightie an enemie, or to content himſelfe with the victorie he had alreadie gotten, and ſo to returne into PERSIA: to returne he thought it too great a ſhame, and choſe rather to aduenture himſelfe to moſt manifeſt perill. And therfore deſcending the hill, and drawing nigh the enemie,
F he perceiued that the armie was all laid downe to reſt, and that their horſes were ſome couched, ſome ſtanding, but all vnſadled: whereupon without any ſtay ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, he pricked forward with all his hoaſt, and moſt terribly aſſaulted the Tartarians, now buried in their ſpoyles and ſleepe; & hauing ſlaine their firſt and ſecond watch, although with ſome loſſe, among the tumultuarie ſouldiors he made an vniuerſall confuſion and ſlaughter, putting ſome to flight, killing

killing others,and taking diuers of them captiues. Among whom was their Generall *Abdilcherai*, who was taken aliue,and sent to the king in CASBIN. G

Sumachia beſieged by the Perſian prince.

After theſe victories the Perſian prince ſcoured to SVMACHIA,and compaſſed the citie round about,wherein the Turkiſh Baſſa *Oſman* ſat as Gouernour,to the reproch of PERSIA: and there encamping himſelfe, ſent word to *Oſman*, That if he would yeeld himſelfe,he would let him depart with life and goods: otherwiſe,if he would obſtinately hold it out, and not yeeld the citie, which he ſo vnjuſtly poſſeſſed, he ſhould be conſtrained to ſurrender it by force, and his life withall. *Oſman* who as then knew nothing of the Tartarians ouerthrow,but ſtill hoped of their returne,thought it beſt to entertaine the prince with faire words vntill their comming,and therefore gaue him courteous anſwere, that he was very readie to yeeld vp the citie: but withall entreated him, that he would ſtay but for three dayes, and graunt him time to put all things in readineſſe, that ſo he might freely depart,as it had pleaſed him in courteſie to offer. The prince glad of ſuch an anſwere,ſuppoſing it to haue proceeded of a ſincere meaning, expected of the Turke the performance thereof. But *Oſman* meaning nothing leſſe, than to commit himſelfe to the faith of his enemie,and ſeeing that the Tartarians,whom he looked for,appeared not,he reſolued to ſaue himſelfe by ſecret flight; doubting,as he had good reaſon,that if he ſhould longer ſtay,to be betrayed by the inhabitants of the citie themſelues: and therefore ſomewhat before the aſſigned tearme of the three dayes appointed for the ſurrendering of the citie, he by the helpe of a darke night,and the couert of the high and rough crags,with great ſilence withdrew himſelfe out of SVMACHIA,carrying away with him all his ſubſtance,and ſo in ſafetie arriued at DERBENT. H

Sumachia yeelded vnto the prince.

The next morning the inhabitants of SVMACHIA opened the gates of the citie to the prince: who ſeeing their infidelitie,firſt by giuing of entertainement to *Oſman*, and now by helping him to eſcape,without giuing him any knowledge therof, did put in execution the effect of his wrath and indignation,which euen in CASBIN he had conceiued in his mind againſt them;and with great crueltie did puniſh the miſerable and vnfortunat citiſens, laying their houſes euen with the ground,raſing both the old and new wals of that citie, of late ſo deſired a receit for the Turkes. I But when he was to depart thence, he ſtood in doubt, Whether to goe on to DERBENT, or to returne to PERSIA: the ſtrength of that citie, the appproch of Winter, and the long journey he was to take homeward,perſuaded him to lay aſide the enterpriſe for DERBENT,whereupon he reſolued to returne to CASBIN: yet firſt to make his returne by them of ERES and SECHI, and vpon them as vpon rebels to inflict well deſerued puniſhment. So making his preſent repaire thither, ſpared neither ſex nor age,nor any condition of perſons,but vpon them all poured forth his furious indignation, without exception. Which done, he with his aforeſaid mother *Begum*, and his armie, though ſomewhat deminiſhed, yet victorious and triumphant, returned to CASBIN. K

Abdilcherai beloued of the Perſian queene.

Yong *Abdilcherai* the Tartarian was kept ſafe in the kings pallace at CASBIN, but with ſuch eaſie impriſonment as was agreeable to his calling: which was day by day ſo enlarged,as that he ſeemed not to liue as a priſoner, but rather as a companion of thoſe of the Court, and as it were in apparent libertie. By which occaſion hauing inſinuated himſelfe into the loue of *Begum* the kings wife,he ſpent his time in courting of her,and ſhe againe in entertaining of him in all ſecret and couert manner. Yet theſe their mutuall affections and interchangeable fauours paſſed not ſo L ſecretly,but that in the Court and all ouer the citie it was a rife report, That the ſhameleſſe ladie, prodigall of her honour,had participated both her bed and her ſelfe with the Tartarian priſoner. Howbeit neither the king nor the prince knew any thing of it. But the king perceiuing the yong gentleman to be generally commended, valiant,courteous,and of a comely feature, and withall nobly borne (for he gaue it out that he was the brother of *Tatar* Chan) perſuaded himſelfe, that it would ſtand with the great good of his ſtate,of a captiue to make him his ſonne in law, by giuing him his daughter in marriage: whereby he was in good hope there might grow ſuch an amitie and vnion betweene the Tartarian Præcopenſes and himſelfe, as that they would from thenceforth not onely refuſe to fauour *Amurath* in thoſe warres, but alſo become enemies vnto him, and in the fauour of PERSIA turne their armes and affections againſt him. Which his M deepe and conſiderat purpoſe ſo diſpleaſed the Sultans of CASBIN, that they ſought by all meanes they could poſsibly deuiſe to auert the king from that ſo ſtrange a policie: but all in vaine, for the king being fully reſolued, and now vpon the point to make a concluſion of the marriage; the Sultans entering into the pallace with their followers,and finding there the vnfortunat

A tunat Tartarian, ran him through the bodie, and cutting off his priuie members, ſlapped them vpon his mouth after a moſt barbarous and filthie manner. It is reported, that the queene was then alſo murdered by them: certaine it is, that the poore ladie neuer after that day ſaw the light of the Sunne: but whether it was put in execution by the appointment of the king her husband, or that the Sultans did it for the publicke intereſt, is not certainely knowne. Vpon theſe murders ſprung vp many troubles, and much ciuile diſſention, threatning the vtter confuſion of the Perſian kingdome, to the ſingular benefit of *Amurath*. All which tumultuous diſorders the king by brideling his owne affections, and the motions of his ſonne *Emir Hamze Mirize*, well appeaſed, procuring at laſt a perfect vnitie, as then moſt neceſſarie for the defence of his kingdome.

Abdicherai ſlaine in the Court.

The Perſian queene ſtrad away.

Oſman Baſſa being in DERBENT (the onely place of refuge now left for the Turkes in SIRB VAN) ceaſed not with all carefulneſſe to deuiſe what he poſsibly could, for the aſſuring of that countrey (of late woon, and now againe almoſt loſt) vnder the gouernment of *Amurath*. For the better eſtabliſhing whereof, together with his owne ſafetie, he thought it good to enter into friendſhip with old *Sahamal* the Georgian, lord of the mountaine of BRVS. With this man did *Oſman* practiſe many tokens of good will, and he again interchangeably towards *Oſman*: whereupon there aroſe great friendſhip betweene them, at leaſtwiſe in outward appearance: whereunto in ſhort time there was added a ſtraight knot of alliance: for that *Oſman* took to wife a daughter of the ſaid *Sahamals*, the greateſt ſigne of his ſincere loue towards him. Neuertheleſſe ſhortly after *Oſman* vpon ſome reaſonable conjectures began to ſuſpect (as indeed the truth was) that *Sahamal* for all the faire ſhew of friendſhip he made towards him, might for all that receiue ſome ſe-
C cret order from the Perſian king, to betray him, and to free the citie from the Turks, and ſo to reduce all that prouince vnto the auntient deuotion: in which jealous ſuſpition he was fully confirmed by the ſpeeches of his wife, the daughter of *Sahamal*; who rauiſhed with the honour, valour, and riches of her husband, could not conceale any thing that ſhe knew deuiſed againſt him, but frankely told him, That her father being ſecretly reconciled to the Perſian king, held friendſhip with him, and that letters went betweene them of great matters, and particularly of the affaires of SIRVAN. Hereupon the Baſſa perſuaded himſelfe, that all the friendſhip of *Sahamal* was but deepe diſsimulation, and the marriage of his daughter nothing but a meane to procure his death. Neuertheleſſe he made ſhew vnto his wife, as if he had made no ſuch reckoning of it as indeed he did, but kept it in ſtore to his owne ſafetie and the deſtruction of *Sahamal*,
D whom for all that he ſtill entertained with all honour and kindneſſe due vnto a moſt louing father in law. But to preuent the malitious purpoſe of *Sahamal*, hauing enuited him according to the cuſtome to a certaine ſolemne feaſt, he acquainted certain companies of his moſt truſtie and valiant ſouldiors with his determination, enjoyning them, that as ſoone as *Sahamal* was entered into his Court, euen in the very diſmounting from his horſe they ſhould all fall vpon him, cut off his head, and put all his retinue to the ſword. Which his cruell commaund was by him accordingly at *Sahamals* comming put in execution, he in lighting from his horſe being ſlaine, and all his followers murdered, when forthwith were ſent forth by *Oſman* two thouſand horſemen to
E ſpoyle and ſacke all the country of the ſaid Georgian lord, to the great maruell and aſtoniſhment both of farre and neere. The Perſian king hearing of theſe newes, tooke the matter grieuouſly, as foreſeeing that the recouerie of that countrey and prouince of SIRVAN would proue a matter of great difficultie, and fearing greatly that it would ſtill remaine (as indeed it doth) in the poſſeſsion of the Turkes. This was the end of the Turkes attempts againſt the Perſians in SIRVAN this yeare 1578, wherein they loſt aboue ſeuentie thouſand men, deuoured partly with the ſword, and partly with famine, and the other miſeries of warre. And ſo Winter comming on very ſharpely, euery man withdrew himſelfe from the field, wholly attending the keeping of that they had alreadie gotten, vntill the comming on of the next Spring.

Sahamal ſlaine by Oſman.

Amurath aduertiſed by letters from *Muſtapha* of all that had happened in the late expedi- *The conſultations of Amurath.*
tion againſt the Perſians, vpon theſe proſperous ſucceſſes (which the Baſſa had for the aduancing
F of his owne credit deſcribed to be farre greater than indeed they were) began to caſt many deuices in his head touching ſuch matters as were to be attempted the next year. And firſt he thought it neceſſarie to ſend his forces againe into SIRVAN, to recouer ſuch places as were firſt conquered by *Muſtapha*, but afterward againe ſubdued by the Perſian, ſo to eſtabliſh his gouernment in that countrey. But vpon better conſideration he ceaſed further to thinke of that matter, for the great hope he had conceiued of the aid that was promiſed him by *Tatar* Chan, who had

faithfully assured both him and *Osman*, that he would ouerrun that prouince anew, and do great matters in furtherance of the Turkes desseignes: all which for all that fell out to be but windie words: yet in respect of this hope he layed SIRVAN aside, and committed the defence thereof to the false promises of the Tartarian, and the valour of *Osman*. And pleasing his ambitious desires with more haughtie thoughts, he began to deuise with himselfe, for sending his armie directly to TAVRIS, there to erect a fortresse; which being strongly fortified and furnished with a garrison of most valiant souldiors, should neuer be againe subdued by all the power of PERSIA; and by this meanes to keepe in subjection all those great countries betweene TAVRIS and ERZIRVM. Which his conceit being of great weight and importance, was much encreased by the perswasion of others, very inward with him; euery man being almost of opinion, That it was an easie matter for so great an hoast in few dayes to performe that seruice, and to pierce not onely into TAVRIS, but further to passe whether soeuer he would desire. Yet after he had more deeply considered of an enterprise of so great importance, and with more indifferent judgement compared his owne forces with his enemies, he began to find many difficulties and dangers, which in the heat of his ambitious desires he at the first saw not: For beside the length and tediousnesse of the journey, he doubted that in sending his armie for TAVRIS, it might be on the one side assailed by the Georgians (of whose obedience he had as yet no great assurance) and on the other side by the Persians, and so brought into great danger; which he was alwayes to feare, whensoeuer he should haue occasion to send new supplies vnto the fortresse by him entended at TAVRIS. Whereupon laying aside all his former conceits, as too eagre and perillous, he resolutely concluded with himselfe, first to make sure his owne borders, and afterwards by little and little to enter into the enemies countrey, still fortifying in conuenient places as he went, and so surely, although but slowly, to triumph ouer his enemies; rather than by thrusting his armie headlong vpon vncertainties into places strongly fenced both by nature and the power of most mightie enemies, to be enforced with shame to abandon the enterprise so hastily begun.

Mustapha carefull to put in execution Amurath his commaund.

Of this his resolution he aduertised *Mustapha* by writing, giuing him in charge, against the next Spring to prouide all such things as should be necessarie for the building of certaine forts vpon the way that leadeth from ERZIRVM into GEORGIA: that hauing made those wayes safe, and brought the people vnder his obedience, he might afterwards attempt greater matters. Whereupon *Mustapha* presently directed forth precepts to the cities of ALEPPO, of DAMASCO, CARAEMIT, and other places of SORIA and MESOPOTAMIA, for the taking vp of cunning workemen, of pioners, and such like, to the number of twentie thousand: and likewise wrot to all the countries, out of which he had raised his armie the last yeare, That all their souldiors (yea and in greater number also) should be in readinesse against the next Spring, to returne to the wars. The rumor whereof he caused to be spread euen as far as ÆGIPT. He commaunded also the taxes and tenths of those countries to be collected, and further vsed the chambers of ALEPPO, and other places, for such masses of mony as he thought necessarie for these purposes.

In this while the two Georgian brethren, *Alexander* and *Manucchiar*, sent (as we haue before said) by *Mustapha* to *Amurath* at CONSTANTINOPLE, in doubtfull hope, expecting the end for which they were sent vnto the Court, were both examined, and exhorted to embrace the Mahometane religion: whereunto *Manucchiar* easily yeelded. Whereas on the other side *Alexander* his elder brother could by no allurements or meanes bee induced to consent to so infamous and damnable a change of his religion; although he knew he should therefore be depriued of his state: but protesting his obedience at all times to *Amurath*, and his loue to his brother, requested onely, That he might but as a priuat man goe and liue in his countrey, there to be buried amongst his aunce stours. Which his request the Turkish emperour referred to the discretion of *Manucchiar*, to doe therein as he saw good: who consented thereunto. Hereupon *Manucchiar* was circumcised, and the name of *Mustaffa* giuen him, with the title of the Bassa and Gouernour of ALTVNCHALA, and of all his mothers and brothers countries: and being thus created a Turke, had his brother *Alexander* a Christian committed vnto him, and so both returned into their owne countries.

Manucchiar turneth Turke.

Alexander constant in his religion.

Emanguli Chan taketh vpon him the defence of Siruan.

Now in the Persian court at CASBIN, were many consultations had for the represing of the inuasions of the Turks. And among others carefull of those matters, *Emanguli Chan* Gouernor of GENGE, doubting to loose his honourable gouernment, by reason of the late sacke of his citie, and spoile of his countrey by the Tartarian; by those plots that were daily in contriuing for the

A the ſending of men into SIRVAN, to impeach the deſignments of *Oſman Baſſa*, and (if it were poſsible) to driue him out of DERBENT; tooke occaſion to offer vnto the king, vpon paine of his head to defend SIRVAN, and not to ſuffer *Oſman* the Turke to attempt any new fortifications or further conqueſts in that prouince. Of which his offer the king accepted, and thereupon the gouernment of GENGE, and guarding of the countrey of SIRVAN againſt the forces of *Oſman*, was frankly committed vnto him. And commandement giuen to the Gouernours of TAVRIS, REIVAN, and NASSIVAN, and to diuers other captaines that were neereſt, to be readie at all times with their power to aſsiſt *Emanguli Chan*, if it ſhould fortune either the Tartarians, or Turks, with any great power to enter into SIRVAN: which order ſo taken, was thought ſufficient for the ſecuritie of that prouince.

B But how to protect the Georgian countrey, was thought to be a matter of greater importance, euerie man being almoſt of opinion, That ſome great power of the Turkes ſhould be ſent thither, for the more aſſurance of the conqueſt thereof alreadie begun; and for the ſuccour of the fortreſſe at TEFLIS, which muſt needs otherwiſe fall againe into the hands of the Georgians. This matter ſo troubled the Perſian king, as that he ſeemed to haue bent his whole counſels and thoughts thereupon: when *Simon* a Georgian, a famous captaine (ſometime priſoner with *Iſmahel* the late king, at CAHACA, and by the familiaritie he had with him, ſeduced from the Chriſtian faith; for defence whereof he had in the time of king *Tamas* choſen to liue depriued of his libertie and ſtate) thinking it now a fit time to obtaine at the kings hand ſuch helpe as he had long deſired, for the recouerie of his dominion vſurped by *Dauid*, otherwiſe called *Daut*
C *Chan* his yonger brother (who for the obtaining thereof of king *Tamas*, had voluntarily renounced his Chriſtian religion) offered now vnto the king his faithfull ſeruice, for the defence of that part of the Georgian countrey, wherein TEFLIS ſtood (being in right, part of his owne inheritance) againſt the Turkes: reprouing by way of diſgrace, his yonger brother of cowardiſe, and promiſing the performance of great matters in himſelfe, both for the defence of that euill defended countrey, and further annoying of the enemie. With great contentment did the Perſian king conſent to the requeſt of *Simon*, and named him *Chan* of all that kingdome, which he poſ- *Simon with Alliculi Chan ſents for the defence of Georgia.*
ſeſſed before whileſt he was a Chriſtian: and ſent with him *Aliculi Chan* into GEORGIA, with
D fiue thouſand horſemen and certaine pieces of artillerie taken at ERES, when *Caitas Baſſa* was ſlaine. *Simon* afterwards comming to GEORGIA, was ioifully receiued of his countreymen, and there preſſed about three thouſand ſouldiors of his own and of his neighbours; excuſing himſelfe that he was become a Perſian, not becauſe he preferred the Mahometane ſuperſtition before the Chriſtian religion, but only ſo to be deliuered from his long impriſonment, & by that means to maintaine his eſtate. And in this order were the affaires of GEORGIA aſſured, and ſtrengthned in beſt manner that might then be.

Now began the Spring to approach, and euerie man prepared himſelfe to the diſcontinued **1579**
trauels of the wars begun: and now were met togither at ERZIRVM, out of all the wonted pro- *The meeting togither of the Turks armie at Erzirum.*
uinces, all the Turkes forces, with all things neceſſarie for the intended warre. With this armie
in all things equall with the firſt, *Muſtapha* ſet forward, and in twelue daies came to CHARS, not
perceiuing in his ſouldiors any ſigne of diſcontentment at all. And for as much as here they were
E to ſtay, and to fortifie both with wals and ditches that ruinated citie, and that with as great ſpeed as was poſsible; there was no remedie, but that beſide the pioners & enginers that were brought for that purpoſe, many of the Spaoglani, yea and of the Ianizaries alſo muſt be ſet to worke. Whereupon they all ſuddenly in a tumult, began with bitter proteſtations to tell the Generall, That their ſtipends wherewith it pleaſed the Sultan to fauour them, were not beſtowed vpon them to employ their forces and vertues in ſuch ſeruile workes; but onely with their ſwords and other weapons to exerciſe that force and hardineſſe for which they were eſteemed worthie of that honour. Whereunto the Generall anſwered in moſt haughtie tearmes; and not yeelding one iot to their inciuilitie, but vſing all meanes of authoritie and terror, brought them to worke ſo much as he deſired. So that within the ſpace of twentie three daies, the towers and wals were *Chars fortified in 23 daies ſpace.*
F erected, the ditches digged, the artillerie orderly planted vpon the wals, and the water brought
round about it. Many inconueniences happened in the armie while they were buſie in this
worke; and namely vpon the 25 day of Auguſt, when they had almoſt euen finiſhed the whole *Snowes at Chars in Auguſt.*
building, the ſouldiors endured a moſt ſudden cold, by reaſon of the ſnow that then fell in great
aboundance.

CHARS

CHARS thus fortified, the Generall reſolued to ſend ſuccours into GEORGIA to TEFLIS; G
without which it was moſt certaine, that that fortreſſe would be yeelded to the Georgians: but
in what ſort to relieue it, he remained doubtfull. To ſend part of his armie with ſome valiant cap-
taine, ſeemed dangerous: and to go himſelfe with all his forces, would ſound (as he thought) to
his diſcredit with his great lord and maſter; whom he had alreadie made beleeue, that he had ſub-
dued all the Georgians, and brought all that prouince to his obedience and deuotion. In this am-
Haſſan Baſſa ſent with 20 thouſand to the ſuccouring of Teflis. biguitie, the deſire he had to preſerue his credit with *Amurath* preuailed: and ſo he made choiſe
of *Haſſan Baſſa* of DAMASCO, ſonne to *Muhamet* principall Viſier of the court, a gallant gen-
tleman and of great valour, to whom he deliuered betweene eighteene and twentie thouſand
ſouldiors; joining vnto him one *Reſuan* captaine of certaine aduenturers, that voluntarily offe-
red themſelues to follow the forces of *Haſſan*; aſsigning vnto him likewiſe fortie thouſand duc- H
kats, and many loads of meale, riſe, and barley, with other things neceſſarie both for diet and
war, and ſo ſent him away for TEFLIS.

Haſſan with this charge ſet forward, fully reſolued to put theſe ſuccours into TEFLIS, or to
loſe all: and at length came to the famous ſtrait of TOMANIS, where the ouergrowne woods
on the one ſide, with the deepe vallies and craggie rocks on the other, would aſtoniſh a right con-
ſtant beholder. When vpon the ſudden, the Perſians and the Georgians (vnder the conduct of
Aliculi Chan and *Simon*) at vnawares ſet vpon the Turkes, and joyned battell with them. For
theſe two valiant captaines remaining for the moſt part in the borders of TEFLIS and TOMA-
NIS with eight thouſand ſouldiors, waiting for ſome opportunitie to annoy either them of the
fort of TEFLIS, or elſe ſuch as ſhould come to their ſuccours; vnderſtanding by their eſpials of I
the comming of *Haſſan* with this aid, had ſcattered themſelues all alongſt the ſaid ſtrait, in hope
there to aſſaile the Turks; and holpen by the aduantage of the place, to driue them headlong into
the deepe valley, and at once to bereaue them both of their goods and life. But *Haſſan* carefull
of nothing more than how to auoid that danger, choſe rather to make his journey through the
thicke woods, and ſo as he might to eſcape the ambuſh that the enemie might lay for him vpon
that ſtraight paſſage. And ſo entring with his armie into the wood, which he was to haue left
The Perſians aſſaile the Turks, and make of them a great ſlaughter. vpon his left hand, to diſcouer what might be plotted againſt him, he was hardly charged by the
enemie, and conſtrained to fight with a thouſand windings and turnings in and out, through a
thouſand crooked paths and doubtfull cranks, in a moſt confuſed medley, with great ſlaughter
of his men: who not accuſtomed to this kind of fight, nor acquainted with the ſituation of the K
place, were in the skirmiſh driuen ſo farre, that downe they fell, and being not able to recouer
themſelues, were preſently ſlaine. And thus with much adoe, he at length paſſed the ſtrait of
TOMANIS. *Haſſan* deeming himſelfe much diſgraced by ſuffering his enemies in number ſo
farre inferiour, to haue done him ſo much harme, and ſo to haue eſcaped his hands: and farther,
conſidering that in ſuch places, ſleights and ſtratagems more auaile than open forces; burning
with deſire of reuenge, would needs ſtay neere vnto thoſe ſtraights, as if it had been to refreſh his
wearied armie; but in deed to trie if the Perſians would aduenture againe to trouble him, or no:
and appointed *Reſuan Baſſa* with certaine bands of the ſouldiors of GREECE, and of his owne
aduenturers, to lie in ambuſh within the couerts of the ſtrait, attentiue to euerie ſtirre of the ene-
mie. Two daies the Turks armie lay thus diuided, and were now reſolued the third day to re- L
moue thence towards TEFLIS: when as the Perſian captaines, *Aliculi Chan* and *Simon*, vainly
imagining that this ſtay of the Turks was for feare of the Perſians, fooliſhly returned, and gaue
The Perſians ouerthrowne, and Aliculi Chan taken. a freſh onſet vpon the flanke of *Haſſans* ſquadrons. Who forthwith raiſing all his ſouldiors, and
giuing a ſigne to *Reſuan*, with all ſpeed compaſſed in his enemies, and ſtraightning them on both
ſides, tooke ſome of them aliue, cut in pieces otherſome, and put the reſt all to flight. Among
others that were taken aliue, was *Aliculi Chan* the Perſian captaine, who ouer raſhly charging
vpon the face of *Haſſan*, fell into his hands. The next day following (being the eleuenth day af-
ter *Haſſans* departure from CHARS) he joifully arriued at TEFLIS, where he found among the
poore beſieged Turkes, many miſeries; whereof ſome were alreadie dead, and ſome yet ſicke:
for they were ſo plagued with famine, that they not onely deuoured their horſes, but euen the M
verie skins of the ſame horſes, of ſheepe and of dogs, and in ſuch moſt miſerable wants had paſ-
The miſerie of the Turks in garriſon at Teflis. ſed the time: whom *Haſſan* at his arriuall comforted with gifts and good words, exhorting them
to perſiſt conſtant in the ſeruice of their king, whoſe honour (as he ſaid) was neuer more than
there to be reſpected. And for as much as the ſouldiors of the fort did with one voice requeſt

Haſſan

A *Hassan* to appoint them a new Gouernour, because they did all mislike *Mahamet Bassa*, who the last yeare was left by the Generall in that fort; *Hassan* remoued the said *Mahamet*, and put *Amet Bassa* in his place: and so after he had filled vp the places of the dead souldiors with a new supply, and set all things in good order, he tooke his leaue, recommending the charge and custodie of that fortresse to their trust and valour. *Hassan* returning from TEFLIS, and being without any trouble come to the strait of TOMANIS, was aduertised by his scouts, that it was so strongly possessed by the enemie, and so shut vp with artillerie, as that it was not to be passed through: for *Simon* thinking (as in deed it fell out) that *Hassan* would returne that way, had so belaid that strait, as that the Turkes could not without most assured losse passe the same: which thing much troubled the Bassa, and filled his head with many conceits, how he might make his journey some
B other way, and decline the danger prepared for him. Thus perplexed, and altogither doubtfull what to doe, or which way to turne himselfe: *Aliculi Chan* the Persian, (who to purchase his libertie could haue been content to haue done any thing) offered *Hassan* to shew him a short and safe cut, whereby he might without danger passe with his armie out of that troublesome countrey; yet couenanting before, that he should promise him to set him at libertie for his so good seruice. Which his request the Bassa pid not sticke in large manner to promise, although he afterwards to his great dishonour performed not the same: so bending his journey on the right hand, he was guided by *Aliculi* through strange and vncouth waies out of those woods and dangers, not meeting so much as with any one of his enemies. But when the Persian duke well hoping for his libertie put the Turke in mind of his promise; he with deepe and faigned sighs
C protested, That he was right sorie that he could not performe what he had promised to doe for him, for as much as it lay not in his power to set any man at libertie, that was taken in battell by the souldiors of his great lord and soueraigne: yet gaue him his faith, that so farre as his intreaties and fauours with the Generall *Mustapha* could preuaile, he would vse all the most earnest meanes he could to procure his libertie and returne to his owne countrey.

Simon the Georgian perceiuing that the Turks were remoued, imagined forthwith, that they had taken this new way. But being afterward certified by his faithfull spies, that it was so indeed, he ran all headlong and as it were desperat to meet with this so happie an army. And all enflamed with rage for this great fortune of the Turkes, he fell vpon the taile of the Turkish hoast: which
D with vnmeasurable furie he wholly destroyed, leading away with him all the people, all the horses, and all the treasure of *Mahomet Bassa*, which he brought from TEFLIS, and all the treasure of *Hassan Bassa* likewise. As for *Aliculi Chan*, whom *Simon* most greedily sought for, he was sent away in the front of the armie, and so not to bee rescued. *Hassan* holding on his way came to CHARS in the space of eight dayes after his departure from TEFLIS, and there presented vnto *Mustapha* the Generall the Persian captaine *Aliculi*, recounting vnto him the dangers he had endured, and whatsoeuer else had happened in that expedition. *Aliculi* the vnfortunat Persian was by the commaundement of *Mustapha* carried to ERZIRVM, and there in the castle committed to prison. Not long after *Mustapha* returned himselfe also to the said citie of ERZIRVM, with his armie sore weakened and discontented, which was there presently by him discharged.

Simon destroied the rearward of Hassans armie, and taketh from him his treasure.

About the same time that these things were in doing, *Amurath* to make a safer and more ea-
E sie passage for his forces into GEORGIA, sent *Vluzales* his Admirall with a great fleet into the Euxine sea to MENGRELIA, called in auntient time CHOLCHIS, who entering the famous riuer of Phasis (now Fassa) there fortified, and layed such a beginning, that it is now one of the Turks proud Beglerbegships, although those fortifications shortly after the departure of the Admirall, were for the present againe by the Mengrelians demolished. And this was the end of the stirres of this yeare 1579.

Mustapha returneth to Erzirum, and there dischargeth his armie.

Of all these successes *Mustapha* afterwards sent aduertisements to the Court to *Amurath*, recounting vnto him the fortifying of CHARS, the deserts of *Hassan*, as well for the succouring of TEFLIS, as for the taking of *Aliculi* the Persian. And because the said Generall had the yeare before persuaded *Amurath*, That the country of GEORGIA and the people therof were brought
F vnder his obedience, to the end he should not maruell at so many losses and so many battels, and thereby doubt of some false informations, he declared vnto him, That all these troubles were not raised by the naturall and homebred Georgians, but by two certaine captaines *Aliculi* and *Simon* sent out of PERSIA, who had made all these stirres: of which one of them now remained with him in prison, for him to determine of at his pleasure. With great delight did the Turkish emperour

Haſſan Baſſa for his good ſeruice rewarded by Amurath.

rour read all that *Muſtapha* had written, and by two of his gentlemen vſhiers ſent to *Haſſan* a battle ax all guilt, and ſet full of ſtones, a targuet of gold and pearle, and a rich garment of cloth of gold, in reward of his good ſeruice for which hee greatly commended him: and withall gaue order, That *Aliculi* ſhould be kept where he was in the caſtle of ERZIRVM, in diligent and ſafe cuſtodie. G

Theſe inuaſions of the Turkes much troubled the Perſian king in his court at CASBIN, conſidering that now they had both throughly acquainted themſelues with all the paſſages into GEORGIA (in the difficultie and roughneſſe whereof conſiſted the chiefe defence of that prouince) as alſo that diuers of the Georgian princes were more than inclining vnto the Turkes ſeruice: ſo that he could not but juſtly feare, that his enemies would in time begin to pierce into the noble cities of MEDIA the Greater, yea and peraduenture euen vnto TAVRIS before any of the reſt: which his care of forreine inuaſion was doubled with domeſticall feares: *Mirize Salmas* his chiefe Viſier, and vpon whom he moſt reſted, ſtill filling his head with a jealous ſuſpition, That *Abas Mirize* his ſonne (made Gouernour of HERI by *Tamas* his grandfather) was about (in theſe troubles with the Turke) to proclaime himſelfe king of PERSIA, to the great ignominie of his father, and prejudice of *Emir Hamze* his eldeſt brother, the worthie and vndoubted heire of that great kingdome. This *Mirize Salmas* (according to his longing deſire) had married a daughter of his to the ſaid *Emir Hamze* with the conſent of the king his father: but yet not content with that great honour, ceaſed not continually with ambitious deuiſes, to ſeeke out meanes how to bring to paſſe that the Perſian eſtate might wholy remaine to his ſonne in law, vndeuided and entire from the participation of his brethren: and therefore little regarding the perils that might happen from the Turkes, and blinded with the deſire of his owne greatneſſe, he went about to turne the king (being a man very credulous and inconſiderat) againſt *Abas Mirize*; either to take him and commit him to priſon, or at leaſt to bereaue him of all authoritie and commaund. And the better to perſuade the king thereunto, he diſcourſed vnto him how little *Abas Mirize* his ſonne had reſpected him in diuers occaſions; and that in theſe late wars, he had not ſo much as ſent forth one man againſt the Turkes, but had forbidden ſuch as were of his juriſdicti-on of HERI to come to CASBIN, at ſuch time as they were ſummoned both by letters and commaundement to haue paſſed with *Emir Hamze* into SIRVAN; by reaſon whereof not one of them would ſtirre a foot, anſwering, That they were enjoyned ſo to doe by *Abas Mirize* their lord: who had not onely cauſed himſelfe to be called king of HERI, but had giuen it out, that he meant to claime the ſucceſsion in the whole kingdome. Theſe complaints much preuailed with the king, both in reſpect of the loue he bare to *Emir Hamze* his eldeſt ſonne, and alſo of the credit he gaue to his Viſier: eſpecially being accompanied with the craftie packing of the ſaid Viſier; who as he was verie cunning in ſuch practiſes of himſelfe, ſo did he make them much more effectuall with the effeminat king by the meanes of diuers great ladies, and other deuiſes that were to him verie familiar and vſuall. Inſomuch, that the king carried away with light beleefe, did continually bethinke himſelfe how to find opportunitie to repreſſe the boldneſſe of his diſobedient ſon: not forgetting for all that to make ſuch preparation againſt the Turks, as ſhould be ſufficient to ſtay their paſſage to TAVRIS, if they had any purpoſe ſo to doe. But leauing the Perſian king to his troubled cogitations for a while, let vs againe returne vnto the Turkes Generall, the great Baſſa *Muſtapha*. H I K L

Muſtapha diſcharged of his Generallſhip, and called home to Conſtantinople.

He now lying at ERZIRVM (after many troubles abroad) was ſurpriſed and almoſt ouerwhelmed with vnexpected quarrels at home, many grieuous complaints being made of him to *Amurath*, whereby he was induced afterwards to take from him his Generalſhip, and to call him to the court to giue account of his actions. Which ſeemed not to be done without cauſe, he hauing before raiſed a great diſcontentment in the mind of *Amurath*, by ſending ſuch a ſtrong power to the ſuccours of TEFLIS, whereby he conjectured, that the affaires of GEORGIA, were not in ſuch ſecuritie as *Muſtapha* had alreadie enformed him they were; and alſo generally offended the minds of the ſouldiors of his armie, who all in an vprore accuſed him of improuidencie and prodigalitie, for that now this ſecond yeare he had with ſo much ado gathered togither ſuch a number of ſouldiors, to the trouble of the whole empire, and infinit charge of their lord, & yet performed nothing worthy the glorie of *Amurath*, or anſwerable to ſo great a charge. Which complaints, although they were of ſome moment, yet would the Turkiſh emperour for the great fauors he bare vnto him his antient tutor, neuer haue conſtrued them ſo hardly againſt him, M

as

A as for the ſame to haue been induced to haue depriued him of his place, if the inueterat enuie of *Sinan Baſſa* had not miniſtred ſtrength and force to theſe hard accuſations, and ſet (as it were) an edge vpon *Amurath* to doe what he afterwards did.

But foraſmuch as the courſe of time and proceſſe of the preſent hiſtorie, bringeth now forth theſe two mightie champions of the Turkes togither, the enuious competitours the one of the others honours; who liuing many yeares togither, haue left the wofull remembrance of their greatneſſe and valour vnto the world, but eſpecially vnto the afflicted ſtate of Chriſtendome, the large wounds by them made, as it were, yet bleeding: ſtay with me a while, and without griefe if thou canſt behold the liuely counterfeits of two ſo great enemies (who both liued within theſe few yeares, and the latter of them died but the other day) as they are by the skilfull hand of the B cunning workeman moſt perfectly deſcribed, and thus to be ſeene.

A comparíſon betwixt Sinan Baſſa and Muſtapha, two anſient enemies both to themſelues and the Chriſtian common weale.

MVSTAPHA.

Quid Cyprum iactas? Quid Medos marte ſubactos?
Quid fuſos Perſas? Quid tua facta refers?
Dum te perfidiæ damnet Bragadinus: & ipſe
Theupulus indigna morte peremptus erit.
RICH. KNOLLEVS.

What doſt thou boaſt of CYPRVS woon? or of the Medes orethrowne?
What of the Perſians put to flight? or of thy deeds ſo knowne?
Whilſt *Bragadinus* thee condemnes of extreame perjurie,
And *Theupulus* to thy diſgrace, a ſhamefull death did die.

SINAN

Mitte Sinane tuos nimium iactare triumphos:
Et rigido vultu verba ſuperba loqui.
Vltar namq; aderit mox Tranſyluanius heros:
Qui tumidum coget te dare terga fugæ.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

Proud *Sinan* ceaſe to vaunt too much of thy great triumphs woon,
Or with ſterne looke for to extoll the deeds by thee erſt done:
For why the Tranſyluanian prince will take reuenge of thee,
And ſwelling in thy greateſt pride, enforce thee for to flee.

R. Knolls.

This *Sinan* was a moſt auntient enemie to *Muſtapha*, and in all things thought himſelfe his match: For if *Muſtapha* had ſubdued CYPRVS, ſo had he conquered TRIPOLIS, GVLETTA, with the kingdome of TVNES in AFFRICKE: and if *Muſtapha* were a man of great courage, and reuerend for his yeares, *Sinan* would be his equall both in the one and the other: yea and did not

A not ſticke to thinke himſelfe his better too, for that in the enterpriſe of GIAMEN in ARABIA, he performed ſuch an exploit as *Muſtapha* neither durſt nor yet knew how to put in execution, ſo carrying away the glorie of that famous conqueſt: for which euer after there was betweene them a continuall heart burning, one of them enuying at the others glorie, and both in word and deed, as occaſions fell out, in all things oppoſing themſelues one againſt the other. At laſt happens this opportunitie for *Sinan*: who taking the occaſion of the complaints of ſo many againſt *Muſtapha*, cauſed a great number of them to frame their ſupplications to *Amurath* (which he for his part did in moſt malignant manner enforce and exaggerat againſt his old aduerſarie) accuſing him that this ſecond yeare he had moſt manifeſtly ſhewed himſelfe to haue gone vnto the warres not as a worthie Generall deſirous of noble and honourable enterpriſes, but as a man
B that would make marchandiſe of bloud, and of his ſouldiors payes; employing the moſt liberall prouiſion of corne and money not as rewards of well deſeruing men, nor to the erecting of ſuch fabrickes as were needfull, and might haue beene built therewithall, but onely to his own proper gaine; ſo to enrich himſelfe with his peoples loſſes, to the great ſhame of his lord, and conſuming of the publicke treaſure: adding hereunto, that if the things done by *Muſtapha* were well ſearched, it would be found, that he had neglected many good oportunities, attempted many things in vaine, and not done any good either to the emperour or his ſouldiors, but onely to himſelfe: whom rather than they would follow againe, as their Generall, all his people in an vprore ſhewed themſelues readie and willing to aduenture themſelues in any other farre greater labour that by their lord and ſoueraigne ſhould be commaunded them.

Sinan accuſeth Muſtapha to Amurath.

C Theſe and ſuch like complaints, with the hard opinion alreadie conceiued againſt him by *Amurath*, were the occaſion why he reſolued to put him from his place. Beſide that, he thought it a thing dangerous to his ſtate, to ſuffer one and the ſelfeſame Generall any long time to commaund ouer ſo great armies, deeming it not ſo much for his honour ſtill to employ one man, as to ſhew that he had varietie and choice of ſubjects, worthie of ſo great a charge. And therfore being deſirous to find out the truth of that was reported to him concerning *Muſtapha*, he ſent the cheefe of his gentlemen porters with fifteene others to bring him to the Court, with his Chancellor and Treaſurer, to ſhew the accounts of ſuch monies as he had receiued, and to giue vp an account of their whole office. Vnto this meſſenger had *Amurath* deliuered three diuers letters, which he ſhould warily ſhew as occaſion ſerued: one of them was ſo written of purpoſe,
D that *Muſtapha* in the receiuing therof might by the ſame meſſengers be ſtrangled: in the ſecond was the emperours warrant for the doing of that was to them commanded: and in the third was contained, that *Muſtapha* ſhould forthwith ſend his chauncellor and treaſurer to the Court by thoſe meſſengers. *Muſtapha* in the meane time by diuers meanes, but eſpecially by the guilt of his owne conſcience, venting the diſpleaſure of the emperour towards him, and ſuſpecting (as the truth was) his life to be by thoſe meſſengers ſought after, at ſuch time as the captaine porter came to his campe, found many delayes to put him off, and would not in any caſe be ſpoken withall. But when the meſſenger would endure no longer delay, he was at length admitted to his preſence, hauing a circle appointed for him, out of which he and his companions might not ſtirre or approch neerer vnto him, the Baſſaes guard ſtanding in armes round about him. The meſſen-
E ger perceiuing the Baſſaes warineſſe, wilely pluckt forth the third letters, concerning the ſending of his Chancellor and Treaſurer to the Court. Then began the craftie old Baſſa to find many excuſes to haue delayed the matter: but being hardly preſſed by the meſſenger, and ſeeing no other remedie, he with much difficultie deliuered them both, couenanting before with the meſſenger to haue both their liues ſpared: who comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, were forthwith clapt faſt into the tower called IADICVLA, as there to haue beene ſeuerely examined of all the doings of the Baſſa. But *Muſtapha* after long delay comming at length to CONSTANTI-
F NOPLE the ninth of Aprill in the Spring following, and vſing the mightie and potent mediation of diuers great ladies and other his gratious friends in Court, preuailed ſo much in that corrupt gouernment, as that he was againe at length receiued into the fauour of *Amurath*, without any further proceeding againſt him, his chancellor, or treaſurer, who by his meanes were afterwards alſo enlarged and ſet at libertie: yet was he neuer after admitted to thoſe honours, which he perſuaded himſelfe were of right due vnto him, for his good and faithfull ſeruice of long time done to the *Othoman* emperours.

Io. Leuncla. in ſupplement. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 791.

Muſtapha by the mediation of certaine great ladies appeaſeth the diſpleaſure of Amurath.

In this time that *Muſtapha* was Generall at ERZIRVM, *Muhamet* the Viſier Baſſa was trea-

cherously slaine at CONSTANTINOPLE: after whom shortly after died also *Achmet Bassa*, who succeeded in his place: so that the said soueraigne dignitie, in honour next vnto the Turkish emperour, was by rightfull succession due to *Mustapha* the next Bassa; but that hee was not thought worthie of it by him that might and of right ought to haue gratified him therewith, as shall be a little hereafter declared, when we haue briefely set downe the sudden and strange death of the said *Muhamet* the Visier, worthie in all histories to be registred, as a mirrour for all such as administer justice in so great place, to looke vpon. G

The strange death of the great Visier Bassa Muhamet.

This Bassa, a man of as great fame as euer was any that had gouernment in the *Othoman* empire, in the time that he all commaunded, had for some light causes depriued a certaine souldior of CONSTANTINOPLE of his yearely pension, which with many labours and dangers he had gotten to maintaine himselfe, which pension the Bassa bestowed vpon another souldior, so that the other poore soule remained in miserie, altogether vnprouided for. Vnto which miserable estate seeing himselfe now brought, and not guiltie to himselfe of any fault worthie so great punishment, he determined with himselfe to reuenge the injurie with the bloud of that great Bassa, and to bereaue him of life that had bereft him of liuing: which because he could not by any fit meanes put in execution (by reason of the guard of slaues that keepe the person of the Visier, so that no man can come neere him that holdeth that high place) except he could by some meanes acquaint himselfe in the Visiers house, and so insinuate himselfe into his acquaintance; he resolued to take vpon him the rude habit of those religious which the Turkes call Deruissars, and after their manner to present himselfe euery morning before the Visier to aske his almes: and so hee did, counterfeiting withall a certaine kind of follie and lightnesse of mind, as doe those Deruissars, to make the people beleeue, that they contemne all worldly things, as men rauished onely with heauenly cogitations, which yet was by some that knew him thought to haue happened in him, through the greefe he had conceiued for the losse of his stipend. *Muhamet* not onely the first time, but also at all other times that this counterfeit hypocrite came before him, caused him to be comforted with his almes, and as it were with a kind of priuat stipend, enjoyned him euery morning to come vnto him into the Diuano, and there together with others appointed for the same purpose, to say his deuout prayers, and in singing praises to their wicked Prophet, to entreat God for his saluation: for it is a custome of all the noblemen, that at ordinarie houres of prayers all their priests assemble themselues in the Diuano, which is made readie for them, and there all together the infidell wretches doe with their vncleane mouthes mumble vp their superstitious prayers or rather most abhominable blasphemies. By this meanes did this dissembling companion so insinuate himselfe into the Visiers acquaintance, that the counterfeit foole went in and out of the Diuano at his pleasure, no man gainesaying either his going in or comming out, but dayly sat in the presence of the Visier, and so hauing said his prayers, and taken his almes, with all reuerence quietly departed. At last when the craftie hypocrit thought that the time was come wherein he might most fitly execute his purpose, hauing vtterly resolued with himselfe to die, so that he might satisfie the desire he had of reuenge, so long couertly fostered in his heart; hauing conueyed a very sharpe dagger secretly into one of his sleeues, he went according to his custome, to require his almes, with an assured resolution (when he had said his prayers, and reached out his hands to receiue his wonted almes) speedily to charge vpon the Visier, and with the dagger to strike him to the heart. According to the accustomed manner was the counterfeit hypocrit (for who would euer haue suspected so long and so traiterous a designement) admitted into the Diuano, where *Muhamet* the Visier sat in his house, to giue publike audience, and after the vsuall manner, before any of the suters that attended for answeres and dispatch of their businesse suspected any such deceit, he was admitted neere vnto the Visier, and sitting right against him, according to his old wont poured out those vaine deuotions which those hypocriticall Barbarians vse to mumble vp in their prayers: which being finished, whilest the Visier simply reacheth vnto him his wonted almes, the traiterous villaine in receiuing it suddenly drew out his dagger, and once or twice stabbed it into the Visiers breast, out of which so deadly wounds gushed out his bloud and life together. Whereupon the standers by astonied with the strangenesse of the fact, ran in, but loe the old hoarie Visier lay all soyled in his owne bloud, deadly pale, and breathing forth his last gaspe. The mischieuous murtherer they presently laied hands vpon, and bound him fast: but the rumour of the strange fact did by and by flie vnto the emperours eares: who suspecting that some of the other great Bassaes desiring to mount into that high dignitie, had H I K L M

D E F

A had prouoked the traitor to doe this deteſtable act, would needs vnderſtand of the traiterous murderer, What occaſion had mooued him ſo trecherouſly to kill his Viſier. Who reſolutely anſwered him, That he did it to deliuer the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE from the tyrannie of him, by whom he was vndeſeruedly depriued of his penſion. But when he could get no other anſwere of him, he deliuered him into the hands of the ſlaues of the dead Viſier, who with moſt exquiſit torments put him to death.

Muhamet thus dead, after him ſucceeded *Achmetes* the next Baſſa, who (as is before ſaid) ſhortly after died alſo; ſo that it was now *Muſtapha* his courſe to ſucceed in that chiefe roome, for that he was the third in the order of the Baſſaes. But when he had vſed all the meanes that he poſsibly could, to haue obtained that ſo honourable a place by order due vnto him; yet could he not find
B ſo much grace in the ſight of *Amurath* his great lord, as to haue it granted him vnder ſeale, although in effect he made him ſit as Viſier, and all matters of ſtate were brought vnto him as chiefe Viſier: but in his ſtead the ſeale was ſent to *Sinan Baſſa*, who was now made Generall for the Perſian wars. Which diſgrace not a little diſcontented *Muſtapha*, fearing leaſt ſome other ſtrange accident ſhould in ſhort time light vpon him.

After that *Muſtapha* was thus diſplaced from his Generalſhip, *Amurath* nominated *Sinan* 1580
Baſſa to be Generall in his ſtead for this expedition againſt the Perſians, and for the preſeruation *Sinan Baſſa choſen Generall for the Perſian war.*
of CHARS and TEFLIS; giuing him ſoueraigne authoritie to commaund, and to ſet in order
C all ſuch preparations as he ſhould thinke neceſſarie for ſuch enterpriſes as he ſhould thinke good to attempt in his firſt yeare: who although by reaſon of his great fauour he grew haughtie and glorious, yet did he not foreſlow to diſcourſe throughly with himſelfe vpon all his deſsignments: and namely, beſide the ſuccouring of TEFLIS, he determined to build a fort at TOMANIS, to aſſure the paſſage thither from CHARS; and withall to attempt all the meanes he could to induce the Perſian king to ſend embaſſadours for peace, with ſuch conditions as ſhould be acceptable to *Amurath*. With theſe and ſuch like diſcourſes did he buſie himſelfe whileſt he was yet making preparation to ſet forwards towards ERZIRVM.

Of all theſe changes and alterations was the Perſian king aduertiſed, as alſo that this new Turkiſh Generall *Sinan* was carefull, how this long warre might by ſome meanes be appeaſed and a good peace concluded. Vpon which occaſion, and by the perſuaſion of *Leuent ogli* the Georgian, and of *Mirize Salmas* his Viſier, he was induced to ſend embaſſadors to CONSTAN-
D TINOPLE, to demaund peace of *Amurath*. Vpon which reſolution he diſpatched *Maxut Chan*, *The Perſian king ſendeth Maxut Chan his embaſſadour to Amurath.*
(of ſome called *Maxudes*) his embaſſador, with direction that he ſhould go to *Sinan*, and of him to receiue guides to conduct him to CONSTANTINOPLE with letters to *Amurath*, and as much as lay in him to labour for the pacifying of all theſe troubles: and in any caſe to conclude vpon it, ſo that he would be content with CHARS and TEFLIS. With theſe inſtructions the embaſſador departed, and at length arriued at CHARS, and ſo came to ERZIRVM, and was from thence conducted towards AMASIA. But when he came to SIVAS, he found *Sinan* the Generall there encamped, gathering togither his armie for the execution of his deſsignments: for *Sinan* vpon the arriuall of *Muſtapha*, departing from CONSTANTINOPLE the fiue and twentith day of Aprill, was now come ſo farre on his way. Of the comming of this embaſſadour, the Turks re-
E ceiued great joy, and newes thereof was in poſt ſent by *Cicala Baſſa* to the court. The Perſian embaſſadour enformed *Sinan* of all that he had to treat with *Amurath* on the behalfe of king *Mahamet*; and laboured earneſtly to perſuade him, of the equitie of the cauſe, and of his requeſt: declaring vnto him, that for as much as both the nations were conjoyned vnder the law of *Mahomet* their common prophet (though there ſeemed ſome ſmall difference not worth thoſe troubles) it were a verie inconuenient thing for them to contend among themſelues, and to ſeeke the ouerthrow or vtter deſtruction of one another: and that therefore he was in good hope to obtaine of *Amurat* this deſired peace, if he had no other cauſe wherewith he found himſelfe agrieued, as in truth he had not. Wherefore he beſought the Generall, that he would with ſafe conuoy conduct him to *Amurath*, to the end that if it were poſsible theſe bloudie wars might take
F end; at the verie report whereof the reſt of the world rejoiced, and ſtood attentiuely waiting to ſee what would be the iſſue thereof.

This embaſſadour, *Sinan* entertained after the beſt manner the rudeneſſe of his nature would afford: and thinking that the verie fame of his valour, had wrought in the minds of his enemies this reſolution to come to demaund peace, granted vnto the embaſſadour a ſure conuoy to con-

duct him to CONSTANTINOPLE; and wrote to *Amurath* in his letters, all that he thought was fit to be demanded, repreſenting vnto him what great and important matters (he hoped) might now be obtained. But before he diſmiſſed the ſaid embaſſadour, he aduiſed him not to go to *Amurath*, without reſolution to offer vnto him ſome great good conditions, and to yeeld vnto him all that countrey which he by force of armes had before conquered: for he knew the mind of *Amurath* verie well, that hee was reſolued in himſelfe, not to yeeld ſo much as one hand breadth of that ground which he had woon with the ſword. Which motion of the prowd Baſſa ſo troubled the embaſſadour, that fearing he ſhould not be able to conclude any thing, he ſtood in doubt whether to proceed on his journey to CONSTANTINOPLE, or to returne back againe into PERSIA: but conſidering better what belonged to his duetie in ſo waightie a buſineſſe, and hoping to receiue more reaſonable conditions from the mouth of *Amurath* himſelfe; he gaue large words to *Sinan*, and ſo with a ſafe conuoy departed from SIVAS, and by long journies came to SCVTARI, and ſo paſsing ouer that little ſtrait, the fourth of Auguſt arriued at CONSTANTINOPLE.

The admonition of Sinan to the Perſian embaſſadour.

The Perſian king in the meane time, ſtirred vp with the report of the Turks preparations; to cauſe it to be noiſed, that he likewiſe intended ſome important matters, commaunded all the Chans and Gouernours of his kingdome, to meet togither with all their forces at TAVRIS, where he himſelfe with the prince *Emir Hamze* his ſonne met them. And after many conſultations there had for the repreſsing of the Turkiſh inuaſion (for as yet it was not certainly knowne what *Sinan* meant to attempt) he reſolued to ſend ſouldiors into GEORGIA towards TEFLIS, whither of neceſsitie ſuccours muſt be ſent by the Turkes to them of the fort: and withall, determined alſo to go himſelfe with all his armie from TAVRIS to CARACACH, a place verie commodious and neere to guard both TAVRIS and SIRVAN, being ſituat euen in the middeſt betweene the one and the other; and there to expect the remouing of *Sinan*, whoſe ambitious nature the king knowing, doubted that he to ſurmount *Muſtapha*, would attempt ſome great enterpriſe, yea peraduenture to run euen vpon TAVRIS. But when it came to the point that hee ſhould ſend ſome of his captaines into GEORGIA, he made choiſe of ſuch as had beſt experience of thoſe countries, and were neereſt vnto them: with whom he ſent *Tocomac* alſo, and the reſt whoſe ſeruice he had before vſed againſt the Turkes; commaunding them to joine their forces with *Simon* the Georgian, and by all meanes poſsible to annoy the enemie: whom if they ſhould perceiue to bend for TAVRIS, they ſhould not faile to follow him; to the end they might joine togither with him, and ſo encounter the enemies armie. All thoſe captaines were reſolute men, and led with them ten thouſand ſouldiors; which being joyned with them of GEORGIA, amounted to the number of thirteene thouſand: who arriuing at GENGE, gaue knowledge to *Simon* of their comming, and that in his behalfe they were readie to doe great matters.

The preparations of the Perſian king againſt the Turkes.

Now was the Perſian embaſſadour with all due honour receiued at CONSTANTINOPLE, where he was honourably entertained by the great Baſſaes of the court, but eſpecially by *Muſtapha*, who within two daies after ſuddenly died; of a ſurfeit taken of eating too much of muske Melons, and immoderat drinking of Zerbet (a kind of pleaſant drinke which the Turkes vſe, made of water and ſugar:) but moſt men thought him to haue poiſoned himſelfe, as fearing the former indignation of *Amurath* to be againe enflamed by the new complaints of the Perſian embaſſadour againſt him, for that he in the time of his Generalſhip had diſhonourably ſuppreſſed certaine embaſſages ſent from the Perſian king; which he now fearing to be called in queſtion for, the former ſtormes as yet ſcarce well appeaſed, made himſelfe now away. After his death it was commonly reported, that if he had longer liued he ſhould haue been vndoubtedly ſtrangled: which to preuent, he became the worthie executioner of himſelfe, that had moſt vnjuſtly cauſed others to be moſt ſhamefully murthered. Which was the more like to be true, and the rather beleeued, for that the infinit wealth he had of long time ſcraped togither, was immediatly after his death taken into the kings treaſures, ſome ſmall portion thereof being left vnto his nephews: a moſt certaine token of *Amuraths* indignation againſt him. The Perſian embaſſadour hauing audience the ſeauenth of Auguſt, with many liuely reaſons and much eloquence, perſuaded the Turkiſh emperour to deſiſt from the warre begun, as contrarie to the will and pleaſure of their common Prophet *Mahomet*: as alſo to the peace, which was ſo roially, and with ſo many capitulations, not long before concluded betweene *Tamas* and *Solyman* his grandfather; and was not to haue been broken and warres raiſed, but vpon ſome great quarrell or injurie done; which the

Perſians

A Perſians had not at any time offered, but had alwaies wiſhed vnto him all happineſſe; as they had manifeſtly declared, by ſending vnto him an embaſſage to that purpoſe by Sultan *Tocomac*: whereby he might plainly perceiue, the good mind and zeale the Perſian king had for the maintenance of the peace. And although in the ſhort raigne of *Iſmahel*, there was ſome rumor raiſed that he meant to go vnto BABYLONIA, and ſome ſuch like newes: yet that was but a youthfull part, and an effect of that heat which is commonly proper to ſuch as being kept long in ſtraight priſon cannot vſe their libertie with moderation, and had therefore receiued due puniſhment for it, by ſudden and vnexpected death. But as for the king that now is, he did aboue all others embrace amitie with his majeſtie; and therefore did moſt earneſtly deſire, that it would pleaſe him to temper his anger conceiued, which had incenſed him to take vp armes againſt a
B king ſo much his friend, being of the ſame religion, and better affected towards him than all the reſt of the nations in the world.

This embaſſadour the Turkiſh emperour diſmiſſed without any reſolution at all; but onely gaue order, that whatſoeuer he had to ſay touching this peace, he ſhould communicat it with his Viſier. Many were the diſcourſes that happened; for that the Turke required all thoſe cities and countries, which till that time he had conquered with the ſword, or (as their prowd manner of phraſe is) whereon his Generals horſe had trod, to be yeelded again vnto him: and the embaſſadour on the other ſide, had no warrant from his king to yeeld any more than that part of GEORGIA which is on this ſide the riuer of Araxis. Whereupon the ſaid embaſſadour began to feare, leaſt he ſhould be ſuſpected for a ſpie, and ſo be euill intreated: wherewithall he did find himſelfe
C too manifeſtly charged by the hard ſpeech that the Viſier vſed towards him. Being thus doubtfull whereupon to reſolue, perceiuing himſelfe ſtrained to the grant of theſe demaunds, and receiuing alſo ſome threatnings withall, he determined with himſelfe to enlarge his ſpeeches with the Viſier in diuers and ſundrie particularities, and to giue him good hope that he ſhould be able to perſuade with his king, the yeelding vp of ſo much as *Amurath* had and did demaund. Hereupon was *Maxut Chan* the embaſſadour in friendly manner and without any outrage ſent from CONSTANTINOPLE to CHARS, and commiſsion giuen to *Sinan* (then at CHARS) that without delay, and with all fidelitie, he ſhould cauſe the embaſſadour to be conducted to VAN, and from thence into PERSIA, whereſoeuer he did deſire: all which was faithfully performed.

But to returne againe to *Sinan* the Generall, who from SIVAS had ſent the ſaid embaſſadour *Sinan muſtereth his armie at Erzirum.*
D to CONSTANTINOPLE (as is before declared:) and being departed thence, arriued at ERZIRVM, where he tooke a ſuruey of his armie, and other prouiſion neceſſarie for this expedition: and ſo from thence was now come to CHARS, from whence he diſpatched the Perſian embaſſadour, much diſcontented that no other concluſion for peace could be wrought.

Maxut Chan at laſt arriuing at the Perſian Court, reported vnto the king all that had happe- *Maxut Chan reporteth vnto the king what he hath done, and is for his good ſeruice by him rewarded.*
ned in this his embaſſage: the ſumme whereof was, That *Amurath* would not condiſcend to any condition of peace, vnleſſe the whole countrey of SIRVAN might be yeelded vnto him, for that he had once (as he ſaid) conquered the ſame. Neither did the ſame embaſſadour forbeare to tell the king, the ſuſpition *Amurath* had conceiued of him, to haue been a ſpie rather than an embaſſadour; and of the large promiſes he was faine to make to the Turke, to auoid the manifeſt
E danger of impriſonment or death: all which for all that, now lay in his majeſties power to performe or not. The king for the preſent remained well ſatisfied with that *Maxut* had done, and in reward of his great trauell and expences, gaue him the charge of the chamber at TAVRIS, naming him the chamberlaine of that rich and great citie. Of which new office (though verie honourable and of great importance) he tooke ſmall pleaſure, for that one *Emir Chan* his auntient enemie was chiefe Gouernour of that citie, from whom he feared ſome dangerous treacherie: wherefore he appointed his deputie for the execution of the office, and withdrew himſelfe from TAVRIS to CASSANGICH, a place of his owne, there to paſſe away the time vntill it ſhould pleaſe the king otherwiſe to diſpoſe of him. But *Emir Chan*, who ſtill nouriſhed in his mind the auntient hatred he had conceiued againſt him, tooke this as a moſt fit occaſion to bring him into
F diſgrace with the king: certifying him, That *Maxut* not contented with the great preferment it had pleaſed him to beſtow vpon him, had in contempt of his rewards abandoned TAVRIS, and ſubſiſted in his place a moſt baſe perſon to repreſent the kings majeſtie and to mannage his treaſure: and that he abſented himſelfe farre from that citie and the court there, hauing withdrawne himſelfe into the confines of TVRKIE, no doubt for ſome miſchieuous intent, either to yeeld

himselfe vnto them, or els to haue intelligence with them, and was like ynough to be guiltie to himselfe of the great errour he had alreadie committed, by offering SIRVAN vnto the Turkish king; and making promise of so large conditions, whereby he had obtained such a sure and safe conuoy to conduct him; when as he had before discouered himselfe to be a fauorer of the Turks, and a traitor to his owne king: and that therefore it were good to make triall of his inclination, and so peraduenture to decline some great mischeefe, tending to the danger of the Persian state. This malitious accusation slily contriued, so wrought in the mind of the suspitious king, that he commaunded *Emir Chan* secretly to apprehend *Maxut*, and to bring him to the Court, and (if he could not by other meanes) then by torture to wrest from him the truth of all those matters. Glad was *Emir* to haue his enemie thus put into his hands, and thought it long vntill he had brought this shame vpon *Maxut*: who hauing alreadie heard some inckling thereof, resolued with himselfe to doe any thing, rather than to fall into the power of his hatefull enemie. And therfore at such time as fifteene tall fellows were for that purpose sent vnto him from *Emir Chan*, who in the kings name summoned him to the Court, he without making any shew that he took the matter otherwise than well, entertained them courteously, and made them great cheere: but when he perceiued them to be ouercome with sleepe, which crept vpon them by reason of the excesse wherewith they had ouercharged themselues, he caused them to be straightly bound, and with long cords hanged them downe into a deepe well, and there shut them vp, secretly couered. Then gathering together the most precious things he had in his house, and setting his wiues, his children, his brethren, and nephewes on horsebacke, fled with all his familie in the euening, and the next day arriued at SALMAS, and was there friendly entertained by the Turkish Bassa, and from thence conueyed to VAN, where he was also courteously welcommed by *Cicala Bassa*, and honourably accompanied, sent to *Sinan* the Generall, who very glad of his comming, sent him with all diligence to CONSTANTINOPLE to *Amurath*. And this was in effect the end of the first enterparlance of peace betwixt the Persians and the Turkes.

Maxut Chan flieth vnto the Turkes.

Sinan remained at CHARS eight dayes, and there againe surueyed his armie and prouision, and afterwards set forward towards TOMANIS, with resolution there to build a fort. But being come thither, he could by no meanes put that his designement in execution, by reason of the immoderat raine, which continually by the space of eight dayes fell in such abundance, as that neither did the Sunne appeare, or the skie cleare. Beside that, *Sinan* greatly feared least the enemie taking the opportunitie of this raine, of the straight, and of the building, should assault his armie, and finding it in euill plight and out of order, greatly endomage it: Wherefore casting off his former determination for fortifying at TOMANIS, he remooued thence, to carrie succours to TEFLIS. But as soone as he was risen with his armie, and past the strait, *Tal-Ogli* captaine of the Ianizaries of DAMASCO, and *Homar* Sanzack of SAFFETO, hauing receiued secret intelligence that hard by a little out of the way, was good store both of corne and cattell, resolued with themselues to goe thither to fetch in that bootie: and so with two thousand souldiors greedie of prey they set forward. Now *Simon* the Georgian and the Persians, following the Turkes armie afarre off, had deuided his souldiors into all such places as where there was either corne, or water, or any such thing as might allure the Turkes to scatter themselues from the campe: and perceiuing these hungrie Turkes carelesly to run headlong to lay hold on this desired bootie, he suddenly fell vpon them, and cut them in pieces, being disordered, so that of those two thousand escaped but *Tal-Ogli* the captaine of the Ianizaries onely, *Homar* the Sanzacke, and all the rest being left dead vpon the ground.

Sinan commeth to Teflis.

Sinan holding on his way, in two dayes came to TEFLIS, where presently he called a counsell of all the cheefe men of his armie, taking order, That euery man vpon his oath should depose the truth touching the greatnesse of TEFLIS: which he did onely in reproch of *Mustapha* the great Bassa, who most vntruly had enformed *Amurath*, That it was as great and populous as DAMASCO; whereas in truth it was not in any respect to be compared vnto that so famous a citie. After that he deuided the treasure and succours he had brought, amongst the souldiours of the fortresse, chearing them vp with good words and promises of great matters. And because the souldiors there in garrison complained greatly against the Bassa their captaine, he caused a bill of complaint to be framed against him, and finding him guiltie that he had conuerted the souldiors pay to his owne vse, he condemned him to the restitution thereof, and so immediately discharging him of his office, placed in his roome *Giusuf Bey*, a lord of GEORGIA, who for the antient

A tient enmitie betweene him and *Simon*, had yeelded himselfe to the Turkes, and was of them so welcommed, that *Sinan* trusted him with the custodie of that fort, which with so many dangers had beene maintained and defended till that day.

All things thus set in order at TEFLIS, *Sinan* with his armie departed thence, and hauing againe passed the strait of TOMANIS, there came vnto him *Mustaffad Bassa*, afterwards gouernour of ALEPPO, declaring vnto him, That not farre off was great store of corne and cattell, and no bodie but only a few Georgians to keepe the same, and therfore wished him to send forth some to fetch it in: whereof (though it had beene much more) his armie then stood in great need. *Sinan* was well affected vnto this *Mustaffad*, and therefore the easilier enduced by him to send for the aforesaid bootie: but moued with the fresh remembrance of that which had happened to *Tal-Ogli* and *Homar*, he gaue order, That to fetch in this corne and cattell there should goe out ten thousand horsemen and their seruants, among whom was also the same *Mustaffad* as their Generall. Now stood *Tocomac*, *Simon*, and the other Persian captaines in secret ambush, waiting when any of the Turkes should come to fetch in this bootie. Whereupon the aforesaid souldiors being now come, as they desired, and hauing almost charged all their mules and horses with that which best pleased them to make choice of: the hidden Persians all on a sudden issued out of their lurking places amongst them, and with great slaughter put them to flight, and with such furie pursued the victorie, that they slew of them seuen thousand, carried away many prisoners aliue, and the mules and horses laden with the stolne bootie. *Mustaffad* was the first that fled, and the first that brought the vnhappie news of that ouerthrow to *Sinan*: which was forthwith confirmed by the report of such as had by speedie flight escaped the furie of the enemie. Whereupon *Sinan* dispatched away the Bassa of CARAMANIA with a great power, charging him whersoeuer he should find the enemie, to set vpon him: and presently rising himselfe with his whole campe, followed the said Bassa. But all too late, for the Persians after the aforesaid victory without staying had withdrawne themselues into their strong places, knowne onely to such as were well acquainted with the difficult passages of GEORGIA: and hauing there disposed of their prey, were now returning to await some fresh occasion of new slaughter. But when they descried the whole armie of the Turks vpon the rising of a certaine hill, they were afraid to meet them, yea and stood in some doubt also, least *Sinan* should descend from the hill, and so assault them: for which cause they retired themselues againe into the strength of the mountaines: yet not with such speed, but that the Turkes ouertooke some few of them, and slew about fiftie or threescore of them, whose heads in signe of triumph they carried a good part of their way vpon the points of their speares: and tooke prisoners about threescore and ten moe.

Sinan departeth from Tefin.

Seuen thousand Turkes slaine by the Georgians and Persians.

At last *Sinan* with all his armie hauing passed these dangerous places of GEORGIA, arriued at TRIALA, where it was told him, That the Persian king in person himselfe being alreadie departed from TAVRIS, with an exceeding great army was comming to bid him battell. At which news he caused proclamation to be presently made through all his armie, That euery man should put himselfe in readinesse for the voyage to TAVRIS, whether he himselfe meant to go to meet with the king his enemie. In the meane time (as is reported) he dispatched certaine posts to the Persian king, then at CARACACH, to entreat him to send another embassadour to *Amurath* for peace, thinking by that meanes (as some doe conjecture) to remoue the king from the resolution of comming to assaile him, if he had any such meaning. After this proclamation made, he descended into the open and large plains of CHEILDER, where presently he mustered his whole armie, and gaue it out, That before he would set forward toward TAVRIS, he would make triall of the readinesse and nimblenesse of his souldiors, in such sort, as if they should presently joyne battell with the enemie: which without further delay he put in execution the next morning, formally raunging his whole armie in order of battell; and then sending out some few others, to shew themselues vpon the top of certaine hils, as if they had been enemies that came to seize vpon his armie; he caused all his artillerie to be discharged, and commanded euery man to skirmish and bestirre himselfe, altogether after the same manner as if the enemie had beene there present before them: where the thundering of the great and small shot, the thicke stormes of arrowes, with the brightnesse of the armour and weapons, yeelding forth lightenings as if it had beene fierie beames, and the noise of drums and trumpets and other instruments of warre, with the ensignes of blew and yellow flying in the wind, made such a medley of all things, as if it had been the turmoile of a very battell indeed. In the end he caused the retreat to be sounded: and then

setting

setting all his armie in order againe, made the like shew the second time, and so the third time al- G
so: which was indeed performed with the great scorn and derision of his souldiors, who deemed
it rather childrens play, than any commendation to the proud Bassa. These counterfeit shews of
warre thus finished, yet did he not set forward toward TAVRIS, as he had giuen it out, but loyte-
red eight dayes in those plaines of CHIELDER. At which time there arriued out of PERSIA
one *Aider* the Aga, as an embassadour from the king, who was by *Sinan* with great joy entertai-
ned. Diuers were the things by this embassadour propounded, such as had *Maxut Chan* before:
but the conclusion of all was, that the Persian king would be content voluntarily to relinquish
CHARS and TEFLIS, and so remaine (as he did before) in amitie with *Amurath*, and so desired
Sinan to conclude a peace with his master if it might be: as for himselfe, this message done, he
was presently to returne into PERSIA. For this peace *Sinan* promised to deale with *Amurath*, so H
that the Persian king would send another embassadour to CONSTANTINOPLE. Vpon which
conclusion the said *Aider* returned into PERSIA, and at TAVRIS declared to his king what he
had seene, what promises he had receiued of *Sinan*, and withall exhorted him to send a new em-
bassadour vnto the Turkish Court. After this, when the publike rumour of the comming of the
Persian king, was found to be false, *Sinan* in stead of going to TAVRIS returned to CHARS,
where he idelly stayed a whole month with the generall maruelling and murmuring of all his
armie, astonished to see themselues (to the great charges of their king, and the disturbance of his
whole kingdome) brought forth not for any honourable conquest, but as it were only of purpose
to make a vaine shew of warre.

Sinan commeth to Erzirum, and there breaketh vp his armie.

At last he departed from CHARS, for that now Winter was come on, and the frosts and I
snows did his armie great harme: and so comming to ERZIRVM, there presently dismissed eue-
ry man to goe and winter in his owne countrey, but remained still himselfe in the same citie:
from whence he by speedie posts diligently enformed *Amurath* of the succours he had left at
TEFLIS, of the losses he had receiued from the enemie, of all that which was by *Mustapha* misre-
ported, of the comming of the Persian embassadour to him, of the promise made vnto him tou-
ching a new embassadour; and to be short, of all his whole actions. Besides all this, he aduertised
Amurath, That the enterprise of PERSIA was a very hard, long, and difficult matter, and such a
one as needed another manner of preparation than had beene as yet appointed for it: and that if
he desired to subdue PERSIA, it were then very necessarie that he should speake with him at
large, and discourse vpon many particularities, which could not so well without exceeding tedi- K
ousnesse be declared dy writing. After that he sent other messengers also to sollicit *Amurath* for
his returne to CONSTANTINOPLE, continually telling him, That it was not possible for him
to signifie by writing, what he purposed to report to him by word of mouth, for the better ac-
complishing of the enterprise begun. Nothing in the world did *Sinan* abhorre more than this
warre, hauing his mind altogether bent against the affaires of the Christians in EVROPE, and
therefore sought by all meanes possible for the diuerting of those warres from the East into some
other quarters. At last he wrought so much, he entreated so much, he writ so many letters, and
sollicited the matter so earnestly, that *Amurath* was perswaded to send for him to CONSTANTI-
NOPLE, as soone as euer he was certified of the arriuall of the new embassadour from PERSIA,
of whom *Sinan* had before aduertised him: for he was resolued either to grow to a peace with L
the said embassadour, if he came with honourable conditions; or if he came not, or that after his
comming they could not agree vpon the peace, then to put in execution those his conceits wher-
of he must needs in particular talke with *Sinan* by word of mouth. At length the promised em-
bassadour called *Ebraim Chan*, a man of great eloquence, and highly honoured in PERSIA, came
to *Sinan*; whereof *Sinan* gaue present intelligence to *Amurath*, beseeching him againe to permit
him to come to CONSTANTINOPLE: which his request *Amurath* then graunted. Wherup-
on *Sinan* forthwith returned to the Court, where he attended the vniuersall gouernment of the
whole empire. At his first comming to the presence of *Amurath* (wherein hee discoursed not
with him of any thing, but of the comming of the Persian embassadour) the conditions were set
downe which they were to require for the reducing of the capitulations of this peace to a good M
end. After which agreement the embassador (being now come, and most magnificently receiued
in CONSTANTINOPLE) had audience: at which time he with much glorious speech laboured
to perswade *Amurath*, That his king had a most ardent desire to be reconciled vnto him, and to
joyne his forces with his against the enemies of the Mahometane religion, and that for that pur-
pose

Sinan derided of his souldiors.

A pose he was now especially come thither: which his good purpose, if it were answered with like zeale on his part, there would thereof ensue the greatest vnitie and friendship that euer was betweene any Mahometane princes. Whereunto *Amurath* gaue him no other answere, but that he should thereof talke with his Visier, and with him entreat of all matters concerning the peace: and so he was by *Amurath* entertained and dismissed, both at one time.

Now had *Amurath* called to CONSTANTINOPLE his eldest sonne *Mahomet* (who afterward succeeded him in the empire) being then about sixteene yeares old, to circumcise him according to the custome of the Turkes; following therein the inueterat law of the Hebrewes. Vnto which solemnitie, many Christian princes were solemnly inuited; who accordingly sent thither their embassadours with great gifts and presents, in token of peace and confederacie, B namely, *Rudolphus* the emperour, *Henrie* the third the French king, *Stephen* king of POLONIA: the State of VENICE, the king of PERSIA, the Moore kings of MAROCCO and FES, the princes of MOLDAVIA, VALACHIA, and others. With all triumph and joy was the circumcision of this young prince solemnised, by the space of fortie daies & fortie nights, in the great market place of CONSTANTINOPLE, where all the embassadours aforesaid had their scaffolds prepared and furnished according to their degrees and states, and receiued such entertainment as might be shewed at such a kind of barbarous spectacle: Only the Persian embassadour, who had also his scaffold seuerall to himselfe, but not regarded as the rest, rejoyced not at these feasts and triumphs: for among sundrie other wrongs and scornes done by the commaundement of *Amurath* vnto the Persian nation (as by hanging vp of certaine counterfeit pictures of Persians made C of laths and sticks, and then burning them, and in many scornfull sorts abusing them) the Turke, for the great displeasure he had conceiued for the harme done to *Osman Bassa* and the Turkes in SIRVAN much about that time, and for the disdaine he had taken against *Ebrain Chan* (as one not condiscending to the conditions of peace which he expected, nor yeelding to any more than the other embassadour had done before, seemed to haue come as a spie to marke the Turkish affaires, or to mocke *Amurath*, rather than to put in execution any good matter to pacifie the minds of the two mightie princes) commaunded the standing before appointed for him, in disgrace of him to be cast downe, and himselfe with all his followers to be shut vp as close prisoners in the house of *Mahamet Bassa* at CONSTANTINOPLE: where he was so straightly kept, that though an hundred of his followers there died of the plague, which shortly after began D to wax hoat in the citie, yet could he not obtaine so much fauour as to be remoued to some other place, but there was enforced to tarrie it out, vntill that afterward order was taken, he should be carried thence as prisoner to ERZIRVM. To end these solemnities, *Mahomet* the young prince was circumcised, not publikely, but in his fathers chamber, by *Mechmet* one of the inferiour Bassaes, sometime the emperour *Solymans* barber.

1581 *Amurath circumciseth his eldest sonne Mahomet.*

Io. Leunel. suppl. Annal. Turc. pag. 82.

Now whilest *Sinan* as great Visier sat commaunding in CONSTANTINOPLE, the garrisons in CHARS and TEFLIS (kept in by the enemie, and hauing receiued none other relieue than a little which *Sinan* before his departure from ERZIRVM had by good hap caused to be secretly conuaied vnto them) were thought to be driuen to great wants. Which thing *Sinan* right well knew, and fearing least those two places which had with so much adoe beene both gained and E maintained, should for want of new succours fall againe into the hand of the enemie: hee both boldly and freely counselled *Amurath*, to send a new garrison to VAN for the safetie of the countrey thereabouts; and then vnder the conduct of some valiant captaine, to send succours to TEFLIS. Vpon which point *Amurath* asked *Sinan* his opinion, and willed him to bethinke himselfe of some fit man. Hereupon *Sinan* propounded diuers vnto him, but none of them pleased him; for why, he was before resolued, in despight of *Sinan* and of his counsell, to bestow this charge vpon *Mahamet Bassa*, nephew to *Mustapha* the late Bassa, and for his sake hated of *Sinan*. This Bassa *Mahamet* he sent to ERZIRVM, with the title of the Bassa of that prouince; honouring him withall with the name of Generall of the armie for TEFLIS. And presently gaue commaundement to *Hassan* the Bassa of CARAEMIT, to *Mustapha* sometime called *Manuethiar* F the Georgian, to all the Sanzacks, the Curdi, and the souldiors of ERZIRVM, that they should resort to the standerd of *Mahamet* their Generall, and so to follow him to TEFLIS. Whereupon there assembled togither out of all the said places about fiue and twentie thousand souldiors, with all things necessarie for the relieue of the distressed garrison in TEFLIS. Commandement was also giuen to the Bassaes of ALEPPO and MARAS, to repaire to VAN with all their souldiors,

ſouldiors, and there to abide till Winter: which they accordingly did, not moleſted nor troubled by any enemie. G

In the end of Auguſt *Mahamet Baſſa* departed from ERZIRVM, with the Baſſa of CARAMIT and all his armie, carrying with him money, corne, and all other things needfull for the reliefe of TEFLIS: and in eight daies came to CHARS, and from thence to ARCHELECH, not troubled by any. At ARCHELECH he found *Muſtapha* (otherwiſe called *Manucchiar* the Georgian) with all his ſouldiors, whom the Generall moſt joyfully entertained and honoured with gifts: and withall admoniſhed him to continue in his obedience to *Amurath*, and to conduct him with his armie the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt way to TEFLIS: for that ſome were of opinion, that it were beſt to go by TOMANIS, and ſome other by the way of *Muſtaffa* his countrey: wherin *Muſtaffa* did readily reſolue him, that the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt way lay through his owne countrey, being H alſo in his opinion the ſafeſt. This counſell of *Muſtaffa* pleaſed *Mahamet* greatly, ſo that he made choiſe of him to be the guide of his armie, repoſing himſelfe wholly vpon his good direction: and ſo departed thence towards TEFLIS, paſsing through ALTVNCHALA, and CARACHALA, both belonging to the ſaid Georgian, abounding with all things neceſſarie for the ſuſtenance of man, neither were they euer diſturbed by any enemie. Hauing paſſed *Muſtaffa* his countrey, they came to a friendly caſtle called GORI, from whence they diſcouered in certaine fields a great armie of the Georgians, mingled with Perſians, but apparelled after the manner of GEORGIA: theſe were thoſe captaines of PERSIA, ſent from the Perſian king (as in other yeares before) to aid the Georgians; who ſecretly conjoyned with *Simon Chan* the Georgian, had changed their apparell, becauſe the treatie of peace ſhould not be diſturbed, and their king accounted I vniuſt of his word; who vnder the colour of a treatie of peace, whiles *Amurath* attended nothing elſe but to ſuccour and defend his conquered countries, without purpoſe to annoy any other places, went about to procure the deſtruction of the Turkes. Theſe then as ſoone as they ſaw the Turkiſh armie, and perceiued that they alſo themſelues were by them deſcried, ſent Heraulds vnto them with haughtie words of defiance, and to offer them battell. With great griefe of mind did the Baſſa receiue this prowd defiance; but hauing no other purpoſe but onely to bring his ſuccours ſafe to TEFLIS, he diſmiſſed the Heraulds, and ſtudied by all meanes he could to ſhun battell. That euening he was fauoured in his purpoſe by the great and continuall raine which then fell, and ſerued for a reaſonable excuſe of his delay: but the next day prouing faire, and the Sunne ſhining bright, both the armies marched in ſight the one of the other all day, vntill about K foure houres and an halfe before night; at what time the Turkes arriued neere to a riuer that ſeparated the one armie from the other. There the Baſſa fell in conſultation with *Muſtaffa*, whither they ſhould paſſe ouer the riuer before night, or ſtay on that ſide they were vntill the next morning. In which caſe *Muſtaffa* aduiſed him to ſtay, as fearing leaſt the enemie ſhould ſet vpon the armie diſordered in paſsing the riuer, and ſo annoy them. Notwithſtanding the Generall diſliked this aduiſe of *Muſtapha*, hauing taken a ſtrong conceit, euen vpon the firſt diſcouerie of the enemie, that there was ſome intelligence and compact betweene *Muſtaffa* and the Perſians, and that to that end he had malitiouſly perſuaded him to come that way, and not by the way of TOMANIS: & therfore the Baſſa thinking, that if there were any ſuch plot laied between *Muſtaffa* and the enemie, to ſet it in ſome confuſion, would not in any caſe follow the counſell of the L ſuſpected Georgian, to ſtay that night; but commanded, that with the greateſt ſpeed that might be, all his ſouldiors with their treaſure & corne ſhould paſſe ouer the riuer; to the end that before night he might on the other ſide of the riuer encampe his armie in ſome good place, to the ſcorne and deriſion of his enemies. *Mahamet* his lieutenant, a bold yong man and an hardie, was the firſt that ventured ouer, and after him the carriages of money and of corne, and then the whole armie, with ſuch ſpeed, that ſome of the confuſed multitude were drowned in the paſſage, being rather troden downe with the horſes and camels, than brought to their deaths either by the depth of the channell or ſwiftneſſe of the riuer.

Mahamet Baſſa refuſeth battell offered by the Georgians and and Perſians.

As ſoone as the Georgians perceiued that the Turks had paſſed the riuer, without any ſtaying vntill they might ſettle themſelues in any good order, they in great haſt and furie ran vpon them, M and preſently aſſailed them whiles they were yet all in confuſion and out of order: by reaſon whereof, the Turkes, although they turned their faces vpon their enemies, and made ſome good reſiſtance, yet in ſhort time you might haue ſeene the bankes of the riuer in many places ſtained with the Turkiſh bloud, and many carkaſes of the Turkes here and there ſcattered, without any

apparant

A apparant loſſe among the Georgians and Perſians. Amongſt them that fell in this ſlaughter, were a number of Sanzackes, of the Curdi, and Meſopotamians; which the reſt perceiuing, and by the ouerthrow of their owne conjecturing the loſſe of others, turned their backes and fled: the like did the remnant of the Meſopotamians, and after them at laſt the whole armie: whom the Georgians preſſed ſo ſore in their flight, that many of the Turkes ſeeing no other way to eſcape, caſt themſelues into the riuer, and ſo (though hardly) eſcaped with their liues. Great was the ſhame, great was the confuſion, but greateſt was the loſſe they receiued, for that in the heat of the battell the kings money and corne was taken by the Georgians and Perſians, euery man ſauing onely ſo much for himſelfe as he could ſecretly hide vpon his owne bodie, or conuey by the meanes of ſome truſtie ſlaue, which by the helpe of their ſwift horſes was preſerued rather by
B fortune than by valour.

The Turkes diſcomfited, and the treaſure and corne taken by the Georgians and Perſians.

The Turkes thus diſcomfited and ſpoyled of their reliefe, the next morning gathered themſelues together againe, one with another curſing the heauens, their king, and their aduerſe fortune: ſome of them alſo threatening the Georgian renegate *Muſtaffa*, as though all this miſchiefe had happened through his treacherie and ſecret intelligence with the enemie. Notwithſtanding, when they found that they had ſtill remaining ſo much money and other eaſements as might ſuffice to comfort the afflicted minds of the ſouldiors, beſieged in the fort, they reſolued to hold on their way towards TEFLIS, and in their journey vſed ſuch ſpeed, that the day following they arriued there in the euening. But when they of the fort ſaw their friends, whom they had ſo long expected, arriued in ſuch bad ſort, and ſo euill furniſhed, they were aſtonied, and wonderfully grieued at this common loſſe, and all in a confuſion proteſted to *Mahamet*, That they
C would abandon the place, if they had not forthwith neceſſarie prouiſion made for them. But the Generall after he had with large promiſes mitigated their firſt furies and inſolencies, preſently in the morning cauſed a Diuano or counſell to be called in the caſtle, where hauing gathered together all the cheefe men in his armie, he ſpake vnto them in this manner:

Mahamet with his diſcomfited armie commeth to Teflis.

For as much as it hath pleaſed God, that ſo great and important an occaſion of victorie, which was offered vnto vs for the honour and glorie of euery one of vs, is now fallen out ſo vnfortunately, that it hath not only not miniſtred vnto vs any matter of triumphing ouer our enemies, as we ſhould haue done, but rather hath made them (I know not how) to carrie away from vs both the triumph, and alſo
D *our armour, our horſes, our ſlaues, and our ſpoiles; yea and (the remembrance whereof doth moſt grieuouſly trouble and afflict me) our Sultans money, and our publicke munition and forces ſolemnely deliuered to our conduct, is now become a bootie and prey vnto them; that the honour which might haue made euery one of vs famous among noble and valourous ſouldiors, is now fallen from our foreheads, and to our great detriment doth adorne the heads of ſtrangers, or rather of our enemies; and that notwithſtanding all this, we are now come to thoſe courageous ſouldiors, which with their great valour haue defended this fort, euen in the middeſt of their enemies weapons and trecheries; and to whom we ſhould yeeld that aid and releefe, which the vertue of euery one of their minds doth deſerue, and which king* Amurath *had put into our hands to bring hither vnto them: there is now no remedie, but to reſolue vpon ſome good meanes, that we fall not wholly into the vtter diſgrace of our lord and king, and*
E *that is, To maintaine theſe ſouldiors in the cuſtodie and defence of this fort: and though it be with all our owne wants and all our owne diſhonors, to comfort theſe that haue ſo long time looked for vs, and ſo well deſerued all manner of releefe. We cannot excuſe our ſelues, that our enemies were better than we either in number or inſtruments of warre, for both in the one and the other we were farre beyond them; neither yet can we ſay, that they ſet vpon vs by night, or at vnawares: for when we ſaw their number, their weapons, their horſes, and finally their approch, and their manner of aſſault, yet wee would needs paſſe ouer the riuer, and ioyne battell with them: which we now know hath fallen out very lamentable to vs, becauſe we were more readie to take our flight than to endure the fight, and to vſe our feet than to occupie our hands. And therefore it is very requiſit, as well to ſatisfie the rigor of iuſtice, as to performe the dutie of ſouldiors, that we ſuffer not our lord and king to looſe his mony, which*
F *he truſted into our hands, and which we haue loſt, not by greater ſtrength, nor by any trecherous ſtratageme of our enemies, but by our owne too too important feare, and too baſe a regard of our liues, before which it was the dutie of euery one of vs, to haue preferred the care of honour. For if by fighting and courageous ſuſtaining the aſſaults of our enemies, though they had beene ſtronger and better armed than we, this misfortune had happened vnto vs, and that we could in any ſort haue repreſented to*

The Oration of Mahamet Baſſa in the caſtle of Teflis.

the

the king and the world an honourable and bloudie battell, we ſhould not now haue had any need to ſeeke G
meanes how to repay this loſſe, and to reſtore the thing that violently was taken from vs by ſuch as were more mightie than our ſelues, and theſe honourable ſouldiors alſo ſhould more eaſily haue diſgeſted with vs this lamentable calamitie. But we haue loſt that money, and in very deed hauing as it were willingly beſtowed it vpon the Georgians and Perſians to redeeme our liues and to ſaue vs from their furie, are bound to repay it, or els for euer hereafter to be challenged as lawfull debtors to the king for it. And therefore my good friends and companions, if you will take a good courſe, let euery one of vs, without any further conſultation put his hand into his priuat purſe (if he haue not fooliſhly caſt that alſo into the hands of the rauenous enemie) and with our owne money let vs ſuccour the neceſſitie of theſe men, and haue regard to the honour of our king. So ſhall wee make our flight leſſe H
blame worthie, we ſhall iuſtifie our actions more honeſtly (and that which is of greateſt importance) we ſhall the better pacifie the wrath of Amurath, *which he might moſt iuſtly conceiue againſt vs. I my ſelfe before you all am moſt readie to diſburſe foure thouſand duckats towards it: if it ſhall pleaſe you all to follow me accordingly, we ſhall deliuer theſe ſouldiors from their great neceſſitie, and acquite our ſelues from the intricat bonds of moſt troubleſome diſpleaſures.*

The Turkes among themſelues make a purſe of 30000 duckats, for the releefe of the garriſon of Teflis.

There might a man haue ſeene a thouſand countenances changed a thouſand manner of wayes; for one ſoftly whiſpered many a curſe and ſhame vpon the king, vpon *Mahomet*, yea and vpon God himſelfe, another denied to diſburſe any thing, another determined priuily to ſteale away, and ſome ſaid one thing, and ſome another; but in the end euery man was induced to follow the example of *Mahamet*: and thereupon hauing made a purſe according to euery mans I
abilitie, there was collected thirtie thouſand duckats among them. And preſently after, word was ſent to *Leuent Ogli* at ZAGHEN, to ſend thither graine, muttons, and other neceſſarie prouiſions that they might the better continue the defence of the fort.

Two dayes onely ſtayed *Mahamet* in TEFLIS, and hauing changed ſuch ſouldiors as deſired to be diſmiſſed, and alſo appointed *Homar Baſſa* Gouernour of TEFLIS in ſtead of *Giuſuf*, that there gouerned before, he departed. But before his departure conſultation was had, Whether they ſhould keepe the way of TOMANIS, or the way they came through the countrey of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian: and in the end they reſolued to keepe the way of TOMANIS, and thereupon order was taken, that they ſhould all paſſe the riuer. The Curdi were the firſt that went ouer, and had alreadie pitched their tents vpon the further ſide of the water; when the Generall K
began to reuoke his former order, and ſent them word, That they ſhould returne, becauſe he was now determined to goe backe the ſame way he came. At which meſſage all the Sanzackes were in a rage, and in plaine tearmes ſent him anſwere, That theſe mutabilities beſeemed not them, being men accuſtomed to warre, but to be rather childrens play than manly reſolution, and that for their parts they were not minded to change their journey, but would goe on the ſame way they had begun: and ſo forwards they went (ſay the Generall what he could) and by the way of TOMANIS arriued at CHARS long before *Mahamet*, who was much grieued at this their ſo great diſobedience: but ſeeing no other remedie, he with the Baſſa of CARAEMIT, and *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, put themſelues on their journey euen by the ſame way they came to TEFLIS. At laſt L
Mahamet arriued at ALTVNCHALA, the cheefe caſtle of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, and burning with the deſire of reuenge of thoſe loſſes which he thought himſelfe to haue receiued by the trecherie of *Muſtaffa*; or (as ſome thought) ſeeking by this meanes to make *Amurath* beleeue, that in truth all the forepaſſed miſcheefes had happened not through their cowardiſe, but through the trecherous and malitious deuices of the Georgian, and ſo to make their receiued loſſes ſeeme more pardonable; he deuiſed with himſelfe, how to find out ſuch a plot, as that *Muſtaffa* might vpon the ſudden be taken away, as guiltie of ſo foule a treaſon: and that he had deuiſed was in this ſort. To call a counſell into his owne pauillion, as if he had receiued ſome commaundement from the Court, and hauing cauſed *Muſtaffa* to come into that roome, whiles the ſaid counterfeit commaundement ſhould be in reading, to cauſe his lieutenant with thoſe cheefe of his band that ſtood about him, to fall vpon him, and preſently to cut off his head. This pretended counſell was M
accordingly called, wherein ſat the Baſſa himſelfe, and with him the Baſſa of CARAEMIT, certaine Sanzackes ſubject to the juriſdiction of ERZIRVM, the Capigi Baſſa or cheefe gentleman vſhier, and the Generals lieutenant; with whom he had vpon their ſolemne oathes for ſecrecie communicated his entended deceit. The Georgian *Muſtaffa* was alſo called accordingly: who both

Mahamet deuiſeth how to betray Muſtaffa the Georgian.

A both becauſe he was beloued of moe than one, and had alſo vſed all diligent circumſpection, but eſpecially hauing heard in the armie ſome priuie whiſperings of ſuch a matter, knew full well of all that was deuiſed againſt him, and therefore prouided alſo for his owne defence. But as touching his going to the counſell, he thought he might not denie ſo to doe, leaſt by his abſence he might ſeeme guiltie of the fault whereof he was (peraduenture not without cauſe) ſuſpected; and thereby to leaue his cities for a prey to their enemies, now in the heart of his countrey. And therefore reſoluing to goe, he deuiſed how ſo to doe with moſt ſafetie; and ſo, as if need ſhould be, he might be able to turne the miſchiefe entended againſt him vpon the head of the Generall himſelfe. And therefore hauing choſen out fiftie of his moſt faithfull and reſolute ſouldiors, he commaunded them to follow him to the counſell appointed in the Generals pauillion: and be-
B ing come thither, to ſtay there readie and attentiue at his firſt and one onely call, ſuddenly and forcibly to ruſh into the pauillion with their weapons, & rather than any wrong ſhould be done vnto him, to ſhew their valour againſt the Turkes, without exception of any perſon whatſoeuer. Theſe men by nature enemies vnto the Turks, vnderſtanding well his meaning, ſetled themſelues vpon the execution: and taking vnto them ſome other alſo of their faithfull and truſtie friends, followed him euen to the pauillion of *Mahamet*: where *Muſtaffa* entring into the place of coun-
ſell, deſired of the Generall to know what his pleaſure was; who preſently cauſed the counterfeit commaundement to be read, whereunto *Muſtaffa* gaue an attentiue eare. But when the other Baſſaes and Sanzackes began to ſit downe (contrarie to the manner of the Turkes, who whenſo-
euer any commaundement of the emperours is in reading, vſe alwayes to ſtand vp, and not to ſit
C down vntill it be full read) the Georgian tooke his leaue, promiſing to be euer readie to performe not onely that order of the kings, but alſo whatſoeuer els he ſhould commaund. And ſo being about to depart, the Capigi Baſsi (or great vſher) of *Mahamet* came vnto him, and plucking him by the ſleeue, would haue forced him to ſit downe. Then *Muſtaffa* crying out aloud, drew his ſword, wherewith he ſtrucke *Mahamets* lieutenant, that was right againſt him, and with his left hand hauing raught the roll from his pate, with his right hand ſuddenly (to the great aſtoniſh-
ment of all that were preſent) at one onely blow parted his head, his necke, and his breaſt in twaine, euen to his very ſtomacke; ſo that he died (a ſtrange ſpectacle to behold) being thus cut in ſunder, with his cleft head and two ſhoulders hanging downe vpon their ſeuerall ſides. After this firſt, he redoubled his ſecond ſtroke, aiming at the head of the Baſſa of CARAMIT: but it
D being defended with the wrythen rolls of the turbant, it ſlipped downe by his eare; yet ſo, that with a peece of the ſaid turbant it carried his eare quite away, with a little alſo of the fleſh of his cheeke: and all enraged, eagerly aſſailed *Mahamet Baſſa* the Generall (who now all in confuſion was riſen vp in the tumult) and wounded him with fiue mortall wounds; which were yet afterwards by cunning hand healed, when they had brought him euen to deaths dore. At the crie of this Georgian all his people ruſhed in together: vpon whoſe confuſed tumult, and the feare that *Muſtaffa* through his furie had ſtrucke into the Turks, the campe was preſently raiſed: and euery man with all ſpeed departing thence, put himſelfe on his way towards CHARS, whether alſo were brought the two wounded Baſſaes and the reſt that were ill handled and greatly ſcared with theſe ſudden and vncouth ſtirres.

Muſtaffa reuengeth himſelfe of the trecherie intended againſt him by Mahamet the Generall.

E Of all this treacherie entended againſt him, *Muſtaffa* ſent preſent information to the Turkiſh emperour, finding himſelfe greatly grieued at the falſe ſuſpition that *Mahamet* had wrongfully conceiued againſt him, to his great diſhonour: and wrought ſo cunningly, that *Amurath* in token of his good liking and contentment ſent him both cloth of gold and a battleax all gilt. *Mahamet* on the other ſide entermedling here and there with all the art that poſsibly he could deuiſe, all hatefull and injurious teatmes, ſent large aduertiſements of all the misfortunes that had happened, and aggrauated to the king both the treacheries of *Muſtaffa*, and alſo the ſlender ſecuritie of thoſe wayes and countries.

As ſoone as *Amurath* vnderſtood the calamities of his ſouldiors, the loſſe of his money, the great diſhonour of his people, and the apparant danger wherein the fort of TEPLIS ſtood, when
F it was like to be abandoned: all inflamed with rage and anger, he called vnto him the Baſſaes of his court (among whom ſat as chiefe the prowd and haughtie *Sinan*) and rated them all exceedingly, reprouing their lewd counſell, and recounting the loſſes that he had from time to time receiued, as if they had happened through their defaults, and eſpecially *Sinan*, as the principall occaſion of all theſe miſchiefes: Who like an improuident foole (as he ſaid) would needs relin-

quiſh the charge of his armie, and like a king ſit idle at CONSTANTINOPLE, ſtanding (as it were) at ſome publike triumph to behold and heare the miſeries and misfortunes of others: hauing before in the time that *Muſtapha* was General, moſt vainly boaſted, with the like power that he had to fetch the Perſian king out of CASBIN, and to deliuer him in bonds to *Amurath*, but had in deed performed nothing worth the remembrance. *Sinan* could doe no leſſe but make anſwere to the wrathfull king, yet not with ſuch mildneſſe and modeſtie as in ſuch a caſe hee ſhould peraduenture haue done, but in prowd and peremptorie manner, without any reuerence or regard, told him plainly: That as the laſt yeare a little before his returne to CONSTANTINOPLE, ſuccours had been conuaied to TEFLIS without any loſſe or trouble (as in truth they were) euen ſo had they been this yeare alſo, if he had put his aduiſe in execution as much as hee deſpiſed and contemned it: for he did then giue him to vnderſtand, that *Mahamet Baſſa* could not be a fit man for ſo great a charge, and that it was neceſſarie to haue choſen in his roome ſome other captaine of valour and diſcretion; but ſeeing he would needs make choiſe of the ſame vnfit man, he was not now to blame any other for this errour, but onely himſelfe. As for his comming to CONSTANTINOPLE, it was a thing long before thought moſt needfull, not onely for his aduiſe how the matter of peace might be brought to ſome good paſſe; but alſo becauſe if that treatie came not to the deſired iſſue, then he had to talke with him how he might compaſſe the ouerthrow of his enemy: which thing as yet he had no fit time to declare vnto him, but was now readie to reueale it, if it were ſo his pleaſure. Wonderfully was *Amurath* grieued with this ſullen anſwere, when he conſidered that a ſlaue of his owne, ſhould ſo arrogantly and manifeſtly reproue him of folly and improuidence. Notwithſtanding, being deſirous to know of him what that ſecret and important matter was, which he had to reueale vnto him for the eaſie compaſſing of his commenced enterpriſe, he diſſembled his diſcontentment conceiued againſt him, and commaunded him to diſcloſe thoſe his deuiſes which he had to vtter. *Sinan* in briefe, of all his aduiſes, propounded theſe two things: firſt his counſell was, not to proceed in this warre as they had hitherto done, by ſeeking with forts and fortreſſes to hold and keepe the enemies countries; for that their treaſures were not able to yeeld ſuch ſtore of money, as was ſufficient for the maintenance of ſo many and ſo great garriſons: contrarie to the opinion of *Muſtapha* (of late dead) who with great pertinacie had perſuaded that dangerous, chargeable, and difficult manner of warre. His ſecond aduiſe was, that the true meanes to bring this warre to wiſhed end, conſiſted eſpecially in the reſolution of *Amurath* himſelfe, who if he would go in perſon himſelfe, and againſt ſo mightie a king oppoſe the perſon of a king, then might he moſt aſſuredly promiſe vnto himſelfe all ſpeedie and honourable victorie: for that at the onely name of his comming, the Perſians would eaſily come to any agreement; or if not, he might then proceed in his wars, and ſo obtaine moſt glorious conqueſts. This his aduiſe ſo little pleaſed the effeminat king, that in ſtead of the great opinion he before held of him, he now conceiued an enuious affection againſt him: and a further ſuſpition (foſtred by the great ladies of the court, eſpecially *Amuraths* mother) That *Sinan* had thus counſelled the king himſelfe to go in perſon, not for any good could come thereof, but onely that ſo he might find meanes for the prince his ſonne to make himſelfe king, and to driue out his father. Which ſuſpition was in ſuch ſort nouriſhed in the mind of *Amurath*, eſpecially being aſſured of the great affection which the prince carried towards *Sinan*, and he likewiſe towards him, that he reſolued to rid him out of his ſight; and ſo depriuing him of all charge, preſently baniſhed him the court, and out of CONSTANTINOPLE to DEMOTICA (a citie of THRACE) from whence afterwards he by moſt humble ſupplication obtained to be remoued to MARMARA, a little beyond SELYMBRIA. And into his place of Viſierſhip was preferred *Sciaus Baſſa* (who had married *Amurath* his ſiſter) an Hungarian borne, a goodly perſonage, and of honorable judgement: but aboue all men a ſeller of juſtice and preferments, and yet a great friend to the peace with the Chriſtian princes, which *Sinan* had alwaies moſt wickedly maligned.

The proud anſwere of Sinan to Amurath.

Sciaus Baſſa made Viſier in Sinans plate.

1582 The Perſian captaines in the meane time, with their ſpoiles and diuers of their enemies enſignes, were with great joy receiued at home in PERSIA: but when the diſcord that fell out betweene *Mahamet Baſſa* and *Muſtaffa* the Georgian was alſo reported, the former joy was redoubled; euerie man being of opinion, that theſe diſcords might bee great impediments vnto the Turkes further attempts into PERSIA, which it was feared they would the next yeare attempt, to the great danger of NASSIVAN and TAVRIS. Vpon which occaſions, the Perſian king perceiuing that he could not haue a fitter opportunitie to employ himſelfe againſt

A againſt *Abas Mirize* his ſonne (then with him it diſgrace) determined with himſelfe, to leaue the matters on this ſide of his kingdome in their preſent ſtate, and to march toward HERI: whereunto he was earneſtly ſolicited by his elder ſonne *Emir Hamze Mirize*, but eſpecially by *Mirize Salmas* his Viſier. Vpon which reſolution, committing the defence of REIVAN, NASSIVAN, and that ſide of his kingdome, to *Emir Chan* Gouernour of TAVRIS; he ſet forward himſelfe with his army towards CASBIN, and ſo marching through diuers prouinces, arriued at length at SASVAR, being on that ſide the chiefe of all the cities ſubiect to the juriſdiction of HERI: which citie he tooke by force, and without delay cauſed the Gouernour thereof to be beheaded, although he alleadged a thouſand excuſes for himſelfe, and obiected a thouſand accuſations moe againſt the ſeditious Viſier. The king after this departing thence, and hauing alſo put

Mahamet the Perſian king reſolueth to go to Heri againſt his ſonne Abas Mirize.

B to death certaine captaines and Sultans, that were accuſed by the Viſier to be confederats in the rebellion of his ſonne, he arriued at laſt at the deſired citie of HERI. Verie ſtrong is this citie, by ſituation compaſſed about with a good wall, and watered with deep channels of running ſprings, conuaied into it by *Tamerlane* their founder, or reſtorer: beſides that, there was in it many valiant captaines, enemies to *Mirize Salmas*, readie to lay downe their liues in defence of themſelues and of *Abas* their lord; ſo that the winning thereof, could not but proue both long and difficult. As ſoone as the king approched the citie, he felt in himſelfe many troubled paſsions ariſing of griefe and pietie, it grieued him to thinke that hee ſhould beget ſo graceleſſe a ſonne, who in ſtead of maintaining his ſtate and honour, ſhould ſeeke his ruine and deſtruction: it grieued him alſo to remember the bloud of his ſubiects, before ſpilt vpon ſo ſtrange an occaſion; and

Mahamet commeth to Heri.

C ſcarcely durſt he enter into the cogitation, thenceforward to ſhed any more of the bloud of his people. Neuertheleſſe, being ſtill more and more ſolicited by his Viſier, he attempted to vnderſtand the mind of his ſonne, and (if it might be poſsible) to get him into his hands. But whiles the king trauelling with theſe thoughts lay with his armie before HERI, *Abas Mirize* in the meane time, writ diuers letters to his father and to his brother, wherein he beſought them, That they would make knowne vnto him the occaſion of this their ſtirre: For if deſire of rule had moued them to ſeeke the depriuation of him, being their ſonne and brother, from the honour hee lawfully poſſeſſed, and which his father himſelfe had procured for him of his grandfather *Tamas*; they ought to abandon that imagination, for that he was alwaies readie to ſpend his wealth and his bloud togither with his eſtate in their ſeruice, and acknowledged his father to be his good fa-

D ther and king: But if they were not induced hereunto for this cauſe, but by a deſire to reuenge ſome treſpaſſe that he had committed to the prejudice of the crowne of PERSIA, or his fathers honour; he was moſt readie to ſubmit himſelfe to any amends, and with all reaſon to yeeld vnto them the kingdome, yea the whole world, and euen his owne life, the rather to ſatisfie their minds with a more full contentation. With twiſe and thriſe reading ouer, were theſe affectionat letters conſidered and diſgeſted: and at laſt both the father and the brother perceiuing in them ſuch liberalitie of words, and ouercome with pitie, or if not with pitie yet with great admiration and contentment, they determined to put the matter in practiſe, and moderating their deſire of reuenge, to attempt the reducing of the yong mans mind to ſome good paſſe. Whereupon they wrote backe vnto him, That no greedie deſire to vſurpe his gouernment, had induced them

E to make ſo great a voyage, to trouble ſo much people, and to ſhed ſuch aboundance of bloud; but onely his diſobedience and preſumption, in that he had cauſed himſelfe to be called the king of PERSIA; and had not ſent ſo much as one captaine to aid them in the late warres againſt the Turkes. Glad was *Abas* the yong prince, when he vnderſtood the accuſations that were laied againſt him, hoping to make it manifeſt before all men, how the king and his brother were miſinformed in theſe particularities: and therefore incontinently did write backe vnto them, That if they would faithfully promiſe him, honourably, and without any outrage to receiue his embaſſadours, he would ſend vnto them ſuch euident matter, and ſo cleare information touching thoſe his accuſations, as that they ſhould not onely clearely perceiue that there was neuer any ſuch kind of though in him, but alſo that he had alwaies deſired & laboured the contrarie: and would

F moreouer open vnto them ſuch matter, as in reſpect of other men, and not of himſelfe, might cauſe their comming to proue profitable and commodious to all the kingdome of PERSIA. Which his requeſt they both ſolemnly promiſed faithfully to performe, being verie deſirous to vnderſtand what thoſe ſtrange nouelties ſhould be. Whereupon *Abas Mirize* ſent vnto them two of his chiefe counſellors, men of great account and reuerence both for their yeares and wiſe-

Abas Mirize by his embaſſadours purged of treaſon.

dome, with full inſtructions: Who after many ſpeeches, in the end ſwearing (according to their G
cuſtome) by the Creator that ſpread out the ayre, that founded the earth vpon the deepes, that
adorned the heauen with ſtars, that powred abroad the water, that made the fire, and briefly, of
nothing brought forth all things; ſwearing by the head of *Ali*, and by the religion of their pro-
phet *Mahomet*, that ſuch peruerſe thoughts neuer entred into the head of *Abas Mirize*: they al-
leadged many teſtimonies and manifeſt proofes, that moſt loially in all due time, as well when
he was aduanced to the kingdome of PERSIA, as alſo in his battels againſt the Turks, his ſonne
had alwaies cauſed deuout prayers and ſupplications to be made to God for his proſperitie, nei-
ther euer deſired to heare any other but happie and fortunat ſucceſſe of him. They brought
with them a thouſand and a thouſand precepts and royall letters, which the young man had cau-
ſed to be written, as occaſions required to the Gouernours that were his ſubjects, for the gouern- H
ment of the State, wherein he neuer named himſelfe king of PERSIA, but onely, Your king and
Gouernour of HERI. They prayed the king alſo, to cauſe a diligent proceſſe to be framed
againſt his ſonne, and if there ſhould be found in him any ſigne or ſhadow of ſo wicked a ſuſpiti-
on, then to take from him his eſtate and libertie; offering themſelues to remaine as hoſtages for
him. But when all this ſhould be done, and *Abas* found altogither free from theſe vnjuſt accuſa-

The embaſſadors of Abas accuſe Mirize Salmas the Viſier.

tions, then (falling euen to the earth and kiſsing it) they beſought him, and as it were conjured
him, not to leaue the matter thus imperfect, to the prejudice of his bloud, but returning to his
counſellor, to take information likewiſe vpon what mind and conſideration he had aduiſed the
king to take vpon him this vnorderly and dangerous voyage; where no doubt he ſhould find
nothing in him, but malignant, ambitious, and wicked affections; and ſuch as euen deſerued, I
that with his bloud there ſhould be reuenged all the bloud of thoſe which till that houre had
been brought to their vnworthie and vndeſerued deaths. And for as much as nothing remained,
whereof the Viſier had enformed the king againſt his ſonne, but the commaundement that was
giuen by *Abas Mirize* to the Gouernors vnder him, That they ſhould not go to the wars againſt
the Turkes: they confeſſed in truth that ſuch an order was taken, but not to that wicked and trai-
terous end and purpoſe as was reported to the king by his great counſellour, but onely in reſpect
of an inuaſion juſtly feared in thoſe quarters by the Tartarian *Ieſſelbas*; who by diuers inroads
had alreadie done great harme in the countrey about HERI, and put young *Abas* and his coun-
ſellors in ſuch a feare, that they durſt not disfurniſh their cities of their guards and forces: and ther-
fore had commaunded the ſaid Gouernours, not to go to warre againſt the Turkes, but to ſtay K
and expect further direction. And that all this was by writing ſignified vnto the Viſier himſelfe:
which he of a malicious mind had concealed, onely to trie, if in theſe common troubles he could
bring to paſſe, that *Abas Mirize* and the king might be taken away, and *Emir Hamze* ſucceed in
his place; and ſo he himſelfe remaine the Superintendent of his ſonne in law, and Moderator of
that moſt famous kingdome. Of which ſo treacherous a purpoſe they (for all that) thought
Emir Hamze the young prince altogither ignorant (knowing his honourable diſpoſition and
loue towards his owne kindred) but imputed it only to the immoderat and ambitious deſire of
the wicked traitour *Mirize Salmas*.

Of theſe graue ſpeeches of the embaſſadours, *Mahamet* the father (by nature credulous) be-
gan to make great conſtruction; and deeply to conſider of their ſo earneſt and important re- L
queſts, which ſeemed vnto him ſo vpright and equall, as that he could not chuſe but hearken vn-
to the ſame. And therefore calling vnto him the Gouernours, the captaines, the judges, and
treaſurers of all the cities that were ſubject to to HERI: he demanded of them, how and in what
ſort they eſteemed of *Abas Mirize*, and in what degree of honour he deſired to be eſteemed of
them: and of them all receiued one anſwere, That they held him for their lord as lieutenant to
the king of CASBIN, and that he himſelfe had alwaies deſired to be ſo taken and thought of: for
proofe whereof, euerie one of them brought in diuers letters, precepts, and orders, wherein hee
neuer cauſed himſelfe to be honoured with any other title, but onely, Your king of HERI. He
demaunded further, whether any ſuch warres were attempted by the Tartarian *Ieſſelbas* or no:
whereof he receiued a large and ſolemne information, that ſo it was, to the great detriment of all M
thoſe territories. And thus the king was throughly perſuaded of the innocencie of his ſonne;
who before was noted vnto him by his Viſier, to be an obſtinat rebell. Vpon which occaſion
only, although he might juſtly haue put him to death, as author of ſo great troubles and bloud-
ſhed; yet becauſe he would be better enformed of the truth of the accuſations laid againſt him by
the

A the embaſſadours, he reſolued to make a curious and diligent inquiſition thereof: and therefore firſt of all, in great ſecreſie he examined *Emir Hamze* his eldeſt ſonne, wherefore he had aduiſed this journey againſt his brother *Abas*, whom he had found guiltleſſe of all thoſe crimes that were objected againſt him? whereunto the prince anſwered, That he had no other certainetie of the pretended euill behauiour of his brother, but onely that which proceeded from the great credit that he alwaies gaue to his father in law *Mirize Salmas*, to whom as to a chiefe counſellor, his father in law, and protector of the kingdome, he had alwaies yeelded aſſured credence: and ſo diſcharged the whole tempeſts of all thoſe miſchiefes vpon the Viſier. Touching whom the king made diligent inquiſition, as well among thoſe of the court as of the armie; and thereby found him guiltie of all that the embaſſadours of HERI had accuſed him: and that being alwaies ac-
B quainted with the true occaſions which reſtrained the Gouernours of HERI (ſubject to *Abas Mirize*) from going to the warre againſt the Turkes, he had moſt maliciouſly concealed the ſame, of purpoſe to hatch ſuch a ſtrange and dangerous diſcontentment, as had wrought the vnworthie death of many great men, and almoſt defiled the hands of the father with the innocent bloud of his guiltleſſe ſonne. For which ſo foule a treaſon the falſe Viſier was worthely condemned to die, and his wily head by the commaundement of the king ſtrucke from his carkaſſe. Iuſtly rewarded, with the ſame puniſhment which he vnjuſtly ſought to haue conuerted vpon others; and with his owne deſtruction pacified the diſſentions and hatreds that were riſen betweene the two princes. And ſo the two brethren being reconciled togither, and the ſonne to the father; after that *Abas* had againe promiſed his wiſhed obedience (which he afterwards
C moſt dutifully performed) king *Mahamet* returned with the prince towards CASBIN: where by reaſon of new and vnexpected motions of the Turkes, he had now beene long looked for and deſired.

Mirize Salmas the Viſier found guiltie of treaſon and beheaded.

Amurath through the rough ſpeeches of *Sinan*, was more and more ſetled in his purpoſe for the continuing of the Perſian warre; accounting it ſo much the more to his owne glorie, as it ſhould in happie ſucceſſe fall out contrarie to the opinion of many: and thereupon began to bethinke himſelfe whom he might chuſe for his Generall, to whom he might commit ſo great a charge. Among the Baſſaes of the court there was one *Ferat*, a man of ripe yeares, but yet fierce of courage, tough in opinion, in counſell as hardie as might beſeeme his age, readie for all ſudden and ſtrange aduentures, but aboue all a vaſſall moſt deuoted to the king: Of this man, at laſt he was
D reſolued to make choiſe to haue the leading of his armie: and therfore calling him apart, declared vnto him what he had in himſelfe purpoſed, encouraging him to take the charge vpon him, with a firme reſolution to performe all things anſwerable to ſo worthie an enterpriſe, with the opinion he had conceiued of his valour. Verie willingly did *Ferat* accept of this new office, and thought himſelfe (as indeed he was) highly fauoured by the king: and thereupon made him a large promiſe, to employ his ſtrength, his wit, and vttermoſt deuoire, to put in execution whatſoeuer ſhould be offered vnto him, either by occaſion, or by his royall commandement.

Ferat Baſſa choſen Generall of the armie in Sinans place.

At firſt *Amurath* had no other purpoſe to imploy him any further, but only to aſſure the paſſage to TEFLIS, and ſo into all GEORGIA; and to haue deſtroied the country of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, who had ſo audaciouſly injured the lieutenant of *Amurath*, and put his whole army
E in confuſion: but being certainly aduertiſed of the troubles in PERSIA betweene the king and his ſonne, he changed his purpoſe, and commaunded *Ferat* to employ all his forces to erect a fortreſſe at REIVAN, a place belonging to *Tocomac*, and to aſſure the paſſage from CHARS to REIVAN; for ſo they ſhould be reuenged of many harmes they had receiued by him, and lay open the way to the citie of TAVRIS, to the great glorie of *Amurath*. As for *Muſtaffa* the Georgian, although he had well deſerued to be chaſtiſed for his raſh attempt againſt *Mahamet Baſſa*, being then his Generall, yet he willed *Ferat* to diſſemble his euill opinion of him, and (if it were poſsible) ſo to worke, as to vſe him as an inſtrument to conuay treaſure and ſuccours to TEFLIS: for by this meanes the paſſage being made ſafe, all GEORGIA would without any mo fortreſſes be ſubdued, and then the next yeare they might attempt the enterpriſe for
F TAVRIS.

Highly did *Ferat* commend the deuiſes of *Amurath* his lord, and ſhewed himſelfe readie for any attempt. And ſo the time being come wherein it behooued them to ſet on foot their important deſignments, in the beginning of the yeare 1583, commandements were ſent out to all the cities of the empire, which were wont to make their appearance at theſe warres, That vpon 1583

freſh ſummons, they ſhould be readie to returne againſt the Perſians, and to put in execution G
that ſhould be enjoyned them by their new Generall. The fame whereof flew as farre as SORIA, IVRIE, PALESTINE, MESOPOTAMIA, BABYLONIA, to BALSARA, to SIVAS, to MARAS, to all BITHYNIA, CAPADOCIA, CILICIA, ARMENIA, yea and beyond CONSTANTINOPLE to the borders of HVNGARIE and GRECE, and in briefe to all the regions that were wont to come to this warre: all which ſent their captaines and ſouldiors accordingly. And

Generall Ferat departeth from Conſtantinople.

ſo at the laſt Generall *Ferat* departing from CONSTANTINOPLE, and paſsing ouer to SCVTARI by the way of AMASIA and of SIVAS, came to ERZIRVM, where he tooke a view of all his armie and prouiſion: and from thence in eight daies arriued at CHARS, conducted by the Perſian fugitiue *Maxut Chan*: and from CHARS ſet himſelfe on his way towards REIVAN. Three daies before he came to REIVAN, of certaine ruines of an old caſtle which the Turkes H
call AGGIA CHALASI (or the Caſtle of ſtrangers) he erected a new fortreſſe, and left in it a garri-

He commeth to Reiuan.

ſon of foure hundred ſouldiors, with a Sanzacke, and certaine pieces of ordinance, and then went to REIVAN. This countrey is diſtant from TAVRIS eight or nine daies journey; betweene which two places are ſituat NASSIVAN, CHIVLFAL, MARANT, and SOFIAN, all enriched with goodly gardens and pleaſant greenes: but in the way are many craggie mountaines to be clim'd, and ſundrie hard paſſages either for armie or traueller.

Ferat in the ſpace of fifteene daies buildeth a fort at Reiuan 750 yards about.

Here then did *Ferat* encampe himſelfe with his armie, and taking aduiſe of his chiefe captains where he ſhould build the fort, they all with one conſent aduiſed him, to ſeaze vpon the houſes and gardens of *Tocomac*, and there to fortifie. Which he accordingly did, encloſing the gardens with ſtrong wals and deepe ditches round about, whereinto he conuaied water from a certaine I
riuer, that comming downe from the mountaines, ran into Araxis. Which worke was performed with ſuch expedition; that within the ſpace of fifteene daies the fortreſſe was finiſhed, being in circuit ſeauen hundred and fiftie yards. It grieued *Tocomac* exceedingly thus to loſe his countrey and dwelling, and ſo much the more, becauſe it happened ſo ſuddenly, and as it were vnlooked for. He himſelfe as ſoone as he vnderſtood that the Turkiſh armie was comming to that coaſt, hauing withdrawne himſelfe and his men of warre out of the citie hee could not keepe, ſought by all meanes to be reuenged, if not altogither, yet in ſome part of this ſo great an injurie. And therefore he wrote vnto the king at CORAZAN, to *Emir Chan* at TAVRIS, to *Simon* in GEORGIA, he gathered ſoldiors out of the villages, and vſed all his poſsible endeuour to enable himſelfe to annoy the enemies armie: But from none of theſe places could he receiue any helpe, K
the king being ſo farre off in wars againſt his ſonne, the Georgian being buſied by hindering any reliefe to be brought to the beſieged in TEFLIS; as for *Emir Chan* (who by ſolemne promiſe vnto the king before his departure to HERI, had vndertaken the defence of that ſide of the kingdome againſt the Turkes) he either would not, or could not ſtirre; neither ſent ſo much as one ſouldior, hauing as ſome ſuppoſed ſecret intelligence with Generall *Ferat*, not to diſturbe him in this his worke. So *Tocamac* deſtitute of all other helpe, and not able of himſelfe to doe much againſt ſo mightie an enemie; yet ceaſed not to lay ſuch priuie ambuſhes for the Turkes as hee could, killing of them ſometimes 100, ſometime 150, and ſometimes mo, as they fell into his danger. And to eaſe his ſtomacke againſt *Emir Chan* (who ſitting ſtill at TAVRIS as it were to behold his miſerie, would not ſo much as ſhake a ſword againſt theſe ſpoiling Turkes) he ſpared L
not to diſpatch certaine horſemen in haſt to the king at CORAZAN, and by eloquent letters to amplifie the cowardiſe of *Emir Chan*; intermedling withall ſome cauſes of ſuſpition, that he had ſome intelligence with the Turkiſh Generall.

Ferat hauing thus built this new fort at REIVAN, as *Amurath* had commanded, and furniſhed it with artillerie, and all other things needfull for the defence thereof; appointed *Sinan Baſſa* (the ſonne of *Cicala* a renegat of GENVA, and by *Selymus* the late emperor, in the flowre of his youth created Aga or captaine of the Ianizaries) with a garriſon of eight thouſand ſouldiors to keepe the ſame. And ſo departing thence, by the way of AGIA CHALASI, in ten daies arriued with his armie at CHARS.

Ferat had not long ſtayed at CHARS, but ſtrange news were brought thither, That *Muſtaffa* M
the Georgian (to whom *Amurath* had ſent thirtie thouſand duckats, by two of his Capigi and two of his Chiaus, to haue by him beene conueyed to TEFLIS for the releefe of them in the fort) was reuolted from the Turkiſh obedience, and being now become a rebell, had left that fortreſſe in manifeſt danger to yeeld, if by ſome other meanes it were not relieued. Which ſtrange

nouelties

A nouelties exceedingly troubled the Generall: who to know the certainetie thereof, called before him all ſuch as were the meſſengers of this misfortune: by whom he was certainely enformed, That *Muſtaffa*, the two Capigi, and the Chiaus, hauing put themſelues vpon their way towards TEFLIS with the treaſure, guarded with a conuoy of fiue hundred of his ſouldiors, in the mid way had met with his couſin *Simon* the Georgian, by whom he was perſuaded to returne againe to his antient faith and religion, which he had to the great perill of his ſoule ſo prophanely abandoned, and to ſhake off the ſeruice of *Amurath*, which would yeeld him no other recompence than an hard and infamous captiuitie, and in the end ſome fraudulent and trecherous death: and that his perſuaſion had ſo preuailed with *Muſtaffa*, that he cauſed the two Capigi and the Chiaus to be apprehended and preſently beheaded; and deuiding the treaſure, with his ſaid couſin
B had with him and his other kinſmen vowed a ſolemne and perpetuall confederacie: and ſo hauing withdrawne themſelues to their wonted paſſages, lay there in wait for ſuch ſuccours as ſhould by the Turkes be brought to TEFLIS.

When *Ferat* vnderſtood theſe and ſuch other particularities, he all in a furie ſwore that he would not returne to ERZIRVM vntill he had put all the country of *Muſtaffa* to fire and ſword: yet firſt he thought it needfull to relieue TEFLIS, which would otherwiſe bee in danger to bee yeelded to the enemie: and for that purpoſe made choice of *Haßan Baſſa*, who in the laſt yeare of the Generalſhip of *Muſtapha* had moſt courageouſly conueyed the like ſuccours, and taken *Aliculi Chan*. Vnto him therefore did the Generall aſsigne fortie thouſand duckats, with other prouiſion neceſſarie for that ſeruice, and for the more ſuretie appointed him fifteene thouſand of
C the moſt choice and valiant ſouldiours in all the armie to conduct the ſame. In ten dayes ſpace *Haſſan Baſſa* went and came from TEFLIS, hauing in his journey too and fro had many ſkirmiſhes with the Georgians, wherein he loſt ſome few men, without any other loſſe worth the remembrance.

After this the Generall ſent one *Reſuan Baſſa* with ſix thouſand ſouldiors to ſpoyle the countrey of *Muſtaffa* the Georgian the late renegate, but now become a rebell to the Turkes: which *Reſuan*, without any long ſtay ouerran all his territorie, burnt his townes, and committed moſt vncouth outrages, which extended euen vnto the poore inſenſible trees, and carried away with him many captiue ſoules, with much corne and cattell, like a raging tempeſt deſtroying whatſoeuer came in his way. Now was the Generall alſo retired to ARDACHAN, whether came *Reſuan*
D to meet him with his foreſaid bootie. But becauſe they had now performed what they had before entended, and the approch of Winter perſuaded their returne, they remoued from ARDACHAN, and by the way of OLTI retired to ERZIRVM, from whence all the ſouldiors were licenſed to depart to their ſeuerall places of abode, and a memoriall ſent vnto *Amurath* of all the actions had beene performed; and eſpecially of the good ſeruice done by *Haſſan Baſſa*, who for the ſame was now once againe honoured by the king with cloth of gold, a battleaxe and targuet all gilt.

Ferat commeth to Erzirum, and there breaketh vp his armie.

About this time one *Podolouius* a gentleman of POLONIA, ſent by *Stephen* king of POLONIA to CONSTANTINOPLE, by the leaue of *Amurath* to buy certaine horſes in ANATOLIA; returning homewards with foure and twentie goodly horſes which he had bought, was notwith-
E ſtanding the great Turks Paſſe, by his commaundement ſtayed vpon the way, all his men (in number foure and thirtie) ſlaine, excepting one boy, who getting into a wood eſcaped, and *Podolouius* his head ſtrucke off. The horſes brought backe to CONSTANTINOPLE, were by the appointment of *Amurath* ſome beſtowed into his owne ſtable, and the reſt giuen among the Baſſaes, oftentimes pointed at with the fingers of the Turkes in deriſion of the Polonian king. This *Amurath* commaunded to be done in reuenge of an outrage done by the Polonian Coſſackes againſt the Turkes, whereof newes was but euen then brought to the Court.

The nine and twentith day of Nouember of this preſent yeare 1583, died *Hama Cadum*, the widdow of the late emperour *Selymus* the ſecond, and mother of this *Amurath*, and lieth buried by her husband *Selymus* and his fiue ſonnes, ſtrangled by their brother *Amurath*.

The death of Hama Cadum, Amurath his mother.

F All the reſt of this yeare 1583 *Ferat* ſpent at ERZIRVM, and afterwards ſent out his ordinarie commaundements to all the accuſtomed cities, to ſummon the ſouldiors againſt the next Spring in the yeare 1584, gathering together a greater number of pioners and enginers than euer had beene gathered in theſe warres heretofore: and withall gaue it out, That he would goe to NASSIVAN, and there doe great matters. At which report the Perſians were much mooued, and began

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Ferat raiſeth a new armie.

gan to caſt many things in their heads about it: but aboue all others the king, who vnderſtanding at CASBIN of all that had before happened at REIVAN, and of the new preparations of the Turkes, began to feare that they would this yeare paſſe to TAVRIS, or at leaſt as was reported to NASSIVAN, and in thoſe places build new fortreſſes, to the great danger of the Perſian empire: and therefore retaining ſtill ſuch forces as he brought with him from HERI, and commanding as many moe as he could out of all the cities that were ſubject vnto him, to follow him to TAVRIS, he arriued there with his armie not long after the arriuall of *Ferat Baſſa* at ERZIRVM. This vnexpected comming of the Perſian king with ſo great an armie to TAVRIS, filled the world with expectation of great matters to haue beene done by him againſt the Turkes: inſomuch that *Ferat* the Generall, before he would proceed any further, thought it good to aduertiſe *Amurath* of the matter: declaring vnto him, That his deſire was to goe to NASSIVAN, and there to build a fortreſſe, according to his commaundement, ſo to lay open the paſſage to TAVRIS; but hauing receiued certain intelligence, That the Perſian king was come to TAVRIS with an huge armie, and full reſolution to encounter him, he thought it his dutie not to put in execution his aforeſaid determination, without his expreſſe commaundement. Vnto whom *Amurath* preſently wrote backe, That the matter ſo ſtanding, he ſhould not goe to NASSIVAN, but onely employ his forces to aſſure the paſſage of TOMANIS and LORI, that ſo the fort of TEFLIS might the yeare following be relieued by ſome ſmall band, without ſending of any great armie for the conueying of ſuccours thither. This new commaundement of his lord, *Ferat* kept ſecret to himſelfe, cauſing the rumour of his going to NASSIVAN to be more and more encreaſed, of purpoſe to feed the opinion that the Perſians had before conceiued of his comming thither; and ſo deluding them, with leſſe danger to build the forts he had entended, for the quieting of thoſe moſt dangerous paſſages of LORI and TOMANIS.

The Perſian king with a great armie commeth to Tauris.

Vpon this reſolution *Ferat* hauing gathered together his people, with all things neceſſarie for his purpoſe, remoued with his armie from ERZIRVM toward CHARS, where he ſtayed ten dayes, to take a new ſuruey both of his ſouldiors and prouiſion. And ſo departing thence, ſet forward toward LORI, ſending before him *Haſſan Baſſa* with fiue thouſand light horſemen to ſcoure the countrey euen to TOMANIS, and to learne what he poſsibly could of the enemies purpoſes, and the ſtate of GEORGIA. Which thing *Haſſan* dutifully performed, ſpeedily ſcouring ouer all the woods, and diſcloſing all the paſſages from thence to LORI, and ſo to TOMANIS, without meeting with any vpon whom to aſſay his valour, more than certaine robbers vpon the high way, whom he cauſed to be ſlaine (as men altogether ignorant of the Georgian and Perſian affaires) and their heads to be ſet on the tops of their launces, and ſo returned againe to LORI: where hauing ſtayed one day, he met with the Generall, to whom he recounted all that had happened in that his excurſion. *Ferat* being come to LORI, there encamped his armie. This place did ſometime belong to *Simon* the Georgian, well ſtrengthened with an high caſtle, compaſſed about with very deepe ditches and a thick wall, almoſt a mile in circuit, but was then ſomewhat weakened with time: it is diſtant from TEFLIS about two daies journey, of a cariers pace. Vpon this caſtle *Ferat* ſeized, and hauing repaired the wals and ſtrengthened the breaches, he placed therein *Ali Baſſa* of GREECE with ſeuen thouſand ſouldiours for the defence thereof, and planted vpon the wals two hundred ſmall pieces of ordinance. And ſo when he had ſet all things there in good order, departed thence with his armie towards TOMANIS; hauing before commaunded *Ali Baſſa* at ſome conuenient time to fortifie SAITAN CHALASI, a caſtle about ten miles diſtant from LORI, and therein to place a conuenient garriſon of ſouldiors and artillerie.

Ferat cutteth downe a thicke wood at Tomanis, and buildeth a fort vpon the ſtrait.

Foure dayes were they going from LORI to TOMANIS, being ordinarily but one dayes worke from the one place to the other: but now the Generall would needs ſo make it, to take the ſpoile of thoſe rich fields, abounding with corne, cattell, and fruit, and to leaue vnto the countrey people a lamentable remembrance of his being there. At laſt being come to TOMANIS (in times paſt a caſtle of *Simons*, but by reaſon of theſe warres, by him then abandoned) he began to conſult with the other captaines, how and where the fortreſſe ſhould be erected, for the aſſurance of that countrey. But after many diſcourſes, it was at laſt concluded not to fortifie in that caſtle, as being too farre from the ſtrait, to make that dangerous paſſage ſafe and ſecure; but to goe a little further, and to build a fortreſſe vpon the very mouth of the ſtrait. So the armie marching forward a few miles, at the very entrance of the narrow paſſage found the ruines of another caſtle, and

A and neere thereunto ſtayed themſelues. This ſteepe headlong caſtle was ſo compaſſed round about with a thicke wood, which hindered all diſcouerie a farre off, that it was not conuenient to found ſuch a caſtle there, from whence their ordinance could neither auaile them to whom the defence therof ſhould be committed, neither endomage thoſe that ſhould come to offend it. And therefore the Generall commanded, that euery man with all his endeuour ſhould lay to his hand for the cutting downe of that thicke wood, and making way through thicke and thin to lay it for an open champaigne, that was before the receptacle of a thouſand dangerous treacheries. In very ſhort ſpace were the trees layed along on the ground, the place made lightſome and open, and a very commodious ſituation prepared for the foundation of a caſtle. The plot of the old ruined caſtle was compaſſed about with a wall of a thouſand and ſeuen hundred yards, and in the
B middeſt thereof was erected a ſtrong keepe, ſundrie lodgings and chambers builded, and two hundred pieces of Ordinance deſtributed vpon the new wals. After that, the Generall ſent *Reſuan Baſſa* and the Baſſa of CARAMIT with twentie thouſand of his moſt choice ſouldiors, to conuey ſuccours to TEFLIS: who marching cloſely together in the direct way, in one day arriued at the ſaid fort; wherein they beſtowed their ſupplies, and changing the Gouernour thereof, ſubſtituted in his roume one *Bagli*, being then vpon this occaſion onely called a Baſſa. Whileſt *Reſuan* yet lay thus encamped vnder TEFLIS, *Daut Chan* the brother of *Simon*, who in the beginning of theſe warres, at the comming of *Muſtapha* the Turkes Generall into GEORGIA, had fled out of TEFLIS, came now with all his familie, offering himſelfe as a ſubject and deuoted vaſſale to the Turkiſh emperour; whom *Reſuan* entertained with great promiſes and large aſſu-
C rances of all good ſucceſſe, according to his deſire.

The compaſſe of the caſtle built at Tomanis by Ferat.

In the meane while newes were brought to *Simon*, That Generall *Ferat* ſtaying at the ſtraits of TOMANIS with his armie, had ſent *Reſuan Baſſa* with a farre leſſe number than indeed he had, to ſuccour TEFLIS: Vpon which report he tooke courage to encounter *Reſuan*, and to giue him battell. Vpon which reſolution without further delay being accompanied but with foure thouſand Georgians, partly ſubjects of his owne, and partly of *Manucchiars*, he with all ſpeed poſsible went againſt *Reſuan*. But whileſt *Simon* was going thitherwards, Generall *Ferat* fearing the worſt, had alreadie by chance diſpatched away the two Baſſaes of CARAMANIA and MARAS, with ten thouſand ſouldiors, to the end that joining themſelues with the ſouldiors of *Reſuan*, they ſhould at all aduentures be ſo much the ſtronger. Now *Simon* going reſolutely
D on, found *Reſuan* encamped with ſix thouſand ſouldiors onely at the foot of an hill, on the back ſide whereof lay all the reſt of his armie, and preſently gaue a charge vpon him, when the ſouldiors behind the hill being aware of his approch, were readie all at once with their weapons to receiue him. Who now perceiuing his errour, repented himſelfe to haue ſo raſhly aſſaulted his enemies, ſeeing now no other remedie but to be vtterly vndone. But ſeeing that he had now ſo farre engaged himſelfe, as that he could not by flight but encreaſe his griefe and make the iſſue more lamentable, with thoſe few ſouldiours which he had he endured the furie of the great armie of *Reſuan*, ſo that on both ſides there was joyned a moſt cruell battell: wherein the ſtrange and vnuſuall valour of thoſe few Chriſtians was much to be wondered at. Yet in the end the huge number of the Turkiſh ſwords and ſpeares ſo preuailed vpon that ſmall number of the Georgians, as
E that they were brought to great extremitie: yea *Simon* himſelfe hauing his horſe ſlaine vnder him, fell downe headlong to the ground, and in his fall was very neere to haue beene taken priſoner, as was his lieutenant and many other his followers, had he not beene relieued by an vnexpected and maruellous chance: for whiles the battell was euen at the greateſt heat betweene them, *Reſuan* diſcouered the two Baſſaes of CARAMANIA and MARAS, who (as is before ſaid) were newly ſent by Generall *Ferat* to ſuccour him, but both by the ſaid *Reſuan* and alſo by the reſt of his armie were indeed thought to be Perſians; whereupon they were incontinently ſurpriſed with a ſudden feare, inſomuch that they now became very doubtfull of the victorie, whereof they thought themſelues before aſſured. In this ſuſpence and doubtfulneſſe of mind the battell was alſo intermitted, and the victorie by the ſight of thoſe their friends diſturbed: whereby
F the Georgians, and eſpecially *Simon*, whoſe ſtate was almoſt deſperat, tooke the opportunitie to eſcape and ſaue themſelues, leauing behind them moſt ſure ſignes of their valour among the Turkes; of whom many remained there ſlaine, many wounded, and many filled with great maruell and vnexpected feare. Thus eſcaped poore *Simon* with the remainder of his followers into his knowne places of refuge, there to bewaile the death and captiuitie of his ſubjects. But *Reſuan* after

Simon in danger to haue been taken, eſcapeth by a ſtrange chance.

after he had discouered the Bassaes approching towards him, to be his knowne friends and well- G
willers, fretted in himselfe exceedingly, that *Simon* had so escaped his hands: yet holding on his
way to TOMANIS, he arriued there in great triumph, drawing the standerds of *Simon* all along
the ground, and causing many of the heads of the Georgians to be carried vpon his souldiours
launces, to the great joy of Generall *Ferat*; to whom he deliuered all the prisoners taken in the
battell, and wicked *Daut Chan*, who hauing in times past renounced his first faith, was become a
Persian, and now againe despising the vaine superstition of the Persians, had yeelded himselfe to
the vanitie of the Turkes, and made himselfe a voluntarie slaue to *Amurath*.

Now was the yeare so farre spent, that euery man began to feare the Winters approch, and
therefore the Generall determined to remoue thence, and to withdraw himselfe into places of
more safetie. And so hauing set all things in order in the new fort, he appointed *Hassan* to be the H
Bassa of TOMANIS, and left with him eight thousand select souldiours, chosen out of all the ar-
mie for the defence of that fort, and the countrey thereabout. Deepely had *Ferat* layed vp the
outrage committed by *Mustaffa* the Georgian (being now returned to his old name of *Manuc-
chiar*) in taking away the kings treasure, and killing the two Capigi and the Chiaus: and there-
fore he resolued with himselfe not to returne to CHARS or ERZIRVM, vnlesse he had first pas-
sed into the countrey of the said Georgian, and in most cruell manner reuenged those notable in-
A wonderfull dearth in the Turks army at Triala. iuries before receiued. In three daies he arriued at TRIALA, and there encamped. But lying there
such an vnwonted dearth and scarcitie of all things rise in the armie, but especially of victuals, that
euery fiue bushels and an halfe of Wheat was sold for fiue hundred duckats, to the vniuersall ca-
lamitie of the whole armie. I

From this place the Generall was minded to goe on forwards towards the countrey of *Ma-
nucchiar*, but whiles he was vpon the raising of his tents, one *Veis Bassa* of ALEPPO, came vnto
him and told him, That it was not good now to spend the time in wandering about those coun-
tries, for that there were three very great enemies confederat together, to make this enterprise ve-
ry difficult, and almost impossible and desperat: one was the season of the yeare, being now full
of snowes, frosts, and tempests; another was, the want and scarcitie of all things necessarie, espe-
cially of victuall; the third was, the people of GEORGIA, who by a common vniting of them-
selues together, and peraduenture aided by the Persians, might worke some notable mischeefe a-
gainst the armie. This speech of *Veis* so much offended the Generall, that he most sharpely rebu-
ked him, and with bitter tearmes reproued him, telling him flatly, That he well perceiued he was K
brought vp among mountaines and villages, and of a villaine (as he was) vpon some superfluitie
of grace, or foolish importunitie, aduanced to the honour of a Bassa; and that therefore he should
not haue presumed so much as to think it lawfull for him, so impudently and malapertly to come
and giue him such aduertisements; whereas it had beene his dutie rather to haue held his peace,
and to haue hearkened vnto the commaundements of his betters and superiors, yeelding himselfe
obedient and deuoted with all his power to performe the same. With this rebuke the Generall
passed on to ARCHELECH, burning and in a manner destroying the country before him, though
indeed it was in amitie and confederacie with the Turkes. But the inhabitants of ARCHELECH
vpon the comming of the Turkes had abandoned the citie, and for feare withdrawne themselues
into the mountaines. In ARCHELECH *Ferat* encamped, & staied the space of foure daies among L
the rockie crags and in a barren soyle, yeelding necessarie sustenance neither for man nor beast;
so that euery man there endured vnspeakeable miseries: yet for the space of foure dayes the soul-
diours with patience endured this so great a calamitie. But in the end the fall of an huge snow
being added to these extremities, did so greatly encrease their greefes, that all the Ianizaries and
Spaoglans of CONSTANTINOPLE arose in a tumult, and comming before *Ferat*, in despight-
full and contemptuous manner with very haughtie and resolute tearmes said vnto him:

The insolent speech of the mutinous souldiors against Ferat their Generall.

*And how long shall we endure this thy tedious and insolent gouernment? Where is the due commi-
seration that thou oughtest to beare towards the vassales of thy Soueraigne, thou rusticall and vnrea-* M
*sonable captaine? Doest thou thinke happily, that we keepe our harlots as thou doest vnder thy sump-
tuous pauillions, all fat and in good plight, whilest others liue in miserie? Doest
thou beleeue that we haue, as thou hast, our daintie sugars, spices, and conserues, whereby to restore vs,
in the common calamitie of others? And that we haue at commaund meat and pretious wines, which
thou mingleste with thy cleare and pleasant waters, partly prouided for thee by the art of the cunning
doctors,*

A *doctors, and partly brought to thee from farre places? From this day forward it will be no longer endured, that ſo much people ſhould continue in this famine, afflicted with nakedneſſe, and many other inconueniencies: and therefore get thy ſelfe vp, and returne toward* ERZIRVM, *otherwiſe we ſhall be enforced to doe that which will breed more diſpleaſure vnto thee, than to any man aliue.*

The Generall in a great agonie preſently called a counſell, wherein it was concluded, That they ſhould all ſend their ſtrong ſumpter horſes to ARDACHAN, and the reſt to follow him into *Manucchiars* countrey, whither he had appointed to go, onely to make an inrode, and with the ſpoile and bootie of that countrey to refreſh the minds of his ſouldiors afflicted with the miſeries both paſt and preſent. This commandement of the Generals they all readily obeied, as well be-
B cauſe he promiſed them a ſpeedie voyage, as alſo for that euerie man deſired the ſacke of ALTVNCHALA, and other the territories of *Manucchiar*. So *Ferat* holding on his journey through certaine low vallies betweene the high and craggie mountaines, continually accompanied with great famine and ſcarſitie, at length brought his armie to CLISCA, a place belonging to *Manucchiar*, but as then for feare of the Turks quite abandoned and forſaken by the inhabitants; who with their wiues and children and all the beſt ſtuffe they had, were fled into remote and ſafe places, vntill the furie of the enemie were ouerpaſſed. In the fields neere vnto this place (abounding with corne and cattell & plentie of fruit) the Generall refreſhed his whole armie, and hoping that all the ſouldiors would like it well to ſtay a while in ſuch good eaſe, determined with himſelfe to
C erect a fort in that place. And with this reſolution gaue commaundement to *Reſuan Baſſa* to go vp to the tower, and in the top thereof to ſet vp an enſigne with a proclamation and publike report, That he would in the name of *Amurath* there erect a fort, and fortifie it as he had the othet forts before. *Reſuan* accompanied with *Amurath* the Baſſa of CARAMANIA, according to the commaundement of the Generall, in the top of the tower ſet vp an enſigne or two: which as ſoone as the ſouldiors had eſpied, the forenamed Ianizaries and Spaoglans, thinking themſelues too much abuſed by their Generall, atiſing againe all in an vprore, repleniſhed with furie and indignation, ran vp in a rage to take downe the enſignes that were ſet vp vpon the tower, and taking them in their hands, rapt the ſaid *Reſuan* once or twiſe about the pate, diſcharging withall a thouſand injurious and deſpightfull words vpon him, and ſharply rebuked him. And then re-
D turning to the Generall (who was now come thither himſelfe to countenance the action of *Reſuan*) with geſtures full of deſpight, contempt, and diſdaine, reuiling him with many ſhamefull and ſcornfull tearmes, they proteſted vnto him:

That they were not come to the warres to exerciſe the occupation of maſons and dawbers, and to be employed in ſuch vile and diſhonourable offices, but onely to mannage their weapons, and thereby to demerit their ordinarie wages, and to purchaſe to themſelues glorie and renowme at the kings hands. And therefore if he loued his head, and would not ſee thoſe armes turned againſt himſelfe which hitherto had beene the reuengers of the enemies iniuries, he ſhould reſolue with himſelfe to leaue theſe new buildings and theſe vnſeaſonable deſignments; and giuing place to the contrarie ſeaſon of the yeare, to haue due care of their common deſires and neceſſitie. *The mutinous ſouldiors againe threaten their Generall.*

E

While they were yet thus expoſtulating the matter with him, one more bold than the reſt, and more forgetfull of his duetie, did not ſticke to aſſault the Generall, and to threaten him to wreake his furie vpon him: which in that tumult had happily beene done, had not the Baſſa of CARAMANIA lent the Generall his owne horſe, and ſo conducted him to his pauilion. Yet was he neuertheleſſe ſtill purſued by the tumultuous ſouldiors, and againe ſharply accuſed for the ſtay that he made there, and for not reſoluing preſently to remoue thence: and at laſt after many reproachfull ſpeeches told expreſſely, That if he did not the next morning remooue out of thoſe quarters, without all faile he ſhould looſe his life for it. For all that, *Ferat* diſdaining to yeeld to them that ſhould of dutie haue been readie and obedient at euerie becke of his, and ſeeking by all
F meanes (notwithſtanding all this ſtirre) to ſtay there ſo long time as ſhould be ſufficient to build a fort, that would ſo much offend *Manucchiar*, anſwered them againe.

That he made no account of their threatning him with his life, which he had alwaies offered to lay downe for any ſeruice of his king. But if they had no care to ſerue their ſoueraigne in this new building, *The Flouts anſwere of Ferat.*

ding, they might go their waies; as for himselfe, he was resolutely minded to obey his lord in whatsoeuer he had commaunded him, for the honour of whom, euerie one of them ought to thinke their liues verie well bestowed. G

Vpon this answere there followed diuers railings and cursings against the king, against the Generall, and against them all; and in this confused tumult euerie man betooke himselfe to his weapons: in euerie corner was heard grumlings and whisperings, full of wrath and indignation: so that there was a great feare of some dangerous euent, but greater was the suspition of the Generals life. And now euerie man had withdrawne himselfe to the guarding of such things as he esteemed most; when suddenly and in a trice you might haue seen the pauilions of all the Bassaes and captaines fall downe flat to the ground, all the cords therof being cut in sunder by the wrath- H
full souldiors: and as it were in a moment, all the muttons and other cattell which the Generall and Bassaes led with them for their ordinarie vse, were seized vpon by the same souldiors, and guarded with all diligence possible. And so farre was it off that any man durst challenge or reuenge this their insolencie, that they themselues turning afresh vpon their Generall (being now in a maze and deadly feare) began now the third time to threaten him, That if he did not forthwith remoue from those countries, and turne his journey towards ERZIRVM, those vallies and fields should without all faile become the sepulchers of the Bassaes, and those hils retaine the eternall memorie of so bloudie a day.

The souldiours ouerthrow the Generals tents, and threaten to kill him.

With a little liberalitie might the Generall haue done with this people whatsoeuer he had I
listed, but being loth to gratifie them with any thing, he was enforced to performe their prowd and arrogant demaunds, and to his great shame to obey them whom with right vsage he might haue made obedient to himselfe: and therefore to auoid their despightfull threats, to his exceeding great reproach, he was glad euen as they had commanded to remoue out of those quarters. The first day he arriued at ARDACHAN, with the great trouble of all his souldiors: for whereas the journey was wont to be two waies worke ordinarily, as well in respect of the length of the way as the difficultie of the passage, the Generall would now needs haue it done in one, the rather thereby to grieue his souldiors. But of this his wilfulnesse, he receiued euen the same day the just reward; for that the chariots wherein his women rode, were conuaied away, togither with the eunuchs that were their keepers: some say by the Georgians, that lay in wait for such a prey; some others say by the Ianizaries, who the more to dishonour their Generall wrought K
him this injurie.

Great was the reproach that *Ferat* receiued in the armie, but farre greater at CONSTANTINOPLE, when these newes were there knowne: but there was no remedie, he must now perforce endure it, and discontented as he was, keepe on his way towards ERZIRVM. In ARDACHAN he tooke a surueigh of his armie, and there gaue his souldiors leaue to depart: himselfe afterwards arriuing at ERZIRVM, hated of all his souldiors, enuied by his captaines, derided for the losse of his women, and fallen into the disgrace of euerie man. No lesse than the rest was the Turkish emperour discontented with him also: first for that he had done nothing worth the speaking of, in reuenge of the shamefull injurie done by *Manucchiar* the Georgian, and yet so mightily discontented his souldiors: and secondly, for that without any care he had suffered *Aliculi Chan* the L
Persian prisoner to escape away; about whose flight it was thought he could not chuse but haue some intelligence. For *Ferat*, after he was by new order from the court to diuert his journey from NASSIVAN to the straits & narrow passages of GEORGIA, being desirous to be throughly enformed of those dangerous waies; in this second yeare when he remoued from ERZIRVM, tooke *Aliculi Chan* out of prison, of purpose to vse him as his guide in those dangerous straits, and therefore carried him vnder a guard (whatsoeuer it was afterwards) of his most faithfull vassals, still intreating him well, and taking such order as that he wanted nothing: at last being come to the straits of TOMANIS in GEORGIA, where the Castle (as we haue before said) was erected, he from thence secretly escaped into PERSIA. The manner of his escape is diuersly reported: some say that *Ferat* in discharge of his promise, for his good direction had gratified him with M
his libertie: others say, that *Ferat* corrupted with money, gaue him opportunitie to escape: some others (with more probabilitie) that this escape was made, neither for money nor discharge of promise, but by the onely vigilancie of *Aliculi* himselfe, and the sleepinesse of his keepers; and that watching the opportunitie of the night (a friend to all escapes) he started away. Howsoeuer

Ferat at Ardachan breaketh vp his armie.

A euer it was, in fine hee was deliuered from his long captiuitie to the diſcredit of *Ferat*, and returned into PERSIA, to performe ſuch enterpriſes againſt the Turkes, as ſhall bee hereafter declared.

Generall *Ferat* (before his departure out of GEORGIA) had commaunded *Aly* the Baſſa of GRÆCIA (whom he left, as is before declared, in the new caſtle of LORI) to fortifie a certaine caſtle called SAITAN CHASI (in our language, *the Caſtle of the Diuell*) which he with great diligence performed, and left therein fiftie pieces of artillerie, and a thouſand ſouldiors vnder the charge of a Sanzacke: and ſo quieted the paſſages from fort to fort, as that all the waies from REIVAN to CHARS, and from CHARS to TEFLIS, were made eaſie and ſafe, and all the meanes taken away whereby the enemie might be able to plot any new treacherie vpon thoſe paſſages: B which was no ſmall piece of good ſeruice.

The dangerous paſſage from Reiuan to Teflis ſecured vnto the Turkes.

The Perſian king in the meane time lying at TAVRIS with his armie, vnderſtanding that the Turkes had changed their purpoſe from NASSIVAN to GEORGIA, ſo that there was no further need to employ his armie againſt them for the defence of TAVRIS or NASSIVAN: at laſt reſolued with himſelfe to licence his ſouldiors to depart, and to apply himſelfe to more priuat reuenges. For calling *Emir Chan* vnto him, whom he had left Gouernor of TAVRIS, and Generall for that part of his kingdome; he required of him the occaſion, why he had not performed the great promiſes which he had made to him before his departure to HERI, nor done his endeuour to hinder the Turks Fabrik at REIVAN: and why he went not out with other ſouldiors appointed for that purpoſe, and namely with the Turcomans (as he had promiſed) to reuenge ſo great C an injurie, and in beſt manner he could to haue endomaged the Turkiſh forces? Sundrie excuſes did *Emir Chan* alleadge for the colouring of his manifeſt default, but none ſufficient to cleare him of the crimes objected againſt him by the king and the Sultans: wherefore he was by the king adjudged to haue his eies burnt out with an hoat yron; and ſo depriued of his ſight, to be deſpoiled of all his goods and ſhut vp in cloſe priſon. Which heauie doome was without further delay accordingly put in execution: whereof within the ſpace of a few moneths, the wicked *Chan* (but yet a famous ſouldior) miſerably died in priſon. Whoſe death ſo highly offended the Turcoman nation (who had him alwaies in great eſtimation) that they abſolutely denied their defences for the crowne of PERSIA: and the more, when they heard that the king had beſtowed the roume of *Emir Chan* vpon *Aliculi*; who although he had in many reſpects deſerued all prefer- D ment, yet for that he was an auntient enemie to certaine Turcoman captaines, they would not in any wiſe endure that he ſhould be exalted to ſo great an honour. And therefore they waxed more diſdainfull and ill affected towards the king, whereby the Perſian forces became the more weakened and diuided.

Emir Chan hauing his eies put out, dieth miſerably in priſon.

The Turkes notwithſtanding the league yet in force betweene *Amurath* and *Rodolph* the Chriſtian emperour that now is, did many times make incurſions into the vpper part of HVNGARIE, burning the countrey villages, and carrying away the people into captiuitie: but in their returne, they were oftentimes cut off by the emperours ſouldiors, and ſlaine. Which being reported at CONSTANTINOPLE much moued the Turkiſh tyrant: but when he vnderſtood that his men had without any cauſe made thoſe inrodes into the territorie of the Chriſtians, and ſo E receiued the foreſaid loſſes, he was againe appeaſed, and in the beginning of this yeare 1584, renewed the league betwixt him and the emperour for eight yeares more.

Ferat from ERZIRVM aduertiſed *Amurath* of all that had happened in his late expedition, deſiring him to commaund what he would haue taken in hand the next Spring. But beſides this information from him, there wanted not many others which did the like alſo, although in another manner: declaring vnto the king (and that in an odious ſort) the whole proceedings of *Ferat*, the eſcape of *Aliculi Chan*, the ſhamefull loſſe of his women, his quarrels with the Ianizaries, his falling out with *Vies Baſſa*, a man well regarded of *Amurath* himſelfe, the diſorders of his whole campe for his want of diſcretion; and to be ſhort, the particularities of all ſuch actions as had not altogither ſo honourably been by him performed that yeare: cauſes of themſelues ſuffi- F cient to induce the king to remoue the ſaid *Ferat* from his Generalſhip. To which occaſions, were alſo added ſundrie other ſecret reſpects: for euer ſince the laſt departure of *Ferat* from ERZIRVM, *Amurath* had ſtill in his head, the next yeare following to attempt the enterpriſe of TAVRIS, and thereby to ſtirre vp through the world a famous report of his conqueſts correſpondent to his greatneſſe. Now among the captaines whom he eſteemed to be worthie men,

to whom he might with truſt commit this ſo great an enterpriſe, he bethought himſelfe of *Oſman Baſſa*, left at SVMACHIA in SIRVAN by Generall *Muſtapha* in the firſt yeare of this warre: who hauing in that prouince remained euer ſince, had without any helpe of the Tartarians, by his owne induſtrie and valour, to the great contentment of *Amurath*, brought that large countrey into a reaſonable obedience of the Turkiſh empire: and that which moſt of all pleaſed the Turkiſh emperour, had in a countrey ſo farre diſtant maintained his armie, wherewith he had done all this without any expences at all to his king; hauing now a good while leuied his ſouldiors ſtipends vpon the lands and territories of that region; and ſtill exerciſed a kind of gouernment and ſoueraignetie ouer thoſe places. Of all which his good proceedings, he had cauſed intelligence from time to time to be ſent vnto the court: by which meanes, and other fauourers which he had about the king, there was foſtered in the mind of *Amurath* a wonderfull good opinion of him; ſo that now without delay he reſolued to ſend for him to CONSTANTINOPLE, and for that purpoſe, before *Ferat* was arriued at ERZIRVM, he had diſpatched certaine Capigi and Chiaus to call this famous warriour vnto him: yet wanted there not ſome (and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort) that went about to hinder both his comming to the court, and alſo theſe deſignments of ſo great importance. For *Sciaus* the chiefe Viſier (who rather for the comelineſſe of his perſon and alliance with the king, than for any other his vertues, was mounted to that high roome) did greatly feare leaſt *Oſman*, whoſe courſe it was to ſit next vnto him in the order of the greateſt Baſſaes, partly for his experience in matters of warre, and partly for the good affection the king did beare vnto him, ſhould at his comming to CONSTANTINOPLE perſuade the king to what he liſted, and ſo peraduenture take from him the chiefeſt office, and get into his hands the whole gouernment of the empire, whereby ſo great wealth was to be gained. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of theſe feares, he caſt about by all meanes to keepe him from comming to the Court: but becauſe that to attempt the ſame openly, might proue a matter both difficult and dangerous, he thought it better to make triall of a more commodious and ſecret meanes. This *Sciaus* in conſideration of many gifts beſtowed vpon him by *Mahomet* the Cuman Tartar king, had many times excuſed him to *Amurath* of diuers accuſations which *Oſman* by his letters had laid to his charge, For not aiding him in the ſubduing of SIRVAN, as he was both by promiſe and dutie bound: and for all his ouerſights alleadged ſuch reaſons in his behalfe, as if they did not altogither perſuade *Amurath* to be kind vnto him, yet at the leaſt not to carrie a mind of reuenge againſt him: and had ſo far proceeded in countenancing this Tartarian king, that there was betwixt them confirmed an interchangeable amitie and mutuall confederacie. Him *Sciaus* imagined to find willing and readie by all meanes poſsible, to hinder the comming of *Oſman* his enemie to the Court, if he were but made acquainted with the matter. And therefore *Sciaus*, as ſoone as he vnderſtood the certaine reſolution of *Amurath* to call *Oſman* to the Court, ſecretly wrote to the Tartar king, who lay encamped neere to the hauen of CAFFA vpon the Fens of MEOTIS, certifying him, That *Oſman* was to come to the Court, and that therfore it were good for him to call to mind, how great an enemie he had been to him, and how much he had endeuoured by letters to *Amurath*, to turne all his hatred and diſpleaſure againſt him: and withall, That if he was able to doe ſo much by letters, as if *Sciaus* had not defended him with verie reaſonable excuſes, the king had executed his wrathfull indignation vpon him to his great danger; he ſhould then imagine with himſelfe, what *Oſman* ſhould be able to doe when he ſhould come in perſon to the preſence of *Amurath*, and without any mediator, betweene themſelues determine of all matters what they ſhould thinke conuenient. Theſe, and peraduenture worſe letters which *Sciaus* wrote to the Tartar, miniſtred matter enough vnto him to reſolue to doe what he might, not to ſuffer ſo pernicious an enemie of his to arriue at CONSTANTINOPLE: and eſpecially perceiuing that *Sciaus*, in whoſe breaſt he repoſed all his hope and all his protection, did ſo greatly feare his comming. Wherefore to rid himſelfe of that feare, he commaunded twelue thouſand ſouldiors, that changing their weapons and appparell, they ſhould go and lie in wait for *Oſman* in the borders betweene COLCHIS and IBERIA, towards the Tartarian Nomades, by which way he was to come; and ſo making an aſſault vpon him, to bereaue him of his life. Hoping that ſuch an outrage once done could not, or would not be imputed to his procurement, but rather to the Tartar Nomades, or to the Mengrellians, or to the Georgians, or to the Moſcouites, or to the robbers by the high way; and to be ſhort, rather to any bodie elſe than to him. This commaundement of the Tartar king, was accordingly by the ſouldiors

Amurath ſendeth for Oſman into Sirvan.

The Tartar king ſendeth twelue thouſand Tartars to lie in wait for to kill Oſman

A ors put in practiſe: who without further ſtay joyned themſelues together, and ſo rode towards the place appointed.

And now were the meſſengers ſent from *Amurath*, come to *Oſman*, who readily put himſelfe on his way towards CONSTANTINOPLE, hauing left behind him at DERBENT and SVMACHIA two Baſſaes, thought to be the moſt ſufficient men in SIRVANIA: hauing alſo appointed very good orders in the ſame, and an aſſured eſtabliſhment of all thoſe countries and places which *Muſtapha* firſt had ſubdued, and he himſelfe had afterwards maintained vnder the obedience of *Amurath*. He had alſo prouided for the ſafetie of his own perſon, in paſsing thoſe troubleſome and dangerous paſſages through which he was to trauell, by chuſing out foure thouſand ſouldiors which he had tried in diuers battels, and brought vp vnder his own diſcipline; through
B whoſe valour he doubted not ſafely to paſſe through the treacheries of the Albanians, and the populous ſquadrons as well of the Tartarians as of the Mengrellians.

Thus departed he from DERBENT, and coaſting along the rockes of CAVCASVS (that at all times of the yeare are all white and hoarie with continuall ſnowes) leauing on his left hand MEDIA, IBERIA, and CHOLCHIS, and on the right hand the famous riuers of Tanais and Volga, euen at his firſt entrance vnto the ſhores of the Euxine ſea, he was by the abouenamed twelue thouſand Tartarians, being apparrelled like theeues that lie vpon thoſe wayes, ſuddenly aſſailed and fought withall. But like as an huge rocke lying open to tempeſts and waues, ſtanding faſt and vnmoueable in it ſelfe, reſiſteth the thunderings and ruſhings of the great and fearefull billowes: ſo ſtood *Oſman* faſt and firme, and couragiouſly ſuſtained this trecherous aſſault, turning the bold
C countenances of his reſolute ſouldiors againſt the rebellious multitude of thoſe traiterous ſquadrons: who as is their manner in the beginning vſed great force, but finding ſo ſtout reſiſtance in thoſe few, whom they had thought with their onely lookes and ſhoutings to haue put to flight, they began at length to quaile. Which *Oſman* quickly perceiuing, couragiouſly forced vpon them, and in a very ſhort ſpace and with a very ſmall loſſe of his owne, put thoſe Tartarians to flight, killing a number of them, and alſo taking many of them priſoners: by whom *Oſman* was afterwards informed (as the truth was) that their king for feare that he had conceiued, leaſt when he came to CONSTANTINOPLE he would procure his deſtruction from *Amurath*, had ſent this armie to ſeeke his death. Of which treaſon *Oſman* cauſed a perfect proceſſe to be made, toge-
D ther with the depoſitions of the Tartarian priſoners, which he ſent the ſhorteſt way he could deuiſe to *Amurath* at CONSTANTINOPLE; with letters declaring all that had paſſed, enflaming him to reuenge ſo grieuous an injurie and ſo wicked a practiſe. *Amurath* receiuing theſe aduertiſements from *Oſman*, according to the neceſsitie of the matter tooke order that *Vluzales* his Admirall with certaine gallies well appointed, ſhould paſſe ouer to CAFFA to fetch *Oſman*; and withall to carrie with him *Iſlan*, a brother of the Tartar kings, commaunding *Oſman* by letters, that he ſhould (to the terrour of others) put to death the treacherous king, and place his brother in his roume.

Oſman aſſaulted by twelue thouſand Tartars.

Oſman ouercommeth the Tartars.

This Tartar king was one of thoſe mightie princes, who baſely yeelding to the *Othoman* power, led vnder them a moſt vile and troubleſome life, as their tributaries and vaſſals, alwayes at commaund: whoſe yonger brother *Iſlan* (preſuming of the ſufficiencie of himſelfe and the fa-
E uour of the people) going to CONSTANTINOPLE, became a ſuter vnto the Turkiſh emperor, to haue his eldeſt brother thruſt out of his kingdome, as a man for his euill gouernment hated of his ſubjects, and to be placed himſelfe in his roume. Which his ſute was ſo croſſed by the embaſſadours of the king his brother, who ſpared for no coſt in the behalfe of their maſter, that the ambitious youth was ſent from the Turks Court to ICONIVM, and there clapt faſt vp in priſon: where apparrelled like an Eremit, he led his life altogether conformable to his miſerie, with ſuch a kind of externall innocencie, as if he had beene void of all hope or ambitious deſire of a kingdome, but rather like a forlorne and vnhappie wretch with vaine affliction and impious deuotion to prepare himſelfe to a laudable and honourable death. But whileſt he thus liued, ſequeſtred from all worldly cogitations, vpon the diſcouerie of the king his brothers rebellion he was in
F more than poſt haſt ſent for to CONSTANTINOPLE, and put into the gallies bound for CAFFA, with letters to *Oſman* of the tenor aforeſaid. Now in the meane time *Oſman* had by cunning meanes got into his hands this Tartar king, being as is reported betrayed by his owne counſellours, corrupted with the Turkes gold: whom with his two ſonnes *Oſman* vpon the receit of the aforeſaid letters from *Amurath*, cauſed to be preſently ſtrangled with a bowſtring, and *Iſlan* his younger

Oſman ſtrangleth Mahomet the Tartar king, with his two ſons, and placeth Iſlan his brother in his ſtead.

younger brother to be ſaluted king in his place, yet as vaſſale to *Amurath*. This ſhamefull death, the vſuall reward of the Turkiſh friendſhip, was thought juſtly to haue happened vnto this Tartar king, for that he not long before, ſupported by *Amurath*, had moſt vnnaturally depoſed his aged father from that kingdome, juſt vengeance now proſecuting his ſo great diſloyaltie. G

Oſman embarking himſelfe in the forenamed gallies at the port of CAFFA, paſsing ouer the Euxine ſea, and entering into the Thracian Boſphorus, arriued at CONSTANTINOPLE, where he was receiued with great pompe and ſingular ſignifications of good loue. But with moſt euident and expreſſe kinds of joy was he ſaluted by *Amurath* himſelfe, when by his owne ſpeech and preſence he declared vnto him euery particularitie of the matters that had happened in his long and important voiage, and in liuely manner repreſented vnto him the perils and trauels that he had paſſed, and the conqueſts that he had made in SIRVAN. After all which diſcourſes *Amurath* who longed after nothing more than to ſee the Perſian king ſomewhat brideled, and the famous citie of TAVRIS brought vnder his own ſubjection, began to enter into conference with *Oſman* about that enterpriſe, and in the end would needs throughly know of him, what iſſue he could promiſe him of this his deſire; and in what ſort by his aduice and counſell the forces ſhould be employed, and the armies diſpoſed for the ſubduing of that citie, which ouer all the nations of the world was ſo famous and ſo great an honour to the Perſian kingdome. To all which demaunds his anſwere and reſolution was, That for ſo much as the matters of GEORGIA were now well ſetled, the trecherous paſſages by the new built forts aſſured, and the prouince of SIRVAN vnder his obedience eſtabliſhed, there was now no cauſe why he ſhould any longer foreſlow ſo famous an enterpriſe, but by the conqueſt of TAVRIS, & erecting of a fort in that proud citie, to bring a terrour vpon all PERSIA, and to raiſe a glorious renowne of ſo mightie a conqueſt among the nations of EVROPE: for the accompliſhment whereof he thought that either the ſame armie, or at the moſt a very little greater would ſuffice, ſo that it were raiſed of the beſt and choiſeſt ſouldiors. H I

Amurath demaundeth Oſmans opinion concerning the enterpriſe of Tauris.

Oſmans reſolution.

By reaſon of one of the letters which *Sciaus Baſſa* had written to the late Tartar king, and by the inſtigation of the young Sultan *Mahomets* mother (jealous of the neere alliance of the great Baſſa with her husband, as prejudiciall and dangerous to her ſonne) *Amurath* had in the open Diuano depriued the ſaid *Sciaus* from the office of the cheefe Viſier, and hardly pardoning him his life, at the interceſsion of his wife, being his ſiſter, had baniſhed him the Court, ſo that he liued afterwards about CALCEDON, vpon the borders of ASIA, not far from CONSTANTINOPLE, in a cloſe pallace he had there built for his owne pleaſure: in whoſe roume he appointed *Oſman* to be cheefe Viſier; and to honour him the more, nominated him the Generall of his armie againſt the Perſians. Such power hath vertue, that euen from the very ſcum of the raſcall ſort, and out of the ruſticall rout of mountaine peaſants (which notwithſtanding cannot be truly juſtified of this *Oſman*, his father being Beglerbeg of DAMASCO, and his mother the daughter of the Beglerbeg of BABILON) it doth oftentimes in the courſe of this variable world draw diuers men into princes Courts, and aduance them to the higheſt dignities. Truth it is, that from a priuat ſouldiour, though well borne, he by ſundrie degrees grew vp to the higheſt honours of that ſo great an empire, and was at one inſtant created the cheefe Counſellor and Generall of the *Othoman* forces. Great was the joy that *Oſman* conceiued hereat, and great was the deſire hee had to make himſelfe worthie of ſo honourable fauours; and the greater confidence he perceiued that *Amurath* had repoſed in him, the more eagerly was hee ſpurred on to doe any thing poſsible whereby he might ſhew himſelfe to haue deſerued the ſame. And therefore aduiſing with himſelfe, that for as much as the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe required a greater armie than was leuied in former yeares, ſo it was neceſſarie alſo for him the ſooner to ſend out his aduertiſements into all his ſubject prouinces, and by his owne example to ſtirre vp the other captaines and ſouldiours euen in the Winter (though it were as yet ſomewhat troubleſome) to paſſe ouer to SCVTARI, and from thence to ANGORI, to AMASIA, to SIVAS, and there in thoſe territories to driue out the time, vntill his ſoldiors which were ſummoned were all gathered together. And becauſe vpon this his great ſpeed it might peraduenture fall out, that the enemie miſdoubting his purpoſe for TAVRIS, might prouide a greater armie than they would otherwiſe, he cauſed it to be giuen out, That he muſt goe for NASSIVAN; to the end, that the Perſians ſo beguiled, ſhould not regard the gathering of ſo mightie an armie as they would haue done if they ſhould haue heard of the Turkes comming to TAVRIS: and ſo the generall couſening rumor flew, not only K L M

O'man Baſſa made cheefe Viſier and Generall of the armie.

through

A through all the cities ſubiect to the Turkes, but into the countries of the Perſian alſo: who notwithſtanding being very jealous of the citie of TAVRIS, and fearing that the matter would fall out, as indeed afterwards it did, ceaſed not to make moſt curious and diligent enquirie about it. And although the diſgrace offered to his embaſſadour at CONSTANTINOPLE, diſſuaded him from ſending any other for treatie of peace: yet to ſpie out the ſecrets of the Turkes, and to vnderſtand the certainetie of their purpoſe for NASSIVAN or TAVRIS, he ſent diuers meſſengers to *Oſman*, as if he had meant to feele his mind touching a peace, but in very deed for nothing els but to ſound his deſignements: which for all that he could not with all the cunning he could vſe, poſsibly diſcouer, but ſtill remained doubtfull as at the firſt, the fame ſtill running for NASSIVAN.

B In the beginning of this yeare, now growing towards an end, *Amurath* ſent one *Muſtapha*, one of the meaneſt of his Chiaus, vnto *Stephen* king of POLONIA, to excuſe the death of *Podolouius* (ſo ſhamefully murthered as is before declared) as if the ſame had happened by the inſolencie of certaine ſouldiors, and not by his commaundement: who the better to colour the matter, had brought with him two baſe fellowes, as authors of that outrage, for the king to take reuenge vpon; but were indeed no ſuch men as they were pretended to be, but rather (as it was thought) men before condemned for ſome other fact worthie of death, and now ſent thither to ſerue this purpoſe: for whom the Chiaus (in proud and threatening manner in the name of his maſter) required to haue preſent reſtitution made of all ſuch goods as the Polonian Coſſackes had not long before taken from the Turks, and the captaine of the ſaid Coſſackes to be deliuered
C alſo vnto him, to be carried to *Amurath*: and ſo hardly vrged the matter, that (notwithſtanding the vnworthie death of *Podolouius* and his followers, and the taking away of his horſes) all the goods taken by the Coſſackes, were forthwith reſtored: which the Chiaus almoſt in triumphant manner preſented vnto *Amurath* at CONSTANTINOPLE.

This Summer alſo *Amurath* diſporting himſelfe with his Muts, was almoſt dead. Theſe Muts are luſtie ſtrong fellowes, depriued of their ſpeech; who neuertheleſſe by certain ſignes can both aptly expreſſe their owne conceits, and vnderſtand the meaning of others: theſe men for their ſecrecie are the cruell miniſters of the Turkiſh tyrants moſt horrible commaunds, and therefore of them had in great regard. With theſe Muts mounted vpon faire and fat but heauie and
D vnreadie horſes, was *Amurath*, vpon a light and readie horſe, ſporting himſelfe (as the manner of the Turkiſh emperours is) riding ſometime about one, ſometime about another, and ſtriking now the horſe now the man at his pleaſure; when ſuddenly he was taken with a fit of the falling ſickneſſe, his old diſeaſe, and ſo falling from his horſe, was taken vp for dead: inſomuch, that the Ianizaries ſuppoſing him to haue beene indeed dead, after their wonted manner fell to the ſpoyling of the Chriſtians and Iewes, and were proceeding to further outrages, had not their Aga or captaine to reſtraine their inſolencie, to the terror of the reſt hanged vp one of them taken in the manner, and certaine others in the habit of Ianizaries. Neuertheleſſe, *Amurath* ſhortly after recouered againe, and to appeaſe that rumour of his death (openly vpon their Sabboth, which is the friday) rid from his pallace to the temple of *Sophia*; where I with many others ſaw him (ſaith *Leunclauius*) his countenance yet all pale and diſcoloured.

Io. Leunél. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 91.

E This yeare alſo happened ſuch a chance as had like to haue raiſed new warres betwixt the Turks and the Venetians: which for as much as it is worth the reporting, I thought it not good in ſilence to paſſe ouer. The widow of *Ramadan Baſſa*, late Gouernour of TRIPOLIS in BARBARIE, with her ſonne, her familie, and a great number of ſlaues of both ſorts, being about to depart from TRIPOLIS to CONSTANTINOPLE, had rigged vp a faire gallie for the tranſporting of her ſelfe and her ſubſtance, reported to be worth eight hundred thouſand duckats: vnto which gallie for her more ſafetie ſhe had joyned two others, as conſorts. Thus embarked, ſhe came to the mouth of the Adriaticke, where ſayling by CORFV, ſhe was by force of tempeſt driuen into the gulfe of the Adriaticke. At which time one *Petrus Emus*, one of the Venetian Senatours, with certaine gallies had the charge for the keeping of that ſea againſt pyrats and all other ene-
F mies whoſoeuer. He hearing of the Turkes comming into the gulfe, without delay ſet vpon them, and being too ſtrong for them, tooke them all: and hauing them now in his power, exerciſed moſt barbarous crueltie, as well vpon the women as the men: for hauing ſlaine the men, in number two hundred and fiftie, and the ſonne of *Ramadan* in his mothers lap, he cauſed the women, being before rauiſhed, to haue their breaſts cut off, and afterwards to be caſt ouerbourd

A moſt barbarous outrage comitted by Petrus Emus a Venetian.

into the ſea,being in number about fortie. The brother of *Emus* chancing vpon a beautifull virgine,was by her moſt earneſtly entreated to haue ſpared her honour; and the rather for that (as ſhe ſaid) ſhe was a Chriſtian,taken priſoner about twelue yeares before in CYPRVS,ſince which time ſhe had liued in moſt miſerable captiuitie among the Turks,and being now fallen by good hap into the hands of a noble Venetian,was in good hope to be ſet at libertie inuiolated: which ſhe moſt humbly beſought him for the loue of God to doe, and not to embrue his hands with her guiltleſſe bloud, or to diſhonour himſelfe by forcing of her. But all ſhe could ſay preuailed nothing with the cruell and vnbrideled youth,who after he had at his pleaſure abuſed her,caſt her with the reſt into the ſea. It is thought that *Emus* ſuffered this ſo great an outrage (and ſo farre vnbeſeeming the honor of the Venetians)to be done, to the intent that none ſhould be left aliue to bewray the greatneſſe of the bootie,or of the villanie there committed: which was neuertheleſſe (God ſo appointing it) reuealed by one of the Turkes, who ſaued by a ſurgion of CRETE, which knew him,and afterwards comming to CONSTANTINOPLE,openly declared the ſame. With the odious report whereof the Turkes were ſo enraged,that in euery corner of the citie a man might haue heard them threatening vnto the Venetians moſt cruell reuenge: yea they had much adoe to hold their hands from the Bailo or Gouernour of the Venetian marchants in CONSTANTINOPLE,and to forbeare to ſpit in his face,as he went in the ſtreets. At that time was one *Io. Franciſcus Maurocenus* (or as they commonly called him, *Moreſin*) Bailo at CONSTANTINOPLE: who vnderſtanding that *Amurath* in his rage was about to ſend one of the great gentlemen of his Court, whom the Turkes call Zauſij (the great Turkes vſuall embaſſadours) to VENICE about that matter, found meanes to haue him ſtayed at CONSTANTINOPLE, and another of leſſe authoritie ſent to expoſtulat the matter with the Senat, and in the name of *Amurath* to require to haue the offendour puniſhed,and the gallies with the ſlaues and goods reſtored: ſo ſhould the league betwixt him and them continue firme, whereas otherwiſe he ſhould be conſtrained by force of armes to reuenge the wrongs done to his ſubjects. This meſſage being by the ſaid meſſenger deliuered at VENICE, the Senatours after diligent examination of the matter, returned this anſwere: That the widdow of *Ramadan* with her familie comming to ZACYNTHVS,an iſland of theirs,was there honourably entertained, and preſented with certaine courteous preſents; but departing thence, and comming to CEPHALENIA, another of their iſlands, her people running on land,contrarie to the conditions of the league,made ſpoyle of whatſoeuer they could light vpon, ſparing neither man nor beaſt: Of which their inſolencie their Proueditor vnderſtanding, and making after them, found them in armes within the gulfe; and comming neere vnto them,was neither by them ſaluted, as the manner at ſea is, neither was any top ſaile ſtricke, in token that the commaund of that ſea belonged vnto the Venetians, all which they ought by the league to haue done: for which their outrages and proud contempt their Proueditor had taken ſo ſharpe a reuenge: neuertheleſſe, they promiſed in that caſe to doe what beſeemed them in reaſon and juſtice to doe,for the ſatisfying of his deſire. With which ſo reaſonable an anſwere *Amurath* ſeemed to be well contented,but being indeed loth to entangle himſelfe with warres againſt that mightie State at ſea, his warres againſt the Perſians being not yet finiſhed: yet ſhortly after *Emus* was for his diſhonourable and cruell dealing with the ladie and her familie worthily condemned and beheaded,and the gallies with all the goods and ſlaues reſtored. This great woman had in thoſe gallies foure hundred Chriſtian ſlaues, all which vpon the taking of the gallies were(as the manner is) ſet at libertie, for whom the Venetians made reſtitution of as many others of the Turks.

The villanie diſcouered.

Amurath ſendeth a meſſenger to Venice, to expoſtulat the iniuria done vnto his ſubiects.

Petrus Emus beheaded.

Io. Leuncl. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 92.

Ramadan Baſſa the husband of the aforeſaid great ladie, was Gouernour of TRIPOLIS in BARBARIE and of the countrey thereabouts: who hauing warres with one of the barbarous kings of the Moores,went out againſt him with all his forces,wherein were certaine companies of Ianizaries, ſent by *Amurath* from CONSTANTINOPLE. Now in this countrey, as in many other places of AFFRICKE, are great and deſart ſands, ouer which whoſoeuer is to paſſe, muſt prouide himſelfe both of victuals and skilfull guides,without which they are not without danger to be paſſed: *Ramadan* with his armie vnprouided both of the one and the other, hauing entered theſe deſerts,was at length brought to that caſe,that he could neither goe forward, neither without loſſe of his men returne. Yet at length he retired, and got home, but not without the loſſe of ſome of his people,and the manifeſt danger of his whole armie: for which his improuidence the Ianizaries fell into ſuch a rage, that not reſpecting the honour of the man, or regarding the diſplea-

Ramadan Baſſa ſlaine by the inſolent Ianizaries

A diſpleaſure of their ſoueraigne, they fell vpon him and ſlew him. At which their inſolencie, if *Amurath* did winke and paſſe it ouer vnpuniſhed, let no man maruell: for why, the auntient obedience of thoſe martiall men is not now as it was in former times, when they were with a more ſeuere diſcipline gouerned; but now growne proud and inſolent (as the manner of men is, liuing in continuall pay) with weapons in their hands doubt not to do whatſoeuer ſeemeth vnto themſelues beſt, be it neuer ſo foule or vnreaſonable. Which although it be in many places of this Hiſtorie to be ſeene; yet for the more manifeſtation thereof I thought it not amiſſe here briefly to ſet downe an example or two of their notorious inſolencie.

Not many yeares before, the Ianizaries in CYPRVS with like inſolencie ſlew *Achmetes Baſſa* Gouernor of that iſland: pretending for the colour of ſo foule a fact, That he had defrauded them B of their pay, and oppreſſed them of the countrey with intollerable exactions. *Amurath* highly offended with this their diſloialtie in killing their Generall, whom they had neuer before complained of; thought it much to concerne the majeſtie of himſelfe, and the repreſsing of the like inſolencie in others, not to ſuffer it to go vnpuniſhed: and for that purpoſe ſent another new Gouernour into CYPRVS, with ten gallies furniſhed as well with other neceſſarie prouiſion, as with ſuch a conuenient number of ſouldiors as might ſuffice to chaſtice the inſolencie of the chiefe offendours. This new Gouernour arriued in CYPRVS, diſſembling the ſecret commandement he had for the executing of the tranſgreſſours, by certaine truſtie men gaue it out among the Ianizaries, That *Amurath* was ſo farre from being angrie with the death of *Achmetes*, as that he thought him worthily ſlaine by the Ianizaries for defrauding them of their wages, and oppreſ- C ſing of his other ſubjects: which report the new Gouernour had of purpoſe giuen out, to put them in ſecuritie, and without farther trouble to bring them into his danger. Hereupon the Ianizaries cheerfully and with all due reuerence receiued their new Gouernor: but ſhortly after to be ſure, they by an vnexpected guile when as nothing was leſſe feared, compaſſed in all the new come ſouldiors, and ſlew them euerie mothers ſonne; and not ſo contented, ſeized alſo vpon the gallies that brought them. Which ſecond outrage, though *Amurath* tooke in euill part as ſeeing his majeſtie therein contemned, yet was he content to paſſe it ouer, being loth to adde domeſticall troubles to the great wars he had in hand with the Perſian.

Achmetes Baſſa Gouernour of Cipres ſlaine by the Ianizaries.

Another inſolencie of the Ianizaries.

But to end this matter with the opinion of one of their own greateſt Baſſaes concerning theſe maiſterfull men: It fortuned, that whileſt *Busbequius* embaſſadour for *Ferdinand* the emperour D vnto *Solyman*, lay in the Turkes campe (at ſuch time as *Solyman* in perſon himſelfe was gone ouer the ſtrait into ASIA, to countenance his eldeſt ſonne *Selymus* againſt his younger brother *Baiazet*) that vpon a light quarrell (though heauily taken) betweene the followers of the ſaid embaſſadour, and certaine Ianizaries waſhing themſelues at the ſea ſide; the embaſſadour for the quieting thereof, was glad to vſe the helpe of *Ruſtan* the great Baſſa, *Solyman* his ſonne in law; who vnderſtanding the matter (by a meſſenger ſent of purpoſe) aduiſed the embaſſadour to cut off all occaſion of contention with thoſe moſt naughtie fellowes: asking him farther, if he knew not that it was now the time of warre, in which time they ſo raigned, as that *Solyman* himſelfe was not able to rule them, but ſtood in feare of them. Which ſpeech fell not raſhly from *Ruſtan*, a man right well acquainted with his lord & maſters griefe: for that moſt notable prince feared no- E thing more, than leaſt ſome ſecret & dangerous treaſon ſhould lie hidden among the Ianizaries, which breaking out vpon the ſudden, might worke his finall deſtruction; whereof hee needed not to ſeeke for any farther example, than to his grandfather *Baiazet*. For, as true it is, That great are the commodities of a perpetuall armie of a princes owne; ſo are the incommodities alſo not ſmall, if they be not carefully met withall: but eſpecially for that the prince is euer in doubt of rebellion; and that it is ſtill in the power of thoſe armed ſouldiors, at their pleaſure to tranſlate the kingdome to whom they liſt. Whereof there haue been many great examples, although there are many waies for the remedying of the ſame.

Busbequius legationis Turcicæ, epiſt. 3.

But now that we haue by occaſion of the occurrents of that time a little ſtept out of the way, let vs returne againe vnto the wars of PERSIA, the chiefe object of *Amuraths* hautie deſires. 1585
F Now according to the commandements gone out through all the cities of the empire, the ſouldiors of all ſorts began to flock togither: and all thoſe that were either deſirous to be eſtabliſhed in their former charges and gouernments, or ambitiouſly ſought to be now promoted, repaired to *Oſman* as vnto a king, and the ſoueraigne moderator of the Turkiſh empire, preſenting him verie large and liberall gifts, whereby he gathered togither a huge heape of infinit treaſure: and

ſo

ſo entertaining them with all affable courteſie, and promiſing both rewards and honours to ſuch as would follow him in his purpoſed expedition, he leuied a wonderfull great number both of men and monies. And now was the time come that called him away to go towards ERZIRVM, where he was greatly expected of his huge armie there aſſembled togither. And notwithſtanding the great dearth of victuall that commonly raigneth in thoſe quarters, yet thither he muſt, where he arriued about the latter end of the moneth of Iuly in the yeare 1585: and there taking a view of his whole armie, and of all the prouiſion neceſſarie for ſo important and famous an enterprice, he daily laboured to haſten his departure. In this citie of ERZIRVM were met togither all the ſouldiors of the prouinces that were wont to ſend helpe, but yet in a greater number than euer was gathered by any Generall before: for that euerie man forſooke his owne priuat buſineſſe, and vpon aſſured hopes of new rewards and vnwonted honours, were all induced to follow the fame of this their new Viſier and Generall: onely the people of ÆGYPT and DAMASCO were buſied with other more priuat quarrels at home, whereof becauſe they were both of great importance, and alſo fell out at this verie inſtant (leauing *Oſman* with his armie for a while at ERZIRVM) I will in as few words as I may make a briefe rehearſall.

Haſſan Baſſa the queenes Eunuch ſents to Caire to gouerne there.

Amurath had heretofore taken *Haſſan Baſſa* the Eunuch out of the Serraglio, from the charge he had there to ſerue in the queens Court, and at her inſtance ſent him as Baſſa to CAIRE the great citie of ÆGYPT. Which great office, beſide the honour belonging vnto it, is alſo beneficiall to them whoſe good hap it is to be aduanced thereunto: the riches the multitude of people inhabiting therein being ſo great, that it ſeemeth not to be one citie, but rather to containe within the large circuit thereof many cities. This man being exceeding couetous, and therefore deſirous to handle the matter in ſuch ſort as that he ſhould little need to ſeeke for any more ſuch grants at the kings hands, ſought by all manner of meanes to oppreſſe the whole nation, and by all importunities to wring and extort from them rewards and bribes, without regard of honeſtie or reaſon. By which his ſiniſter and corrupt dealing, he had now made himſelfe ſo odious and intollerable to the people in generall, that they in great number, and many times, began to go to CONSTANTINOPLE, and with humble petitions to requeſt the king to take from them ſuch a cruell and vnjuſt Gouernour; ſo that generally in the Court there was no talke but of the villanies and miſchiefes that were reported of the couetous Eunuch. At laſt *Amurath* ſeeing that theſe publike exclamations went daily ſo farre, as that he could not for ſhame let them go any further without due puniſhment, he reſolued with himſelfe to call him to the Court; and hauing ſent vnto him certaine meſſengers, admoniſhed him ſundrie times to returne home. But the Eunuch loth to leaue ſo fit an occaſion to enrich himſelfe, did ſtill delay his returne, alleadging diuers faigned excuſes for his longer ſtay. Which thing when *Amurath* vnderſtood, thinking himſelfe thereby deluded, he determined to prouide for ſo great a diſorder, and by puniſhing of the miſchieuous Eunuch, to ſatisfie in ſome part the diſcontented minds of his oppreſſed ſubjects in CAIRE.

Ebrain Baſſa in ſpeech to marrie Amurathi daughter.

There ſat at that time among the chiefe Baſſaes of the Court one *Ebrain* (or as moſt call him *Ibrahim*) by nation a Sclauonian, a young man of the age of two and thirtie years or therabouts, of verie faire conditions, and of a reaſonable judgement: vpon whom *Amurath* himſelfe had determined to beſtow his owne daughter to wife, and ſo to make him his ſonne in law. And therefore being now minded to remoue the Eunuch from his office, and to ſatisfie the citie; and being alſo willing withall to giue meanes to his ſaid ſonne in law to enrich himſelfe: he reſolued to ſend him as generall Syndic, and ſoueraigne judge into ÆGYPT, giuing him in particular charge, to remember how wickedly his predeceſſour had dealt before him. And ſo this new Baſſa tooke his journey towards ÆGYPT, although there ran before him a great rumour of his comming, and of the great authoritie wherewith he was ſent. At which report, as the Ægyptians reſted content and joyfull, ſo the Eunuch waxed verie ſad and ſorrowfull: perſuading himſelfe, that this alteration could not but engender ſome ſtrange iſſue and effect againſt him. Whereupon aduiſing himſelfe, to prouide better for his owne affaires and the ſafetie of his life, he reſolued not to ſtay the comming of the new Gouernour: but departing out of ÆGYPT, with great care and circumſpection for feare of meeting with *Ebrain*, he trauelled towards CONSTANTINOPLE in hope to appeaſe the kings wrath, or at leaſt by mediation of bribes, and by the interceſsion of the queene to find him more fauourable than he ſhould find *Ebrain*; who without doubt would not haue ſpared any extremitie or crueltie, to haue bereft him both of his goods

A goods and life togither. *Amurath* aduertiſed from *Ebrain* of the ſudden flight of the Eunuch Baſſa out of ÆGYPT, and hearing withall that he kept not the high way from CAIRE to CONSTANTINOPLE, began to feare leaſt when he came into SORIA he ſhould flie into PERSIA to the king, and ſo worke him double and treble domage; as one that had alreadie gathered a huge treaſure, and hauing long liued in the Court, knew the moſt ſecret affaires thereof, and had learned all the priuie deuiſes and faſhions of the Setraglio. Whereupon he with all diligence diſpatched his Imbrahur Baſsi (whom we may call Maſter of his horſe) with fortie of his Capigi (all gentlemen Vſhers, and officers of moſt ſecret & neereſt roomes about him) with charge and commaundement, that if they met him they ſhould bring him to the Court; vſing all the aid and aſsiſtance of his people that might be requiſit: and for that purpoſe deliuered vnto him
B verie effectuall and large letters, after the beſt manner of the Court. This meſſenger with his appointed traine departed, and without any extraordinarie enquirie found the Eunuch in SORIA, encamped in the plaines neere vnto the citie now called AMAN, but in times paſt APAMEA, the principall citie of that countrey. As ſoone as the Eunuch vnderſtood of the comming of the Imbrahur himſelfe, he gaue order to his guard of ſlaues, which in great number with ſpeares and arcubuſes did ordinarily keepe his pauilion, that they ſhould not grant entrance into his tent to any, but onely vnto the Imbrahur himſelfe, and if need were, by force to keepe the reſt of the Capigi from comming in. Which order was in verie good time giuen; for as ſoone as the kings officer had diſcouered the tents of the fugitiue Baſſa, in all haſt he ran towards the ſame, and ſeeking out the greateſt among them, went preſently thither to haue entred with all his follow-
C ers: but the ſlaues being in armour oppoſed themſelues againſt them, and permitting onely the Imbrahur to enter in, entertained the reſt of his traine without. The Imbrahur being come in, read vnto him the commaundement which he had from the king to bring him to the Court, and moſt inſtantly moued him, that without any further reſiſtance he would quietly go with him. To whom the warie Eunuch anſwered: *Behold, how without any calling of the king, or conducting by you, I come of my ſelfe, well aſſured to find not onely pardon and pitie, but alſo fauour and grace in the ſight of my lord; whoſe vpright and mild nature, the wicked treacheries of my falſe accuſers cannot abuſe, to the preiudice of me an innocent.* And ſo without more adoe they went all to CONSTANTINOPLE: the Eunuch yet ſtill ſtanding vpon his guard.

The warineſſe of the craftie Eunuch.

The polliticke and craftie Eunuch had in this meane time diſpatched diuers poſtes with letters
D to the Sultan ladies, certifying them of his comming, and principally beſeeching the queene to protect him, and to appeaſe the kings wrathfull indignation, that happily he might haue conceiued againſt him; and ſo at length they arriued at SCVTARI. As ſoone as *Amurath* vnderſtood of his comming thither, he cauſed all the treaſure which he had gathered to be taken from him, with all the reſt of his priuat ſubſtance, and the wretch himſelfe to be clapt vp in priſon in the Iadicula or ſeauen towers. Where after he had languiſhed many daies, ſtill fearing ſome deadly blow, he at length receiued from the queene, an vnexpected, but moſt welcome aduertiſement, That he ſhould be of good cheere and quiet himſelfe, for that his wealth had alreadie ſaued his life, and that ſhe hoped in ſhort time to procure him alſo his libertie: Which in deed ſhe brought to paſſe; for ſhe her ſelfe made earneſt petition to *Amurath* her husband, that for as much as he
E had bereft her Eunuch of all his goods, he would yet at leaſt deliuer him out of priſon, and reſtore him vnto her againe. Which requeſt of the queenes was granted accordingly, and the Eunuch enlarged: but the treaſure that he had ſo vnjuſtly ſcraped togither in ÆGYPT, that remained ſtill among the gold and other jewels of the kings.

The Eunuch caſt in priſon at Conſtantinople, and his euill gotten goods confiſcated.

But *Ebrain Baſſa* with his new commiſsion now arriued in ÆGYPT, had in ſhort ſpace by far more ſiniſter deuiſes than had the Eunuch before him, ſcrapt togither ſuch an infinit heape of riches, as was able onely of it ſelfe to make him worthie of his promiſed wife, and therefore he was called home to the Court to accompliſh the intended marriage. With this commaundement to return to CONSTANTINOPLE, he receiued alſo in charge, to make his journey through the people of DRVSIA; and ſuch as he ſhould find loyall, to confirme them in their due obedi-
F ence, and to make them pay their antient duties; but ſuch as he ſhould find ſtubborne and diſobedient, he ſhould quite root them out and deſtroy them. This commaundement *Ebrain* preſently put in execution, and hauing packt vp togither all the riches he had gathered in the time of his gouernment, and raiſed good ſtore of ſouldiors in that prouince, he tooke with him thirteene Sanzackes, that were ordinarily accuſtomed to ſit as aſsiſtants vnder the gouernment of the Baſſa

in

in the ruling of the populous territories of CAIRE: and ſo ſet forwards towards GAZA, G
paſsing ouer thoſe vaſt and huge wilderneſſes of ſand that lie betweene CAIRE and GAZA.
From GAZA, joyning the Sanzacke thereof with him, he went to IERVSALEM: & from thence
cauſing the Sanzacke there alſo to follow his traine, he turned by SAFFETTO, by LEZIVM, by
NAPLOS (called in times paſt SAMARIA) ſtill taking with him the Sanzackes of all thoſe pla-
ces, and at laſt turned himſelfe towards DAMASCO: ſo that before he joyned with the band of
DAMASCO, he had gotten together eighteene Sanzackes, with all their ſquadrons of ſouldiours
and ſlaues. Beſides theſe, hee had alſo his owne priuat Court, which was wonderfull populous,
and two hundred Ianizaries of CONSTANTINOPLE, whom *Amurath* would needs haue him
to take with him at his departure from the Court, ſo that he had in his armie almoſt twelue thou-
ſand horſemen. From DAMASCO, *Vies* the Baſſa was come as farre as IERVSALEM to meet H
him, with all the ſouldiors vnder his gouernment, in number about two thouſand perſons. Be-
ſides that, there came vnto him by the way of SIDON the Aga of the Ianizaries of CYPRVS,
with all the band of that deſolat and deſtroyed iſland: which captaine with his ſouldiors was
tranſported ouer into the maine in thoſe gallies that by the kings appointment were ſent to fetch
Ebrain: who now ſtrengthened with all theſe ſouldiors, had purpoſed the vtter ruine of the diſo-
bedient Druſians, and the raiſing of his owne glorie, by triumphing ouer them.

The Druſian people what they are.

Theſe Druſians, againſt whom theſe great preparations were now made by this new cap-
taine, and of whom the Turkiſh emperour is ſo ſuſpitious and doubtfull, are ſuppoſed to be by
deſcent, Frenchmen, the reliques of thoſe that with great deuotion did in times paſt fight thoſe
memorable and Chriſtian battels in IVRIE, and recouered the holy citie: but being afterwards I
brought low, partly by the plague, and partly by the furie of the Barbarians, mingled their ſeed
with the circumciſed nation, and ſo together with their authoritie and commaund loſt alſo their
firſt faith and religion: yet ſo, that they grew into an hatred of the Turkiſh ſuperſtition, and ab-
horring the circumciſion of the Iewes, betooke themſelues to a new prophet of their owne cal-
led *Iſman*, whoſe doctrine they follow. The right Druſians liue vncircumciſed, neither doe they
forbeare wine as doe the Turks: they make it lawfull among them (moſt vnlawfully) to marrie
with their owne daughters: the Turkiſh gouernment they haue ſought by all meanes to eſchue,
and notwithſtanding all the endeuours and attempts of the Turkiſh tyrants, but eſpecially of *Se-
lymus* the ſecond, yet haue they alwayes beene ſubject to their owne naturall princes, and would
neuer admit any captaine or gouernour of the Turks within the countries which they poſſeſſed. K
They are a people very warlike, ſtout, reſolute, and religious obſeruers of their owne ſuperſtiti-
on: in battell they vſe the arcubuſe and ſcimitar, yet ſome of them at this day do ſerue with laun-
ces and darts: they are apparrelled after the manner of the Eaſterne people, with a turbant on
their heads, and breeches they neuer weare, but in ſtead thereof they couer thoſe parts with their
coat, which reacheth downe to their knees, buttoning it vp before. Their feeding is groſſe, and of
mountaine meats. They inhabit all the countrey that is enuironned within the confines of IOP-
PA, aboue CÆSAREA and PALESTINA, and within the riuers of Orontes and Iordan, ſtret-
ching it ſelfe euen to the plaine of DAMASCO, neere to the hils that compaſſe it about vpon the
coaſt of mount Libanus. They were all in times paſt good friends and confederats, ſo that they
were greatly eſteemed: but now being at variance, through greedineſſe and couetouſneſſe, they L
were deuided among themſelues, one ſeeking the deſtruction of another. At this time they were
gouerned by fiue chiefe captaines or gouernours: one of them was called *Ebne-man*, and of the
Turkes *Man-Ogli*; another *Serafadin*; the third *Mahamet Ebne-manſur*; the fourth *Ebne-frec*;
and the fift *Ali-Ebne-Carfus*, by the Turkes called *Ali-Carfus-Ogli*. Vnder theſe, who indeed car-
rie the title and authoritie of an Emir (that is to ſay, King or Chiefe) there are diuers their lieute-
nants or deputies, whom they call their Macademi or agents. *Ebne-man* or *Man-Ogli* inhabited
the mountaines and fields that are contained vnder the jurisdictions of CÆSAREA, of PTOLE-
MAIDA, of TIRVS, and of SIDON, and had his reſidence for moſt part vpon the hill, in a towne
called ANDERA: he was very mightie in men and armour, and ſince the time that by treacherie
his father was murthered by *Muſtapha* then Baſſa of DAMASCO; alwayes a deadly enemie to the M
name of the Turkes. *Ebne-frec*, *Ebne carfus*, and *Ebne-manſur*, were alwayes great friends, but
now eſpecially at the comming of *Ebrain Baſſa* they ſhewed themſelues more ſtraightly confe-
derated together. *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* were euer oppoſit againſt them: ſo that the one ſide
procuring the ouerthrow of the other, they loſt their ſtrength, and left no means to defend them-

The countrey which the Druſians inhabit.

Fiue chiefe rulers or gouernors among the Druſians.

ſelues

A ſelues againſt the Turkes, who had long lien in wait for their libertie. Now as ſoone as the news came among them, That *Ebrain* being departed from CAIRE, was comming into SORIA to ſubdue them; the three confederates aboue named reſolued among themſelues to goe and meet this great Baſſa, and to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, of purpoſe to turne all the intended miſchiefe vpon *Serafadin* and *Man-Ogli* their enemies. And ſo hauing packed vp great ſtore of money, cloth of ſilke, cloth of woollen, and cloth of gold, with many loades of ſilkes, and other things of exceeding value, euery of the three being accompanied one with ſome two thouſand, another with ſome three thouſand men, they put themſelues vpon their journey towards *Ebrain*, and met him at IERVSALEM, where he was alreadie arriued. This their comming *Ebrain* tooke in wonderfull good part, and courteouſly accepted thoſe their rich and great preſents which they
B brought him; and by the offers of their fidelitie, and the grieuous accuſations they made againſt the other two Druſian lords their enemies, began to conceiue great hope of his entended enterpriſe: for why, he ſaw that nothing could more eaſily compaſſe their ouerthrow than this their diſcord. Being thus accompanied, he came by the way of DAMASCO to the champaigne of BOCCA, and there encamped. This was in the moneth of Iuly this yeare 1585. The whole army that was with *Ebrain*, reckoning alſo the ſouldiors of the three Druſian lords, was about the number of twentie thouſand horſemen ſtrong. In this place there came people out of all quarters thereabouts with preſents to honour the Baſſa, to whom he likewiſe yeelded ſuch ſmall fauours as his couetous nature could affourd them.

Three of the Druſian lords meet Ebrain at Ieruſalem with rich preſents and a great troupe of men.

From this place alſo *Ebrain* preſently ſent letters to *Serafadin* and *Ebneman*, whereby he enui-
C ted them to come vnto him, to acknowledge their obedience vnto the Sultan: for that otherwiſe they might aſſure themſelues to be in ſhort time depriued both of their eſtates and liues. For all that, *Man-Ogli* would not by any meanes come in. But *Serafadin* being poore both in wealth and forces, reſolued to come, in hope by rich preſents to purchaſe his attonement with the great Baſſa. And therefore hauing packed vp together diuers loades of ſilkes, great ſtore of money, and many clothes of good value and beautie, and alſo attended vpon with diuers of his ſubiects, he arriued at laſt at the pauillion of *Ebrain* with theſe his rich preſents; which were there readily receiued, and he himſelfe with great attention heard: whoſe ſpeech in effect tended to no other end, but onely to perſuade the Baſſa, That he had alwayes beene a deuoted vaſſale vnto *Amurath*, and that he had carried a continuall deſire to be employed in any his ſeruice: and that now
D being led by the ſame affection, and aſſured of his fauour, by the friendly and courteous offers made him in his letters, he was come to ſhew himſelfe vnto him to be the ſame man, and ſo profered him whatſoeuer lay in his ſlender power to performe. Whereunto *Ebrain* made no anſwer at all, but onely asked him the cauſe why he liued continually in diſcord and brawles with the three Emirs (who alſo ſat at that time in the ſame pauillion.) Whereunto *Serafadin* anſwered, That it was not long of him, who as one deſirous of peace, had not at any time taken vp armes but in the juſt defence of himſelfe, againſt the injuries of thoſe his enemies; who becauſe they were more mightie than he, ſought continually to oppreſſe him. Hereat the three conſpirators aroſe, and with their grim lookes bewraying their inward hatred, falſely charged him to haue beene euer the author of thoſe brawles: adding moreouer, That his inſolencie was at that time
E growne ſo great, as that no ſtrange veſſell durſt for feare of him arriue at the ports of SIDON, TIRVS, or BERITO, nor any marchant or marchandiſe paſſe ouer the plaines: but that thoſe countries, as though they were a prey and ſpoyle to the theeues of ARABIA, were generally ſhunned of all trauellers both by ſea and land, to the great hinderance of the Sultans cuſtomes. *Serafadin* would hereunto haue gladly replied, but preuented by *Ebrain*, and ſurcharged with many injurious words, was committed to the cuſtodie of the two hundred Ianizaries of CONSTANTINOPLE. And ſo being by them brought into a rotten tent that was appointed for him, was euery night from thence forward put in the ſtockes faſt chained, and continually guarded with a truſtie guard of the ſame Ianizaries. In the meane time came the anſwere of *Man-Ogli*, who wrote backe vnto the great Baſſa *Ebrain* as followeth:

Serafadin comes with preſents to Ebrain.

F

To the Lord of Lords, Soueraigne aboue the great ones, the mightie, the noble captaine, couſin to the graund Lord, and the worthieſt among the elect of the Prophet Mahomet, *the noble and famous lord* Ebrain Baſſa, *God giue good ſucceſſe to his haughtie enterpriſes, and proſperitie in all his honour. I wiſh (euen as thou doeſt loungly inuite and exhort me) that I might come before thee, and follow thee,*

A letter of Man Ogli to Ebrain Baſſa.

thee, and ſerue thee alwaies in any occaſion that it may happen thee to ſtand in need of my helpe. For G
I know that thou wouldeſt reſt aſſured of the reuerence that I beare towards thy lord, and of the moſt
feruent deſire wherein I liue to ſerue him, and to employ both my ſubſtance and my life in his ſeruice:
whereof I haue alſo giuen ſome teſtimonie, though but ſmall, in the managing of his cuſtomes that I
haue receiued: wherein I haue alwaies ſo carried my ſelfe, as that I am not his debtor of one aſpre;
a thing wis that Ebne-Manſur *(who is now with thee) hath not done. For although by his comming*
to meet thee euen as farre as IERVSALEM *he would make a ſhew of his fidelitie, yet doth he vſurpe*
more than two hundred thouſand duckats of the kings, which he doth moſt vniuſtly detaine from him
of his cuſtomes. But my hard fortune will not graunt me the fauour that I may come vnto thee: for
there are at this preſent with thee three of mine enemies, who (I know well) being not contented to
haue alwaies diſquieted and troubled my eſtate, doe now ſeeke to bring me into ſo great hatred with H
thy heart, that if thou haddeſt me in thy hands, thou wouldeſt without any conſideration bereaue me
of my life. And I am aſſured, that this ſending for me importeth no other thing, but onely a deſire
thou haſt to impriſon me, and ſo to kill me. For I know how much thou art giuen to great enterpriſes.
Beſides this, my comming is alſo hindered by mine auntient oath that I tooke: when being as yet but
a child, I ſaw mine owne father ſo villanouſly betrayed by the murthering ſword of Muſtapha, *be-*
ing at that time the Baſſa of DAMASCO: *who vnder the colour of vnfeigned friendſhip got him*
into his hands, and traiterouſly ſtrucke off his head. For in truth I carrie the image of my fathers re-
uerend head, all pale, and yet as it were breathing, imprinted in my mind, which oftentimes preſen-
teth it ſelfe vnto me, as well ſleeping in the darkeneſſe of the night, as alſo waking in the light of the
day, and talking with me, calleth to my remembrance the infidelitie of the murthering tyrant, and ex- I
horteth me to keepe my ſelfe aloofe from the hands of the mightie. And therefore I neither can nor
may obey thy requeſts, and in that reſpect it grieueth me, that I ſhall ſeeme diſobedient vnto thee, be-
ing in any other action and in all my cogitations wholly addicted to doe any ſeruice not onely to thee,
who art moſt worthie to be reuerenced of farre greater perſons than I am, but alſo to euery the leaſt
vaſſale of Amuraths. *Thou wilt pardon me I hope, and thou ſhalt well perceiue, that if there be any*
thing neere me that may be acceptable to thee, all that I haue whatſoeuer, though in reſpect of thy ſelfe
it may ſeeme vile and baſe, yet is it thine, and is now reſerued wholly for thee, and not for me. Farewell,
and commaund me, and hold me excuſed vpon theſe iuſt cauſes which thou heareſt, for my being ſo
backward in comming to honour thee, as my dutie requireth. K

The poore and the leaſt among the ſlaues of the graund Lord,

The Sonne of Man.

Ebraim burneth 24 townes of Man-oglies.

Ebrain perceiuing by this letter the reſolution of *Man-ogli*, reſolued alſo in himſelfe to goe vpon him with all his armie, and either by force or ſleight to get him into his hands, or at leaſt to draw from him ſo many arcubuſes, and as great gifts and tributes as poſsibly he might: and therfore riſing with his campe, and turning himſelfe toward the countrey of *Man-ogli*, he burnt and deſtroyed foure and twentie of his townes; and ſo mounting vp certaine rocks of LIBANVS, vpon the top of a large hill (that ſtandeth ouer ANDARA and other places belonging to *Man-ogli*) L
he encamped himſelfe. But whiles the armie was thus marching forward, *Veis Baſſa* of DAMASCO with a great part of his people, and his ſonne the Sanzacke of IERVSALEM, with his ſouldiors likewiſe, to the number of fifteene hundred perſons, hauing ſeparated themſelues from the reſt of the armie, in manner of a rereward; as they were buſie in raiſing their tents, vpon the ſudden were furiouſly aſſaulted by a great band of Druſians, of the faction of *Man-ogli*, and diſcomfited. Which victorie the Druſians ſo proſecuted, that they became lords of the pauillions, the wealth and armour of the Turks: and leading away with them their horſes and their carriages, put to the ſword fiue hundred perſons, and ſcarce gaue any leaſure to eſcape either to the Baſſa the father, or the Sanzacke his ſonne, who fled ſtraight to IERVSALEM, and neuer returned againe to *Ebrain*; but *Veis* his father ſtill followed the armie with thoſe few which he had M
left, and was thought worthie of all men to be pitied.

Veis Baſſa and his ſonne diſcomfited by the Druſians.

Vpon the hill aforeſaid *Ebrain* continued foure and twentie daies togither, with abundance of all things neceſſarie for victuall: during which time he attended nothing elſe, but to trie all deuiſes how he might draw money and preſents from *Man-ogli*, or how he might traine him into his

A his hands. For the compaſsing whereof, he diſpatched one *Gomeda* (*Ebne-Manſurs* Agent) to *Man-ogli*, being in ANDERA; to tell him, That for as much as he would not giue credit to the promiſe which was made him, nor aduenture himſelfe into the hand of his friend, he ſhould ſend vnto him all the arcubuſes he had: for that the Sultans pleaſure was, that his people that went not to the wars in his ſeruice, ſhould not be furniſhed with ſo great ſtore of weapons, to the danger of their neighbours, and of the ſubjects themſelues. With great griefe of mind did *Man-ogli* behold the meſſenger, as the man whom he well knew to be the Agent of his deadly enemie; yet in regard of him that ſent him, he forbare to doe him injurie, or to giue him any reproach; telling him, That all his people and weapons were diſperſed abroad ouer his territorie, ſo that he could not tell what arcubuſes to ſend him: with which cold anſwere *Gomeda* returned. Which
B thing when *Aly Baſſa* of ALEPPO vnderſtood, he offered himſelfe to the Generall, that hee would go vnto him, and that to ſome better purpoſe. Many reaſons did *Aly Baſſa* vſe to perſuade the warie Druſian to come and yeeld his obedience to *Ebrain*, ſwearing that no harme ſhould be done vnto him: and withall promiſing him great and honourable fauours. But neuer could he remoue the reſolute and prouident mind of *Man-ogli*, or win him to yeeld himſelfe into the hands of a man, whom he thought to be ſo murtherous: yet at laſt with much adoe he preuailed ſo much with the Druſian lord, that in ſigne of the reuerence he did beare towards the Generall, and of his obedience towards *Amurath*, he was content to ſend a preſent to *Ebrain*. And thereupon gaue him three hundred and twentie arcubuſes, twentie packs of Andarine ſilks, and fiftie thouſand duckats to carrie to the Baſſa for a gift, and to reconcile him vnto him. For
C the better effecting whereof, he ſent his owne mother to the great Baſſa, who in the behalfe of her ſonne performed a verie worthie meſſage, excuſing him as well in reſpect of his enemies that ſat there ſo neere vnto him, as alſo in regard of his oath which he had ſolemnly ſworne, That for the treacherie of *Muſtapha* he would neuer commit himſelfe into the hands of a Turke: and therefore beſought him to accept of the gifts that were ſent him, and withall, a mind and heart moſt readie to ſerue and obey the king in all occaſions; and that he would hold him excuſed, for that his excuſes were both juſt and reaſonable. Wherunto the Turke replied, That although *The notable diſſimulation of Ebrain Baſſa.* ſhe had found ſo foule a fault in *Muſtapha*, who vnder the aſſurance of his promiſe and fidelitie had betraied her husband: yet for all that ſhe ought not to feare any ſuch wicked or infamous act at his hands, who ſtood vpon his honour and the word of a ſouldior: And ſo by oath
D teſting all faithfull and conſtant friendſhip towards him, in token of his ſincere meaning he caſt a white vaile about her necke, and put another vpon himſelfe, and the third he gaue her in her hands: willing her to report to her ſonne the oaths he had made, and to carrie him that vaile and bring him with her, proteſting no otherwiſe to intreat him, but as a friend and a brother. The peaceable old woman went her way accordingly, but ſhe neither could nor would go about to alter the purpoſe of her ſonne, but returned to *Ebrain* ſuch anſwere as did not greatly pleaſe him. After which time, he ſought more than euer he did before, to get the warie Druſian into his hands, or at leaſt without regard of ſhame to draw from him mo preſents and weapons. And therefore once againe he ſent the craftie *Gomeda*, to exhort him vpon the faith and promiſe giuen,
E to come vnto him: but for all the craft and lying ſpeeches that the treacherous meſſenger could cunningly vſe, he could obtaine nothing of the Druſian lord, but good words onely. Yet at laſt after much fineneſſe he preuailed ſo much, as that *Man-ogli* was contented by him to ſend another preſent to *Ebrain*, with an expreſſe condition notwithſtanding, that he ſhould cauſe *Ebrain* to depart out of thoſe quarters, and that he ſhould not himſelfe returne any more to requeſt any thing farther of him. Which he verie largely promiſed, only deſiring him to ſend a good number of arcubuſes, thereby to content the Baſſa fully: ſo he gaue him fiftie thouſand duckats more, and foure hundred and fourſcore arcubuſes, with a thouſand Goats, an hundred and fiftie Camels, an hundred and fiftie Buffes, a thouſand Oxen, and two hundred Weathers. With this
F rich preſent came *Gomeda* to *Ebrain*, declaring vnto him that this he had got from him, vpon promiſe that he ſhould not moleſt the Druſian any more. For which promiſe ſo made, *Ebrain* ſharply reproued *Gomeda*, and threatned to make him know what it was to take vpon him ſo dangerous a libertie: and for the greater deſpight both to the one and to the other, *Ebrain* would needs haue *Gomeda* himſelfe to returne againe with like meſſage to trouble the Druſian. Wherunto although he went in great feare of ſome miſchiefe by the hands of *Man-ogli*, yet was there no remedie but needs he muſt follow the commaund of him, in whoſe power it was to take from

Ebrain ſendeth for arcubuſes to Man-ogli.

him both his honour and life; and therefore on he went. But as ſoone as *Man-ogli* ſaw *Gomeda* G
(thinking as truth was, that he came againe about his wonted requeſts) he was with the verie ſight of him ſo farre moued, as that he was euen at the point to haue throwne a dart at him, and ſo to haue diſpatched him, had not the regard of more dangerous effects ſtaied his furie; yet ſpared he not with ignominious words and deadly threats to disburden his choller. Notwithſtanding *Gomeda* could doe no leſſe but accompliſh the effect of his fraudulent requeſts, and ſo wrought with him, that he drew from him foure burdens more of arcubuſes, ten ſwords and ten guilt daggers, certaine ſiluer belts, ten packs of ſilke, and ſome few pence: cauſing him withall to proteſt vnto him, neuer to ſuffer himſelfe to be perſuaded to come againe vnto him; for if he did, he threatned to kill him, happen afterward what might of it. With exceeding joy and triumph did *Ebrain* receiue this preſent, and thinking now with himſelfe that he had gotten a ſuf- H
ficient bootie from him, he determined to riſe with his armie, and to ſacke all the reſt of *Man-oglies* countrey. Which he performed accordingly, and being conducted by Emir *Ebne-frec*, burnt ANDERA the place of *Man-ogli* his reſidence, and in two daies burnt and deſtroied nineteene other of his townes, with vnſpeakable crueltie committing all things to fire and ſword. After all this ſacking and raſing, *Ebrain* ſent diuers meſſengers to *Man-ogli*, to trie whether hee would yet be perſuaded to come vnto him, but nothing could moue the reſolute Druſian to commit himſelfe into his hands, but rather encreaſed his conſtancie to auoid a moſt certaine death. Now the great Baſſa ſtill thirſting after bloud and reuenge, vnderſtanding by a ſpie, that the captaine of ANDERA (being one of the Factors of *Man-ogli*) with three hundred and fiftie ſouldiors was got vp to a certaine hill, into a place of great ſecuritie, he ſent Emir *Ebne-frec* to en- I
tice him, and to tell him, That ſeeing his lord *Man-ogli* would not come and yeeld himſelfe, he ſhould come vnto him; which if he would doe, he would aſſuredly in deſpight of *Man-ogli* make him a Sanzacke of ſome of thoſe places which he moſt deſired. The ambitious and vnheedie Macademo ſuffered himſelfe to be eaſily perſuaded, and being accompanied with his three hundred and fiftie followers, went with the ſaid *Ebne-frec*, and came at laſt to the pauillion of *Ebrain*, hauing firſt cauſed his aforeſaid men to ſtay behind in a valley two or three miles off. But *Ebrain* would not ſo much as ſee the Macademo, although both in reſpect of the nimbleneſſe of his perſon, and alſo the fierceneſſe of his lookes he was worthie to be looked vpon: but commaunded him to be kept in a ſeuerall place from *Serafadin*, and in the meane time deuiſed how he might with leaſt loſſe of his owne men, put to death thoſe three hundred and fiftie the Maca- K
demoes followers: which was by training them, by means of the ſaid *Ebne-frec*, into a certain vineyard, and ſo hauing brought them into a ſtrait, ſuddenly to ſet vpon them and kill them. Which was accordingly performed: for being by the treacherous Emir brought into the place appointed for their ſlaughter, fearing nothing leſſe, they were ſuddenly encloſed by the Turkes Sanzackes and Ianizaries, and ſlaine euerie mothers ſonne. This maſſacre thus finiſhed, *Ebrain* commaunded the Macademo to be brought before him, and without delay to be ſtripped and flaid quicke: who being come, ſtoutly vpbraided *Ebrain* with his promiſe and his oath; and amongſt other ſpeeches which he vttered whiles they ſtripped him, ſaid: *Cut me off my members, and firſt putting them into the priuities of that infamous* Ebrains *wife, put them afterwards into the mouth of himſelfe: for ſo (I trow) he will be contented and ſatisfied with my fleſh.* And to them L
that were the executioners of his painfull death, he ſaid: *It is your great good fortune in deed, that with ſuch violence and needleſſe deformitie, ye are now able to ſpill my bloud and to take my life from me: whereas none of you all had been able, or once durſt man to man to haue drawne one drop of it from me, no nor to haue endured my countenance. But go to, proceed in your wicked and vnſatiable deſire of my bloud, and fulfill the cruell commaund of your Viſier: for in the end there will alſo light vpon you the iuſt reward of this ſo villanous a fact.* With theſe and other ſuch like ſpeeches the miſerable wretch was ſtripped, and three great ſlaſhes made on his backe, where they began to flea him; he in the meane time not ceaſing to blaſpheme their religion, & to curſe their king, and their falſe prophet alſo. But the barbarous ſouldiors proceeding in their cruell action, made other like gaſhes vpon his breaſt and ſtomacke; and ſo drawing the skin downward, could not bring M
it to his nauell before he was with the extremitie of the paine dead. After this, *Ebrain* cauſed the followers of *Serafadin* (in number about 150) to be cruelly ſlaine, and all his countrey to be moſt miſerably waſted: he himſelfe ſtill remaining in chaines.

Emir Ebne-frec entiſeth Man-ogli his Macademo or lieutenant to come to Ebrain.

The Macademo by the commandement of Ebrain ſlaine quicke.

Whileſt the fire and ſword thus raged in the Druſian countrey, *Ebrain* by ſpeedie poſts ſent to

A to SIDON, where his gallies lay at rode, commaunded, That disbarking foure thouſand ſouldiors, they ſhould ſacke all thoſe countries alongſt the ſea coaſt euen as far as CÆSAREA in PALESTINE, ſparing neither age nor ſex, nor any perſon of condition whatſoeuer. Which his cruell command was preſently put in execution, and three thouſand ſoules brought away captiues, great booties made of much rich merchandiſe, many townes burnt, ſundrie caſtles rated and laid euen with the ground, and to be ſhort, all the whole countrey of *Serafadin* and *Man-ogli* laid vtterly waſt and deſolat.

Ebrain was now in readineſſe to depart for CONSTANTINOPLE, where he was by *Amurath* expected, as well for his gold as the accompliſhment of the marriage. But bethinking himſelfe, that whatſoeuer hitherto he had done would be accounted either little or nothing, vnleſſe
B he prouided in ſome ſort for the quieting of thoſe people vnder the Turkiſh obedience, he determined to nominat one of the three Druſian Emirs that came to him to IERVSALEM, to be Baſſa of all thoſe regions. And becauſe Emir *Aly Ebne-carſus* was the richeſt and moſt obedient of them all, he thought good to commit that charge vnto him, and honoured him with that dignitie; yet not without a bribe, but for the price of an hundred thouſand duckats. Wherefore he apparelled him in cloth of gold, gaue him a horſemans maſe, and a ſword all guilt, and deliuered vnto him the kings commiſsion, cauſing him withall to ſweare faith and obedience to *Amurath*. And ſo hauing (at leaſt to ſhew) ſet in order the affaires of thoſe mountaines, which an hundred of the Turkes great captaines had in former time vainely attempted, he returned to DAMASCO, where he ſtaied twelue daies, by ſhamefull ſhifts extorting money from diuers per-
C ſons. At laſt hauing no more to doe in thoſe parts, he turned himſelfe towards GAZIR and BARVTO, places vnder the gouernment of *Ebne-manſur*, where he arriued with all his armie, and found the gallies which he had left in the port of SIDON, now in the hauen of BARVTO as he had before commaunded. Now vpon a certaine hill aboue BARVTO neere vnto the ſea, *Ebrain* had pitched his owne tent only and none other; and hauing ſent all the reſt of his beſt and goodly things which he meant to cartie with him to CONSTANTINOPLE aboord the gallies, ſhrowded himſelfe only vnder that narrow and baſe tent. Thither he called *Ebne-manſur*, and in pleaſant manner told him, That now it was time for him to make payment of the debt of an hundred and threeſcore thouſand duckats, which he ought the king his lord for the cuſtome of TRIPOLI and BARVTO: for that he could not longer ſtay in thoſe quarters, but was to returne to
D CONSTANTINOPLE, which he knew not how to doe vnleſſe he carried with him the diſcharge of that debt. Whereunto *Ebne-manſur* made anſwere, That it would not be long before his Macademoes would come with his monies, and that then he would without farther delay make payment. Which thing *Ebrain* well knew to be but an excuſe, and therefore determined with himſelfe to thruſt him into the gallies; and becauſe he could not carrie the money vnto the king, yet at the leaſt to bring him his debtor. But for as much as he doubted to put this his determination openly in execution, for feare of ſome inſurrection amongſt the people, as well for that he was within the territories of the ſaid *Ebne-manſur*, as for that he ſaw him greatly beloued and fauoured of the other two Druſian lords, *Ebne-frec* and *Ebne-carſus*: he therefore thought it better pollicie by concealing this his purpoſe, to ſhew him in his outward actions all good counte-
E nance, and by ſecret and ſubtile meanes to take him priſoner. Whereupon he deceitfully told him, That for as much as he was to ſtay there for his buſineſſe that night, and was reſolued the next day to make a road into the countrey of *Man-ogli*, he therefore praied him to doe him the fauour to be his guide: and for that purpoſe, when he ſhould ſend for him at midnight, that he would come vnto him verie ſecretly, becauſe he was minded to depart without any ſtirre, onely with fiue hundred men in his companie. The Druſian lord verily beleeued the matter that ſo it was, and withall was in good hope by that means to find ſome way to eſcape his hands. Wherupon being called vp at midnight, he readily went to the tent of *Ebrain*, who preſently charging him (whom all men thought he had eſpecially affected) with many abhominable and foule
F tearmes, cauſed a chaine to be caſt about his necke and his armes, and ſo faſt bound to be carried into the gallies. And yet not ſo contented, tooke the ſpoile of all his countrey, whereby there was leuied ſuch a prey as was maruellous to behold: for beſides money (wherof there was a verie huge ſumme) the ſtore of clothes of ſilke and gold was ſuch and ſo great, as might better beſeeme ſome great prince, than ſuch a mountaine ruſticall lord as he was. When the Baſſa had conueied all this into his gallies he ſailed to TRIPOLI, where he found *Serafadin* in the cuſtodie of

Ebrain notably diſſembleth with Ebne-manſur.

Ebne-manſur in chaines ſent to the gallies.

Veis Baſſa and *Ali Baſſa:* and hauing ſtayed there ſome few dayes, wherein he committed ſundrie villanous and abhominable robberies, he cauſed the ſaid *Serafadin* to be put into the gallies, with all his ſilkes and other wealth, and ſo departed for CONSTANTINOPLE: where at ſuch time as he entered into the channell of the citie, accompanied with foure and twentie gallies, hee was encountered and receiued by a wonderfull number of his friends and fauourits, and ſaluted with an honourable peale of artillerie out of the Seraglio. *Iohn Thomas Minadoi* the beſt reporter of this hiſtorie, as alſo of the late warres betwixt the Turkes and the Perſians, being then at CONSTANTINOPLE, and hauing (as he reporteth of himſelfe) good meanes to ſee the bountifull and beautifull preſents which the ſpoyling and rauenous Baſſa gaue the Turkiſh king, reporteth the ſumme thereof to haue beene a million of gold, beſides the yearely reuenue of CAIRE amounting to ſix hundred thouſand duckats, with threeſcore horſes moſt richly garniſhed, of ſingular beautie, but eſpecially of the Arabian race, a liue Elephant, and a liue Giraffle (which is a beaſt like a Cammell and a Panther) two great Crocodiles dead, a chaire of maſsie gold richly ſet with pretious ſtones, a casket alſo beſet with pretious ſtones and gold, many packs of moſt fine clothes, woollen and ſilkes, certain other clothes with fringe of gold and ſiluer and the Barbarian cutworke, moſt fine linnen of ALEXANDRIA, and all the arcubuſes taken from the Druſians: beſides ſundrie rich preſents giuen by the prowd Baſſa to the great ladies of the Court, reported by *Leunclauius* to haue beene worth two hundred thouſand Sultanines.

The rich preſents giuen to Amurath by Ebrain.

Io. Leuncl. ſup. Annal. Turcicorum, pag. 95.

But now for as much as we haue before made mention of the Sanzacke of IERVSALEM, and his flight, it ſhall not be altogether impertinent to our hiſtorie (though ſomewhat out of time) in few words to declare what paſſed between him and the Arabians of PALESTINE, a little before the comming of *Ebrain* the great Baſſa into thoſe quarters: by which little, the deſirous Reader may eaſily perceiue the wofull and troubleſome ſtate of that ſometime moſt bleſſed and fruitfull but now moſt miſerable and barren land of IVRIE, and of thoſe places in holy Writ ſo much renowned.

In the confines of SODOME, and in the places that lie not only betweene the lake ASPHALTITES and DAMASCO, but alſo in the plaines and in the vallies of IERICHO, and of SAMARIA, and in other places about BETHLEHEM, EMAVS, BETHANIE, BETHPAGE, CAPHARNAVM, NAZARETH, LEVIR, BETHSAIDA, NAPLOS, and other townes of name thereabouts, there doe haunt and liue ſundrie Arabian captaines; who ſpreading themſelues euen as far as RAMA and IOPPA, ouerrun at their pleaſure all the countries there round about, and continually commit grieuous outrages as well againſt the ſaid cities as alſo vpon the goods and wealth not onely of the inhabitants there, but alſo of ſtrangers: yea and their inſolencie oftentimes groweth ſo great, that they dare to aſſault the fenced cities, beſide the ſpoiling of trauellers, that by reaſon of their buſineſſe haue occaſion to paſſe from one citie to another. They are good horſemen, but vſe no armour: their horſes are very ſwift to run, and ſpare of diet, and are themſelues bold and aduenturous theeues. Theſe Arabians hauing had intelligence, that the aforeſaid ambitious youth, appointed Sanzacke of IERVSALEM, was in mind to raiſe all the Sanzackes thereabout; and joyning himſelfe with them, and his father the Baſſa of DAMASCO, to reſtraine their inſolent libertie, and to worke their deſtruction; reſolued with themſelues not to ſtay vntill he and his confederats were readie, but rather by ſundrie inuaſions vpon him, euen vnto the gates of IERVSALEM, to prouoke him to come out into the field. And the rather to induce him ſo to do, they compacted with a certaine Subbaſsi of BETHLEHEM, their friend, to encourage and animate the Sanzacke thereunto, by promiſing vnto him good ſucceſſe and proſperous euents. The ambitious young man, ſeduced with the glorious perſuaſions of the falſe Subbaſsi, of whom he made good reckoning, and prouoked by their inſolencies, reſolued (as they had wiſhed) to iſſue out of the citie into the open field: and thereupon hauing armed an hundred of his vaſſales, and raiſed all the horſemen that were vnder his gouernment, to the number of ſix hundred, he made a rode towards IERICHO, ſending before defiance vnto them: againſt whom the Arabians came accordingly, and with their arrowes and Indian canes ouerwhelming his arcubuſes, as if it had been a raging floud, wrought him great woe: when in the very nicke the battell yet being at the hoteſt, the traiterous Subbaſsi fled towards BETHLEHEM, and left the ſouldiors of IERVSALEM in the hands of the Arabians, who put moſt part of them to the edge of the ſword, and ſcarcely gaue libertie to the Sanzacke to ſaue himſelfe by flight. The Sanzacke certainely enformed of this fraud of the diſſembling Subbaſsi, to be reuenged vpon him, began alſo in like manner to diſſemble with

The land of Iurie much troubled with the Arabian theeues and robbers.

A with him, faigning that he would once more trie his forces againſt the ſame Arabians; and ſo vſed the matter, that the Subbaſsi arming himſelfe, came vnto him, without any ſuſpition of the miſcheefe intended againſt him. But as ſoone as he was come, the Sanzacke tooke him aliue, and preſently cauſed him in moſt cruell manner to be ſlaine quicke. *The Subbaſsi of Bethlehem ſlaine quicke.*

Thus hauing paſſed ouer the troubles that ſtaied the people of ÆGYPT and DAMASCO and the countries thereabouts, from reſorting to *Oſman* the Turkes great Generall at ERZIRVM: let vs againe returne thither where we left him, taking a view of the preparations againſt the Perſian; and proſecute thoſe affaires, which of all others moſt exerciſed the forces of the two mightieſt Mahometane monarchs, and with the expectation thereof filled the world from the Eaſt to the Weſt.

B The ſtraight commaundement from *Amurath*, together with the fame and reputation of *Oſman* the Generall, had drawne together ſuch a world of people of all ſorts to ERZIRVM, as that it ſeemed not the power of one king alone, but rather the vnited forces of many kings. Wherefore *Oſman* perceiuing that he had gathered together too great a number of people and too huge an armie, and that it might ſo fall out that he might want victuall for ſo great a multitude; neither ſo greatly fearing his enemies forces, as that he needed to lead ſo populous an armie againſt them; determined to diſcharge a great number of ſuch as he thought moſt weake, and leaſt able to endure trauell: ſo that out of this great multitude hee drew out about fortie thouſand perſons, who liberally according to euery mans abilitie redeeming the ordinarie perils of the warres, returned home to their owne dwellings. And ſo in *Oſmans* armie remained the C number of an hundred and foureſcore thouſand perſons or thereabouts. With this multitude the Generall departed from ERZIRVM (about the eleuenth of Auguſt this yeare 1585) towards TAVRIS, continuing for all that the ſpeech for NASSIVAN. But he had ſcarce marched two dayes, when diuers ſouldiors of GRÆCIA and CONSTANTINOPLE preſented themſelues before him, vpbraiding him with great improuidencie, and telling him that they began alreadie to feele the want of victuall, by wanting the ſame day their ordinarie allowance of corne for their horſes: ſo that if in the beginning, and as it were in the enterance of ſo long a journey they felt ſuch want, they could not tell with what judgement or diſcretion hee meant to lead ſo great a companie ſo farre as NASSIVAN, nor by what cunning conceit he had preſumed to ſuſtaine ſo great an armie in the ſeruice of their lord. *Oſman* quietly heard their complaints, and preſently D prouided for them, by cauſing ſuch ſtore of barley to be deſtributed among them, as they deſired; and ſeuerely puniſhed the officers that had the charge for the allowance of corne, who moſt couetouſly began to make marchandiſe of the common prouiſion, by conuerting it to their owne priuat vſes. And hauing thus quieted their troubled minds, he proceeded on his journey, and by the way of HASSAN CHALASSI and of CHARS arriued vpon the Calderan plaines, famous for the memorable battels there fought betweene *Selymus* and *Hyſmaell*. In theſe plaines hee tooke a generall review of his armie, wherein there wanted a number, that by reaſon of ſickneſſe being not able to continue the journey were enforced to ſtay behind, ſome in one place, ſome in another. Remouing thence, he tooke the way not to NASSIVAN, as he had ſtill hitherto giuen it out he would, but now directly to TAVRIS. Which ſo ſudden an alteration of the jour- E ney, as ſoone as the ſouldiours of GREECE and CONSTANTINOPLE heard, they fell into a great rage, and comming againe before the Generall, reuelled with him in this ſort to his face.

The number of Oſmans armie.

And what are we thou villaine, thou Turke, thou dolt, whom thou handleſt in this ſort? We are neither oxen nor ſheepe of the mountaines, for the leading of whom thou thinkeſt thou art come out: neither can we brooke theſe thy lies and deceits. If thou haſt publickly profeſſed to lead vs to NASSIVAN, *and by that ſpeech haſt trained vs from the furtheſt bounds of* GRÆCIA, *to what end now after thou haſt wearied vs ſo much, doeſt thou deceiue vs with ſuch vanities, and prolong our iourney, and ſet before vs ſuch ſtrange and important dangers as our minds neuer once thought on? But if this was thy firſt purpoſe and intent, and that now not fooleſhly or by chaunce, but vpon premeditation and good aduice thou changeſt thine opinion, why diddeſt thou diſmiſſe ſo many ſouldiours, as* F *might haue made the armie more terrible and ſtronger for the enterpriſe of* TAVRIS? *Doeſt thou thinke that by ſuffering others to redeeme their liberties, and ſo to encreaſe thy riches, thou ſhalt ſet our liues to ſale, and to make vs ſlaues to the Perſians?*

The moſt inſolent ſpeech of the ſouldiors of Conſtantinople and Greece vnto Oſman their Generall.

At theſe arrogant ſpeeches the Generall was exceedingly troubled, ſeeing his good meaning, and the earneſt deſire he had to aduance the majeſtie and glorie of his king, taken in ſo euill part, and *Oſman wiſely appeaſeth his mutinous ſouldiors.*

and thoſe his beſt ſouldiours ſo highly offended. And although he could indeed haue readily vſed the ſharpeſt and hardeſt prouiſions and remedies for it, that in ſuch occaſions are ordinarily applied: yet vpon good aduice he forbare ſo to doe, and in ſtead of rigour and puniſhment reſolued to worke by more eaſie meanes. Whereupon cauſing many of the captaines and chiefe men amongſt thoſe ſeditious ſouldiors to come before him, he firſt perſuaded them: *That the former ſpeech for* NASSIVAN *was not raiſed at all by him, nor that he was minded at that time to goe for* TAVRIS: *but all that was done, he had done to fulfill the commaundement of the Sultan, who had charged him ſo to doe, to the end to leſſen the Perſian preparations; which they would vndoubtedly haue made farre greater, if the ſpeech had beene giuen out at the firſt for* TAVRIS. *Which his princely care of their ſafetie they for their parts ought willingly to further, for that in ſo doing they ſhould ſtill preſerue that great opinion, which both the king and the world had conceiued of their valour and fidelitie. Neither needed they to feare, that the ſouldiors which were diſmiſſed might weaken the armie, for that they themſelues were not onely ſufficient to pierce into* TAVRIS, *and to open the way vpon the enemies, but to daunt them euen with their lookes; and that thoſe which were diſcharged, had but purged the hoaſt of all cowardiſe, and left nothing in it but vertue and courage.* By this mild anſwere of the Generall the tumultuous ſouldiours were ſufficiently pacified, but much better apayed and contented they were, as ſoone as he put his hand to the common purſe, and beſtowed among them all a ſmall quantitie of monies: for by this his kind vſage all their ſtomackes were ouercome, and they themſelues became ſo willing and ſo couragious, that now they durſt venture not to TAVRIS only, but to CASBIN, yea euen to the furtheſt parts of all the Perſian kingdome.

The Turkes reioice vpon the diſcouerie of Tauris.

Theſe important outrages thus appeaſed, the Generall turned himſelfe with all his armie towards COY, a citie ſituat beyond VAN, in the middeſt betweene TAVRIS and the Martian Meere, where he refreſhed his armie with all things he could deſire. From COY he paſſed to MARANT, a citie ſubject to the Perſians, plentifull alſo of all things needfull for man or beaſt. From thence he leaned downe towards SOFFIAN, a fruitfull place, ſubject alſo to the Perſians; from whence he began to diſcouer TAVRIS. Great was the joy of the whole campe, and now the mutinous ſouldiors of GREECE and CONSTANTINOPLE could highly commend the aduice of the Generall, or rather of *Amurath* himſelfe, in giuing out the rumour of NASSIVAN for TAVRIS, as the onely meanes whereby they were in quiet come ſo farre, the Perſians being wholly occupied (as they ſuppoſed) about NASSIVAN: inſomuch that euery man being waxen couragious, and repleniſhed with joy, without any feare at all began prowdly to plot vnto themſelues nothing but ſackings, pillings, taking of priſoners, rauiſhments, robberies, and all thoſe inſolent and outragious actions that vſe raſhly to proceed from the greedie affections of thoſe barbarous victors; eſpecially they of the vauward, who being deſirous of bootie, and to diſcouer the enemies countrey, deſcended downe toward certaine pleaſant gardens full of all ſorts of trees, ſprings, and fruits: where hauing ſatisfied their appetites, they withdrew themſelues to a certaine little riuer neere to a bridge called *The Bridge of ſalt water*, and there ſtayed at pleaſure attending the comming of the armie. But euen whiles they were thus enjoying the water, the fruits, the ſhade, the greene graſſe, and other delights of the place, the Perſian prince *Emir Hamze*, king *Mahamets* eldeſt ſonne, who with ten thouſand good ſouldiors had cloſely couched himſelfe, watching ſtill when ſome of the enemies bands ſhould come downe to thoſe reſting places, ſuddenly ſet vpon them with ſuch ſpeed, courage, and furie, that as if it had beene a lightening and in a manner without any reſiſtance he ouerran all thoſe Turkes, and diſperſed them, putting to the ſword about ſeuen thouſand of them. And ſo leading away with him many priſoners, horſes, ſlaues, with ſundrie enſignes and Turkiſh drums, he withdrew himſelfe backe towards his blind father, who lay then encamped about twelue miles from TAVRIS with fiftie thouſand ſouldiors or thereabouts; *Aliculi Chan* Gouernour of TAVRIS being left in the citie with foure thouſand ſouldiors onely. A greater armie than this, not exceeding the number of threeſcore and foure thouſand men, was not the Perſian king able to leuie; the principall occaſion whereof was the death of *Emir Chan*, for which the Turcoman nation being waxen rebellious and diſobedient, would not by any meanes be brought to defend that citie, whereof *Aliculi Chan* their capitall enemie was now Gouernour: and from GHEILAN and HERI there came not ſo much as one ſouldior to relieue the neceſsities of PERSIA. So that with theſe ſmall forces in compariſon of the enemies, the Perſian king had no ſtomacke to meet the Turkiſh armie in plaine battell, but

The Perſian prince ouerrunneth the vauward of the Turkes armie.

ſought

A ſought how he might with as little loſſe to himſelfe as poſsibly he could, make triall of his forces, and by all politike meanes to weaken and annoy his ſtrong enemie.

Oſman vnderſtanding of this diſcomfiture of his vauward, forthwith diſpatched *Sinan Baſſa* the ſonne of *Cicala*, and *Mahamet* the Baſſa of CARAMIT, with fourteene thouſand ſouldiors to purſue the victorious prince: who in their purſuit vſed ſuch expedition, that at length they ouertooke him in the way towards his fathers campe. But as ſoone as the prince ſaw the Turkes ſo neere him, that without a ſhamefull and dangerous flight he could not auoid the battell, couragiouſly he turned his face, and joyned with them a moſt bloudie conflict: which being begun two houres before night, was moſt fiercely maintained, vntill that the darkneſſe of the night bereauing them of the vſe of their weapons, enforced both the one ſide and the other to retire.

Oſman ſendeth two Baſſaes with 14000 ſouldiors to ouertake the Perſian prince.

B Which was done with the notable loſſe of the Turkes, who in this ſecond conflict (as it was commonly reported) loſt ſix thouſand men: and had (as it was thought) ſuffered a generall ſlaughter, had not the night interrupted ſo vncouth an action, well worthie of a thouſand daylights. So that hitherto the Turkes ſuſtained the loſſe of more than ten thouſand ſouldiors, and yet had ſcarce diſcouered or ſeene the citie which they ſo greedily longed after.

The next morning the Turkes campe remoued and came within two miles of TAVRIS, where they encamped. But whiles they were ſetting vp their tents, *Aliculi Chan* iſſuing out of the citie with all his garriſon, and ſuch of the citiſens as were fit to beare armes, ſet vpon the face of the vauward being now renewed, and with many cunning turnings and windings ſo charged them, that with great loſſe he forced them to retire euen vnto the maine battell: where after he

C had eſpied the great artillerie, he without hurt withdrew himſelfe againe to the citie. The confuſion of the Turkes in this skirmiſh was notable, for in a verie ſmall time the vauward was diſordered, and almoſt three thouſand ſlaine. But *Aliculi* not ſo contented, in the ſhutting in of the euening ſallied out of the citie the ſecond time, and ſwiftly running along that ſide of the armie that lay towards TAVRIS, ſlew the Baſſa of MARAS, and did great hurt in that quarter: which done, without any ſtay he fled to the kings campe, and forſooke the defence of that ſorrowfull citie which he could not hold. Neuertheleſſe the Tauriſians (as many of them as remained in the citie) gathered themſelues togither to the gates of the citie, well armed, prepared to make a bloudie entrance for the Turkes whenſoeuer they ſhould come. All the night was ſpent in watching without reſt on either ſide, and yet nothing attempted: but vpon the breake of the day, a

D great multitude of the ſeruile ſort of the Turkes, and of the common raſcall rout, without any order from their captaines, armed with corſelets, ſpeares, and ſwords, went to the citie with reſolution to haue ſacked it, and ſo to haue enriched themſelues with the ſpoile and pillage of that wealthie citie. But when they came to the guarded gates of the citie, they found there contrarie to their expectation, a terrible reſcue, and were enforced there to joyne an hard and mortall battell; ſo that the wals, the entrance, yea all the ground thereabouts was bathed with bloud, and as it were couered with weapons and dead carkaſes. And yet for all that, though the Perſians ſtood faſt and firme at the arriuall of this ſeruile rout; at the laſt they were conſtrained to yeeld the entrance, being ouercome by the multitude of them that out of the campe flowed in vpon them like a floud; and retiring into the citie, now aſtonied and amazed on euerie ſide, they fortified

A great ſlaughter in the gates of Tauris.

E themſelues in their houſes vnder the ground, and in the corners and winding turnings of the ſtreets: from whence with their arrowes and ſome few arcubuſes, they did the Turks that entred great harme. Yet were they not able to kill and deſtroy ſo many of their enemies, but that at the laſt they were too mightie for them, and wrought many grieuous miſchiefes in that wofull citie. And ſo a great number of this raſcall people that remained aliue, returned to the Turkiſh campe, carrying away with them too manifeſt tokens of the poore oppreſſed citie: wherein the miſerable women and impotent ſoules ſtood embracing and ſtraining the doores and poaſts of their houſes, and kiſsing their natiue ſoile, with prayers, mournings, and complaints, bewailing their preſent miſerie, and yet fearing worſe to come. *Oſman* the Turks Generall now made acquainted with theſe calamities, cauſed proclamation to be publiſhed, That no man ſhould be ſo hardie

F as to moleſt the Tauriſians, & in the meane time went himſelfe about the citie, viewing throughly the ſituation of it, and ſurueying the place wherein he might both encampe himſelfe ſafely, and with better foundation and greater ſecuritie erect a caſtle or fort, for the more aſſurance of that conquered countrey.

The citie of TAVRIS is ſeated at the foot of the hill ORONTES, about eight daies journey from

The deſcription of Tauris.

from the Caſpian ſea, and is ſubiect to winds, cold, and ſnow: yet of a verie wholeſome ayre, G
abounding with all things neceſſarie for mans life: and wonderfull rich, with perpetuall con-
courſe of merchandiſe brought thither out of the Eaſt, to be conuayed vnto the Weſt; and alſo
of others brought out of theſe Weſterne parts, to be diſperſed into the Eaſt. It is verie popu-
lous, ſo that it feedeth almoſt two hundred thouſand perſons: but yet open to the furie of euerie
armie, without wals, and vnfortified. The buildings (after the manner of thoſe of the Eaſt) are
of burnt clay, and rather low than high. For all things it carrieth the name, and was the place of
the Perſian kings reſidence, vntill ſuch time as that the late king *Tamas* remoued his ſeat from
thence farther into his kingdome to CASBIN: neuertheleſſe both before and ſince, although it
had been ſundrie times moleſted by the inrodes and furie of the Turkiſh emperors, yet was it ſtill
in great eſtimation and renowme. H

Of this citie *Oſman Baſſa* hauing taken diligent view, cauſed his tents to be pitched on the
South ſide thereof, where was a ſpatious garden all flouriſhing and beautifull, repleniſhed with
ſundrie kind of trees and ſweet ſmelling plants, and a thouſand fountaines and brookes deriued
from a pretie riuer, which with his pleaſant ſtreame diuided the garden from the citie of TAV-
RIS: and was of ſo great beautie, that for the delicacie thereof, it was by the countrey inhabitants
called *Sechis Genet* (that is to ſay) the eight Paradiſes: and was in times paſt the ſtanding houſe of
their kings, while they kept their reſidence in this citie, and after they had withdrawne their ſeat
from thence to CASBIN, became the habitation and place of aboad for the Gouernors of TAV-
RIS. Of theſe gardens and places *Oſman* made choiſe to build his caſtle in; whereof he gaue the
modell himſelfe, and commaunded that all the whole circuit of thoſe pleaſant greenes ſhould be I
enuironed with wals, and trenches digged round about them to conuay the water from the fore-
ſaid riuer. Which was accordingly begun with the greateſt care that poſsibly might be: the
foundation of the embatteled wals laid, the ditches digged fourteen foot broad, & a mans height
The caſtle of Tauris built in 36 daies. in depth; and in the ſpace of ſix and thirtie daies the whole worke finiſhed and brought to an
end: great ſtore of artillerie mounted vpon the walles, and diuers bathes, lodgings, and ſuch
other houſes neceſſarie for the Turkiſh vſes built within the caſtle. The firſt day of this buil-
ding *Oſman* fell ſicke of a feauer with a bloudie flix, which happily was the cauſe both of
the ſlowneſſe of the building, and of many other loſſes that afterwards happened, as ſhall
be hereafter declared.

Eight Ianizaries with certaine Spaoglans found ſtrangled in a bath at Tauris. Fiue daies after the building of the caſtle was begun, newes was brought into the Turkiſh K
camp, That eight Ianizaries and diuers Spaoglans were ſeene ſtrangled in a bath within the citie
of TAVRIS. Whereupon the Zaini, Spahini, and Ianizaries came preſently vnto the Generall,
declaring vnto him, That although he had with too much clemencie giuen order that no man
ſhould hurt or moleſt the Tauriſians, and that according to his pleaſure euerie man had vſed mo-
deſtie towards them and obedience to him: yet the Tauriſians themſelues had moſt audatiouſly
ſtrangled in one of their baines eight Ianizaries and certaine Spaoglans, which injurie and inſo-
lencie (they ſaid) in their iudgement was not to be ſuffered. This outrage ſo moued the Generall,
that without any farther delay he commaunded the citie to be ſacked, leauing it wholly to the
pleaſure of his ſouldiors: who forthwith ſo vſed the matter, not as if they would haue reuen-
ged an injurie, but rather at once haue brought an vtter deſtruction vpon the whole citie. Eue- L
The miſerie of the Tauriſians. rie place was filled with ſlaughter, rauiſhment, rapine and murther; virgins were deflowred,
men-children defiled with horrible and vnſpeakable ſins; younglings ſnatched out of their pa-
rents armes, houſes laid euen with the ground and burnt, riches and money carried away; and
in briefe, all things ruinated and waſted. Neither were theſe miſchiefes committed once onely,
but the ſecond followed worſe than the firſt, and the third vpon that worſe than the ſecond: ſo
that it was a miſerie almoſt inexplicable, to behold that citie ſo populous, ſo rich, ſometimes the
court and pallace of the Perſian kings, and honour of that empire, now ſubiect to the furie of the
Turkes, plunged in calamitie and vtter deſtruction.

The wofull aduertiſement hereof ſore troubled the Perſian king, but the young prince his
ſonne much more; who moued with the paſsions of moſt inward griefe, diſdaine, and diſpaire, M
and deſiring nothing more than reuenge, reſolued to attempt any thing whereby to requite ſo
great a wrong. In which reſolution hauing confirmed his armie, he commaunded fiue hundred
of his horſemen to preſent themſelues euen to the verie ſight of their enemies tents, and as it
were to dare them to battell: which thing they performed accordingly, and made a gallant ſhow
of

A of themſelues. At the diſcouerie whereof, the Turks imagining that the Perſians were come in great number to aſſaile the armie, order was giuen by the ſicke Generall, that *Cicala Baſſa*, and *Mihamet* the Baſſa of CARAEMIT, with the people of GRÆCIA, and all their owne forces ſhould go to encounter the enemie: who preſently with their enſignes diſplaied vnder which there ſtood about foure and thirtie thouſand ſtrong, beſides a number of ſeruile people, yet men exerciſed in labours and perils, in all well neere fortie thouſand, ſet forward. Now the fiue hundred Perſians, with a maruellous cunning kind of skirmiſhing dallied with the Turkiſh ſouldiors, and drew them forward for the ſpace of eight miles and more: and being brought ſo farre on, and now forewearied with the skirmiſh, were luſtily aſſailed by the Perſian prince, who with part of his armie (to the number of about twentie thouſand perſons) couragiouſly ſet vpon the two
B Baſſaes, and joyned with them the deadlieſt and cruelleſt battell that euer was written of. Wherein the Perſians hauing giuen a moſt perilous onſet and done great harme, it was thought that they would haue contented themſelues with ſo luckie an encounter, and ſo retired: which the Turks minding to preuent, and not to returne without a notable victorie, hardly preſſed vpon them, hoping in the end to put them to flight, and ſo to giue them a bloudie and deadly ouerthrow. But the Perſians hauing quietly and with great aſſurance for a reaſonable ſpace endured their charge, at laſt as if they had been freſh men, made head vpon them afreſh, and began a moſt terrible battell anew: wherein the Baſſa of CARAEMIT (aboue named) was put to flight, and being wholly diſmaied and diſcomfited, fled backe againe to the campe, carrying with him the moſt manifeſt tokens of the vnhappie iſſue of the battell. *Cicala* the other Baſſa notwithſtanding
C valiantly and with great cunning ſtill ſuſtained the furie of the Perſians, labouring by all meanes to encourage his ſouldiours, and to haue reſtored the battell: but when he had done what he could, ouercome at laſt by greater valour, he was enforced to betake himſelfe to flight alſo; and ſo altogither diſcomfited, came to the campe without any enſigne, hauing left behind him 8000 of his ſouldiors dead vpon the ground. *Eight thouſand Turks ſlaine.*

The Perſian prince encouraged with this ſo fortunat a victorie, by ſpeedie heraulds ſent to the ſicke Viſier (whom he thought notwithſtanding to haue been in health) and gaue him to vnderſtand, that if he were willing to fight he was readie for him, and in what ſort ſoeuer it pleaſed him to accept of battell, to make him good account of his valour; and to cauſe him to know, not only that *Amurath* his maſter had moſt vnjuſtly raiſed this warre, but alſo that it had been good
D for himſelfe not to haue taken the ſame in hand. Of this offer *Oſman* accepted, but being not able himſelfe to go and anſwere the prince in perſon hand to hand, by reaſon of his ſickneſſe which euerie houre mortally encreaſed, hee ſent out all his captaines with his armie to dare him battell.

The prince lay ten miles or thereabouts diſtant from the campe of *Oſman*, towards whom the Turkes ſet forward in this manner: The maine battell was guided by the Baſſa of CARAEMIT and *Sinân Cicala*, with all the ſouldiors of ASSIRIA and BABYLON: the left wing was led by the Baſſa of NATOLIA, with the band of GRÆCIA; and the right wing was conducted by *Amurath Baſſa* of CARAMANIA, with the people of SORIA to the number of threeſcore thouſand: beſide ſuch as were left behind at TAVRIS, with the truſtie guard of the Ianizaries, and the
E artillerie, for the ſafegard of the ſicke Viſier. In this order they confronted the Perſian prince, who was himſelfe in the middeſt of his armie, with all his people in verie good order: hauing on the one ſide the ſouldiors of PERSIA and HIRCANIA, and on the other them of PARTHIA and ATROPATIA, in all to the number of fortie thouſand. The Turkes feared nothing more, than that the Perſians fetching a great compaſſe about, ſhould with all celeritie and furie ſet vpon their tents, and the riches they had laied vp togither in their pauillions: and therefore at euerie motion of theirs, they continually feared this ſudden outroad; whereof they had ſuch eſpeciall care, that retiring themſelues as much as they might, and faigning as if they had giuen place to the Perſians, it wanted not much but that they had brought them euen within the juſt leuell and marke of the artillerie. Which the Perſians perceiuing, without any further dallying hard-
F ly began to aſſaile the maine bodie of the battell. The prince himſelfe being entred amongſt the ſouldiors of the Baſſa of CARAEMIT (who as Generall ſuſtained the place of *Oſman*) and preſſing into the middeſt of the battell, diſpatched euerie man that came in his way; and hauing ſingled out the Baſſa from the reſt, ſmote off his head, and gaue it to one of his followers to carrie vpon the top of his launce. Which being openly deſcried, brought a great terrour vpon the Turkes, *The Baſſa of Caraamit ſlaine by the Perſian prince, and his head cut off.*

Turkes, and exceedingly encouraged the Perſians; who embrued with the bloud of their ene- G
mies,and intermingling themſelues more and more among them,made of them a moſt confuſed
and generall ſlaughter: wherein beſide the Baſſa before named,there died alſo the Baſſa of TRA-
BIZONDA,the Sanzacke of BVRSIA,with fiue other Sanzackes,and as it was commonly repor-
ted twentie thouſand Turkes moe. It fell alſo to the lot of *Amurath Baſſa* of CARAMANIA to
be there taken priſoner, with diuers other common ſouldiours. But night comming now on,
and the Perſians being come ſomewhat too nigh the Turkiſh artillerie, they gaue ouer the fight,
and withdrew themſelues backe to the place where their king lay encamped with the reſt of
his armie.

But now were diuers dayes ſpent wherein the new fortreſſe at TAVRIS (as we haue before
ſaid) was fully finiſhed, when the ſouldiors of GRÆCIA and CONSTANTINOPLE wearied to H
ſee their friends and fellowes thus ſlaine before their faces, and hauing alſo ſafely layed vp in
their owne cuſtodie ſuch preyes and booties as they had gotten in the ſacke of the citie, reſolued
with themſelues to procure their owne departure, and ſo much the rather, for that Winter was
now faſt comming on. And for as much as the Generall was through the immoderat flux of
bloud brought weake,and in deſpaire of life,and quite abandoned of all hope by his phiſitions,
and therefore not to be ſpoke withall; they were faine by the mouth of ſuch as were their truſtie
friends about him,to repreſent vnto him the neceſsitie of their returne,and withall after many re-
uerent entreaties cauſed it alſo to be ſignified vnto him, That if he ſtood obſtinate, and would
needs ſtay dallying out the time in thoſe dangerous places where no ſuch need was, they ſhould
be enforced to withdraw themſelues and to forſake him. *Oſman*, who had now nothing els to I
doe in thoſe countries but onely to leaue ſome conuenient garriſon in the new fortreſſe at TAV-
RIS, liberally promiſed to ſatisfie their requeſts by departing thence the next morning. So calling
vnto him *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa of TRIPOLIS,a man of a craftie and cruell nature,made him
gouernour and keeper of the new built fortreſſe at TAVRIS. And the more to encourage him
to take that charge vpon him, he gaue him freely for the ſpace of three whole yeares not onely
the office and authoritie, but alſo the rents and reuenewes of a Baſſa of CARAEMIT, lately
ſlaine by the Perſian prince,and withall honoured him with the title of the Baſſa of the Court:
ſo that hauing finiſhed his three yeares office of CARAEMIT,he was then to goe and ſit among
the ſoueraigne ſeats of the Baſſaes of the Porta. The Baſſa ſeeing ſo faire and ſo high a way for
him to mount to thoſe high honours (greater than which there is none in the Turkiſh empire) K
readily accepted the offer, and diſpatching his lieutenant for CARAEMIT to the gouernment of
thoſe countries in his abſence,with an hundred of his owne followers; ſetled himſelfe in the ſaid
fort with a garriſon of twelue thouſand ſouldiors,furniſhed with all neceſſarie prouiſion vntill the
next Spring. The Generall hauing thus ſet all things in order,and carefully prouided for the ſafe-
tie of the fortreſſe,departed according to his promiſe,and the ſame morning,which was the four-
ſcore and ſeuenth day after his departure from ERZIRVM, came to a place called SANCAZAN,
ſeuen miles diſtant from TAVRIS.

Giaffer Baſſa of Tripolis an Eunuch made Gouernor of Tauris.

Oſman the Generall departeth from Tauris,and commeth to Sancazan.

The Turkes were now vpon the point of their encamping in a confuſed diſorder and hurly-
burly,when thoſe that were hindermoſt in the armie heard the neighing of horſes,and the noiſe
of drums and trumpets, as if it had beene the comming of an armie. Which when the whole L
campe vnderſtood, they ran all headlong,and diſordered as they were to the reſcue, on that ſide
where the noiſe of the horſes and warlike inſtruments was heard. But whileſt the Turkes were
thus intentiuely buſied on that ſide to expect the comming of the enemie, the Perſian prince
without any ſigne or token of battell,with eight and twentie thouſand horſemen was readie vp-
on them on the other ſide: who hauing diſcouered the cammels and other carriages whereupon
their booties, their ſpoiles,and their riches were laden,which they had taken in TAVRIS, beſide
much of their prouiſion for victuals for the ſuſtenance of the armie, he turned vpon them, and
with a prouident and ſafe conuoy had taken for a prey eighteene thouſand of the cammels and
mules, well loden with the ſame booties and victuals; which the prince ſent preſently away
with ſix thouſand of his ſouldiors, and he himſelfe with his two and twentie thouſand Perſians M
entered into the Turks armie,who now to withſtand his aſſault,had on that ſide alſo made head
againſt him. A gallant thing it was, and terrible withall, to ſee what a mortall battell was made,
what ſingular proweſſe ſhewed euen preſently in the forefront of the battell;for in a moment you
might haue ſeene the tents and pauillions turned vpſide downe, and their encamping lodgings
reple-

The battell of Sancazan.

A repleniſhed with dead carkaſſes and bloud, victorious death raunging and raigning in euery corner. The Turkes themſelues were aſtoniſhed and maruelled to ſee their enemies (ſo few in number, and intermingled among ſo populous an armie of warlike people) more like fatall miniſters of death, than mortall men, to brandiſh their ſwords ouer them, as if it had lightened, and to make ſo generall a ſlaughter; and doe to this day with great admiration recount the valour and proweſſe of the Perſians. But they all now doubting leaſt the enemie in this furie ſhould forcibly haue entered the very lodgings of the ſicke Viſier, it was commaunded not by himſelfe (for he lay now at the laſt gaſpe) but by him who at that time commaunded in his name, That without delay the artillerie ſhould be vnbarred, and diſcharged: which in that medley and confuſion of both armies, without any exception or diſtinction of perſons, ouerthrew both friends and
B foes, and did perhaps more harme among the Turkes themſelues than among the Perſians: for at the firſt thundering noiſe thereof the prince with all ſpeed retired, after whom preſently followed all the reſt; ſo that the Turkes which remained behind were more annoyed with the deadly ſhot than were the Perſians, who flying away could not feele the dammage, but that the Turkes muſt firſt be well payed for their labour. The Turkes purſuing the flying Perſians, made ſhew as if they would gladly haue ouertaken them: but night comming on, they feared to proceed any further than they might without danger returne. In this battell of SANCAZAN were ſlaine twentie thouſand Turks, without any notable loſſe of the Perſians.

Twentie thouſand Turks ſlain.

Among the reſt in the ſame place died the Viſier *Oſman*, Generall of the late dreadfull but now deſolate armie; not by the hand of the enemie, but conſumed by the vehemencie of an ague and
C a flux of bloud. Whoſe death notwithſtanding was kept ſecret from the whole army, euery man verily thinking, that it was but onely the continuance of his ſickneſſe, becauſe the chariots wherin he lay were ſtill kept cloſe: and in his name *Cicala Baſſa* (for ſo he had appointed in his will) gaue out anſweres and commaundements to the whole armie. Neuertheleſſe it was diſcloſed to the Perſians, by meanes of three young men, who in the life of *Oſman* hauing charge of his jewels and treaſure, were with the beſt thereof and the faireſt of his horſes fled to the Perſian king, to whom they reuealed the death of the Generall. The Perſians who before had thought it not poſsible for ſo great cowardiſe, and diſhonourable kind of fighting and ordering of an armie to haue proceeded from the vertue and valour of *Oſman*, of whoſe worth they had too manifeſt a triall and experience in times paſt; now vnderſtanding of his death, were thereby encouraged to
D attempt the vtter ouerthrow of the Turkiſh remnant, and ſo to giue them an honourable farewell. Whereupon the Perſian prince with fourteene thouſand men followed the Turkes, who had now raiſed their campe, and were remooued to a certaine riuer of ſalt water, not farre from SANCAZAN; where the prince cauſed a few tents to be pitched, about foure or fiue miles diſtant from the Turkiſh campe, the aforeſaid brooke running in the middeſt betweene the two armies. Now the prince had purpoſed to haue aſſailed the Turkes in the morning, whiles they were loading their carriages, hoping in that confuſion to haue wrought them ſome notable miſchiefe: which his deſignement was reuealed vnto the Turks by one of his ſpies whom they had caught. And therefore they did neither riſe ſo eatly in the morning as their manner was, nor load their ſtuffe vntill ſuch time as they were all armed, and on horſebacke readie to receiue their enemies.
E By which their warie and vnuſuall manner of riſing, the Perſians perceiued that their purpoſe was by ſome meanes diſcouered. And yet conſidering that if they ſhould looſe this occaſion, they ſhould find no other good oportunitie to annoy them before the next Spring, they vtterly reſolued to aduenture the aſſault: and hauing obſerued that the enemies artillerie was on the right ſide of the armie, they in the ſight of euery man began to enter on the left. But the Turkes preſently ſo vncouered and vnbarred their artillerie againſt the aſſailants, as was to their great loſſe and danger. Howbeit they were ſo nimble and ſo quicke to ſhrowd themſelues vnder the enemies armie, and to auoid the miſchieuous tempeſt, that being come now very neere the Turkes ſquadrons, they muſt needs joyne battell with them. The Perſians had purpoſed before as ſoone as they ſaw the Turkes begin to ſtirre, to retire, and ſo to draw them on into a very filthie and
F deepe mariſh; which being then drie, was not feared or doubted of any, but onely by thoſe that were acquainted withall, or borne thereabouts. Which their policie the rebell *Maxut Chan*, and with him *Daut Chan* (as being well acquainted with thoſe places) perceiuing, gaue notice thereof to *Cicala Baſſa*: who preſently cauſed a great compaſsing wing to be made, commaunding them to ſet vpon the Perſians, and to charge them home: which was forthwith put in execution, ſo

Oſman the Viſier and Generall dieth at Sancazan

that

that their forefront opened it ſelfe with very large and ſpacious cornets vpon the prince: who no G
ſoonet ſaw this their vnwonted order of comming on, but by and by he perceiued that his pur-
poſe was diſcouered. And thereupon without any ſtay he began to retire, calling his people after
him: which could not ſo readily be done, but that three thouſand of them remained behind, all
miſerably ſtifled, ouertroden in the mire, with very little loſſe to the Turkes: and this onely bat-
tell of fiue that were fought vnder TAVRIS and in thoſe quarters, was leſſe hurtfull to the Turks
than to the Perſians.

The prince returned to the king his fathers campe, recounting vnto him the whole action,
together with the departure of the enemie. And ſo the Turkes came to SALMAS, where the
death of the Generall was publiſhed: from SALMAS they went afterwards to VAN, where they
tooke a ſuruey of their armie, and found wanting therein about foureſcore and fiue thouſand per- H
The Turkes armie diſcharged at Van. ſons, or as ſome ſay more. At VAN all the ſouldiors were diſmiſſed: and *Cicala* from thence gaue
notice to *Amurath* at CONSTANTINOPLE of all that had happened. Where firſt was publi-
ſhed the death of *Oſman* the Generall; for whom were made many ſignes of great ſorrow: and
together with his death were blazed the bloudie and mortall actions that were in that expediti-
on performed: ſo that the whole citie ſeemed to be greatly diſcomforted, and in many places
were heard much ſecret railing vpon the king, many curſes of this warre, and inſolent maledicti-
ons of theſe manifold miſchiefes. After that, was diſperſed the great fame of the new fortreſſe ere-
cted at TAVRIS, of the ſacking of the citie, and of all the loſſe that had happened therein: and
a generall edict publiſhed in the kings name, That through all the cities of his empire they ſhould
make ſolemne feaſts, with other expreſſe tokens of joy and rejoycing: which was accordingly I
done both in CONSTANTINOPLE and other places. There was alſo word ſent to the embaſ-
ſadours of HVNGARIE, of FRANCE, of VENICE, and of other countries, that they ſhould doe
the like: but they all with one accord anſwered, That it was neuer the cuſtome of embaſſadours
to make any ſuch ſigne of rejoyſing, but onely when the king himſelfe in perſon returned from
the like victories.

In the meane time conſultation was held at VAN for the ſending of ſuccours to TEFLIS in
GEORGIA: vnto which important ſeruice, *Daut Chan* to deſerue ſome reward at *Amuraths*
hand, offered himſelfe: vnto whom *Cicala Baſſa* deliuered thirtie thouſand Cecchini to be con-
ueyed to the fort at TEFLIS. Which piece of ſeruice the renegate performed, and without
trouble relieued the ſouldiors in the fort: which was ſo well accepted of *Amurath*, that he for the K
ſame good ſeruice honoured him with the dignitie of the Baſſa of MARAS. *Maxut Chan* alſo
the other Perſian rebell, that guided the Turkiſh armie to *Reiuan*, and afterwards to TAVRIS,
was in like manner by the ſame *Amurath* honoured with the great rich office of the Baſſa of
ALEPPO.

The miſerie the Turks armie endured at Tauris. The miſeries the Turkiſh armie endured in this expedition for TAVRIS, beſide the loſſes be-
fore rehearſed, were wonderfull: for as the Sanzacke of AMAN, a citie of SORIA (called in anti-
ent time APAMEA) preſent in all this action, reporteth in a letter which he wrote to *Ali Baſſa* of
ALEPPO, there was ſuch a dearth in the Turks armie, that they were enforced to giue their cam-
mels bisket and rice, and when that failed, they gaue them their pack-ſaddles to eat, and after that
pieces of wood beaten into pouder, and at laſt the very earth: which dearth endured vntill they L
arriued at VAN. And at TAVRIS whiles the fortreſſe was in building, they were of neceſsitie
conſtrained to giue their horſes their dung in very drie pouder. By reaſon whereof there follow-
ed a grieuous mortalitie of horſes, cammels, mules, and men, and the ſtinke which grew of this
mortalitie became ſo great, that euery man was faine to carie a piece of a ſtrong ſmelling oynion
ſtill vnder his noſe, to auoid the heauineſſe thereof.

The fort ſo lately built in the royall citie of TAVRIS exceedingly grieued the Perſians in ge-
nerall, but eſpecially the king and the prince his ſonne: to let it alone, they reckoned it too great a
ſhame, and how to demoliſh it they well knew not, finding themſelues not onely deſtitute of ar-
tilletie, but alſo of ſuch ſufficient ſtrength as was requiſit for the performance of ſo great an en-
terpriſe: yet prickt on with deſire of glorie and the neceſsitie of the cauſe, they determined euen M
in the ſharpeneſſe of Winter to gather new forces, and with trenches of earth to approch the
ditch, and to trie if they could aduance a countermure as high as their wals, and ſo to attaine to
the conqueſt thereof. But in the gathering of their men they diſcouered new difficulties; for, to
hire any ſouldiors either from HERI or GHEILAN, was denied them by *Abas* and *Amet Chan*:

and

A and the Turcoman nation, which might haue been the readieſt and the neereſt at ſuch a need, for the late death of *Emir Chan*, and for the ſucceſsion of *Aliculi*, were growne verie contumatious: ſo that neither the king, nor the prince, nor the preſidents and gouernours of the kingdome, could tell which way to turne themſelues. At laſt for the common ſafetie they determined to draw the Turcomans to a reconciliation; hoping that by promiſing them any honeſt ſatisfaction for the wrong wherwith they challenged themſelues grieued for the death of their captaine, they would become more tractable to doe them ſeruice in their common neceſsities. Whereupon the king ſent kind letters to the heads and captaines of thoſe nations, and principally to *Mahamet Chan*, and to *Caliſe* the Sultan, declaring plainly vnto them the perill of his ſtate, and of the li-
B bertie of the whole kingdome, with the confidence he had in their valour: and that therfore forgetting all that was paſt, as done not in ſhame or ſcorne of their nation, but onely for zeale and loue to the kingdome, they would demaund ſuch ſatisfaction as they deſired, and that he would be readie to agree to any juſt requeſt they ſhould make. To which letters they readily anſwered, That they would come vnto him, to put in execution whatſoeuer he ſhould for the common neceſsitie or the honour of his State commaund. Now they had craftily among themſelues alreadie concluded, not to ſuffer any other to ſit in the roume of *Emir Chan* their late Gouernour, but onely young *Tamas* the kings third ſonne. Which concluſion they had plotted to themſelues, with a reſolution in the end to cauſe him to be accepted for king at CASBIN, in deſpight of the king himſelfe and of the prince *Hamze:* nothing regarding, that by this action farre greater troubles would ariſe in PERSIA than euer were yet heard of, but onely being wholy bent to
C reuenge the death of one onely *Emir Chan*. With this malitious and fraudulent reſolution, they to the number of ten thouſand (vnder the conduct of two captaines, *Mahamet* and *Caliſe*) went to the king, in all reuerence offering themſelues with all readineſſe to be imploied in the enterpriſe whereunto they were called. The old credulous king, not ſuſpecting any miſchiefe plotted by theſe ſecret rebels, was greatly comforted at their comming: and although by ſome of his Sultans that had felt ſome inkling of this conſpiracie, he was aduiſed to deale circumſpectly and warily with them, and not commit any matter of importance to their truſt, yet did he thinke euerie houre a thouſand vntill he had offered them ſatisfaction: promiſing them, that what captaine ſoeuer they would deſire in the roume of *Emir Chan*, if it were poſsible they ſhould haue him. Whereunto the diſſembling *Mahamet Chan* made anſwere, That their deſire aboue all
D things, was to doe him pleaſure and ſeruice; not doubting but he would appoint them ſuch a chieftaine, as ſhould be valorous, noble, and acceptable vnto them. The king could ſtay no longer, but frankly declared vnto them, That to aſſure them of his good will, and to giue them an hoſtage in pawne thereof, he had made choiſe of young *Tamas* his ſonne to ſucceed in the roume of *Emir Chan* their late Gouernour. As ſoone as *Mahamet Chan* heard this reſolution of the king; who beſide all expectation voluntarily of himſelfe yeelded them the meanes to put in execution, what they had malitiouſly before contriued againſt the peace and libertie of the kingdome: he became more jocund than he was wont to be, and outwardly ſhewed himſelfe readie for whatſoeuer the king would commaund him: and in the names of the reſt yeelded alſo large promiſes of fidelitie and obedience, ſo that the matter might be performed for which he had now
E giuen his word.

Ten thouſand Turcomans offer their ſeruice vnto the Perſian king.

The king, who deſired nothing more than to ſee the fort of TAVRIS raſed (which could hardly be done without the helpe of thoſe Turcomans) contrarie to the aduiſe of the wiſeſt of the Sultans, and of the prince, ſecretly and as it were by ſtealth gaue his young ſonne *Tamas* into the hands of *Mahamet*, as chiefe of all the Turcomans. Who to nouriſh the good opinion and credulitie of the king, and to ſecure the prince and the Sultans, gaue a luſtie beginning by the helpe of his followers, with trenches and rampiers to approach the fort. Neither was there any great time ſpent therein; for they had now almoſt made their trenches and mounts euen with the enemies wall, and the ditch it ſelfe was almoſt filled vp with earth, ſo that there wanted but little more labour to begin the deſired aſſault: when contrarie to all mens expectation, the falſe
F and wicked traitour *Mahamet Chan* with all his Turcomans, leading away with them the child *Tamas*, departed in the night time and vpon a ſudden, from ſo noble and honourable an enterpriſe. And blinded with deſire to put in execution his ill hatched purpoſe, couertly and without any noiſe remoued from the beſieged wals, and put himſelfe on his way towards CASBIN: ſtill tearming *Tamas* by the name of the king of PERSIA, and ſundrie waies abuſing and mocking

The Turcomans forſake the ſiege and fall into rebellion.

the poore old king and the prince. This ſo ſudden and ſo dangerous a rebellion, whereby not G
onely ſo honourable and ſo neceſſarie an enterpriſe was to be abandoned, but the whole ſtate of
the kingdome like to be endangered, exceedingly grieued all good men, but moſt of all the old
king and the prince his ſonne: who no leſſe carefull of his rightfull ſucceſsion, than was the
aged king of his preſent eſtate, both now hazarded by this rebellion; wholly incenſed with griefe
and anguiſh of mind, began to caſt a thouſand deuiſes in his troubled head, what courſe to take,
and what to reſolue vpon. ¶ To abandon the ſiege it grieued him aboue meaſure, and to ſuffer ſo
pernitious a rebellion to go forward, ſeemed too dangerous for the ſtate of PERSIA: and to pro-
uide for both theſe miſchiefes at once, was altogither impoſsible. In theſe huge waues of con-
trarie thoughts, he reſolued at laſt to turne himſelfe againſt the Turcomans, and to ſuppreſſe
that rebellion as moſt dangerous to the State. And ſo with twelue thouſand ſouldiors, and a H
part alſo of the kings ordinarie guard, all couragious and hardie men, he followed after the re-
bellious Turcomans; and marching directly toward CASBIN, he ouertooke them at a place
called CALISTEZA, a daies journey on this ſide CASBIN, and there joyned battell with them.
Wherein many of them being ſorie for that they had done, would not ſo much as draw their
ſwords againſt the prince: many others fled alſo away for feare, ſo that he eaſily obtained a wi-
The Turcomans diſcomfited, and Mahamet Chan and Caliſe the Sultan beheaded. ſhed victorie ouer them. The ſeditious *Mahamet Chan* was taken priſoner, and by the princes
commaundement preſently beheaded: ſo was alſo *Caliſe* the Sultan, and diuers other captaines
of this peſtilent conſpiracie. Young *Tamas* was alſo taken, and by the direction of the prince ſent
to the caſtle of CAHACA. Fiue thouſand Turcomans of the late followers of the rebell *Maha-*
met, fled out of the battell towards BABYLON by the way of SIRAS, and yeelded themſelues to I
Solyman Baſſa of that citie; who afterwards repenting themſelues of their folly, ſought to returne
againe into the fauour of their king, but all in vaine: ſo that being become rebels to the one, and
ſuſpected to the other, they did at one time looſe their countrey, their libertie, their honour, and
the fauour of all men as well friends as foes. The prince after this victorie held on his way to
CASBIN, and there ſtaying, laboured to gather the diſperſed Turcomans, eſpecially thoſe that
moued with the honeſtie of the cauſe, would not beare armes in ſo vnjuſt an action; intending
afterwards to returne to TAVRIS, to attend the beſieging and conqueſt of the fort. This was the
end of this dangerous rebellion, the chiefe cauſe that TAVRIS was not againe recouered out of
the hands of the Turks, to the great weakning of the Perſian kingdome.

Giaffer Baſſa ſendeth to Cicala Baſſa for aid Now *Giaffer* the Eunuch Baſſa Gouernour of the caſtle of TAVRIS, fearing leaſt the Perſian K
prince would with a greater armie againe returne to the ſiege: perceiuing himſelfe to wax euerie
day weaker and weaker, by reaſon that many of his men ſecretly fled from him, beſide them that
periſhed with ſickneſſe, and others ſlaine in aduenturing too boldly to go abroad to ſeeke for vi-
ctuals; ſent aduertiſement thereof to *Cicala Baſſa* at VAN, ſignifying farther vnto him by writing,
That if the prince ſhould againe returne to aſſault the fort, he ſhould of neceſsitie be enforced to
yeeld it: and that therefore as he tendered the honour of his Sultan, he would be carefull to
ſend him ſuccour, whereby he might be able to maintaine the fort: adding moreouer, That now
it was moſt eaſily to be done, becauſe there was no forces of the enemies in thoſe quarters, ſa-
uing onely a few which remained about the king, lying twelue miles off from TAVRIS. *Cicala*
moued with the importance of the enterpriſe propounded, and withall deſirous to gaine ſome L
credit of glorie and renowme with his king, entertained the aduiſes of *Giaffer*, and getting him
to horſe with a traine of three thouſand harquebuſiers and good ſtore of munition, ſet forward
toward TAVRIS. The Perſian king aduertiſed thereof, ſent out ſpies to learne what way they
held, meaning to meet them and to ſet vpon them: but theſe ſpies comming neere to SALMAS
were apprehended by the forerunners of *Cicala*, and being put to torture, reuealed at laſt how
that their king was in armes, and on his way towards SANCAZAN. At which newes *Cicala* was
greatly aſtonied, as well for the danger whereinto the forces and munition which he had with
him were likely to fall, as alſo for that by any loſſe which his troupes ſhould ſuſtaine in this expe-
dition, the citie of VAN (being indeed the greateſt and moſt noble frontier towne in all thoſe
countries) muſt needs be in hazard to be loſt, hauing left in it but his lieutenant with a verie few M
ſouldiors. Whereupon he determined to relinquiſh this dangerous enterpriſe, and to with-
draw himſelfe backe to the defence and preſeruation of the citie committed to his truſt and go-
uernment. But although theſe expected and deſired ſuccours were not conuaied to TAVRIS
as was intended, yet had *Giaffer* as good fortune as he could wiſh: for the preparations of the

prince

A prince were ſo long and ſo troubleſome, and his returne ſo much prolonged, that there was time enough yeelded vnto the Turkes great Generall now newly choſen (as by and by ſhall be declared) to go with a ſtrong armie into thoſe quarters, and ſo to preſerue all that which the only expedition and celeritie of the enemie might haue put in great hazard, and almoſt haue brought to a deſperat caſe.

In the meane time, *Amurath* the Turkiſh emperour was greatly troubled at CONSTANTINOPLE in making choiſe of a new Generall: on the one ſide *Oſman Baſſa* hauing by his laſt will left *Sinan Cicala* to be his ſucceſſour, as a man of approued valour; and the many dangers he had run through in the late ſeruice about TAVRIS, with the great fauours he had in the Court, did not a little encline the king to his election: on the other ſide, he heard of a publike rumour ſpread
B amongſt the ſouldiors, that they could by no meanes endure to be commaunded by ſo young a captaine, and that ſome in plaine tearmes ſhould ſay, That they would not obay him: which cauſed *Amurath* to doubt, that ſome dangerous diſcord might thereof enſue in the armie, if he ſhould proceed to make choiſe of him. Then there was alſo *Ferat Baſſa*, the ſame man which had alreadie ſuſtained that charge before *Oſman*; who now verie ambitiouſly ſought againe for this honour, hauing of late performed ſome good ſeruice to the good liking of the king. Of any other to make better choiſe he had none, ſo that he ſtood in great doubt what to doe. In the end, becauſe he was in good time to prouide for his affaires, he made choiſe of *Ferat Baſſa*, the ſame man whom he had before made proofe of: a man of great fidelitie, of an honourable carriage, and alreadie experienced in the leading and commaunding of ſuch an armie, to whom hee
C granted the ordinarie authoritie, to mannage at his pleaſure ſuch affaires of the empire as concerned his journey. Vpon this reſolution generall precepts were ſent out to all cities within the kingdome, to the Baſſaes and other Gouernours with ſpeciall commaundement, That all their ſouldiors, togither with their taxes, tenths, munitions, victuals, armour, artificers, and to bee ſhort, all their neceſſarie furniture and prouiſion ſhould be readie and in order, vpon the firſt warning ſhould be ſent them the next Spring. Great prouiſion of money was made, and in SORIA (beſides the ordinarie ſumme that is beſtowed vpon the yearly pay of ſouldiors in REIVAN, ERZIRVM, LORI, TOMANIS, TEFLIS and CHARS, which ſwallow vp all the reuenue of that countrey, and of the citie of TRIPOLI, amounting to the ſumme of ſix hundred thouſand duckats) there was taken vp in preſt of priuat merchants in the citie of ALEPPO only, the ſumme
D of threeſcore thouſand Cecchini, to be repaied vnto them with the firſt monies that ſhould be receiued by the officers of his cuſtome houſes. A matter that moued an extraordinarie grudging among the people, for that it ſeemed to euerie man a verie ſtrange and intollerable exaction, beſide ſo many grieuances laid vpon them, for corne, for carriages, for pioners, and for workmen, to endure this burthen alſo of lending their money without hope of reſtitution thereof: yea and in deed euerie man did greatly wonder how they were thus ill aduiſed, to make it knowne to the Chriſtian princes what ſcarcitie and want of money they had. The Generall had alſo with him foure hundred pieces of artillerie, and did beſide ſo worke the matter, as that *Maxut Chan* (who was appointed Baſſa of ALEPPO) was granted vnto him to be the guide of his armie, as hee had been of *Oſmans*; and that *Cicala Baſſa* of VAN (ſcarce his good friend) was remoued from
E thence, and ſent farther off out of his way as Baſſa to BABYLON.

The reuenue of Soria ſix hundred thouſand duckats.

And thus hauing put all things in readineſſe, he departed from CONSTANTINOPLE in the moneth of Aprill, in the yeare 1586; and paſsing ouer the ſtrait into ASIA, came to SIVAS ſomething later than he ſhould haue done, being hindred partly by the plague which then raged exceedingly in CONSTANTINOPLE, and partly by other occaſions incident to ſuch actions. At SIVAS he ſtaied ſo long for the comming togither of his armie, and in muſtering men, that it was the latter end of Iuly before he departed thence; ſtaying in deed the longer at SIVAS, by reaſon of the exceeding dearth and want of victuals at ERZIRVM: which dearth was alſo ſo great in ALEPPO, that a VENICE buſhell of wheat was ſold for twelue Cecchini. 1586

Ferat departed from Conſtantinople and commeth to Sinas.

Ferat yet making his aboad at SIVAS, but readie to depart, was aduertiſed by certaine poſtes
F ſent from *Giaffer* the *Baſſa* of TAVRIS, how that the Perſian prince was hourely expected with a great armie, and that if he did foreſlow to ſend ſuccours, and to preuent the comming of the prince, and ſo to giue him time and leiſure to aſſault the caſtle, he doubted greatly how he ſhould be able to hold the ſame. Vpon which aduertiſement *Ferat* preſently remoued, and ſo haſted his journey, that about the beginning of Auguſt he was at ERZIRVM and ſtill hearing more and

more of the princes comming, ſtayed not there, but haſted to VAN: where hauing gathered together all his ſouldiors, and taken a new ſuruey of his armie, he departed thence; and being preſently come into the open and large champaines, to make proofe of the readineſſe of his ſouldiors, he marſhalled them in ſuch ſort as if he ſhould forthwith haue joined battell with the enemie, and ſo in ſeemely order marched on. G

The Turkiſh Generall continually feared leaſt the Perſians ſhould come vpon him with ſome ſudden aſſault: beſides that, the conſtant report of the princes comming to TAVRIS with his armie, much encreaſed his troubled thoughts. But on the other ſide, he repoſed great confidence in the conſpiracie that was now plotted againſt the life of the prince, with the priuitie of *Aliculi Chan* the protectour and champion of *Abas Mirize* of HERI: who vnder colour of accompanying the prince to aſsiſt his forces, had reſolutely concluded with himſelfe, and abſolutely promiſed *Abas* (hauing alſo giuen intelligence thereof to the Turkiſh Generall) to rid the prince *Hamze* of his life; or at leaſt (which he thought might more eaſily be brought to paſſe) in the ſundrie reuolutions and variable chances of the battell at ſome time or other to make him fall into the hands of *Ferat*, and ſo to ſettle his lord and maſter *Abas* in his eſtate. Vpon theſe treacheries *Ferat* grounding himſelfe, began with greater confidence to diſpoſe his deſignments, and ſomewhat leſſe to feare the fame of the huge preparations of PERSIA againſt him. Which preparations in truth as by moſt wicked deuices and malicious conſpiracies they were turned quite contrarie from that end whereunto the prince *Hamze* had continually appointed them: ſo if they had beene employed with ſuch faith and fidelitie as ſo righteous a cauſe required, without all doubt the writers of our time ſhould haue had matter ynough in this fourſcore and ſixt yeare to ſhew and repreſent vnto the world ſuch accidents as ſhould be nothing inferior to thoſe of the yeare before going. But for as much as rebellion and diſcord, the two infernall miniſters of the diuell, haue for the vtter vndoing and ouerthrow of the glorie of PERSIA continually fauoured the Turkes armies, no maruell it is that the Perſian nation cannot vaunt of any reuenge taken for the indignities offered them by their enemies; and that our writers cannot chuſe but write of the true and vndoubted victories of the Turkes, and the bare ſhaddowes of the Perſian exploits; which notwithſtanding many Chriſtians vainly beleeue, becauſe they moſt earneſtly deſire them to be true, although they doe ſee to the contrarie the manifeſt proſpering and euident conqueſts which the Turkes haue in diuers their ſtates and countries. H I

The glorie of the Perſian kingdome ouerthrown by rebellion and diſcord.

The Perſian prince about the latter end of Iuly arriued at TAVRIS with the greateſt part of his armie, where he (contrarie to the opinion of all men) ſtayed not, for what cauſe is vncertaine. But vnderſtanding that *Zeinel Baſſa* of SALMAS, by nation a Curdo, lay encamped before the citie, who of a Perſian was become a Turke, and had done great harme againſt the ſtate of PERSIA; he determined ſuddenly to ſet vpon him, and to chaſtiſe him for his rebellion. According to which reſolution, being accompanied with twelue thouſand ſouldiours, he rode to SALMAS, where finding *Zeinell* with all his people encamped as he had beene before enformed, he gaue him the aſſault. *Zeinell* more readie to flie than to fight, and his ſouldiors as readie as he, fled preſently, and fell before the Perſians, ſo that the Baſſa himſelfe with a few others had much adoe to eſcape and ſaue themſelues in the cloſeſt corners thereabouts, leauing the citie committed to his charge, for a prey vnto the angrie enemie: who entering into the ſame, ſacked and ſpoyled it, exerciſing thereon all ſuch cruelties, as partly the naturall deſires of ſouldiors vſe to practiſe, and partly ſuch as the Turkes themſelues ſhewed vpon them in that miſerable and moſt lamentable ſacking of TAVRIS the laſt yeare. The like ſpoyles did the Perſian armie in all thoſe quarters round about, and ſo would haue peraduenture returned to TAVRIS, but that certaine ſpies arriued vpon them, with aduertiſement, That the Baſſa of REIVAN being iſſued out of his fortreſſe with fifteene hundred harquebuſiers, had committed the like outrages in the villages and fields thereabouts, as the prince had done about SALMAS. With which newes the prince was greatly mooued; and immediatly riſing with his armie, and marching towards REIVAN, not farre from the citie encountered the Baſſa: who diſcouering the enemies forces afarre off, began in great diſorder to flie and retire into his fort, leauing the greateſt part of his ſouldiors (making not ſo much ſpeed in flight as himſelfe) to the furie of the prince, who put them all to the ſword, and did what harme he poſsibly could in all the places thereabouts. K L M

At the very ſame time great troubles aroſe in the Druſian countrey for *Man-ogli* the valiant Druſian (of whom we haue before ſpoken) in reuenge of the injuries done vnto him and his peo-

ple

A ple by *Ebrain Baſſa*, and by a violent kind of reſtitution to recompence himſelfe of all thoſe bribes and preſents which by ſo many ſhifts and ſubtilties were by the couetous Baſſa wrung from him (as is before declared) had now taken vp armes, and hauing waſted and ſacked all the territorie of *Ebne-manſur* and of his other enemies who had yeelded their obedience vnto the Turkes, without let forced all that countrey with ſudden inuaſions and inrodes, euen very neere vnto the cities of BALBECKE and TRIPOLI, and did there exceeding harme. For redreſſe whereof, *Amurath* was glad to diſpatch away from the Court *Ali Baſſa* borne at ALEPPO, with the title of the Baſſa of DAMASCO, and with authoritie to muſter freſh ſouldiors, and ſo wholly to attend the vtter ſubuerſion of *Man-ogli*. But comming thither, he found all againe quiet, ſo that his preſence in that countrey ſerued rather for a reconciliation and peace making amongſt
B them, than for the proſecuting of any further warre; which at that time was moſt neceſſarie for the Turkes to be auoided, as well for want of money in the common treaſurie, as for the exceeding ſcarcitie of victuals.

Now the Perſian prince hauing made an end of the outrodes and ſpoyles before mentioned, retired himſelfe to TAVRIS, and ſo towards his fathers campe, where the reſt of his armie was now arriued, to the number of about fortie thouſand: of whom the prince diſpatched away the ſouldiors of HERI to the number of eight thouſand, vnder the conduct of the traiterous *Aliculi Chan* their Generall; and part alſo of the Turcomans, vnder the leading of *Emanguli Chan*; with ſpeciall charge, That they ſhould by the way in places of moſt aduantage meet and receiue the enemies armie, and in thoſe narrow and troubleſome paſſages to doe them what miſchiefe they
C poſsibly could. Which the prince thus appointed, thinking by this meanes to weaken the enemies forces, and ſo at their arriuall at TAVRIS to come vpon them with all his power, and ſo vtterly to deſtroy them.

Both theſe captaines departed accordingly, making ſhew that they would with all affection accompliſh the commaundement of their prince: yet neuer was there heard any ſeruice of moment put in execution by them: For *Aliculi* full of treaſon, after their departure began to alleage many forced reaſons and excuſes, Why they ſhould ſurceaſe from meeting with the Turks: and *Emanguli* as yet vtterly ignorant of the wicked purpoſes and miſchieuous treacherie of *Aliculi*, ſuffered himſelfe to be miſſe-led by him alſo. By the delayes and negligence of theſe two Perſian captaines, the Turkiſh Generall tooke leiſure without any loſſe or hinderance at all to arriue at
D TAVRIS, and to put the deſired ſuccours into the fort: at what time the Perſian prince by good hap had got knowledge of the treacherie of *Aliculi*, and of the deſignements which many of the Sultans had lately contriued, for the betraying of him aliue into the hands of the Turkiſh Generall. Of which ſuſpition he being greatly afraid, durſt not onely not truſt himſelfe to performe thoſe battels that he had before determined to haue performed; but quite abandoning this noble and honourable enterpriſe, wholly employed all his care and ſtudie for the ſafetie of his own perſon, and ſo left the triumph of the matter in the power of the Turkes. And thus thoſe great hopes and expectations which the Perſians had conceiued of great exploits to haue beene done againſt the enemie, did not onely prooue vaine and come to no good iſſue, but contrariwiſe by this diſcouerie were conuerted into moſt ſtrange diſturbances, and all PERSIA thereby endured
E ſundrie alterations and reuolutions of moſt important conſequences. For both *Aliculi Chan* and his complices were purſued by the prince, as rebels and traitours: and alſo *Abas Mirize* of HERI was manifeſtly diſcouered for a wicked and treacherous contriuer of his brothers death: whereby the common miſchiefes were encreaſed more than euer they were before, and the publicke calamities yeelded greater hopes vnto the Turkes than they had euer before conceiued in all the courſe of theſe warres.

Aliculi and Emanguli Chan performe nothing againſt the Turke, as was by the prince expected.

Ferat putteth ſuccours into the fort at Tauris.

When *Ferat* had thus relieued them in the caſtle of TAVRIS, leauing for the cuſtodie thereof *Giaffer* the Baſſa with his former companies, he returned towards ERZIRVM: hauing firſt cauſed a fort to be erected at CVRCHIVE TAVRIS, a place neere vnto TAVRIS, another at COY, and the third at CVM: in euery one of which forts he left a conuenient number of ſouldiors, with all things neceſſarie and ſufficient for their maintenance, and defence of the places they
F were to keepe. He ſent alſo ſuccours to the fort at TEPLIS in GEORGIA, which they had long expected, and now moſt joyfully receiued. But the Perſian prince hauing hunted *Aliculi Chan* out of the quarters of TAVRIS, thought himſelfe now wholly deliuered from the great feare of treaſon and rebellion, wherein he of late liued: and therfore in as great haſt as he could, put himſelfe

ſelfe on his journey towards GENGE: in which place hauing gathered together a good number of ſouldiors, he determined to remoue thence, to intercept the ſuccours that were by the Turkes to be brought to TEFLIS. Now he had alwayes found *Emanguli Chan* to be both faithfull and wiſe, and in him he repoſed an aſſured confidence for performing any enterpriſe that he had in hand, and communicated with him euery deuice that he had conceiued in theſe wars. And therefore he made head and joyned with him; and lodging moſt familiarly in his citie, he ſtayed there for the ſetting in order and diſpoſing of his foreſaid deſignement, being very deſirous not to let ſuch an oportunitie to ouerſlip, without ſignification vnto the world of ſome notable noueltie, which might be correſpondent to the fame that of matters paſſed and performed the yeare before, was now ſpread and publiſhed abroad ouer all the world. But when he was euen at the very faireſt to haue put this his deſire in execution, and leaſt of all feared any treacherie or treaſon, vpon a ſudden in the night time as he ſlept vpon a pallet he was miſerably ſtrucken through the bodie, by an Eunuch of his that attended vpon him: and ſo the moſt reſplendent and bright luſtre that euer ſhined in PERSIA, was vtterly extinguiſhed. What was the occaſion thereof, and who procured his death, diuers and ſundrie are the opinions of men. Some thinke, that his brother *Abas Mirize* of HERI, who had before conſpired to haue had him betrayed into the hands of the Turkiſh Generall, had now by force of money and gifts enduced the wicked Eunuch thereunto. Others deemed it not to haue beene done without the priuitie of his father, as more deſirous to preferre *Abas Mirize* his other ſonne vnto the kingdome. Diuers others doe diuerſly reaſon of the matter; ſo that to affirme of a certainetie, that thus or thus the death of ſo worthie a prince was procured, were great raſhneſſe: and therefore we leaue it, with the further proceſſe of the Perſian ſtate, vnto the further diſcouerie of Time, the auntient mother of truth.

The Perſian prince ſlaine by one of his Eunuchs.

Notwithſtanding the league betwixt the Chriſtian emperour *Rodolph* the ſecond and *Amurath* the Great Turke, many ſharpe skirmiſhes oftentimes fell out betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turkes vpon the frontiers of their territories and dominions, eſpecially in HVNGARIE, CROATIA, and STIRIA: as now in the latter end of this yeare 1586 in the month of December, the Turkes after their inſolent manner making an inrode into the borders of CROATIA, receiued a notable ouerthrow by the Chriſtians, being in number much fewer: where amongſt others the Baſſa of BOSNA with his brother was ſlaine; whoſe head with certaine priſoners was ſent to VIENNA to *Erneſtus* Archduke of AVSTRIA, the emperours brother. This Baſſa of BOSNA and his brother, ſlaine in this conflict (as we haue ſaid) are reported to haue beene the ſonnes of *Muhamet* the late great Viſier, by one of the daughters of *Selymus* the ſecond, *Amurath* his ſiſter. For diuers yeares following *Amurath* did no great matter worth the remembrance, contenting himſelfe (as it ſhould ſeeme) with that he had alreadie got from the Perſians: and holding his league in ſome reaſonable ſort with the Chriſtians: yet not ſo, but that many a bloudie broile tending at laſt euen to the breach of the league paſſed betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians, which for the continuation of the hiſtorie we will briefely ſet downe, as they are vnto vs by the writers of our time reported.

1587

The caſtle of Koppan in Hungarie ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

In Februarie the yeare following, which was the yeare 1587, the Chriſtians prouoked by the often outrages of the Turkes, ſetting vpon the caſtle of KOPPAN, not farre from the lake of BALATON, being then frozen, by good fortune ſurpriſed it. There was at that time in the caſtle three of the Turkes Sanzackes, and about a thouſand Turkes, of whom an hundred and ninetie of the better ſort, with ſeuentie women, beſides diuers of the meaner ſort, fell into the hands of the Chriſtians; the reſt ſauing themſelues by flight, or by creeping into ſecret corners. An hundred horſes for ſeruice were there taken alſo, and ſo much bootie as was eſteemed to be worth fortie thouſand duckats. Of the three Sanzackes that were there preſent, *Alis* Sanzacke of KOPPAN was taken, and brought firſt to VIENNA, and afterward preſented to the emperour: Another of them ſtanding vpon his defence in a vault vnder ground, was there ſmothered: The third eſcaped by flight, but was afterwards the ſame yeare taken, with diuers others, as ſhall be forthwith declared.

The eight of Auguſt following, foure of the Turks great commaunders in HVNGARIE, *viz.* the Baſſa of ZIGET, the Sanzackes of MOHAS, of QVINQVE ECCLESIÆ, and the new Sanzacke of KOPPAN, with fiue thouſand ſouldiors brake into the borders of the Chriſtians, and in moſt cruell manner deſtroied ſeuenteen countrey villages about LIMBACH: carrying away with them

A them all the miſerable countrey people, with the ſpoile of the countrey. Whereof *George* Countie *Serinus* (ſonne to that moſt valiant Countie *Nicholas Serinus* ſlaine at ZIGET) commaunder of the garriſon of CANISIA vnderſtanding, with as much ſpeed as was poſsible raiſed ſuch forces as he was able out of his territorie betwixt the riuers of Drauus and Mura: and calling vnto his aid the Countie *Nadaſti*, the Lo. *Bathianius*, and ſome other valiant captaines that had the charge of thoſe frontiers, with ſuch diligence tooke the ſtraits and paſſages whereby the Turkes muſt needs returne amongſt the mariſhes, that the Turkes comming backe againe that way with a verie rich prey and many priſoners, being in the breake of the day hardly charged by thoſe moſt expert and reſolute ſouldiors, in thoſe ſtraight and troubleſome paſſages about a mile from CANISIA, were at length diſcomfited and put to flight; with ſuch a miſerable ſlaughter,
B that many of them yeelded vp their ſcimitars, pitifully crying for mercie; otherſome fled backe into the woods and forreſts, and many running headlong into the mariſhes there periſhed, or ſticking faſt in the deepe mud, cried togither for mercie and helpe of their enemies. In this conflict *Muhamet* the Sanzacke of QVINQVE ECCLESIÆ (ſonne to *Hali Baſſa* ſlaine in the battell of LEPANTO) was taken priſoner. *Sinan Beg* Sanzacke of MOHAS, thinking to eſcape thorow the mariſh, ſtucke faſt with his horſe, and was ſhot through the head with a ſmall ſhot, and there died. The Baſſa of ZIGET with *Chaſan* the new Sanzacke of KOPPAN, ſeeing all deſperat and loſt, fled betimes out of the battell: but he of KOPPAN, wandring vp and downe in the woods, was the next night after the battell, with others taken: the Baſſa of ZIGET almoſt ſpent with hunger and griefe of mind, eſcaped on foot ſeauen daies after to BRESENZA. There were
C taken of the Turkes a thouſand three hundred, of whom manie died afterwards of their wounds. In this battell there was ſlaine of the Turks, with them that periſhed in the mariſhes and woods, about two thouſand: and of the Turkes horſes were taken aboue fifteene hundred. All the prey before taken by the Turkes with the miſerable captiues, was againe recouered. The number of them that performed this notable ſeruice, was in all but fifteene hundred foot and fiue hundred horſe: of whom there was but eleuen ſlaine, but moſt of the reſt wounded. Foure hundred heads of the ſlaine Turkes were (after the manner of thoſe bordering ſouldiors) carried for ſhew to CANISIA, with fiue hundred priſoners. The Chriſtian ſouldiors with the helpe of the countrey people, ceaſed not for certaine daies to hunt after the Turkes that were fled into the woods, as after wild beaſts; of whom they found a great number: diuers others alſo ſeeing no means to
D eſcape, came forth of their lurking places and yeelded themſelues.

Amurath vnderſtanding of all theſe troubles that had ſo happened, commaunded *Aly* the Baſſa of BVDA to be ſtrangled, for that he had broken the league, and not reſtrained the inſolencie of his Sanzackes, whom he might haue commaunded: And in his ſtead placed *Sinan Baſſa*, whom before in diſgrace, he had now at the requeſt of his wife againe receiued into fauour and reſtored to his former dignitie. About this time alſo, *Sigiſmund* (the king of SVVEDEN his ſonne) now after the death of king *Stephen* choſen king of POLONIA, and *Maximilian* the emperours brother rejected: euen in the beginning of his raigne ſought to renew the league, which *Stephen* his predeceſſour and other the Polonian kings had before made with *Amurath* and his predeceſſours the Turkiſh Sultans. And to that purpoſe writ vnto him as followeth.

Aly Baſſa of Buda ſtrangled by the commandements of Amurath.

Sinan Baſſa againe receiued into fauour.

E

Sigiſmund the third, king of Polonia; vnto *Amurath* the third, emperour of the Turkes, ſendeth greeting.

Sigiſmund the Polonian king his letter vnto Amurath.

The Almightie long keepe and preſerue your maieſtie in health and honour. Moſt mightie prince, our beſt beloued friend and neighbour, after that we by the grace and goodneſſe of God were choſen to gouerne the kingdome of POLONIA, *and the embaſſadours of that kingdome had ſignified ſo much vnto vs: we prouiding vs of neceſſaries, came to* DANSKE *the* 18 *day of October, from whence we ſend* Iohn Zamogil *our Secretarie to giue your maieſtie to vnderſtand of this our comming. For being told by the Polonian embaſſadours, that we were choſen vnto the gouernment of that kingdome*
F *vpon condition, That according vnto the cuſtome of our predeceſſours the Polonian kings, we ſhould keepe loue and friendſhip with the moſt excellent* * Muſſulman *emperours: we promiſe vnto your ſoueraigne maieſtie, that we are willing with the like or greater zeale and deuotion, to continue that amitie and friendſhip with your moſt excellent maieſtie, and the* Othoman *emperours your ſucceſſours. For confirmation whereof, ſo ſoone as we ſhall come vnto* CRACOVIA, *the regall citie of* POLONIA,

* *The Turks deſire to be called Muſſulman, which in their language ſignifieth a right beleeuer.*

LONIA, *and there be crowned; we will forthwith ſend our great embaſſadour vnto your maieſtie. In the meane time we moſt earneſtly requeſt your maieſtie, that our kingdome may on your maieſties behalfe reſt in ſafetie and peace: which we perſuade our ſelues you will eaſily grant. So wiſhing vnto you all health and happineſſe, we bid you farewell, from* DANSKE *the* 18 *of October, in the yeare* 1587, *and of our raigne the firſt.* G

Vnto which the kings requeſt and letters, *Amurath* not long after returned this anſwere in writing.

Amurath the third, emperour of the Turkes, vnto *Sigiſmund* king of POLONIA greeting.

H

Amurath his anſwer vnto the letters of Sigiſmund.

I take it well, and as a token of your loue, that your embaſſadour Iohn Zamogil *came with your letters vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, the refuge of diſtreſſed princes: wherein you haue giuen vs to vnderſtand, how that in ſtead of the moſt excellent and famous king* Stephen *of worthie memorie late king of* POLONIA; *you, deſcended of the ſame noble ſtocke and race of the Polonian kings, are by the free election of the whole State of the famous kingdome of* POLONIA, *and the great kingdome of* LITHVANIA, *choſen king of* POLONIA: *and being ſent for by lawfull embaſſadours, by the fauour and goodneſſe of God to be come vnto the citie of* DANSKE, *and from thence to be about to go vnto* CRACOVIA *the chiefe citie of the kingdome of* POLONIA. *And when you are there arriued, to ſend your great embaſſadour vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, to confirme, preſerue, and eſtabliſh the league and amitie commodious and neceſſarie for both our kingdomes, honoured and kept by your auntient predeceſſours, with our grandfathers and great grandfathers; yea and that with greater Zeale and deuotion than any your noble aunceſtours. And therefore your embaſſadour in your name requeſteth, That no inuaſion on our behalfe be made into the borders of the kingdome of* POLONIA, *or any harme there done: and that the moſt noble Tartar prince* Isbam Gerai (*whom God bleſſe*) *ſhould be warned and reſtrained, that he neither make nor ſuffer any incurſion to be made into the confines of the kingdome of* POLONIA. *All which things in your letters contained, with the reſt which your embaſſadour hath by word of mouth deliuered, are with ſpeed orderly by vs conceiued. Know you therefore our moſt ſtately and magnificent Court to be alwaies open vnto ſuch as reſort thereunto, and that from thence neuer man had repulſe, neither ſhall hereafter haue: wherefore it beſeemeth you, as ſoone as theſe our letters ſhall be brought vnto you, to open your eies, and to beware that nothing be on your part done againſt the maieſtie of our Court, and the league; and that our peace and amitie be neither in much or little diſturbed, but as beſt beſeemeth, well and ſincerely kept: and ſo perſuade your ſelfe it ſhall on our part alſo be moſt inuiolatly obſerued. Our letters are alſo directed vnto the moſt excellent Tartar prince* Isbam Gerai, *whom God bleſſe, ſtraightly charging and commaunding him, not to make or ſuffer any incurſion to be made into the borders of* POLONIA. *In briefe, the league and amitie ſhall on our part be religiouſly kept: and whoſoeuer ſhall preſume to doe any harme vnto the kingdome or confines of* POLONIA, *ſhall therfore without faile receiue from vs due puniſhment. So on your part alſo it is requiſit that the ſame be done, and that in declaration of your loue you forget not oftentimes to intimate vnto our moſt high and glorious Court, ſuch certaine occurrents and newes as ſhall happen in thoſe parts; which ſhall be vnto vs a ſigne of your ſincere loue and friendſhip. So know you, and giue credit vnto this our ſeale from* CONSTANTINOPLE. I K L

Neither was king *Sigiſmund* vnmindfull of this his promiſe before made for the ſending of his embaſſadour: but being poſſeſſed of the Polonian kingdome, ſent *Chriſtopher Dziercius* (his Secretarie) embaſſador vnto *Amurath* for the confirming of the league: which he hath euer ſince ſo firmely kept with the Turke, as that he could neuer by any intreatie of the emperour, or of the princes electors, or others, or in reſpect of the common danger, be drawne into the fellowſhip of this long and religious warre, ſo hardly maintained by the emperour, and ſome few other Chriſtian princes his confederats; firſt againſt *Amurath* whileſt he liued, and euer ſince againſt *Mahomet* his ſonne, which now raigneth: the iſſue whereof, God grant it proue not as well vnto the Polonians as others farther off, in fine lamentable. M

1588 *Genge taken by Ferat.*

The yeare following, *Ferat* (yet the Turkes Generall in PERSIA) tooke the citie of GENGI, being before for feare of the Turkes quite abandoned and forſaken by the inhabitants; who yet vpon his faith giuen for their ſafetie returned againe, yeelding to pay vnto the Turke a yearely tribute

A bute of fiue thouſand duckats. But when he would haue gone farther into the enemies countrie, hauing part of his armie cut off by the way, he was by his mutinous ſouldiors fouly intreated, wounded, and enforced to retire. *Cicala Baſſa* alſo paſsing ouer the riuer Euphrates, had in thoſe quarters diuers bloudie skirmiſhes with the Perſians, ſometime carrying away the better and ſometime the worſe, as the fortune of the field ſerued. Vntill at length *Amurath* himſelfe, no leſſe wearie than his people of that long and chargeable warre, and the Perſian king alſo enclining to peace; hee by the perſuaſion of *Sinan Baſſa* (but lately before receiued into fauour) was now contented to be entreated to hearken vnto the ſame: moued thereunto as well by reaſon of new troubles then in other places ariſing, as for the great famine and plague then raging in CONSTANTINOPLE. And conſidering withall what a great territorie he had woon from the Perſi-
B ans, and how neceſſarie it was for him by peace to confirme himſelfe in thoſe his new conqueſts, and by the building of certaine ſtrong forts for the ſuccour of one another, and by the placing of his Timariots therein to aſſure the ſame vnto him: all which without peace he could not poſsibly doe, as the old Baſſa right wiſely told him. For which reaſons he yeelded to peace; and ſo embaſſadours paſsing too and fro, a peace was at length agreed vpon betwixt theſe two great Mahometane princes: the Turke couenanting to keepe vnto himſelfe the places he had alreadie gained, namely TAVRIS, GENGE, SIRVAN, and CHARS, with all the profits thereof ariſing, for the maintenance of his garriſons and Timariots there. Whereof it was thought new ſtirres would eftſoones ariſe; the Turkes growne inſolent of their late victories, being not able to con-
C tent themſelues with the conditions of the league; and the Perſians not willing to liue in continuall feare of the Turkes, eſpecially ſeeing themſelues to be daily by them more and more oppreſſed; and withall doubting leaſt the Turks after they had taken faſt footing in thoſe new conquered countries, and ſo growne ſtrong, and gotten better knowledge of the paſſages, ſhould (after their ambitious manner) ſeeke to poſſeſſe themſelues of the reſt; not keeping the couenants agreed vpon betwixt them, nor at all regarding the capitulations of the league. Which was neuertheleſſe (as we ſaid) on both ſides for the ſpace of ten yeares orderly confirmed, with all due circumſtances and ceremonies in like occurrents by the great potentats of the world vſed: and for the more aſſurance thereof, one of the Perſian kings ſonnes (or as ſome others ſay, one of his nephewes) giuen vnto the Turks in hoſtage, as *Amurath* required.

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Conſtantinople.

Theſe long warres thus ended, ſhortly after a great ſedition was raiſed at CONSTANTINO-
D PLE by the ſouldiors of the Court, which returning out of PERSIA, with great inſolencie demaunded their pay. For the ſatisfying of whom, by the conſent of the great Sultan himſelfe, the valew of the coine was enhaunſed; and a new kind of ſubſidie for leuying of money impoſed vpon the ſubiects in generall, none excepted: who ſtanding vpon their auntient liberties and priuiledges, refuſed to pay it, eſpecially the Ianizaries and other ſouldiors of the Court. Wherefore their Aga (or captaine) was commaunded to appeaſe them, and to perſuade them to pay the demaunded tribute: in attempting whereof he was in danger to haue been ſlaine by the inſolent Ianizaries, and yet neuertheleſſe for preuailing no more with them, was in diſpleaſure thruſt out of his office, and another placed in his roume, that ſhould haue married *Amuraths* daughter; of whom for all that the Ianizaries would not accept in any caſe, but threw ſtones at

Great harme done by fire in Conſtantinople.

E him, and threatned to kill him. The next night a great fire aroſe in the citie, for the quenching whereof, the Ianizaries were commaunded (as their dutie was) to put to their helping hands: which they not only moſt obſtinatly refuſed to do, but alſo kept backe others that brought water for the quenching therof, and togither with the other ſouldiors of the court did what they might to make it burne the faſter. With the rage of this fire were conſumed ſeauen of their temples, fiue and twentie great Innes, fifteene thouſand houſes, with many warehouſes and ſhops. To appeaſe this dangerous ſtirre, and to preuent farther miſchiefe, commaundement was giuen to the Beglerbeg of GRÆCIA, and *Dauid Paſſy* a Iew, the firſt authors of this new impoſition, that they ſhould either gather the aforeſaid tribute by them deuiſed, and pay the ſouldiors, or by ſome other meanes to giue them contentment. But here began the prieſts publikely to diſſuade the
F people from payment of this new tribute, or any other ſuch like; perſuading them in any caſe to defend their auntient liberties and cuſtomes: whereupon the churches were by the prieſts ſhut vp, publike prayers for the health of the Sultan intermitted, the Baſſaes houſes aſſaulted, and all the citie on a new hurly burly. For the appeaſing whereof, *Amurath* was glad to yeeld vnto the Ianizaries, to pay the ſouldiors out of his owne treaſurie, to reuoke his mandates giuen out for

the

the exaction of the new tribute, and to deliuer the two perſuaders thereof to the pleaſure of the Ianizaries; who drew them vp and downe the ſtreets at horſes tailes, and afterwards cutting off their heads, in ſcorne toſſed them from hand to hand one to another, as if they had beene tenniſe balls. G

About the latter end of September *Sinan Baſſa* of BVDA hauing with the aſsiſtance of the Sanzacks about FILE, raiſed an armie of eleuen thouſand ſoldiors, with purpoſe to haue ſpoiled all the vpper part of HVNGARIE, came the ſixt of October before the caſtle of PVTNOC, and gaue thereunto ſummons: but finding them in the caſtle better prouided and more reſolute than he had before ſuppoſed, he departed thence, and paſsing the riuer Schayo, came to SIXO, a towne of about fiue hundred houſes, which after a ſore batterie he tooke, and burnt it downe to the ground. In the meane while *Claudius Ruſsell*, Generall for the warres in that part of HVNGARIE, hauing aſſembled his forces, came vpon him, and after an hard fight put him to the worſe, when he had ſlaine of his Turkes about two thouſand fiue hundred, beſides three hundred other drowned in the riuer Schayo. Shortly after, the Chriſtians in like manner breaking into the frontiers of the Turkes, tooke from them the caſtles of BLAVENSTIEN, GESTES, with ſome other ſmall forts thereabouts in the vpper part of HVNGARIE. H

Sinan Baſſa of Buda inuadeth the vpper part of Hungarie.

Sinan ouerthrowne.

1589 *Sinan* for that he had contrarie to the league, and without commaundement from *Amurath*, ſo vnfortunately attempted warre in HVNGARIE, was the next yeare in great diſpleaſure ſent for to CONSTANTINOPLE, and *Ferat Baſſa* of BOSNA (late Generall of the Turkes armie againſt the Perſians, and now but newly come home) placed in his roume at BVDA.

Amurath before not ignorant of the great preparation that *Philip* the king of SPAINE had made, and of the inuincible Armado (as it was tearmed) by him ſet forth for the inuaſion of ENGLAND (the fame whereof had long before filled a great part of the world;) as alſo of the euill ſucceſſe thereof the laſt yeare, *viz.* 1588; and of the purpoſe her Majeſtie of ENGLAND had for the troubling of his rich trade, eſpecially into the Weſt Indies, and for the relieuing of *Don Anthonio*, by him driuen out of PORTINGALL: writ vnto her about this time concerning thoſe and ſuch like matters as he had beene moued of by her Agent as followeth. I

Nicholaus Reuſnerus epiſt. Turcic. lib. 12. pag. 42.

Amurath his letters vnto the queene of England.

Amurath the third, Emperour of the Turkes, vnto *Elizabeth*, Queene of ENGLAND, FRANCE, and IRELAND, greeting. K

Moſt honourable Matrone of the Chriſtian religion, mirror of chaſtitie, adorned with the brightneſſe of ſouer aignetie and power amongſt the moſt chaſt women of the people which ſerue Ieſu, miſtris of great kingdomes, reputed of greateſt maieſtie and praiſe among the Nazarets, Elizabeth *queene of* ENGLAND, *to whom we wiſh a moſt happie and proſperous raigne. You ſhall vnderſtand by our high and imperiall letters directed vnto you, how that your Orator reſiant in our ſtately and magnificent Court, hath preſented vnto the throne of our Maieſtie a certaine writing, wherein he hath certified vs, how that about foure yeares agoe you haue made war vpon the king of* SPAINE, *for the abating and breaking of his forces, wherewith he threateneth all other Chriſtian princes, and purpoſeth to make himſelfe the ſole Monarch both of them and all the world beſide: as alſo how that the ſame king of* SPAINE *hath by force taken from* Don Anthonio, *lawfully created king of* PORTINGALL, *his kingdome: and that your intention is, that his ſhips which go and come into the Indies, may from henceforth be embarred and ſtayed from that nauigation: wherein are yearely brought into* SPAINE *pretious ſtones, ſpices, gold, and ſiluer, eſteemed worth many millions, wherewith the aforeſaid king as with a great treaſure enriched, hath meanes to moleſt and trouble all other Chriſtian princes: which if he ſhall ſtill proceed to doe, he will make himſelfe dayly ſtronger and ſtronger, and ſuch an one as may not eaſily be weakened. After that, your aforeſaid Oratour requeſted our Highneſſe in the beginning of the next Spring to ſend out our imperiall fleet againſt him, being aſſured that the king of* SPAINE *could not be able eaſily to withſtand it, for that he had now alreadie receiued a great ouerthrow by your fleet: and being ſcarce able to withſtand you alone, if he ſhould be on diuers parts inuaded, muſt needs be ouercome, to the great benefit of all the Chriſtian princes, as alſo of our imperiall ſtate. Beſides this, that whereas the aforeſaid* Don Anthonio *is by force driuen out and depriued of his kingdome, that we (to the imitation of our noble progenitors of happie memorie, whoſe graues the Almightie lighten) ſhould alſo giue the aid and ſuccour of our magnificent ſtate, as did they vnto all ſuch as had recourſe vnto their high Courts and pallaces for reliefe. In briefe, all theſe things, with many others,* L M

which

A *which your aforesaid Oratour hath at large declared vnto our imperiall throne, we haue well vnderstood, and layed them vp in our deepe remembrance. But for as much as we for many yeares past haue made warres in* PERSIA, *with a full resolution and intent vtterly to conquer and subdue the kingdome of that accursed Persian hereticke, and to ioyne the same vnto our auntient dominions; and by the grace of God and helpe of our Great Prophet, are now vpon the point for the satisfying of our desire: that once done, due prouision shall be assigned vnto all such things as you haue of vs requested or desired. Wherefore if you shall sincerely and purely continue the bond of amitie and friendship with our high Court, you shall find no more secure refuge or safer harbour of good will or loue. So at length all things shall goe well and according to your hearts desire in your warres with* SPAINE, *vnder the shaddow of our happie throne. And for as much as the king of* SPAINE *hath by fraud and deceit got*
B *whatsoeuer he holdeth, without doubt these deceitfull deceiuers shall by the power of God in short time be dispatched and taken out of the way. In the meane time we exhort you not to loose any opportunitie or time, but to be alwayes vigilant, and according to the conuentions betwixt vs, fauourable vnto our friends, and vnto our enemies a foe. And giue notice here to our high Court of all the new wars which you shall vnderstand of concerning the said king of* SPAINE, *for the behoofe both of your selfe and vs. To be briefe, your embassadour after he had with all care and diligence dispatched his embassage, and here left in his place one* Edward Bardon *his Deputie and Agent, now by our leaue maketh his returne towards your kingdome, being for the good and faithfull seruice he here did, worthie to be of you esteemed, honoured, and before others promoted: who when he hath obtained of you all those his deserued honours and preferments, let him or some other principall embassadour without delay be appointed*
C *to our imperiall Court, to continue this office of legation. This we thought good to haue you certified of vnder our most honourable Seale, whereunto you may giue vndoubted credence. From our imperiall pallace at* CONSTANTINOPLE *the 15 of the blessed moneth * Ramazan 1589.* * *September.*

Yet for all these faire shewes it may seeme vnto him that looketh more neere into the state of the Turkish affaires at those times, and that which hath ensued since, that *Amurath* glad of the discord of these two so great Christian princes, and not yet well assured of his new conquests in PERSIA, had no great mind to the inuasion of SPAINE, as too farre from the strength of his empire, an enterprise not to be so easily managed by sea, as were the wars he shortly after vndertooke against the Christian emperour *Rodolph* by land: wherewith for all that (God be thanked)
D he found his hands full all the remainder of his life, as hath his sonne *Mahomet* that now raigneth after him, euen vnto this day.

The Polonian Cossacks inuade the Tartarians and Turkes.

About this time also the Polonian borderers (whom they call Cossackes) a rough and warlike kind of people, after their wonted manner making an inrode vpon the Turkes and Tartarians, vpon the sudden surprised KOSLAVV, a port town within a daies journey of CAFFA, where they had the spoile of many rich warehouses of the Turkes marchants, and the rifling of certain ships lying there in harbour; and hauing taken their pleasure, burnt the rest, and so with a great bootie returned to their lurking places. With which injurie the Tartars prouoked, and set on by the Turkes, to the number of fortie thousand brake into PODOLIA and the prouinces neere
E vnto POLONIA, and resting in no place, but burning the countrey before them, slew the poore countrey people without mercie; and making hauocke of all that they light vpon, beside the spoile, carried away with them many thousands of most miserable captiues: the greatest part whereof for all that, the Polonians rescued, with the notable slaughter of the enemie, surprised in his returne. Whereupon such vnkindnesse rise between the Turkish emperour and *Sigismund* the Polonian king, that it was thought it would haue broken out into open warres, had not the Polonian by his embassadours and the mediation of the queene of ENGLAND wisely appeased the angrie Turke, and so againe renewed his league.

1590

The reasons wherewith the Visier Bassaes persuade Amurath to make warre.

Amurath now at peace with the world, from which he by nature abhorred not, and sitting idle and melancholie at home, was perswaded by the Bassaes his counsellors to take some new warre in hand. For that great empires (as they said) could not without the continuall vse of armes long
F stand or continue: as appeared by the Romane state, which so long as it was at wars with CARTHAGE, or their great captaines and commaunders occupied in armes against their neighbour princes, still remained triumphant, and commaunded ouer a great part of the world; but giuing it selfe to ease and pleasure, and the martiall men not after their wonted manner employed, it in short time by ciuile discord fell, and of the mistresse of the world became it selfe a prey euen vnto the

the baſeſt nations. Which old *Cato* in his great wiſdome foreſeeing, cried out in the Senat, That G
the ſouldiors and men of warre were to be kept ſtill buſied in armes farre from home; for that in
ſo doing all ſhould goe well with the ſtate, and the glorie thereof encreaſe. Wherunto the *Otho-*
man emperours, his noble progenitors, hauing reſpect, propounded not peace as the end of their
warres (as do other weake princes, hauing their owne forces in diſtruſt) but as inuincible conque-
rours ſtill ſowed warres vpon warres, making one victorie the beginning of another: whereby
they not onely brought that their empire vnto that greatneſſe it was now of, but by ſuch continu-
all employment made their ſouldiors more couragious and readie, and alſo kept them from re-
bellions and tumults: whereunto, in time of peace and liuing at eaſe, theſe martiall men are moſt
commonly enclined, learning (as all others doe being doing nothing) to doe that is euill and
nought. Euery thing (as they ſaid) was by the ſame meanes to be maintained, whereby it was at H
the firſt encreaſed: and that therefore great empires as they were by warres begun and augmen-
ted, ſo were they by continuall wars alſo to be from time to time eſtabliſhed; whereas otherwiſe
the ſouldiors liuing in peace, and forgetting their martiall proweſſe, would for moſt part grow
cowardly, as giuing themſelues ouer to the loue of their owne dwellings, of their wiues, and of
their children, and other pleaſures; or els conuerting their ſtudies vnto marchandiſe or other pro-
fitable trades, would in time forget the vſe of armes, and be thereunto againe hardly drawne: vnto
the great weakening of his ſtrength both by ſea and land, and the deminiſhing of the number of
his great commaunders and expert captaines, not to be had without the continuall vſe of warre.
With theſe and ſuch like reaſons, the great Baſſaes of the Court perſuaded *Amurath*, That he
muſt of neceſsitie take ſome new expedition in hand, and not to ſuffer his valiant ſouldiours, but I
now lately returned out of PERSIA, to grow laſie or inſolent for lacke of employment. Which
they did not ſo much for the loue of their prince, or zeale vnto the State, as for their own particu-
lar profit, eſpecially the two old Baſſaes *Sinan* and *Ferrat*, the enuious competitours the one of
the others honour: who although they both much and almoſt all commaunded both in peace
and warre, yet was their honours greater, and their profit farre more in commaunding of the
Turkes great armies abroad, than in ſitting in the Diuano at home: vnto which no leſſe honou-
rable than profitable preferment they both with like ambition aſpired, accompanied with the hot
deſires of their great and many fauourites both at home and elſewhere. Theſe perſuaſions well
pleaſed *Amurath*, who although he were himſelfe no ſouldior, yet was he deſirous of new con-
queſts, and to encreaſe his name: accounting it no leſſe honour vnto himſelfe by his ſeruants at K
his appointment to performe great things, than it was vnto his aunceſtours to doe that they
The cauſes why Amurath would not ſuddenly reſolue vpon war. did themſelues in perſon. But in this ſo ſerious a matter, and of ſo great conſequence, *Amurath* at
the firſt could not tell what beſt to reſolue vpon; not for that he was not deſirous of warres, but
becauſe he as yet certainely knew not againſt whom he might with greateſt profit and leſſe diffi-
cultie and danger conuert his forces: vpon which point his counſellors agreed not, but for diuers
reaſons were of diuers opinions. Which for as much as they containe matters of greateſt im-
portance of all things then in the world done, but eſpecially concerning the profit of the Chri-
ſtian commonweale, I ſhall not thinke it vnworth my labour to ſet them downe in ſuch order as
I find them credibly reported: hauing moreouer in them many ſecrets and moſt weightie mat-
ters not yet come to all mens knowledge: as alſo opening the deuices of the Turkiſh tyrant a- L
gainſt the Chriſtian princes; a motiue not onely for them to joyne in counſell together how to
withſtand him, but for the common Chriſtian commonweales ſake to forget & forgiue all their
priuat diſpleaſures, and with their vnited forces and power honorably and couragiouſly to make
warre vpon him, and ſo at length by the mercie of God to ouerthrow him, together with his ty-
rannicall empire, the greateſt terrour of our time.

Eight ſeuerall opinion of the Peſter Baſſaes concerning the warre to be taken in hand.

The great Baſſaes concerning the intended warre were of eight ſundrie opinions: whereof
the firſt was, That the warres againſt the Perſian ſhould be renewed: the ſecond, for the inuaſion
of the king of MOROCCO and FES: the third, for warre to be taken in hand againſt the king of
SPAINE: the fourth, for the beſieging againe of MALTA: the fifth, was to ſet vpon the Veneti-
ans: the ſixt, for the inuading of ſome part of ITALIE: the ſeuenth, for the king of POLONIA: M
the eight and laſt was, for warre to be made vpon the emperour and the kingdome of HVNGA-
RIE. With all the which aforeſaid princes, except the Spaniard, although the Turke were then
in league, and could not with all or any of them make warre, without the notable breach of his
faith and honour: yet was that neuer made queſtion or ſcruple of, but only, Which might beſt

ſtand

A ſtand with the profit of his ſtate for him to ſet vpon: his barbarous law allowing him that libertie, for the more aſſuring of his ſtate or inlarging of his empire, to breake all faith and promiſe eſpecially with the Chriſtians; not more in any thing to be pitied, than in repoſing any credit or confidence in the faith of ſuch a miſcreant.

The reaſons the great Baſſaes alleadged for the renewing of the Perſian warre, were, For that the Perſian king was of himſelfe like to breake the league ſo lately with him concluded, ſo ſoone as he ſhould know the Turkes entangled in any other warre; moued thereunto, as well for the recouerie of his countrey to his great diſhonour loſt, as alſo in reuenge of ſo many and ſo great injuries to him of late done by the Turkiſh emperours. Beſide that, the Chriſtian princes would perſuade him and pricke him forward thereunto: eſpecially the Spaniard, who for the neereneſſe B of INDIA might without his great charge procure him ſo to doe, and alſo conueniently furniſh him with great ordinance and canoniers, which it was well knowne he of late did. The countries alſo but lately conquered, were not yet (as they ſaid) in quietneſſe or ſafetie, and the fortreſſes therein but of late built, togither with the garriſons therein, to be in great danger, being for the length of the way and difficultie of the paſſage, not to be ſtill ſpeedily relieued: inſomuch, that if the Perſians did them no other harme, but onely to forrage and waſt the countrey about them, they ſhould bring the inhabitants into ſuch diſtreſſe, as that thoſe new conquered countries were againe by the defendants to be forſaken, or elſe they muſt themſelues with hunger periſh. True glorie (they ſaid) conſiſted not ſo much in conquering, as in the vſe of the conqueſt, and the proſecution of the happie victorie: and that therefore *Amurath* ſhould take heed, C that he prouoked not the wrath and indignation of the Great prophet *Mahomet* againſt him; who hauing by his good fauour and guide obtained mo victories than any of his predeceſſours againſt the enemies of his religion, ought as a religious and deuout prince ſeuerely to reuenge the wrong by them done both to God and man. Vnto which religious warre *Vsbeg Han* the Tartar king, as alſo the prince of GEILAN offered their readie helpe: as for the euent of the victorie now as good as in his hand, he was to judge by the ſucceſſe of his former warres. Neither that he need to feare the Perſian horſemen, although they vſed Arabian horſes, being by his men many times ſhamefully put to flight: or yet to doubt leaſt the Georgians in fauour of the Perſians ſhould take vp armes, for that many of them were alreadie vnder his obeiſance, and ſubject vnto the Baſſa of TEFLIS and other his commaunders; the reſt were his vaſſals, or elſe ſuch D as following the fortune of their princes, *Simon* and *Alexander*, ſought after no greater matter, but contenting themſelues with their own countrey, although but ſmall, thought themſelues well if they might keepe and defend the ſame; by nature and ſituation ſo ſtrong, as that there is ſcarce any way into it, by reaſon of the high and broken mountaines, the thicke woods, and ſtrait paſſages.

The firſt opinion and reaſons of them that would haue the warr renewed in Perſia.

The ſecond opinion which was deliuered, was for the tranſportation of his warres into AFFRICKE againſt the king of MOROCCO, commonly called the Seriphe: and that for theſe cauſes moſt, It would be a great ſhame and reproach (as they ſaid) vnto the *Othoman* empire, that it was not yet able to ſubdue theſe Moores and people of AFFRICKE, in number but few: neither was it leſſe ſhame or diſhonour vnto the *Othoman* emperours, to haue ſo ſmall a territorie in E AFRICA, being the third part of the world, which by reaſon of the neereneſſe vnto ITALIE, had long time held wars with the Romans. Beſide that, ALGIERS and TVNES could neuer be ſafely kept by the Turkes; neither that the ſubjects and pyrats which inhabited thoſe cities would euer be content or at quiet, vntill they had againe got that kingdome into their hands. The promontorie of AGVERO and port of LARACE (two ports without the ſtraits) were (as they ſaid) to be taken, as places verie commodious for the Turks friends, ſeeking in thoſe ſeas after bootie, and for the ſecuring of their trade. And although the Seriphe were himſelfe a Mahometane, and held his kingdome as a tributarie vnto the *Othoman* empire; yet had he ſecret intelligence with the Spaniard and the knights of MALTA, whereby they not long ſince had vpon the ſudden almoſt ſurpriſed TRIPOLIS, he in the meane time as it were winking thereat. And that although F the Spaniard poſſeſſed in AFFRICKE, MARASCHEBIR, ORAN, PEGNON, TANGER, ARZILLA, MAZAGA, CEVTE or SEPTA, places whereby he might helpe and aſsiſt the Moores; yet might his force and attempts by a ſtrong fleet be eaſily hindred, and SPAINE it ſelfe infeſted. Beſide that, the Spaniards had yet in ſuch freſh remembrance the loſſe of TVNES and GVLETTA (places by them thought inexpugnable, and yet by *Sinan Baſſa* to his immortall praiſe taken)

The ſecond opinion for making of war vpon the king of Fez and Morocco, & the reaſons thereof.

ken) as that they would not for the Moores ſake eaſily ſeeme to attempt any thing againſt the Turkes. G

The third opinion concerning the conqueſt of Malta.

The third opinion was concerning the war to be made againſt them of MALTA, which was by a ſtrong fleet to be performed: for that the gallies of MALTA did daily great hurt, as well vnto the Turkes merchants, as vnto ſuch as for deuotion ſake trauelled by ſea vnto MECHA. And that therefore the warre was thither to be transferred, not onely for religions ſake and to aſſecure the paſſage thither from the incurſions of the Malteſes, but alſo in reuenge of the old and late injuries by them done; and eſpecially to blot out the infamie and diſgrace which the Great Sultan *Solyman* had incurred, at ſuch time as he had in vaine beſieged that iſland, and to requite the loſſe by him there ſuſtained. Beſide that, they alſo alleadged the common complaints of the ſubjects: for that there were many which pitiouſly lamented the miſerie and calamitie, ſome of H their friends, ſome their kinſfolke, whom they knew to liue in moſt wofull ſeruitude with thoſe knights, and whom they moſt earneſtly deſired to haue now ſet at libertie: complaining, his ſubjects to haue been ſo farre from ſuffering of any ſuch things from thoſe knights in the time of his anceſtors, as that contrariwiſe they themſelues were by them driuen out of the iſland of the RHODES, the ſtrongeſt bulwarke of the Chriſtian common-weale toward the Eaſt. Being moreouer worthie alſo to be chaſtiſed, for that they had holpen the rebellious Moores with all kind of munition, and had themſelues attempted to haue ſurpriſed MODON.

The fourth opinion for warre to be made againſt the K. of Spaine, and the reaſons thereof.

In the fourth place were they which were of opinion, that it were beſt for him to make war vpon the king of SPAINE. Theſe men alleadged it to be impoſsible for the Turkiſh empire to aſpire vnto the Monarchie of the whole world (whereunto all the Turkes actions and deuiſes I were alwaies as at a certaine marke directed) except the Spaniard his great ſtrength and power were firſt weakened, wherein he ſeemed to ſurpaſſe all other the Chriſtian kings and princes: and that there was no feare leaſt he ſhould beſiege ALGIERS, which he knew to be now much better fortified than it was in the time of the emperour *Charles* the fifth. And that although the Spaniards without ceaſing beſought their king for the vndertaking of that expedition, by reaſon of the new loſſes and harmes which they daily receiued from the pyrats of AFRICA; yet would he not hearken vnto their requeſt, for feare of the danger imminent both to himſelfe and his ſubjects from the enemies fleet, which he ſhould in ſo doing draw into the Spaniſh ſeas: neither would the Spaniſh gallies eaſily come into the Turkes countries in the Eaſt, for being too farre from their owne countrey, which for the moſt part ſtood in need of their helpe. And that the king of K SPAINE was with the multitude of his buſineſſe, or other his vrgent affaires ſtill ſo hindred, as that he could not ſuddenly put in execution what his counſell for the wars ſhould decree. As alſo how much it was to be gathered by that which happened not long ſince at PREVEZA and NAVARINVM, That the Spaniards ſhunned the *Othoman* forces: as alſo how warily the king delt in all his affaires, leaſt at length againſt his will he ſhould be enforced to enter into warres with the Turke, was moſt manifeſt; as was to be ſeene when as of late about the end of the Perſian warre, he refuſed to giue aid vnto the Perſian king whom he might haue holpen, and was ſo before wont to doe. And in caſe that he would ſtand vpon his guard, and by force ſeeke to repell force; yet ſhould he ſcarce haue ſo much ſtrength as (beſide thoſe wars which he now maketh in diuers places) to be able to vndertake alſo a new warre, and to find ſo many ſouldiors, with ſo L much coine and other things neceſſarie for ſo great a war. It ſtood him in hand (as they ſaid) to defend the low countries, and to recouer againe the prouinces there loſt, which of themſelues wonderfull ſtrong, both by reaſon of the ſea and the multitude of the riuers, were alſo with wonderfull courage and pertinacie defended by the inhabitants, for their libertie and religions ſake. Whereunto the Engliſh (at deadly hatred with the Spaniard) might many waies giue great helpe, if they ſhould inuade PORTINGAL, or with their ſhips lie in wait for his Indian fleet, or make incurſions into other his kingdomes, as they did not long ſince at the GROINE and CADEZ; places moſt fit to trouble SPAINE, and to hinder his traffique into the Indies or other places. Beſide that, he was at that time ſo entangled with his warres in FRANCE, as that he could M ſcarce find how to diſpatch himſelfe thereof, without the loſſe of his honour and credit. And admit he ſhould make peace with the aforeſaid princes, in ſuch ſort as that he ſhould not frō thenceforth from them receiue any harme; yet were other means to be ſought and taken in hand for his farther diſturbance; as by troubling his rich trade for ſpices and other merchandiſe, whereof he receiueth great profit; as alſo if need were, by driuing his ſhips out of the Perſian gulfe, by the helpe of

A of thoſe gallies which ſtill lie at road at POSSIDIVM, which we now call SVEZ. And that the fortreſſes and ſtrong holds he there poſſeſſeth, were to be ſet vpon, and if it might be taken from him; as was once attempted againſt the Portingals at DIV and ORMVZ: the like whereof *Alfonſus Albuquercius* (the king of PORTINGAL his viceroy in INDIA) attempted, when as with his light horſemen running through that countrey, he thought vpon the ſudden to haue ſpoyled MECHA, and to haue robbed the Sepulchre of *Mahomet* (as had happened vnder the empire of the Sultans) and as *Traian* the emperour had long ſince in like manner attempted to rage and ſpoile. Thoſe places which he poſſeſſed in APFRICKE were (as they ſaid) to be ſet vpon, and the coaſt of SPAINE towards the Mediterranean to be infeſted: ſo at length to gratifie the Moores his ſubjects, who ſtill inſtantly requeſted the ſame, that ſo they might more ſafely traf-
B fique and trauell, and that ſo the Moores might at length be deliuered from the imperious commaund of the Spaniards: of which exploit Sultan *Selymus* lately before dead, was in his life time well perſuaded; but might now at this time be much more commodiouſly done; for that the Mooriſh nation was now greatly increaſed, and much oppreſſed by the Spaniards; and hauing got great wealth by the trade of merchandiſe, euen by nature and religion had conceiued a mortall hatred againſt the Spaniards: whereunto might not a little auaile the ports in APFRICKE, whereinto the Turkes fleet might at all times in ſafetie retire. And in briefe, that which was of greateſt importance to the better ſucceſſe of this war, the French king and the queene of ENGLAND, had of their owne accord promiſed the continuation of their warres, and that the French king ſhould inuade NAVARRE, and by force of armes recouer the right he pretended vnto that
C kingdome; whileſt in the meane time, the queene of ENGLAND ſhould not only trouble him in the Weſt Indies, and other places of the Ocean towards the North and the Weſt, but might alſo ſtirre vp new broiles in the kingdome of PORTINGAL, where moſt part of the people with great impatiencie beare the prowd commaund of the Spaniard: as perſuaded (and that truly) all their proſperitie and quietneſſe to haue been loſt, togither with their laſt king their true and lawfull ſoueraigne. For he at peace with the kings of FRANCE and ENGLAND, exceedingly thereby enriched his ſubjects by traffique: whereas ſince they fell into the hands of the Spaniard, they daily complaine of their new loſſes and dangers by reaſon of his perpetuall wars. Moreouer, that there was to be found great ſtore of exiled Spaniards diſperſed here and there, which being malecontent and wearie of the Spaniſh gouernment, were fled not only out of PORTINGAL,
D but euen out of ARAGON & other parts of his kingdome: which now liuing in FRANCE, ENGLAND, and CONSTANTINOPLE, both ſecretly and openly liberally offered great helpes: the like whereof many of the Moores alſo promiſed. All which togither ſeemed to promiſe a moſt eaſie expedition and certaine victorie, if any ſhould vpon the ſudden inuade SPAINE; for that there was almoſt no vſe of armes, the inhabitants at home ſeldome times exerciſing themſelues therein; neither in places needfull hauing any ordinarie garriſons, and but few horſes fit for ſeruice. And that in fine it was to be conſidered, SPAINE to be greatly bared of men which knew how valiantly and couragiouſly to mannage armes, for the often choiſe they make of them, which are almoſt daily tranſported into the Indies, ITALIE, and the Low countries, whereby the ſtrength of his countrey muſt needs be exceedingly impaired: ſo that if they ſhould be inua-
E ded with any ſtrong and mightie armie, they might ſeeme hardly able to be holpen or defended by their owne people, but ſhould need of the aid and helpe of the other neere prouinces ſubject vnto this kingdome: which if they ſhould be either letted or ſtay to come in good time, they ſhould leaue ſo much the more eaſie victorie vnto their enemies.

The fift opinion for the inuaſion of the Venetians, and the reaſons why.

In the fift place were they which went about to perſuade *Amurath* to breake his league with the Venetians, vſing reaſons rather probable than true; although they might ſeeme vnto the Turkes leſſe doubtfull, for that men eaſily and willingly beleeue ſuch things as they themſelues deſire. Theſe men went about to proue no expedition to be of leſſe difficultie than this, as judging of things preſent by the euent of former warres paſſed; wherein the Turks had alwaies taken ſomething from the Venetians: who to redeeme their peace, were diuers waies enforced to
F ſatisfie the Turks. That the Venetian common-weale was affraid of the Turkes and abhorred warre, was manifeſt they ſaid in that, that in all actions it had propounded vnto it ſelfe peace, as the end thereof; and after the manner of their auncеſtors, neuer entred into warres; but enforced thereunto: and would happily vpon the firſt denouncing of warres, willingly depart with certaine places for feare of greater harme, or to be vtterly ouercome, as it appeared they did in the

yeelding vp of CYPRVS. The power and force whereof was not ſo great, as that it could alone ſtand againſt the great Sultan: and to confederat it ſelfe with others, would require no ſmall delay, for the great and many difficulties which commonly vſed to ariſe in making of leagues; not being now ſo conjoyned with the Spaniard as in times paſt, of whoſe aid it being of late deſtitute, was conſtrained to make an hard peace with *Selymus*. And if ſo be the Spaniard would needs joyne himſelfe vnto the Venetians againſt the Turkes, yet that he could by no meanes affourd vnto them ſuch aid and ſupplies as were of neceſsitie to be required vnto ſo great a war, he himſelfe being in his warres otherwiſe ſo entangled: as for all other confederation they could make without him, to be but weake and to no purpoſe. That which the Pope could do herein to be but little: for albeit he ſhould according to his dutie exhort other Chriſtian princes to giue aid, and to ſtirre them vp vnto this warre, yet that beſide ſome little ſupplie of mony hardly drawne out of his owne cofers and the eccleſiaſticall reuenues, he could ſcarcely performe any thing more; or when he had done his vttermoſt deuoire, could but joyne fiue gallies of his owne vnto the Venetian fleet: which with the gallies of the duke of SAVOY, of the knights of MALTA, and of the Florentines, could but make a fleet of ſome twentie gallies, which was but a ſmall matter. Beſides that the Turkes were perſuaded, that betwixt the Venetian ſtate and the other Chriſtian princes was no ſuch friendſhip and good agreement, as the greatneſſe of the imminent danger of that warre, and as the neceſsitie of the cauſe would require: and that hitherto their treaſures had beene ſo exhauſted in paying the debt they were run into in the laſt warre, and in building of fortreſſes, that happily they were not now ſo furniſhed with coyne, as was requiſit for the defraying of ſo great a warre. And vnto this warre againſt the Venetians, conſented almoſt all the Viſier Baſſaes, differing only in this, Where or againſt what place of the Venetian territorie this warre were to be firſt begun: ſome naming one place, and ſome another (for diuers reaſons them thereunto leading) which for breuitie we paſſe ouer.

The ſixt opinion for the attempſing of Italie, and the reaſons thereof.

Otherſome of the Baſſaes in the ſixt place, rejecting all the former opinions concerning the warre to be taken in hand, would haue had all the forces of the *Othoman* empire, as well by land as ſea, to haue beene conuerted againſt ITALIE: for that otherwiſe the Turkes ſhould neuer come vnto the Monarchie of the whole world (whereunto as at a marke they had directed all their actions) except they did firſt ſubdue ITALIE. For that this countrey, as the centre of the whole world, was wont to giue both counſell and aid vnto the reſt of the limbes, whereby the deuices of others were croſſed: and that the Romanes had at length commaunded ouer all the world, eſpecially for that they held in poſſeſsion this countrey. Hereat did the Hunnes, the Alani and Gothes, the Vandales, the Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Saraſins, direct all their thoughts and cogitations. In fine they concluded, That no expedition could be taken in hand more honourable or profitable than this: for that ITALIE was as a queene amongſt other prouinces, for commodious ſituation, the wholeſomeneſſe of the aire, the plentie of all things neceſſarie for mans life, for great, faire, and moſt rich cities, for the auntient glorie and majeſtie of the Romane empire, and many other cauſes alſo. Neither that this expedition was to be deemed of much difficultie, for that ITALIE was vnder the rule of diuers princes, vnto whoſe commaund moſt of their ſubjects vnwillingly obeyed: as alſo for that the inhabitants of that countrey had now for many yeares liued in continuall peace, and were therefore the more effeminat and fearefull, and ſo vnfit for the warres: and that if that expedition were in one or diuers places taken in hand before the corne were full ripe, the Turkes in that ſo fruitfull a countrey could neuer want neceſſaries for them to liue vpon; whereas the inhabitants in great number wanting the ſame, and ſhut vp within the wals and fortifications of their cities and ſtrong townes, ſhould be brought into extreame wants: which was the more euidently to bee ſeene, for that at this time wherein they were at peace, they had not corne ſufficient in the countrey for ſuch a multitude of people to liue vpon, but were glad to haue it brought vnto them from other places, eſpecially from PELOPONESVS, CONSTANTINOPLE, and the cities vpon the coaſt of the great Ocean. Furthermore, that it was to be conſidered, That moſt part of the Italians liued by no other meanes than by their handie labour, or the trade of marchandiſe; of which meanes if they were depriued, they ſhould in ſhort time be brought to that point, as to be glad to accept of ſuch conditions as the victor ſhould propound vnto them, or as tributaries to ſubmit themſelues vnto the *Othoman* gouernment. Neither that the ſouldiors would vnwillingly be drawne vnto that war; for that they were not to paſſe through barren regions of the enemie, froſen with yſe, or deſolate, either

A either by rough woods or inacceſsible mountains; but were all the way thither to trauell throgh their owne country, and as it were in the ſight of their own houſes: and if the Turks could oftentimes enter ſo farre, when as they had their confines more remote, and their paſſages more difficult, that the ſame might now much more eaſily be effected, when as they had a far greater opportunitie, and their enemies ſo neere at hand.

The ſeuenth opinion for war to be made againſt the Polonian, & the reaſons thereof.

The ſeuenth opinion was theirs, which thought it beſt to haue the war transferred into POLONIA, and from thence into HVNGARIE and GERMANIE: for which they alleadged theſe reaſons. First, for that they thought it a diſgrace vnto the majeſtie and reputation of the *Othoman* empire, That the king of POLONIA had ſomtime refuſed to pay his tribute due (for ſo the Turks B account of all ſuch preſents as are vnto their Sultan vſually ſent by their neighbour princes, of courteſie) and that therefore he was by force of armes to be compelled thereunto. Which they thought would the more eaſily be obtained, for that there was much ſecret hatred and heart-burning amongſt the Polonian nobilitie. Neither that it would be any difficult or dangerous warre to bee taken in hand: for as much as POLONIA was confined with MOLDAVIA, the Tartars, and the Sanzacks of ACHERMAN, BENDERA, and VOSIA: and moreouer, for that the Turkes could neuer haue any aſſured or full poſſeſsion of MOLDAVIA or VALACHIA, except the inſolencie of the Polonians were repreſſed; the Vayuods of which countries, when they had enriched themſelues with much wealth, vſed ſtill to flie into the kingdome of POLONIA. Beſides that, they ſhould thereby reuenge themſelues for the injuries done them by the Coſſackes, and haue more free and ſafe trafficke into MVSCOVIE, and bring a terrour vpon the C duke of MVSCOVIE, by reaſon of the nighneſſe of the country: which great duke was an impediment vnto the *Othoman* emperour, that he conquered not the whole kingdome of PERSIA. And when they had by this meanes by little and little drawne neere vnto GERMANIE, happily it might ſo come to paſſe, as that the Chriſtian emperor ſhould thereby receiue ſome notable loſſe, his empire being ſtill more and more expoſed and enuironed with the Turks forces & garriſons. POLONIA they ſaid to be a plaine and open countrey, neither to haue any ſtrong places for to withſtand them, and the inhabitants to haue ſmall skill in martiall affaires, for that they had now long liued in peace. For as for the war that they had with *Maximilian* the Archduke of AVSTRIA, it continued not long: and king *Stephen* in the late wars he had with the Muſcouite, vſed for moſt part the Hungarian ſouldiors, and ended thoſe wars rather by beſieging than fighting.

The eight opinion for warre to be made againſt the Emperor, and the reaſons thereof.

D They which in the eight and laſt place deliuered their opinions concerning the intended war; perſuaded, to haue it conuerted vpon the Chriſtian emperour; whom the Turks call the king of VIENNA. The cauſes they alledged for the beginning of this warre was, For that the Vſcocchi were growne ſo inſolent as to make good priſe of the Turkes both by ſea and land; in ſuch ſort, as that not onely for the harmes which they did, but euen for the majeſtie and honour of the *Othoman* empire, their inſolencie was not longer to be ſuffered. By whoſe injuries it was eſpecially brought to paſſe, that the marchants to their great hinderance in priuat, and the Sultans great loſſe in common, hauing left the towne of NARENTA or NARONA in the Turkes dominion, had remoued their mart to SALONA (now called SPALATO) a towne of the Venetians: and that yet for all that was not ſo ſufficiently prouided for the ſecuritie of the ſaid marchants, al- E though there were peace betwixt the emperour and the Venetians: for that theſe vnruly men for moſt part liuing vpon the ſpoyle, troubled all both by ſea and land with their robberies, driuing away mens cattell, burning the villages, and taking away the young babes out of the mothers armes and laps. Whereby it was eaſily to be ſeene, what mind they were of: and that it was not to be doubted, but that if occaſion ſhould ſerue for them to ſurpriſe any of the Turkes ſtrong holds vpon the frontiers, they would with all their power attempt the ſame: which what a diſhonour and infamie (not to ſpeake of the loſſe) it would be vnto the whole *Othoman* empire, euery man might eaſily gheſſe. Neither that it was vnknowne how little the Chriſtian emperor had eſteemed of the Turke, at ſuch time as he was in warres with the Perſian, paying his tribute too late at his pleaſure; an euident ſigne rather of violating than of eſtabliſhing the league. And F that the good ſucceſſe of this warre was not to be deemed either difficult or doubtfull: for that the attempt might be giuen both by CROATIA, HVNGARIE, and AVSTRIA, countries abounding with all things neceſſarie for the maintenance of a great armie; as alſo for that they were almoſt to trauell all the way in the Turkes owne territorie. Beſide that, the chiefe fortreſſes of HVNGARIE, namely BELGRADE, BVDA, and ALBA REGALIS, with many other ſtrong pla-

ces, were alreadie holden by the Turkes garrisons, whither their armies might in all cases of extremitie in safetie retire, or out of the same garrisons repaire their losses, if any should be. The Romane empire (as they said) was more desirous of peace than war; and the princes, of nothing more carefull than how to heape vp and preserue their treasures: and the people of GERMANIE for that of long they had had no warres, to be lesse fit now to beare armes, and worse to be commaunded by their captaines; alwayes hauing in distrust the Hungarians, the Italians, and Spaniards, for that those nations are not beloued, but rather hated of the Germans, being not at vnitie among themselues, but deuided, especially about matters of religion. Neither that it was to bee feared, least forraine princes should giue aid vnto the emperour in this warre: The Polonian and Transyluanian to liue now in peace with the Turke, and therfore would by no meanes turne the heat of this warre into their owne bosomes: as also for that the Polonians were afraid, least in so doing they should be driuen out of their countrey, and enforced to remoue themselues toward the frosen sea: and the Transyluanian hauing receiued his soueraignetie from the Turke, no lesse in feare (if he should so doe) to be of him againe stript and spoyled of the same: As for the king of SPAINE, although he were of such power, as might affourd vnto the house of AVSTRIA great aid, yet that he was in other places now too much busied: and that the bishop of ROME could not in all places be readie to serue his turne: the princes of ITALIE would not spend their subjects and treasures to pleasure another man: and that the Venetian State would not rashly stirre vp the Turkes armes against themselues, but rather at ease expect the euent of the warre than to entangle themselues with other mens dangers. These were the chiefe opinions of the great Bassaes concerning the warre to be taken in hand, not so much proceeding from any ripe or sound aduice (as commonly they doe) but rather from a certaine barbarous insolencie and contempt of others, wherewith they moued, doe oftentimes vainely persuade them of the easie performance of diuers expeditions: which in proofe they find to be not onely most difficult, but vnto themselues also most pernitious.

Amurath reſolueth to make warre vpon the emperour, with the reaſons mouing him thereunto.

In this so great diuersitie of opinions stood *Amurath*, of long in doubt what to resolue vpon: desirous he was in all places to shew his power, and (if it were possible) to exceed the glorie of his predecessours, as he thought himselfe to haue alreadie done in PERSIA; hauing as he boasted, by his seruants there performed more than they could themselues in person with their mightie armies. Wherefore contenting himselfe with that he had alreadie done in the East, hee resolued now to turne his forces against the Christian emperour towards the West, and that for diuers respects. First, it grieued him to see the honour of the house of AVSTRIA, and that it durst to make head against him: besides that, to make warre vpon a countrey confining vpon his owne, would be a thing of farre lesse difficultie than was the Persian war, where his armies were now still to be led through his owne peaceable countries, from whence they were to bee at all times plentifully relieued with victuals and whatsoeuer els they needed. In which opinion he was also confirmed by *Sinan Bassa*; who hauing in vaine persuaded him to haue made warre against the Venetians, furthered now this warre, in hope thereby to recouer his credit and reputation, (before greatly empaired abroad by the litle he did in PERSIA; as also at CONSTANTINOPLE, by the discord betwixt him and *Ferat Bassa*, commonly called the Blacke Serpent) as also to encrease his wealth and riches: which shortly after sorted to his desire, being by the great Sultan *Amurath* appointed Generall for those wars. But aboue all others, *Hassan Bassa* of BOSNA furthered this matter, in hope thereby to haue gained great riches (as the Turkes manner is) together with the greatest honours of the field, as hee was most vainely persuaded by his cold prophets, to whom he gaue no small credit. He therefore daily certified *Amurath* of the harmes which the Vscocchi and other the Archduke his seruants and subjects did vpon the frontiers of his territories: telling him of their burnings, spoylings, and robbings, inciting him to begin his warre in CROATIA, and so to continue the same either against the emperour, or the Venetians, or els vpon the sudden that way to breake into ITALIE, as had sometime the like beene done in the time of *Mahomet*, *Baiazet*, and *Solyman*, his noble progenitours: whereby to bring a great terrour vpon all the princes of ITALIE, and to enrich his souldiors with rich spoyles. By which his importunitie he (as a most mortall enemie not onely vnto the house of AVSTRIA, but vnto all Christendome) got leaue to begin those stirres in the frontiers of the empire, which were first fatall vnto himselfe, and haue euer since euen vntill this day notably exercised the armes of these two last *Othoman* emperours *Amurath* and *Mahomet*; as also the Christian emperour, with others

A others his friends and confederats. Yet vnto this leaue granted vnto the Baſſa, was this condition at the firſt annexed, That he ſhould not ſeeme to doe it by the commaundement of *Amurath*, but of himſelfe, vnder colour to reſtraine the Vſcocchi; who as well by land as by ſea (as he pretended) ſpoiled both the Chriſtians and Turks, by the great libertie of the princes of AVSTRIA, hauing ſmall care to chaſten them.

Now was it no great matter for *Haſſan Baſſa* to doe what *Amurath* his great lord and maſter had commaunded, for the diſturbing of the peace betwixt him and the Chriſtian emperour: the Turkes leagues with their neighbour princes being ſeldome ſo religiouſly kept, but that as well their ſouldiors in garriſon vpon their frontiers by land, as their aduenturers by ſea, might to keepe themſelues doing, vpon a militarie inſolencie (as the Turkes tearme it) now and then at their
B pleaſures make incurſions for bootie both by ſea and land: which anſwered with the like from their neighbours ſo moleſted, there neuer wanted new grieuances and juſt cauſes of complaint, to the ſtirring vp of greater troubles, euen amongſt the greateſt princes. The Venetians thus wronged at ſea, and their merchants robbed; by their embaſſadours complained at CONSTANTINOPLE of the injuries done them by the Turkes pyrats, requiring to haue them called home, and juſtice done vpon them. In like manner the emperour alſo, ſeeing many things both this yeare and the next attempted by *Haſſan Baſſa* in CROATIA, and the other Turkes in HVNGARIE, contrarie to the league, to the great diſturbance of his ſubiects in both thoſe countries, by his embaſſadour then lying at CONSTANTINOPLE, complained of theſe outrages, deſiring to know whether they were done by the conſent and knowledge of *Amurath* or not; and if not,
C then to require that order might be taken for the reſtraining thereof: which was accordingly done, and thoſe incurſions for a while ſtaied, and the former peace continued. *Amurath* ſtill making ſhew as if he were willing that the league agreed vpon for eight yeares, ſhould not be in any wiſe on his part infringed. At which time the Perſian kings ſonne (the league not long before concluded) died in the Turkes Court, where he lay in hoſtage: whoſe dead bodie *Amurath* cauſed to be honorably ſent home to his father into PERSIA: with an Apologie in defence of himſelfe, againſt the ſuſpition conceiued by ſome, that he ſhould haue beene the cauſe of the vntimely death of that young prince; ſtill vrging withall the confirmation of the league, which by the death of the prince was like enough to haue been broken. Whereof *Amurath* was the more deſirous, for that perſuaded by his Baſſaes (as is aforeſaid) to make warres with the empe-
D rour (although he notably diſſembled the ſame) he was in hope thereby to adde vnto his empire the reliques of HVNGARIE, with ſome good part of the territories of the houſe of AVSTRIA alſo, and ſo to open himſelfe a way into the heart of GERMANIE. For which purpoſes he now cauſed very great preparation to be made, and a ſtrong armie to be raiſed: and at the ſame time put a great fleet of gallies into the Archipelago for the ſafetie of his iſlands in that ſea.

The Perſian hoſtage dieth in the Turkes Court.

1591

1592

According to theſe deſignments, the Baſſa of BOSNA, by the commandement of *Amurath*, with an armie of fiftie thouſand entred into CROATIA, and without reſiſtance burnt and deſtroied the countrey before him, ſparing nothing that came in his way. And not ſo contented, laid ſiege to the citie of WIHITZ, being the metropoliticall citie of that countrey, ſtrongly ſituE at as it were in an iſland, compaſſed about with the riuer Yna: Which citie, after he had ſore battered, and twiſe aſſaulted, was by the diſtreſſed defendants (now deſpairing of reliefe, and vnable longer to hold it out) yeelded vnto the Baſſa vpon compoſition, That the Germain ſouldiors there in garriſon, might in ſafetie with bagge and baggage depart; and that ſuch of the Chriſtian citiſens as would, might there ſtill remain without hurt from the Turks, either in bodie or goods. Which conditions the Baſſa faithfully performed to the garriſon ſouldiors, whom in number but foure hundred, he ſent with ſafe conuoy into their owne territorie: but afterwards contrarie to his faith and promiſe, exerciſed all manner of Turkiſh tyrannie vpon the poore citiſens. The emperour troubled with this vnexpected inuaſion of the Turkes, ſent the lord *Petzen* (whom he had many times employed in embaſſages to the Turke) to pray aid of the Germain princes
F againſt the common enemie: who according to the greatneſſe of the danger, in large tearmes promiſed their helpe. The firſt that made head, was *Erneſtus* archduke of AVSTRIA, the emperours brother; who with fiue thouſand ſouldiors came from VIENNA to SAVARIA, commonly called GREIS, the Metropolis of STIRIA: to whom repaired daily more ſtrength out of CARINTHIA.

Wihitz the Metropoliticall citie of Croatia yeelded to the Turke.

In

The Christians encrease vnto.

In the meane time, the Turkes armie daily encreasing in CROATIA, encloſed ſix thouſand footmen, and fiue hundred horſemen of the Chriſtians, who had taken the mountaines, woods, and ſtrait paſſages, and ſo ſtraitly beſet them, that of all that number few eſcaped with life: amongſt whom many valiant ſouldiors and expert captaines were ſlaine; namely, *Iames Prants*, *George Plesbach*, and *Iohn Weluerdurff*. The Baſſa after the barbarous manner of the Turkes, to make his victorie more famous, laded ſix wagons with the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians. The Turkes thus raging in CROATIA, brought a generall feare vpon all HVNGARIE, BAVARIA, BOHEMIA, STIRIA, CARINTHIA, SILESIA, and the reſt of the prouinces thereabouts. Whereupon the emperour calling togither the States of SILESIA and MORAVIA, declared vnto them the imminent danger; perſuading them to joyne their forces with the reſt, for the repulſing of ſo dangerous an enemie, and ſo imminent a danger.

After long delay, *Erneſtus* the archduke (the tenth of Auguſt) came to the emperour his brother, with the embaſſadour of HVNGARIE; and the ſeauenth day after were called togither the embaſſadours of the kingdomes and prouinces of the empire, where it was throughly debated, how the Turkes were to be reſiſted, and their attempts infringed; as alſo from whence, forces, money, and other warlike prouiſion was to be raiſed. For now it was manifeſtly ſeene, that longer to delay the matter was dangerous: and the rather, for that the Beglerbeg (or great commaunder) of GRÆCIA, with threeſcore thouſand ſelect ſouldiors both horſe and foot, of long time exerciſed in the Perſian warres, was ere long expected; who joyning with the reſt of the Turkes armie, might doe great matters both in HVNGARIE and the places adjoyning. For preuenting of which ſo great and manifeſt dangers, they ſat daily in counſell at PRAGE, yea oftentimes euen from morning vntill night: for the Hungarians, and eſpecially the lord *Nadaſti*, a moſt noble & valiant gentleman amongſt them, inſtantly vrged to haue ſuccours ſent into HVNGARIE; for as much as the Turkiſh emperour, if he ſhould get into his hands the reſt of the townes and caſtles yet holden by the Chriſtians in HVNGARIE, it was to be feared leaſt he ſhould in ſhort time after endanger the whole State of GERMANIE: the ſtrength whereof the Turke feared not ſo much, as hee did thoſe poore reliques of HVNGARIE. Others were no leſſe carefull of the dangers of CROATIA and STIRIA, as more proper to themſelues, the enemie now there raging. In theſe ſo great dangers, the Hungarians with the reſt of the diſtreſſed, cried vpon the emperour for helpe; and he likewiſe called vpon the princes of the empire. Diuers aſſemblies were made in BOHEMIA, HVNGARIE, MORAVIA, SILESIA, and the other prouinces of the emperours, and embaſſadours ſent from almoſt all the Germane princes to the emperour: all was full of conſultation, but as for helpe, that came in verie ſlowly; yet ſuch as was to be had, was forthwith ſent into CROATIA, to defend the fortreſſes there againſt the farther attempts and proceedings of the furious enemie.

Certaine vaine attempts of the Turkes.

The eighteenth of September, the Turkes with all warlike prouiſion, vpon the ſudden by night aſſaulted the ſtrong caſtle of TOCCAY in the vpper HVNGARIE, in hope to haue ſurpriſed it: but finding it a matter of more difficultie than they had before imagined, they departed thence, and attempted the leſſer COMARA, which ſtanding in a marriſh ground, was alſo eaſily defended. At which time alſo the Baſſa of BVDA, with his power entred into the frontiers of the Chriſtians, but hauing well viewed the cities, townes, caſtles, and forts vpon thoſe borders, and finding nothing for his purpoſe, he without any thing doing returned againe to BVDA.

Turopolis ſpoiled by the Turkes.

The ſix and twentith day of September, *Haſſan* the Baſſa of BOSNA encamped with his army betwixt the riuers of Kulp and Sauus, and in the darkneſſe of the night paſsing ouer part of his armie into TVROPOLIS, with fire and ſword moſt miſerably ſpoiled all that pleaſant and fertile iſland; the lord *Bonny* to whom the keeping thereof was committed, labouring in vaine to defend the ſame.

About the end of this moneth, the Baſſa of ZIGET, with the Sanzackes of MOHAS, KOPPAN, and QVINQVE ECCLESIÆ, and other Turkes of great name, came with a ſtrong armie, and encamped betweene ZIGET and RODESTO. And ſhortly after newes was brought to the emperours Court, that KANYSIA a citie of STIRIA (not farre from the riuer Zala) was hardly beſieged by the enemie, and that the Turks in comming thither had taken many Chriſtians captiues, whom they had ſent to be ſold at CONSTANTINOPLE; and that there was in the Turks armie about an hundred & threeſcore thouſand men. But for as much as the Chriſtian armie daily encreaſed alſo, and was now grown to the number of threeſcore thouſand, men began to hope well,

A well, that the enemies rage would be ſtaied from any farther proceeding. About the ſame time *Erneſtus* the archduke appointed Generall of the armie, with the Marqueſſe (ſonne to *Ferdinand* the archduke) his lieutenant, came both vnto the armie.

In theſe preparations, about the beginning of October heauie newes was brought vnto the emperours Court, how that ſeauen thouſand men whom he but a little before had ſent into CROATIA, vnder the conduct of *Thomas Artelius Beane*, *George Gleichſpacher*, and *Dionyſius Denke*, to hinder the courſe of the Turks proceedings, being encamped betwixt WIHITZ and CAROLSTAT; and hauing the twelfth of September diſcouered from an high hill certaine companies of the Turks (which were in deed of purpoſe come thither to view the armie of the Chriſtians) ſent out fiftie horſemen to diſcouer the Turkes armie where it lay, and what it attempted.

B Who finding no mo of the Turkes than thoſe whom they had before ſeene from the mountaine, returned againe vnto the armie with ſuch ſimple intelligence: whereunto the Chriſtians giuing credit, became ſecure in their tents, as men out of feare of the enemie, and ſo kept but negligent watch. But in this their ſo great ſecuritie, the enemie on a ſudden came vpon them, and with an hundred thouſand men brake into their trenches: where the Chriſtian footmen for all that, for the ſpace of foure houres, maintained a notable fight, wherein many were on both ſides ſlaine. But the poore Chriſtians being beſet round, and oppreſſed with the multitude of their enemies, were there ſlaine almoſt all: yet the captaines ſeeing the danger, by ſpeedie flight ſaued their liues; for which their cowardiſe and careleſſe negligence, they were afterwards apprehended and beheaded. Almoſt all the common ſouldiors were there ſlaine: yea ſuch as fell

C aliue into the hand of the enemie, were moſt cruelly cut in pieces. The ſpoile alſo of the tents of the Chriſtians, fell vnto the enemie: wherein beſide aboundance of other things, they found ſixtie thouſand dollers, brought but two daies before from LINTZ for the ſouldiors pay. The Turkes after their barbarous manner, in oſtentation of their victorie, laded fourteene wagons with the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians, which they ſent vnto diuers of their places thereabouts. This was indeed a great victorie, but gained by the Turks with much bloud: for the Chriſtians fighting as men deſperat, ſlew of their enemies aboue twelue thouſand, and died themſelues as men rather with number oppreſſed, than with true valour vanquiſhed.

The night following, the Turks vpon the ſudden in the dead time of the night, ſurpriſed the caſtle of S. *George*, and without reſpect of age or ſex cruelly put to the ſword all them that were

The caſtle Saint George ſurpriſed by the Turkes.

D therein, except an hundred and fiftie perſons whom they carried away captiues; and ſo ſetting the caſtle on fire, departed. At the ſame time, diuers companies of the Turkes were ſeene about SISEG, who led away with them about ſix hundred Chriſtians into moſt miſerable captiuitie. And that nothing might be wanting vnto the calamities of this ſo miſerable a waſted countrey: three hundred wagons charged with all manner of prouiſion ſent out of the prouinces thereby for the reliefe of the garriſon ſouldiors in CROATIA, were all intercepted by the Turkes, and ſo carried away.

The emperour conſidering theſe proceedings of the Turkes, and that their ſtrength daily encreaſed, gaue notice by writing to all the princes and ſtates of the empire, what incurſions the Turkes had of late made into CROATIA and the frontiers of HVNGARIE, with other places

The emperour prayeth aid againe of the Germane princes.

E neere vnto them: and that the Beglerbeg of GRÆCIA, with the Baſſaes of BOSNA, BVDA, and TEMESVVAR, without regard of the league yet in force, had taken diuers cities, townes, caſtles, and ſtrong places, and ſo extended the bounds of their dominion aboue fortie Germane miles, hauing ſlaine or carried away into captiuitie the poore inhabitants of thoſe countries; and now to be growne to that height of pride, that except their farther proceedings were with like forces repreſſed, they would in ſhort time ſet foot into GERMANIE it ſelfe, and poſſeſsing themſelues of STIRIA and CARINTHIA, would from thence daily more and more encroach vpon the empire; which to hinder was not in his power onely, but required their helpe in generall: wherefore he requeſted them now at length, in ſo publike a danger to open their cofers, and to ſend out their forces againſt the common enemie. Which requeſt of the emperors, with the due con-

F ſideration of ſo great a danger, moued not only the princes and ſtates of the empire, but others alſo farther off, to yeeld liberall contribution vnto ſo neceſſarie and generall a cauſe.

The Turkes now hearing of the great preparation of the Chriſtian princes, beſide the armie which was alreadie in the field; and that they had made a ſtrong bridge ouer the riuer of Drauus, which they had alſo fortified, thereby in ſafetie at their pleaſure to tranſport their armie:

without

without further delay furniſhed ſuch places as they had gotten with ſtrong garriſons, and ſo withdrew themſelues into their owne territorie: which they did the rather, for that the plague then raged ſore in CONSTANTINOPLE, inſomuch that there died a thouſand a day. Which contagion had alſo taken hold of the Turkiſh armie: ſo that the Chriſtians for feare of infection forthwith ſlew what Turke ſoeuer fell into their hands. And thus ended the troubles of this year, being but as it were an introduction for greater to enſue the yeare following. G

1593 *Diuers incurſions of the Turkes into the frontiers of the Chriſtians in Croatia and Hungarie.*

The Turks together with the beginning of the new yeare began alſo their wonted incurſions into the frontiers of the Chriſtians. They of the garriſon of PETRINIA (a ſtrong fort but lately and contrarie to the league built by the Turkes vpon the riuer Colapis or Kulp, for the further inuaſion of CROATIA) made dayly excurſions out of that new fort, and entering into the iſland TVROPOLIS, ſpoyled and burnt the towne and caſtle of BECK-VOCHOBINAM, and hauing H made a great ſlaughter, carried away with them foure hundred priſoners. And in HVNGARIE, the Turkiſh garriſons to ſupplie their wants, made diuers rodes vpon the Chriſtians, and did exceeding much harme; of which aduenturers ſix hundred in paſſing ouer the froſen lake, were all drowned in the midſt thereof. In another place three thouſand of them neere vnto NVHVSE, deuided themſelues into two companies, whereof the one ſhewed it ſelfe in the ſight of the townesmen, the other ſtill lying cloſe in ambuſh: They of the towne vpon the ſight of theſe Turkes ſallied out, and cauſing them to retire, followed them ſo far, that they were paſt the place where the reſt of the Turkes lay: who preſently ſtarting vp, ran with all ſpeed toward the towne in hope to haue ſurpriſed it, and wanted not much of that they deſired: for there was ſcarce an hundred of the Germanes there in garriſon left in the towne, who had ſcarce ſo much time as to I draw vp the bridges: which done, they with the great ordinance from the wals enforced the Turkes to retire and forſake the towne. About the ſame time alſo the Turkes in garriſon at PETRINIA ſallying out vpon the ſudden, tooke the towne of MARTENIZE, which they ſpoyled; and hauing ſlaine and taken about ſeuen hundred perſons, ſet fire on the towne, and ſo returned, hauing loſt in this exploit not paſt an hundred and fiftie of their owne men. Not long after, the ſame garriſon ſouldiours of PETRINIA tooke another caſtle, three miles diſtant from the riuer of Kulp, whereinto the Chriſtians dwelling round about, had for feare of the enemie conueyed all their wealth with great ſtore of victuals: all which the Turkes tooke, and hauing ſlaine ſix hundred men in the caſtle, returned with an exceeding rich bootie to PETRINIA: which they bought, with the liues of fiue hundred of their fellowes, ſlaine in taking of the caſtle. With like K inſolencie did alſo the other garriſons of the Turkes rage in all the other part of HVNGARIE. About CASSOVIA, in the vpper HVNGARIE, they carried away about three hundred Chriſtian captiues: and in the nether part of HVNGARIE they tooke the ſtrong caſtle of S. *Hedwig* vpon the lake of Balaton, which they ſpoyled and burnt: and ſo likewiſe the caſtle of ISNA: but attempting the leſſer COMARA, they were by the garriſon ſouldiors valiantly repulſed. They alſo fortified the caſtle of STOCKE, which they had but a little before taken, that ſo it might ſerue for a ſafe refuge for their aduenturers. Which their manifold outrages, contrarie to the league, euidently declared the deſire they had to begin that bloudie warre which preſently after enſued: and was indeed the more ſuſpected, for that at the ſame time the emperours embaſſadour *Fredericke Crocowitts* was by the commaundement of *Amurath* ſhut vp cloſe in his houſe at CONSTANTINOPLE, and not ſuffered to ſpeake with any man, neither to write or to ſend any meſſenger to the emperour: which cauſed him the more to ſuſpect ſome great matter to be by the Turke entended, and therfore began to raiſe new forces. The Hungarians and Bohemians alſo ſeeing their townes and caſtles thus taken, their prouinces ſpoyled, infinit numbers of people led away into captiuitie, and the enemie dayly encreaſing in ſtrength: at length agreed, vpon their owne charges to maintaine a certaine number both of horſe and foot, for the repreſsing of theſe the Turkiſh incurſions. L

Now although the emperour knew right well all theſe outrages of the Turkes, contrarie vnto the league, could not be done without the knowledge and good liking alſo of *Amurath*; as before enformed thereof by his embaſſadour from CONSTANTINOPLE: yet to ſhew himſelfe M willing to haue the league on his behalfe kept, as alſo to make a further proofe of *Amurath* his reſolution for peace or warre, he wrote vnto him as followeth:

Rodolph

A

Rodolph the ſecond, Emperour of the Romanes; vnto *Amurath* king of the Turkes.

Whereas nothing is hitherto on our behalfe omitted, for the preſeruation and continuance of the league and amitie betwixt your moſt excellent maieſtie and vs, by the renewed capitulations of peace; and that we haue with all ſinceritie and loue performed, and are hereafter readie to performe whatſoeuer is on our part to be performed and done; and as we haue hitherto, ſo for euer hereafter alſo make offer of the ſame: we moſt aſſuredly promiſe vnto our ſelues on your maieſties behalfe, that you in like manner will not ſuffer any thing on your part to be wanting; but gladly and willingly to doe all things B *which ſhall be meet and needfull for the preſeruation and keeping of this our mutuall loue and friendſhip. Vpon which good hope grounding our ſelues, to declare our plaine meaning and ſinceritie indeed, we will cauſe our honourable Preſent (which is now readie) to be brought vnto your moſt royall maieſtie, at ſuch time as ſhall bee agreed vpon betwixt our embaſſadour and you: vnto whom in all ſuch matters as he by our commaundement ſhall haue to deale with your moſt excellent maieſtie, your viſiers or ſeruants, we requeſt you to giue full credence. In the meane time your excellencie ſhall doe well to prouide, that as we haue now ſeuerely commaunded our ſubiects to keepe the peace vpon our frontiers, ſo that your ſouldiors alſo make no incurſions as enemies into our territories, nor doe in them any harme, but to endeuour themſelues alſo to peace and quietneſſe: and eſpecially, that all ſuch things as contrarie to the capitulations of the league haue beene there of late taken from our people, or otherwiſe* C *vniuſtly poſſeſſed, may be againe reſtored, the loſſes recompenſed, the new fort of* PETRINIA *demoliſhed, and the Baſſa of* BOSNA *and others the authors of breaking of the league puniſhed and diſplaced: whereby we ſhall gather your royall maieſties moſt noble and kind affection towards vs and our State: which as it ſhall be a thing moſt iuſt, ſo ſhall it be a ſingular confirmation of our league. But concerning theſe matters, and others to the ſame belonging, our embaſſadour is to declare our mind more at large, that ſo our preſt deſire for the continuance of our league and friendſhip with your maieſtie, may more plainely be knowne. So wiſh we all health and proſperitie vnto your moſt royall maieſtie. From* PRAGE *the eight of March, 1593.*

The Emperours letters vnto Amurath.

The emperour alſo at the ſame time and to the ſame purpoſe writ to *Sinan Baſſa* in this ſort.

D

Rodolph the ſecond, Emperour of the Romanes; to *Sinan Baſſa* the chiefe Viſier, greeting.

We write at this preſent vnto your moſt excellent Emperour, our moſt honoured friend and neighbour, concerning ſuch matters as we thought fit for the preſeruation of the peace and league betwixt vs, leaſt happily otherwiſe we might ſeeme to haue forgotten our dutie. Now it ſhall well beſeeme your vprightneſſe and good will, which we haue at other times prooued, for the high place and authoritie which you hold (and which we reioice to be againe reſtored vnto you) to giue vnto theſe things ſuch eaſie paſſage before his maieſtie, as that we may acknowledge your kindneſſe and fauour, and haue occaſion therefore to ſhew our ſelues vnto you thankefull. Firſt we offer our ſelues moſt readie to continue E *the peace, & to performe whatſoeuer is according to the conuentions of the renewed peace on our part to be performed: as alſo to ſend the honourable Preſent (which is not as yet by vs ſent) when as our embaſſadour ſhall haue with you appointed any certaine time wherein it may be ſent. And we alſo aſſuredly hope ſo to preuaile with your Emperour, that on your part the places within our territories, by your people forcibly poſſeſſed, together with all ſuch things as haue beene wrongfully taken away, may be againe reſtored, and the fort of* PETRINIA *raſed. The Baſſa of* BOSNA *alſo (who we think would haue beene kept within the compaſſe of dutie, if you had at that time held the place of the chiefe Viſier) and whoſoeuer els, guiltie of the wicked breach of the league, to be worthily according to their deſerts puniſhed and diſplaced, and your ſoldiors ſeuerely charged not to make any further incurſions, nor to do any thing that may tend to the breach of the league: as we likewiſe ſhall with new and ſtraight com-* F *maunds moſt carefully reſtraine our garriſon ſouldiors vpon our frontiers from all ſuch excurſions and enemies actions. But of theſe things our embaſſadour is more fully and at large to entreat with you: vnto whoſe ſpeech we deſire ſuch credence to be giuen, as vnto our owne; and we will ſo prouide, that you ſhall haue good proofe of our great good will towards you. From* PRAGE *the eight of March* 1593.

The Emperours letters vnto Sinan Baſſa.

Vnto which the emperours letters *Sinan* returned anſwere as followeth.

Sinan

Sinan Baſſa, cheefe Viſier to *Amurath* the third, Emperour of the Turkes; vnto *Rodolph* the ſecond, Emperour of the Romanes, greeting.

Sinan Baſſa his letters to the emperour.

By theſe we giue your Maieſtie to vnderſtand, That two of your Maieſties letters were brought hither before wee were choſen and confirmed cheefe Viſier in this moſt royall Court; wherein your Maieſtie excuſe your ſelfe, and ſhew the cauſes why the ſending of the wonted Preſents hath beene ſo long deferred, by laying the fault vpon the inſolencie of our garriſon ſouldiors in Bosna, *and the breach of the publicke peace. Which your letters being by vs read before our moſt mightie emperour, his Highneſſe in great choller burſt out into theſe words: And thy ſonne the Beglerbeg of* Buda *hath ſtill hitherto writ and giuen vs to vnderſtand, that the vſuall Preſents would certainely come: and that the king of* Vienna *would not in any caſe conſent vnto the breach of the league, or of the amitie betwixt vs and him; and yet for all that the preſents are not hitherto come: wherefore thy ſonnes writings and relations are not true. But now the Baſſa of* Bosna *hath ſent word vnto the Court, that your Maieſtie will not ſend them, and all your doings to be but meere deceit and fraud. For which cauſe our moſt mightie Emperour hath remooued my ſonne from his place in* Buda, *and rewarded the Baſſa of* Bosna *with honorable garments, wher as my ſonne is for your Maieſties ſake diſplaced. Now on our behalfe nothing is done againſt the peace, but our ſouldiors as with a bridle kept in: whereas on your Maieſties part, excurſions and harmes into the territories of our emperor neuer ceaſe; eſpecially into* Bosna, *whereinto your ſouldiors haue of late in warlike manner broken, although they were by our garriſons ouercome, their great ordinance taken, and brought hither vnto the Court. Wherefore ſeeing the caſe ſo ſtandeth, your Maieſtie is to reſolue vs vpon two points, whereof the firſt is, Whether you be minded to keepe friendſhip with vs as beſeemeth; and to ſend hither the two laſt yeares Preſents or not? and the ſecond, Whether you will ſet at libertie our captiue Sanzacks or no? Now if your Maieſtie ſhall be content to keepe the league, and within theſe two months next to ſend the two yeares Preſents, as alſo to diſmiſſe our Sanzackes; the league ſhall on our part be likewiſe vndoubtedly kept, your territories ſhall be in no caſe moleſted, ſuch Chriſtian captiues as your Maieſtie ſhall require, be enlarged, and a moſt firme and ſure friendſhip by vs continued. Whereas if you ſhall vpon any cauſe or excuſe longer delay the ſending of thoſe honourable Preſents, and vnto theſe our demaunds ſend vs nothing but certaine vaine and windie anſweres, let God on high be therefore for euer praiſed: for now our moſt mightie and victorious emperour, who wanteth neither abilitie nor power, hath commaunded, That we our ſelfe ſhould in perſon goe in this warre, and putting our confidence in the higheſt, with the armie of the right beleeuing Turkes to come into thoſe parts: And therefore aſſure your Maieſtie, that we will not faile there to encounter you: at which time ſhall appeare vnto the world what is by God our Creator (whoſe holy name be for euer bleſſed) in his deepe wiſedome preordained and ſet downe for vs. Wherefore ſeeing that all which concerneth the league, together with the ſafetie and quiet of our people on both ſides, is vnto your Maieſtie thus declared; you are to conſider the end, and to follow our good aduice: whereas if otherwiſe you ſhall be the cauſe of the breach of this ſo wholeſome a peace and vnitie (which we hitherto haue ſo ſincerely and firmely kept) the excuſe thereof both in this world and in the world to come ſhall lie vpon your ſelfe. Now we requeſt of you no more, but forthwith to ſend vs anſwere of theſe our letters. As for the reſt, well may he ſpeed that taketh the right way. From* Constantinople *the laſt of the month *Giuma Zuleuel, in the yeare of our holy Prophet* Mahomet 1001.

* *Which is the 16 of March in the yeare of Chriſt.* 1593.

Yet for all theſe faire offers of peace thus made by *Sinan Baſſa* in his letters, was his purpoſe nothing leſſe than to haue performed the ſame, ſeeking onely to haue drawne the two yeares Preſents from the emperour, amounting to a great ſumme of money, and ſo neuertheleſſe to haue proſecuted the intended warre, the emperour being the onely man, of whom *Amurath* his great maſter had amongſt all the Chriſtian princes made choice of to exerciſe his force vpon. Of all which things the emperour was not ignorant, being thereof (as we ſaid) fully before by his embaſſadour aduertiſed from Constantinople.

Theſe troubles of the Spring thus paſt, enſued the Sommer much more troubleſome, for *Haſſan Baſſa* of Bosna, chiefe authour and deuiſer of all theſe broiles, ceaſed not for the encreaſe of his credit, to worke what miſchiefe he could againſt the Chriſtians that bordered vpon him.

This

A This great Baſſa mortally hated the Gouernour, or as ſome call him the Abbot of SISEO, a ſtrong caſtle ſituat vpon the borders of that part of CROATIA, yet holden by the Chriſtians, where the riuer Kulp falleth into the famous riuer of Sauus or Saw (and was in deed the verie bulwarke of that countrey) the cauſe of which his hatred is reported to haue beene this: The yeare before, the Baſſa had ſent a meſſenger to this Abbot, to require him to deliuer the caſtle or monaſterie vnto him: which meſſenger for certaine daies the Abbot entertained with many honourable ſpeeches, learning in the meane time of him ſo much as he poſsibly could of the Baſſaes intention, with what power, in what place, and with what engines he had determined to beſiege the caſtle. In the meane time it was diſcouered, that his ſteward had long before plotted with the Turke to haue betraied the caſtle, and had for certaine yeares paſt receiued of him a yearely
B penſion. Vpon which occaſion, the Abbot cauſed both the meſſenger and his owne ſteward to be apprehended, and ſo faſt bound hand and foot, to be caſt out at a window of the caſtle into the riuer of Saw. The Baſſa ſeeing his meſſenger not to returne, ſent another to the Abbot, grieuouſly threatning him, if he did not ſend him backe againe his meſſenger: wherunto the Abbot anſwered, That he had diſmiſſed him certaine daies before, and therefore maruelled if he were not as yet returned: neuertheleſſe concerning his demaund, that he was reſolued to yeeld the monaſterie vnto the Baſſa, againſt whoſe forces he ſaw himſelfe vnable to hold it: requeſting only, that it would pleaſe him to ſend ſome men of account to receiue it at his hand, for that it would be no ſmall diſhonour vnto him to deliuer it vp vnto common ſouldiors. The Baſſa glad of this meſſage, ſent forthwith certaine principall men of great account, hoping now without any loſſe
C to haue that ſtrong place yeelded vnto him, which had ſo long time ſtood in his way. Three daies after certaine troupes of horſemen ſent from the Baſſa, came to the monaſterie as was appointed, and finding the gates open entred, firſt the noblemen, and after them fiue hundred others or thereabouts: who were no ſooner within the gates, but that the portculleis was let fall, and certaine murthering pieces (ſecretly placed in the court for that purpoſe) diſcharged: with the violence whereof, the Turkes that were alreadie entred, were moſt miſerably rent in pieces, their heads, armes, and legs flying in the ayre; when preſently the garriſon ſouldiors ſtarting out of their lurking places, made a quicke diſpatch of all them that had eſcaped the furie of the great artillerie. The reſt of the Turks ſhut out, hearing the noiſe and crie of them within, turning their horſes, betooke themſelues to ſpeedie flight. The great Baſſa hearing of this ſlaughter of his
D men, and how he had been deceiued, ſwore in great rage by his *Mahomet*, to raſe this monaſterie downe to the ground, and to plucke the Abbots skin ouer his eares: and ſo by threatning letters gaue him to vnderſtand as followeth.

Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna, vnto the Abbot of Siſeg.

The threatening letters of Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna vnto the Abbot of Siſeg.

It is not to thee vnknowne, how often we haue ſent vnto thee our meſſengers with letters, declaring vnto thee our loue and good will; requeſting thee in friendly ſort, and without farther reſiſtance to yeeld vp vnto vs thy fortreſſe of SISEG, *not longer to be by thee holden. Vnto which our requeſt thou haſt hitherto moſt wilfully at thy pleaſure oppoſed thy ſelfe, not without the ſlaughter of our men;*
E *and in ſo doing, haſt giuen cauſe vnto the great Sultan to ouerthrow and raſe that thy fortreſſe, whereof thou for the emperour wilt needs be the chiefe. Thinkeſt thou it will be for thy good, or yet well taken, that thou haſt ſo ſhamefully and perfidiouſly circumuented and ſlaine our embaſſadours and ſeruants ſent vnto thee? Nay aſſure thy ſelfe, that if* Mahomet *grant vs life, we will neuer giue ouer the ſiege of that thy fort wherein thou ſo much truſteſt, vntill I haue before thy face ouerthrowne it, and (if thy God ſhall giue thee aliue into my hands) haue pluckt thy skin ouer thine eares, to the great reproach and ſhame of the Chriſtians: for I am fully reſolued, not to depart from this place, but to continue the ſiege thereof vntill I haue it. Let a little time yet paſſe, and thou ſhalt ſee thy ſelfe on euerie ſide beſieged, thy fort with mo and greater pieces of artillerie than euer, battered; and our power ſtrong*
The Hungarian Bannes are noble men, in power much like vnto the Turkes Baſſaes.
enough to conſtraine thee. Thou haſt hitherto put thy greateſt hope & comfort in the Banne* Erodius,
F *for whom by the helpe of* Mahomet *we are much too ſtrong. In briefe we are of nothing more carefull than how to get thee into our power: which if we doe, looke not for any mercie at our hands.*

Haſſan Baſſa inuadeth Croatia.

Neither was the Baſſa vnmindfull of his promiſe, or of the loſſe he had receiued, but now in the beginning of Iune with an armie of thirtie thouſand horſe and foot, came and beſieged the

fortreſſe of TRENSCHIIN, which with continuall batterie and often aſſaults he at length tooke, G
ſacked the towne, ſlew moſt part of the inhabitants, except eight hundred or thereabouts of the
younger ſort, whom he carried away with him into captiuitie. And being prowd of this victo-
rie, remoued thence by a bridge which he had made, paſſed ouer the riuer, and ſo the twelfth of
Siſeg beſieged by Haſſan Baſſa. Iune came and encamped before the monaſterie of SISEG: and after vaine ſummons giuen to
the ſame, the next day cauſed his great ordinance to be planted, and with great furie thundring
againſt the wals, in ſhort time ouerthrew the new tower, in the fall whereof two of the Chriſti-
an canoniers periſhed. This furious batterie he maintained by the ſpace of ten daies without in-
termiſsion, giuing no time of reſt vnto the beſieged; ſo that it ſeemed not poſsible for the mona-
ſterie to be any long time defended, if it were not with ſpeed relieued. The biſhop of ZAGRA-
BIA, and *Rupertus Eggenberg* Generall of the emperours forces that then were at ZAGRABIA, H
gaue knowledge thereof to *Andrew* lord *Auersberg* Gouernour of CAROLSTAT, craning his
aid and counſell: who calling togither his owne forces, raiſed a good number both of horſe and
foot, and called alſo vnto him the bordering horſemen of KARNIA and CRAINIA; who the
ſeuenteenth day of Iune met all togither not far from INSTAVVITZ, and there tarried that night.
The next day paſsing ouer the riuer Sauus neere vnto ZAGRABIA, they joyned themſelues with
the emperours forces, and marched the nineteenth day in good order to SCELINE, where they
expected the comming of Countie *Serinus*. The twentith day *Peter Herdelius* with his Huſſars,
and the lord *Stephen Graſwein* came into the campe, with many of thoſe light horſemen whom
the Hungarians call Vſcocchi. The one and twentith day they lodged at GRADIVM, ſtill ex-
pecting the comming of the Countie *Serinus*, who otherwiſe buſied, could not come. The next I
day after, a ſouldior ſent out from the beſieged, came into the campe, who gaue the captaines
to vnderſtand, that except they made haſt that day to relieue the diſtreſſed monaſterie, it would
vndoubtedly be loſt: for that the enemie had made it faultable, and would that night giue the
aſſault; and the defendants, doubting how they ſhould be able to maintaine the place, began be-
fore his departure thence to thinke of compoſition with the enemie. Vpon which newes the
captaines forthwith began to conſult among themſelues, what courſe to take in ſo doubtfull and
dangerous a caſe: where *Auersberg* was of opinion, That it were beſt to march on, & to giue the
enemie battell; with whom alſo agreed the lord *Rederen:* The reſt of the captains being of a con-
trarie mind, for that the ſtrength of the Chriſtians compared to the Turkes, was too weake; and
therefore they thought it better in time to retire whiles they yet might, than to hazard vnto moſt K
manifeſt perill the liues of ſo many valiant men, at ſo great ods. At which counſell *Auersberg*
was at the firſt much moued, but afterwards (as he was a man of great eloquence) plainly ſet be-
fore them the neceſsitie of the cauſe, and with liuely reaſons cheered vp the fearefull Croatians;
notably perſuading them all in generall, to put their whole truſt and confidence in God, to whom
it was as eaſie to giue victorie by few as by many: and to fight like valiant men, for their religi-
on, their countrey, their liues, their wiues, their children and friends, and whatſoeuer elſe they
held deare; againſt that cowardly enemie, whoſe valour neuer brought him into the field, but
onely the vaine truſt he had in his multitude; and would therfore no doubt eaſily be put to flight,
if he ſhould contrarie to his expectation find himſelfe but a little hardly laid vnto. With theſe
and other like reaſons hee preuailed ſo much, that they all yeelded vnto his opinion, and with L
one conſent reſolued to go againſt the enemie, and to doe what they might to relieue their be-
ſieged friends. So vpon a ſigne giuen, the whole armie (in number not aboue foure thouſand)
forthwith remoued, and with great ſpeed haſted towards the enemie; and being come within a
mile of the campe, put themſelues in order of battell. The Turks by their eſpials vnderſtanding
of the approach of the Chriſtians, brought all their horſemen ouer the riuer of Kulp, by a bridge
which they had made, and hauing put themſelues in order, came on to joyne battell with the
Chriſtians: who had in their vauntgard placed the Croatians and Huſſars; in the left wing them
of CAROLSTAT, and the harquebuſiers of KARNIA; in the right wing the borderers of CRAI-
NIA, all horſemen; in the maine battell the reſt of the ſouldiors, with the horſemen of SILESIA,
A great battell betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians. vnder the conduct of *Sigiſmund Paradiſe*; the rearward was encloſed with three companies of M
the emperours ſouldiors. The Croatians and Huſſars in the vauntgard gaue the firſt charge vpon
the enemie: but hauing for a good ſpace made a great fight, they were about to haue retired, and
diſcouraged with the multitude of the enemies, were euen vpon the point to haue fled: when
Auersberg (Generall of the Chriſtian armie) came on with his ſquadron, and not onely reſtored
the

A the battell, but ſo reſolutely charged the maine battell of the Turkes, that the Baſſa was conſtrained at the firſt to retire, and afterwards to flie, after whom all the reſt of the armie followed. The Chriſtians ſtill keeping their array, purſued them with great ſpeed, and comming to the new made bridge before them, tooke from them that paſſage, to the great diſcomfiture of the Turks, who ſeeing the miſerable ſlaughter of themſelues, and no way to eſcape, ran headlong ſome into the riuer Odera, ſome into Kulp, and were there for moſt part drowned; the reſt were all ſlaine by the Chriſtians, before determined not to take any priſoners. In the meane time, the Turkes that remained at the ſiege, vnderſtanding of the ouerthrow of their fellowes, ſet fire on their pouder and other prouiſion, and ſo in great feare betooke themſelues to flight. Whoſe tents the Chriſtians immediatly after tooke, and in them nine great pieces of artillerie, and good
B ſtore of great ſhot of 44 and 45 pound waight a piece, with the ſumptuous pauillion of the Baſſa, and much other rich ſpoile, which was all carried into the monaſterie of SISEG. The number of the Turkes ſlaine in this battell, and drowned in the riuers, is of diuers diuerſly reported, but moſt agree vpon eighteene thouſand. And amongſt them was *Haſſan Baſſa* himſelfe, found in the riuer neere vnto the bridge, knowne by his moſt rich and ſumptuous apparell; and neere vnto him *Mahomet-Beg*, and *Achmet-Beg*. In other places were alſo found the dead bodies of *Saffer-Beg* the Baſſaes brother, of *Meni-beg*, *Haramatan-Beg*, *Curti-Beg*, *Operd-Beg*, and *Goſchus*, the Baſſaes chiefe counſellour and maſter of his houſhold. But of all others, the vntimely death of *Sinan-Beg Amurath* his nephew, his ſiſters onely ſonne, ſent thither to haue learned the feats of armes vnder *Haſſan* the great Baſſa, was of the Turkes moſt lamented. Of twentie
C thouſand Turkes that came ouer the riuer Kulp, ſcarcely two thouſand eſcaped. This ſo great a victorie obtained, all the armie of the Chriſtians went thriſe about the monaſterie, and euerie time falling all downe vpon their knees, gaue vnto God moſt heartie thanks for the ſame, as by him miraculouſly giuen, and not by themſelues woon; and afterwards made all the ſhew of joy and gladneſſe they could poſsibly deuiſe.

Siſeg relieued.

Eighteene thouſand Turkes ſlaine.

SISEG thus deliuered, and the Turkes armie ouerthrowne, the Chriſtians with all ſpeed laid ſiege to PETRINIA the ſtrong new fort of the Turkes, which they for the ſpace of fiue daies moſt furiouſly battered: but hearing that the great Gouernour of GRÆCIA (whom the Turkes call the Beglerbeg of ROMANIA) was with a great power comming to the reliefe of the fort, they raiſed their ſiege, brake vp their armie, and returned euerie man to his wonted charge.

D Whileſt theſe things were in doing at PETRINIA, a poſt came from CONSTANTINOPLE to BVDA, who brought thither the firſt newes of the ouerthrow of SISEG; for the report thereof was not as yet come to BVDA. Wherefore the Baſſa called vnto him the meſſenger, author of ſo bad newes, and diligently examined him of the truth thereof: who told him, That at his departure from CONSTANTINOPLE, nothing was there knowne of that loſſe, but that vpon the way as he came he met with diuers horſemen but lately eſcaped from the ſlaughter, who told him of a certaintie, that the Baſſa was ſlaine and his armie deſtroied. Whereuuto the Baſſa of BVDA replied, That he was happie in his death, for that if he had by chance eſcaped, he ſhould for his indiſcretion vndoubtedly haue ſuffered ſome other more ſhamefull death at the Court.

Newes of the ouerthrow of the Turks at Siſeg, brought to Buda.

When newes of the aforeſaid victorie was brought to the emperour at PRAGE, he commanded publike prayers, with thankeſgiuing to almightie God to be made in all churches: and ſent a meſſenger with letters to *Amurath*, to know of him how he vnderſtood theſe inſolent proceedings of his ſouldiors, and eſpecially this late expedition of the Baſſa of BOSNA and his complices, contrarie to the league yet in force betwixt them. After which meſſenger he ſent alſo the lord *Popelius*, with the yeerely Preſent (or rather ttibute) he vſed to ſend vnto the Turkiſh emperour at CONSTANTINOPLE; yet with this charge, that when he was come as farre as COMARA in the borders of HVNGARIE, he ſhould there ſtay vntill the returne of the aforeſaid meſſenger: who if he brought tidings of peace from *Amurath*, then to proceed on his journey to the Turkes Court; otherwiſe, to returne againe with his preſent: as he afterwards did. For *Amurath* enraged with the notable loſſe receiued at SISEG, and prickt forward with the teares and
F prayers of his ſiſter (deſirous of nothing more than to be reuenged for the death of her ſonne) the ſeauenth of Auguſt cauſed open war to be proclaimed againſt the Chriſtian emperor, both at CONSTANTINOPLE and BVDA. The mannaging whereof he committed to *Sinan Baſſa* the old enemie of the Chriſtians, his lieutenant generall, and perſuader of this warre: who departing from CONSTANTINOPLE with an armie of fortie thouſand, wherein were 5600 Ianizaries,

was by *Amurath* himselfe and the great men of the Court brought a mile on his way: hauing G
in charge from the great Sultan, by the assistance of the Beglerbeg of GREECE, the Bassaes of
BVDA and TEMESVVARE, and other his Sanzackes and commaunders in that part of his em-
pire, to reuenge the death of his nephew, and the dishonour receiued at SISEG.

This warre *Amurath* with great pride denounced vnto the Christian Emperour and the rest of the princes his confederats in this sort.

Amurath the third, by the grace of the great God in heauen, the onely Monarch of the World, a great and mightie God on earth, an inuincible *Cæsar*, King of all Kings from the East vnto the West, Sultan of BABILON, Soueraigne of the most noble families of PERSIA and ARMENIA, triumphant victor of HIERVSALEM, Lord H
possessour of the Sepulchre of the crucified God, subuerter and sworne enemie of the Christians, and of all them that call vpon the name of Christ.

The proud and blasphemous denuntiation of warre giuen out by Amurath against Rodolph the Christian emperour.

We denounce vnto thee Rodolph *the Emperour, and to all the Germane nation taking part with thee, vnto the great Bishop also, all the Cardinals and Bishops, to all your sonnes and subiects: wee earnestly (I say) by our crowne and empire denounce vnto you open warre. And giue you to vnderstand, that our purpose is, with the power of thirteene kingdomes, and certaine hundred thousands of men, horse and foot, with our Turkes and Turkish armes, yea with all our strength and power (such as neither thou nor any of thine hath euer yet seene or heard of, much lesse had any proofe of) to besiege* I
you in your cheefe and metropoliticall cities, and with fire and sword to persecute you and all yours, and whosoeuer shall giue you helpe, to burne, destroy, and kill, and with most exquisit torments we can deuise to torture vnto death and slay such Christian captiues as shall fall into our hands, or els to keepe them as dogs, captiues in perpetuall miserie; to empaile vpon stakes your fairest sonnes and daughters: and to the further shame and reproch of you and yours, to kill like dogs your women great with child, and the children in their bellies: for now we are fully resolued to bring into our subiection you which rule but in a small countrey, and by strong hand and force of armes to take from you your kingdome, as also to oppresse, root vp and destroy the keyes and See of ROME, *together with the golden sceptre thereof: and we will prooue whether your crucified Iesus will helpe you and doe for you as yours persuade you. Beleeue him still, and trust in him, and see how he hath holpen his messengers which haue* K
put their confidence in him: for we neither beleeue, neither can we endure to heare such incomprehensible things, that he can helpe, which is dead so many worlds of yeares agoe, which could not helpe himselfe, nor deliuer his owne countrey and inheritance from our power, ouer which we haue so long time raigned. These things ô yee poore and miserable of the world, we thought good to signifie vnto you, that you with your princes and confederats may know what you haue to doe and to looke for. Giuen in our most mightie and imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, *which our aunce stours by force of armes tooke from yours, and hauing slaine or taken prisoners all their citisens, reserued such of their wiues and children as they pleased vnto their lust, to your perpetuall infamie and shame.*

Sinan with his armie thus setting forward, kept still on his way towards BVDA, but the Beg- L
lerbeg of GRÆCIA with a farre greater power marched towards CROATIA, as well to relieue
Siseg taken by the Turkes. the forts distressed by the Christians, as againe to besiege the strong castle or monasterie of SISEG: which he with his huge armie at his first arriuall compassed about without resistance, and with continuall batterie ouerthrew the wals thereof, giuing no time of rest vnto the defendants. Which breaches they for all that valiantly defended, and with restlesse labour notably repaired, the very fearefull women bringing tables, stooles, and whatsoeuer els came to hand, that might any wise helpe to keepe the enemie out, of whom a great number was in the breaches slaine. But what was that handfull against such a multitude? At length the third day of September the Turks by maine force entered the Monasterie, and put to sword all the soldiors therin: amongst whom were two hundred Germanes, of whom the Turks cut some in pieces, and the rest they threw in- M
to the riuer Kulp. One religious man there found among the rest, they did flea quicke in detestation of his profession, and afterward cutting him in small pieces, burnt them to ashes. So taking the spoyle of all that was there to bee had; and leauing a strong garrison for the keeping of the place, they passed ouer Sauus, burning the countrey before them, and carried away with them about

A about a thouſand poore Chriſtians into perpetuall captiuitie. Theſe inuaſions of the Turks cauſed the Emperour to craue aid both of the ſtates of the empire, and other forraine princes farther off, which was by ſome eaſily graunted, but not ſo ſpeedily performed.

About this time *Peter* ſurnamed *le Huſſar* (for that hee commaunded ouer thoſe horſemen whom the Hungarians call Huſſars) captaine of PAPPA, by the appointment of *Ferdinand* countie *Hardeck* gouernour of RAB, lay in wait for the Turks Treaſurer in HVNGARIE, who had the commaund of fiue thouſand Turkes: him this Hungarian tooke at aduantage, as he was muſtering and paying certaine companies of his ſouldiors, miſtruſting no ſuch danger, and deſperatly charging him, ſlew him with diuers of his men, and put the reſt to flight, and ſo with the ſpoyle and ſome few priſoners he returned againe to his caſtle, carrying with him the Treaſurer.

B Now *Sinan* the Generall being come with his armie to BVDA, reſolued with himſelfe to begin his warres in that part of HVNGARIE, with the ſiege of VESPRINIVM. This epiſcopall citie was by *Solyman* the great Turke taken from the Chriſtians in the yeare 1552, and againe by them recouered about foureteene yeares after, about the yeare 1566, ſince which time vntill now it had remained in the hands of the Chriſtians. *Sinan* without delay marching with his armie to VESPRINIVM, compaſſed the citie round, and encamping as he ſaw good, planted his batterie wherewith he continually thundered againſt the citie. The Chriſtians there in gariſon eaſily perceiuing that the citie was not long to be holden againſt ſo great a power, placed diuers barrels of gunpouder in certaine mines they had made vnder the wals and bulwarkes of the towne, with traines that ſhould at a certaine time take fire. Which done, they departed ſecretly out of the citie in the dead time of the night, hoping ſo in the darke to haue eſcaped the hands of the enemie: which they did not ſo ſecretly, but that they were by the Turks deſcried, and moſt of them ſlaine. *Ferdinand Samaria* Gouernor of the citie, after he had for a ſpace valiantly defended himſelfe, fell at laſt into the enemies hand, and ſo was taken aliue, together with one *Hofkirke* a Germane captaine. The Turkes entered the citie the ſixt of October, ſtriuing who ſhould get firſt in, for greedineſſe of the prey, when ſuddenly the pouder in the mines tooke fire, and blowing vp the very foundations of the wals and bulwarkes, ſlew a number of the Turks that were within the danger thereof, and wonderfully defaced the citie.

Sinan Baſſa beſiegeth Veſprinium.

From VESPRINIVM the Baſſa remoued with his armie to PALOTTA, and gaue ſummons to the caſtle: but receiuing ſuch anſwere as pleaſed him not, hee layed ſiege vnto it with all his D power. Which at the firſt *Peter Ornand* captaine of the caſtle chearefully receiued: but being afterward without any great cauſe diſcouraged (the caſtle as yet being but little ſhaken, and but one man ſlaine, and the reſt of the ſouldiors readie to ſpend their liues in defence thereof) he ſent vnto the Baſſa, offering to yeeld the caſtle vnto him, ſo that he with his ſouldiors might with bag and baggage in ſafetie depart. Of which his offer the Baſſa accepted, and graunted his requeſt. But he was no ſooner come out of the caſtle with his ſouldiors, and readie to depart, but the faithleſſe Turke contrarie to his oath and promiſe cauſed them all to be cruelly ſlaine, except only the captaine and two other. After that the Baſſa without any great labour tooke in all the country thereabouts neere vnto the lake of Balaton.

Palotta yeelded vnto the Turke.

Now at laſt, though long firſt, about the middle of October the Chriſtians began to muſter E their armie, in number about eighteene thouſand, all good and expert ſouldiours: with which power they ſhortly after paſsing ouer Danubius, at the firſt encounter with the Turkes put them to the worſe, ſlew a great number of them, and reſcued a number of poore Chriſtian captiues.

In the latter end of this moneth countie *Hardeck* Gouernour of RAB, and Generall of the Chriſtian armie in that part of HVNGARIE, departing from KOMARA with all his power, came and layed ſiege to the ſtrong citie of ALBA REGALIS, which by the force of his artillerie hee in ſhort time made faultable; but in aſſaulting the breaches, was by the Turkes there in garriſon notably repulſed. So hauing made ſufficient proofe both of the ſtrength and courage of the defendants, and perceiuing no good could be done without a long ſiege, for which hee was not as then prouided; after conſultation had with the reſt of the captaines, he reſolued to raiſe his ſiege: F which he did the ſecond of Nouember, remouing that day but halfe a mile from the citie, becauſe he would be ſure of all his armie. But as he was about the next day to remoue, news was brought him by his eſpials, that the enemies power was at hand, and euen now almoſt in ſight, which proued to be ſo indeed. For the Baſſa of BVDA by the commaundement of *Sinan Baſſa* the Generall, was come forth with thirteene Sanzackes and twentie thouſand ſouldiors, thirtie field pie-

Alba Regalis beſieged by the Chriſtians.

ces,and fiue hundred wagons laded with victuall and other warlike prouiſion, to raiſe the ſiege, G
and to relieue the citie;and was now euen at hand,comming directly vpon the Chriſtians: whereupon the countie,aſsiſted by the countie *Serinus*,the lord *Palfi*,the lord *Nadaſti*, *Peter le Huſſar*, and other valiant captaines of great experience, with wonderfull celeritie put his armie in order of battell,and ſo couragiouſly ſet forward to encounter the enemie. The Baſſa ſeeing the Chriſtians marching towards him,tooke the aduantage of the higher ground,and from thence diſcharged his field pieces vpon them;which mounted too high,by good hap did them little or no hurt at all. The Chriſtians for all that deſirous of battell, and nothing regarding the diſaduantage of the ground, but calling vpon the name of the Almightie, mounted the hill, and joyning battell with the Turkes, by plaine force conſtrained them to flie. In this armie of the Turkes, being for moſt part horſemen,were about fiue thouſand foot,and many of them Ianizaries,who in flying, H
oftentimes made ſtands, and wounded many, and yet neuertheleſſe were almoſt all there ſlaine, with many others: amongſt whom were three great men,the Sanzacks of STRIGONIVM,SETCHINE, and NOVIGRAD; ſeuen Chiaus, and many other men of marke, the moſt valiant captaines of the Turkes borderers. The lord *Nadaſti* with ſome others taking view of the Turkes that were ſlaine and loſt in this battell, deemed them to haue beene at the leaſt in number eight thouſand: few priſoners were ſaued,all being put to the ſword, which cauſed *Sinan* to ſweare by his *Mahomet* neuer more to ſpare any Chriſtian. All the Turks artillerie,wagons,and prouiſion became a prey vnto the Chriſtians: many enſignes were there found, and weapons of great value. It is hard to be beleeued,how much this victorie encouraged the Chriſtians, & daunted the Turkes. Whereupon the countie with great joy brought backe his armie to ALBA REGALIS, I
and encamped neere the bulwarke called STOPASCH, where the Turks moſt feared to be aſſaulted. *Palfi*, *Nadaſti*,and ſome others,earneſtly perſuaded with the countie, not to depart from the citie before he had woon it: But he conſidering the hard time of the yeare,the ſtrength of the citie (which was now full of ſouldiours, by reaſon of them that were fled in thither from the late ouerthrow) with the want of things neceſſarie in his armie to maintaine a longer ſiege; and fearing alſo after long lying to be enforced with diſhonour to forſake it,would not hearken to their perſuaſions,but calling a counſell, reſolued to raiſe his ſiege, and to content himſelfe with the victorie he had alreadie gotten, which was afterward imputed vnto him for more than an ouerſight. So ſetting fire vpon the ſuburbes of the citie,he riſe with his armie,and departed thence the fift of Nouember,and returned to RAB. K

Sabatzka taken by the lord Teuffenbach.

Not long after,*Chriſtopher* lord *Teuffenbach*, the Emperours lieutenant in the vpper part of HVNGARIE, who lay encamped at CASSOVIA with his armie of foureteene thouſand ſouldiors, remooued thence, and marching along the countrey two dayes, came and layed ſiege to SABATZKA, one of the Turkes ſtrongeſt caſtles in thoſe quarters,out of which they vſually did much harme among the Chriſtians. This caſtle *Teuffenbach* battered in three places; and hauing at length made it ſaultable, tooke it by force the nineteenth of Nouember, and put to the ſword all the Turkes there in garriſon, in number about two hundred and fiftie, and inſtead of them left a ſtrong garriſon of his owne: whereby all the couutrey thereabouts was reſtored to great quietneſſe.

Filek beſieged by the Chriſtians.

SABATZKA thus taken,the Chriſtian Generall remoued with all ſpeed to FILEK,a ſtrong ci- L
tie of the higher HVNGARIE,which *Solyman* the Turkiſh emperour tooke from the Chriſtians in the yeare 1560, and placed therein a Sanzacke, vnder the commaund of the Baſſa of BVDA. The Generall encamping before this citie,the next day after planted his batterie,and in moſt terrible manner without intermiſsion thundered againſt the wals and gates of the citie. The Sanzacke Gouernour thereof, conſidering the power of the Chriſtians, got out ſecretly by night with a few ſouldiors,to acquaint the other Turkiſh Sanzackes his neighbours with the comming of the Chriſtians,and the number of their armie; and further to conſult with them how the citie might bee relieued. The Baſſa of TEMESVVARE,with the Sanzackes of GIVLA, HADVVAN, SCANTTZAG,and SCIRME,vndertooke the matter: and therupon the Baſſa ſent for eight hundred Ianizaries, of late left by *Sinan Baſſa* in garriſon at BVDA and ALBA REGALIS; who all M
flatly refuſed to goe to this ſeruice,ſaying,That they would not be led as beaſts to the ſlaughter, as were their fellowes but a little before at ALBA REGALIS:neuertheleſſe they enforced the Armenians,whom *Sinan* and his ſonne had brought thither, to goe; but of BVDA, ALBA REGALIS,and SCAMBOTH, were ſent onely fifteene hundred common ſouldiors. For all that, the

Baſſa

A Baſſa with the Sanzacks his followers, firme in their formet reſolution for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed citie, hauing made great preparation, and raiſed an armie of eighteene thouſand ſtrong, with many field pieces, by night drew neere vnto FILEK, and ſtaied within two miles of the citie. But the Generall of the Chriſtians, with *Stephen Bathor* and the other captaines, vnderſtanding of their comming, with ſeauen thouſand good ſouldiours choſen out of the whole armie, went out preſently againſt them; and the one and twentith of Nouember ſuddenly aſſailing them in their tents, ouerthrew them and put them all to flight; whom the Chriſtians fiercely purſued with a moſt terrible execution. In this fight and flight there was ſlaine ſix thouſand Turks, and but few or none taken. The Baſſa himſelfe, with the Sanzacke of FILEK and many others of great name, were found amongſt the bodies of the ſlaine Turks. This victorie gained
B with little or no loſſe, yeelded vnto the Chriſtians a rich prey, many gorgious tents, and faire enſignes, much cattell, and nine and twentie field pieces, with two hundred wagons laded with victuall and other prouiſion; all which they carried into the campe at FILEK, and ſo more ſtraightly beſieged the citie than before. The ſame day the lord *Palfi* and *Martin Laſla* came to the campe with ſix thouſand ſouldiors: and forthwith three trumpeters were ſent to tell them of the citie, That if without farther reſiſtance they would forthwith yeeld the citie, they ſhould haue leaue in ſafetie to depart with life and goods, although the Turkes had of late in like caſe broken their faith with the Chriſtians at PALOTTA: but if they refuſed his grace, and would needs hold it out to the vttermoſt, then to denounce vnto them all extremities. For all this, the Turks nothing diſmaied, refuſed to yeeld: wherupon the batterie began afreſh, and in more terrible manner
C than before: ſo that though the citie was moſt ſtrongly fortified both with wals and rampiers, yet had the Chriſtians in three daies ſpace, with continuall batterie made a faire breach into it, whereby they in deſpight of the enemie entred without any notable loſſe the foure and twentith of Nouember, ranſacked the citie, and burnt a great part thereof. The ſame day they alſo tooke the vttermoſt caſtle, wherein the Sanzackes pallace ſtood: this caſtle ſtandeth vpon a verie high hill, ſtrengthned both by art and nature, and had in it a ſtrong garriſon of valiant ſouldiors, who ſpared not luſtily to beſtow their ſhot amongſt their enemies, of whom they ſlew a great number. Neuertheleſſe, the Chriſtians after they had for the ſpace of two daies and two nights with a moſt furious batterie ſhaken the wals, by plaine force entred the caſtle the ſix and twentith of Nouember, and put to ſword all the garriſon ſouldiors; except ſuch as had in good time forſaken this caſtle, and retired themſelues into another more inward. Who being in number eight
D hundred, with their wiues and children, without hope of reliefe, and ſeeing the cannon now bent vpon them, ſet out a white enſigne in token of parley: which granted, it was agreed that they ſhould depart with life, and ſo much of their goods as euerie one of them could carrie. Vpon which agreement, the caſtle was yeelded the eight and twentith day of Nouember, and the Turks with a ſafe conuoy brought vnto the place they deſired. In this caſtle was found a great bootie, many pieces of artillerie, with much other warlike prouiſion, but of victuals ſmall ſtore. The Generall with the reſt of the captaines entring the caſtle, fell downe vpon their knees, and with their hearts and hands caſt vp towards heauen, thanked God for their victorie, and for the recouerie of that ſtrong citie; but eſpecially for the deliuerie of ſo many Chriſtians out of the
E Turkiſh thraldome: For it is reported, that there are aboue eight hundred countrey villages ſubiect to the juriſdiction of FILEK, the poore inhabitants whereof were now all freed from the Turkiſh ſeruitude, by the taking of this only citie. The Chriſtians forthwith repaired the wals, bulwarks, and trenches, and ſtrongly fortified euerie place againſt the enemie: and ſo leauing a ſufficient garriſon in the citie and caſtles, departed with their armie, now in number about twentie thouſand, towards SODOCH, ſix miles from FILEK. But as they were vpon the way, newes was brought vnto the Generall, how that the Turks had for feare abandoned the caſtles of DIIVVIN and SOMOSKE: whereupon he ſent out certaine companies of ſouldiors to take in both thoſe places; who comming thither, found them in deed forſaken of the enemie, but yet many pieces of artillerie and other warlike prouiſion there ſtill left.

Filek taken by the Chriſtians.

F In the latter end of Nouember the Generall marched with his armie towards SETSCHINE, a ſtrong towne in the dioceſſe of AGRIA, but the Turkes in that place had two or three daies before prepared themſelues to flie, and ſent their wiues, their children, and the beſt of their ſubſtance, ſome to HATVVAN, ſome to BVDA: and now hearing of the approach of the Chriſtian armie, ſet fire on the towne and fled. The Chriſtians immediatly entring, did what they could

Setſchine, Blauenſtein, and Salkek abandoned by the Turks

to

to quench the fire, and saued a great part of the towne: so leauing there a conuenient garrison,he G
hasted with speed to BLAVENSTEIN, which the Turkes did also set on fire, and betooke themselues to flight. The Christians comming thither the next day after, namely the fourth of December, found a great part of the towne yet vnburnt, wherein they left a strong garrison: and from thence matched to SALLEK, which towne they also tooke being forsaken by the enemie, and put thereinto a good garrison. The Generall was of nothing more desirous, than to haue prosecuted this so happie a course of victorie: but such was the foulenesse of the winter weather, that he could not trauell with his great artillerie, without which no great matter was to be done against the enemie, still keeping himselfe in his strong holds. And his armie in that wasted and forsaken countrey, began now to feele the want of victuals; so that many had withdrawne themselues out of the armie vnto their owne dwelling places. H

At the same time also, the lord *Palfi* going to DREGEL and PALANKA, and finding them forsaken by the enemie, furnished both places with garrisons of his owne men. Certaine other strong places were also this moneth recouered from the Turkes, as AINACKE, SOLLOCKE, WETSKE, and others, and so much territorie gained by the Christians, as was in circuit thought equall with the lower AVSTRIA. The joyfull newes of the aforesaid victories, with the recouerie of so much of the countrey, and so many strong townes and castles, made great rejoycing both at VIENNA and PRAGE: for which cause publike praiers with thankesgiuing to almightie God were made in both places, with many other tokens of joy and triumph, both there and in diuers other places of the empire. Yet were not the dead bodies of the Turkes slaine at ALBA REGALIS buried; whereof rise such a loathsome and noysome smell thereabout, that no man I
could abide to come nigh the place, to the great trouble of the inhabitants round about. At length certaine Turks out of BVDA and ALBA REGALIS, to the number of 350 met togither to haue buried those loathsome carkases: vpon whom it chanced a captaine of the Hussars to light with his horsemen, who fiercely assailing them, left most of them there dead for others to burie, and carried away the rest prisoners.

The Turks in burying their dead, slaine by the Christians.

The Bassa of BVDA had caused *Murat* Sanzacke of PALOTTA to be strangled, for that he suspected him to haue had intelligence with the Christians: in whose roume he placed another, who comming with 600 Turkes to take possession of his preferment, was by the way set vpon by *Peter le Hussar*, with the garrison souldiors of PAPPA and THVRN, and slaine with most part of his followers. Fiue and thirtie of them were taken aliue, with all the Sanzackes rich furniture. K
To end this yeare withall, the Turks in garrison at PETRINIA, SISEG, CASTROVVITZ, and other places thereabours, met togither in number about 300, who the 19 of December passing ouer the riuer Sauus, began to spoile the frontiers of those countries. But before they were gone farre, they were so encountred by the lord *Graswin* and the borderers thereabout, that 500 of them were left dead vpon the ground, diuers of good account taken prisoners, and almost all the rest drowned in the riuer; so that of all them that came ouer, few escaped with life. In the latter end of this moneth great numbers of souldiors were taken vp in SAXONIE, and other places of GERMANIE; whereof some were sent to PRAGE, and some to VIENNA in AVSTRIA: and in HVNGARIE the Christians encreased their strength with new supplies. In AVSTRIA also a new armie was raised, and two and twentie great pieces of artillerie sent downe the riuer of L
Danubius to COMARA, and new preparation made in euerie place for the next yeares wars.

1594 *Amurath* the Turkish emperour, going out of the citie to CONSTANTINOPLE the 11 of Ianuarie, to muster the armie he had prepared against the Christians for this yeare, was suddenly ouertaken with such a tempest of wind and raine, that it ouerthrew his tents, his chariots, yea his horses and men had much adoe to withstand it. Wherewith he being (as with an ominous prodigie) exceedingly troubled, returned with his armie into the citie, and oppressed with melancholy, cast himselfe downe vpon his bed as a man halfe sicke. Where falling asleepe, hee dreamed that he saw a man of an exceeding stature, standing with one of his feet vpon the tower of CONSTANTINOPLE, and the other ouer the strait in ASIA; who stretching out his armes, held the Sunne in one of his armes, and the Moone in the other: whom whiles he wondred at, M
the monster with his foot strucke the tower, which forthwith fell downe, and in falling ouerthrew the great temple with the imperiall pallace. *Amurath* awaked (as he thought) with the noise, and much troubled with the dreame (for the Turks are in such vanities verie superstitious) sent for all his wisards and interpreters of dreames, to know the meaning of this his so strange or

A great tempest at Constantinople.

Amurath dreameth.

rather

A rather ſo melancholy a dreame. Who hypocritically anſwered him, That foraſmuch as he had not with all his force as a tempeſt impugned the Chriſtians, their great Prophet *Mahomet* threatned by that dreame, to ouerthrow the tower, the temple, and the imperiall pallace; that is to ſay, the religion and empire of the Turks. Which vaine and fained interpretation ſo much moued the ſuperſtitious tyrant, that he ſwore from thenceforth to turne all his forces vpon the Chriſtians, and not to giue ouer warre vntill he had done what he might to ſubdue them. This the Turks dreame, with the interpretation thereof, and the ſolemne vow he had made for the deſtruction of the Chriſtians, was publikely read in the Churches of TRANSYLVANIA, and many godly exhortations made vnto the people, to moue them by prayer and all other good meanes, to auert that ſo threatned thraldome.

B Of the rich ſpoile taken from the Turks in the late victorie neere vnto ALBA REGALIS, the Chriſtian captaines made a preſent for the emperour and the archduke *Matthias* his brother, which they ſent by the lords *Gall* and *Brun*: and was by them preſented vnto the emperour and his brother the 11 of Ianuarie at VIENNA, in order as followeth. Firſt went the maſter of the ordinance of RAB, on both ſides attended vpon with the other officers of the artillerie: after them were drawne thirtie great pieces of ordinance, taken in that battell. After theſe pieces followed three Turkiſh horſes, with rich ſaddles, and furniture ſtudded with gold, the ſtirrups and bridles being of ſiluer, guilt and moſt curiouſly wrought: after them were carried two and twentie of the Turkes enſignes, three of them verie rich, and the other right faire. Then followed the two embaſſadours aforeſaid, with each of them a guilt maſe in his hand, ſuch as the Turkes C Baſſaes vſe to carrie: after them were brought many inſtruments of war, guilt ſcimitars, gleaues, bowes and arrowes, targets, and ten of the Ianizaries drums. Two of the aforeſaid horſes were preſented to the emperour, and the third to the archduke. The field pieces brought to the caſtle gate, and orderly placed vpon the plaine, were all (at ſuch time as the reſt of the Preſent entred the caſtle) forthwith by the cannoniers diſcharged: and there for certaine daies left vpon the plaine for the people to feed their eies vpon. The embaſſadours diſcharged of their Preſent, and rewarded by the emperour with chaines of gold and other gifts, returned againe vnto the campe. Notwithſtanding that it was now deepe Winter, yet many ſharpe skirmiſhes daily paſſed vpon the borders, betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians. The fifteenth of this preſent moneth, two thouſand of the Turks aſſembled togither, were making an inroad into the countrey about FI- D LEK: whereof the lord *Teuffenbach* hauing intelligence, lay in wait for them, and ſetting vpon them, fearing no ſuch danger, ſlew and tooke of them fifteene hundred.

A faire preſent of the ſpoile of the Turkes, ſent vnto the emperour.

Matthias archduke of AVSTRIA, now Gouernor of STIRIA, CARINTHIA, and the countries thereabout (by the departure of *Erneſtus* his brother, but a little before by *Phillip* king of SPAINE made Gouernour of the low countries) was now alſo by the emperour appointed Generall of the Chriſtian armie againſt the Turkes: who to be neater vnto the enemie, and to farther the new warre, departed the ſix and twentith day of Februarie from VIENNA to RAB, after whom daily followed the forces newly raiſed in SILESIA, MORAVIA, and HVNGARIE, with others alſo ſent from PRAGE and VIENNA. He conſidering to what ſmall purpoſe it would be to haue the laſt yeare taken ſo many ſtrong townes and caſtles, except the ſame were E alſo well manned and furniſhed with all needfull prouiſion; by the perſuaſion of the lord *Teuffenbach*, ſent Countie *Schlicke* with a thouſand horſe to FILEK, for the more ſafetie of that place, and the countrey thereabout ſo lately gained from the Turkes.

It fortuned that about this time, a ſouldior of the Turks taken not farre from DREGEL, and brought into the campe; among other things wherof he was examined, confeſſed that in NOVIGRAD, a ſtrong towne and of great importance (but one mile diſtant from VACIA, and three from BVDA) was left but a weake garriſon of about eight hundred ſouldiors, who there liued in great feare to be beſieged, and that the Turks doubting ſuch a matter, had brought thither much prouiſion for the better fortifying of the towne. Vpon which intelligence the Chriſtians began to remoue with their armie, and being come betwixt DREGEL and NOVIGRAD, vnderſtood F by the countrey people, that it was true that the Turke had reported: wherefore they reſolued that night to lay ſiege vnto the towne. So forthwith ſome were ſent to DREGEL, to fetch thence certaine pieces of artillerie, whom certaine troupes of Germane horſemen went to meet: who vſed ſuch diligence, that the eight of March a little before the riſing of the Sunne, the whole armie with the great ordinance was come before NOVIGRAD. That day the Chriſtians ſpent in pitching

Nouigrad beſieged by the Chriſtians.

pitching their tents, and encamping themſelues: yet before night they had planted certaine great G
pieces vpon an high hill, from whence they might ſee into the caſtle; whereof the maſter of the
ordinance cauſed three of the greateſt (about the going downe of the Sunne) to be diſcharged a-
gainſt the caſtle, to giue the Turke to vnderſtand that they wanted nothing for the ſiege. The
ſame night alſo the Chriſtians caſt vp a great mount in the valley, from whence they preſently
ſent ſix great ſhot into the caſtle: but early in the morning the Sunne being yet ſcarce vp, and all
things now in readineſſe, they began to batter the caſtle, and that day out of ten great pieces diſ-
charged three hundred great ſhot againſt the caſtle; but to ſmall purpoſe, for the caſtle was built
vpon a moſt ſtrong rocke, fortified with high and thicke wals, and a deepe ditch hewen out of the
maine rocke, which compaſſed the caſtle round; and for the more ſtrength thereof was ſo fortifi-
ed with palliſadoes made of ſtrong timber, as that there was no acceſſe vnto the wals: yet by the H
commaundement of the Generall, certaine companies of the Chriſtians prepared themſelues to
aſſault the breach, ſuch as it was; who beſides their weapons, carrying with them drie faggots, and
ſetting them on fire, burnt the palliſado in diuers places, and ſo opened the way vnto the wals;
and encouraged with the ſucceſſe, approched neerer, and ſlew diuers of the Turkes vpon their
rampiers: who diſcouraged with their owne weakeneſſe and the forwardneſſe of the enemie,
faintly defended themſelues, and yet ſlew diuers of them, beating them downe from the wals
with ſtones, timber, fire-workes, and ſuch like. This aſſault giuen in the night, was continued vn-
till foure a clocke in the morning, and ſo giuen ouer. Shortly after came the Archduke with a
thouſand horſe into the campe, and cauſed the batterie to be againe renewed: whereby it chan-
ced, that the chiefe canonier in the caſtle being a renegate Germane, was taken with a great ſhot, I
and ſlaine; whoſe death ſo diſmayed the reſt of the defendants, that they preſently ſet forth three
white enſignes in ſigne of parle: which for all that the Chriſtians ſeemed not to regard, but ſtill
continued their batterie. The Turks then pitifully crying out, named two captaines, whom they
deſired to haue ſent vnto them, with whom they might fall to ſome reaſonable compoſition. So
for a while the batterie ceaſed, and thoſe captaines being ſent into the towne, brought nine of the
beſt of the Turkes in the citie with them vnto the Archduke: who by their interpreter declared,
That they well conſidering the force of the Chriſtians, and ſeeing no reliefe to come from the
Baſſa of BVDA, as he had promiſed, thought themſelues to haue alreadie diſcharged the parts of
good ſouldiours, and ſeeing no other remedie, were contented to yeeld the caſtle, yet ſo, as that
with bag and baggage they might in ſafetie depart. Whereunto the lord *Palfi* taking vpon him K
the perſon of the Archduke (for that he himſelfe would not be knowne) anſwered, That for as
much as they had not yeelded at the firſt ſummons, but holden it out to the loſſe of many of his
mens liues, and his great charge, they were vnworthie any fauour, yet of his owne clemencie he
would receiue them, if they would abſolutely without any further condition yeeld themſelues to
his mercie. This anſwere being reported to the Sanzacke, gouernour of the towne, pleaſed him
not, and therefore ſaid he would ſtill ſtand vpon his defence. Whereupon the Chriſtians were
about to haue begun a freſh aſſault. But after a new parley it was at laſt agreed, That the Turkes
yeelding the towne vnto the Archduke, ſhould in ſafetie depart with their apparrell and ſcimitars
onely. With which agreement two of the Turkes were ſent backe into the caſtle, and the reſt
detained. Foure houres the Turkes in the caſtle delayed the time, as men doubtfull what to doe: L
but being earneſtly called vpon by the lord *Palfi* for a reſolute anſwere, and ſeeing the Chriſtians
readie again to aſſault them, they for feare yeelded: and ſo foure hundred and fiftie of them came
forth, amongſt whom was the Sanzacke gouernour of the towne, with his wife and daughter, the
Sanzacke of SELENDRE, ſent thither to haue aided him, and one Chiaus lately come from the
Court. Theſe great men brauely mounted, were commaunded to alight from their gallant hor-
ſes, and had in their ſteads other bad jades giuen them to ride vpon: and as they paſſed by, as wel
the women as the men were ſearched, that they carried with them nothing more than their
clothes: if any thing els were found, it fell vnto the ſouldiors ſhare for good bootie. This ſtrong
towne of NOVIGRAD, had continued in the poſſeſsion of the Turkes about threeſcore yeares,
and ſerued as it were for a bulwarke to PESTH and BVDA, which now recouered out of their M
hands, opened a way vnto their further harmes. The keeping of this towne was by the Archduke
committed to the lord *Rebei*, a noble man of HVNGARIE, and kinſman to *Palfi*, with a ſtrong
garriſon and certaine troupes of Huſſars.

Nouigrad yeelded vnto the archduke.

The Sanzacke of NOVIGRAD, after he had loſt the towne, comming to BVDA, was preſently apprehen-

A apprehehended by the Baſſa, and layed in priſon: who although he excuſed himſelfe, by alleadging that the towne was not poſsibly to bee holden with ſo ſmall a garriſon againſt ſo great a power; and that if any fault were, it was to be imputed to them of BVDA, for not ſending reliefe in time; and therefore appealed vnto the further hearing of *Amurath* himſelfe: yet all ſerued him not, but was by the Baſſaes commandement in the night hanged vpon a tree neere vnto the gate of the citie, and afterwards cut in pieces.

The Sanzarke of Nonigrad hanged at Buda.

Whileſt theſe things were in doing, the Emperour ſent his embaſſadours to the great duke of MVSCOVIA, the king of POLONIA, and the prince of TRANSYLVANIA, to proue how they ſtood affected towards thoſe his warres againſt the Turke, and what aid he might procure from them. Into MVSCOVIE was ſent one *Warkutſch* a gentleman of SILESIA, who comming to
B MVSCO, found in that Court the embaſſadours of the Tartar, the Turke, the Perſian, the Polonian, and the Dane. Of all theſe, the embaſſadours of the Tartar and the Turke could haue no audience, but were with contumelious words reiected, as miſcreants. The emperours embaſſadour was honourably entertained, and after the manner of that countrey, a large proportion of wine, mede, aquauita, fleſh, fiſh, and foule of ſundrie ſorts allowed him dayly all the time of his abode. At length hauing audience, he declared vnto the great duke the cauſe of his comming, and in the name of his maſter requeſted his aid againſt the Turke. Whereunto the duke anſwered, That he would giue the emperour towards the maintenance of his warres againſt the common enemie, fiue hundred thouſand duckats, and allow him yearely foure hundred thouſand, during the time of that warre; requeſting him not to make any peace with the Turke, and promiſing to
C ſend him aid alſo of men in this warre, if he ſhould ſo need. The Perſian embaſſadour alſo honotably feaſted the emperours embaſſadour, and had with him great conference concerning the warres of the Chriſtians with the Turks, and in his maſters name promiſed the continuation of his wars againſt the Turke, ſo that the emperour would likewiſe promiſe not to haue any league with him, ſo to giue him leiſure to turne all his forces againe into PERSIA. This embaſſadour after he had almoſt foure moneths tarried in MVSCOVIA, returned to the emperour. At which time doctor *Wacker*, the emperours embaſſadour into POLONIA, returned alſo with joyfull newes, how that the Polonians with an armie of eight and twentie thouſand had ſtopped the paſſage of an hundred thouſand Tartars, whom the Turke had ſent for againſt the emperour; and that if he needed, he ſhould be aided with the Polonian Coſſackes: But vnto the reſt of his re-
D queſts he could haue no anſwere of the ſtates of that kingdome, for that the king was then abſent in SVVEDEN, and was therefore referred to be further anſwered at his returne.

At the ſame time countie *Serinus* with three hundred harquebuſiers and certaine troupes of horſemen, and the footmen of STIRIA and the countries thereabout aſſembled, to the numbet of ten thouſand, departed from CANISIA, to beſiege BRESENZA, a caſtle of the Turkes: but they vnderſtanding before of his comming, conueyed away the beſt of their ſubſtance, and ſetting the caſtle on fire, departed the three and twentith of March. The earle comming thither, tooke the forſaken caſtle, and put thereinto a garriſon of his owne ſouldiors. In like manner he tooke alſo SIGESTA, forſaken by the Turkes, where he alſo placed a garriſon of the Chriſtians. And ſo going on to BABOTSCHA, beſieged it: which caſtle although it was ſtrongly ſituated
E in a mariſh, and could not eaſily haue beene woon, was for all that for feare abandoned by the Turkes, and ſo taken by the countie: by recouerie of which places there was a ſafe and eaſie way layed open euen to ZIGET, the Baſſa whereof ſtood in no ſmall doubt to haue beene euen then beſieged.

Certaine caſtles of the Turks vpon the borders of Stiria taken by the countie Serinus.

Amurath intending by all meanes he could to vex the Emperour, had determined to ſend his fleet into the Adriaticke, to beſiege ZEGNA, a citie of the Emperours, ſituat vpon the ſea coaſt in the bay QVERNERO, called in auntient time FLANATICVS SINVS. Which the better to effect, he ſent one of his Chiaus embaſſadour to the Venetians, to requeſt them, That his fleet might by their leaue paſſe alongſt the Adriaticke, and haue the vſe of their ports and harbours, as need ſhould require. Which his requeſt the Venetians hearing, refuſed in any caſe to yeeld
F thereunto: fearing (and not without cauſe) the vnfaithfulneſſe and trecherie of the Turkes, whoſe oathes and promiſes are no longer ſtrong, or by them regarded, than ſtandeth with their owne good and profit: neuertheleſſe, they moſt honourably vſed the embaſſadour, and ſo ſent him away, without obtaining of that he was eſpecially ſent for.

In the vpper part of HVNGARIE *Chriſtopher* lord *Teuffenbach* the Archdukes lieutenant hauing

uing gathered an armie of twentie thousand souldiors, the sixteenth of Aprill laid siege to HATVVAN, a strong towne, six miles from BVDA, fortified with a triple ditch, and bulwarkes of exceeding strength. Against which although the Christians could not doe much either by mines or mounts, by reason it was so enuironed with water: yet they so shut vp all the passages thereunto, that nothing could be brought or caried in or out of the towne. They of the town seeing themselues thus blockt vp, by secret messengers certified the Bassa of BVDA in what case they stood, praying him of aid: who with ten thousand chosen souldiours, which he had then in readinesse, and the Sanzackes of SERNAH, GIVLA, LIPPA, LERVVOGE, and TSCHANGRAD, with fiue thousand moe, forthwith set forward toward HATVVAN to raise the siege: and the last of Aprill being come within sight of the Christian armie, about one of the clocke in the afternoone encamped on the side of the riuer Sagijwa: but when he could not or els durst not for the deepenesse of the way, the abundance of the water, and neerenesse of the enemie, aduenture to passe the riuer, he retired backe againe, to passe ouer at Iasperin (otherwise called Iasbrin) where the riuer was joyned with a bridge, and not farre off a good fourd also to passe ouer at; thinking so to haue come vpon the backes of the Christians, and with more safetie to haue relieued the besieged towne. But *Teuffenbach* perceiuing his purpose, forthwith after his departure passed the riuer with much difficultie, and ouertaking him with his armie the next day, being the first of May, about one of the clocke in the afternoone, between ZARCHA and FVCASALVA, with his great ordinance disordered the rereward of the enemies battell; and comming on couragiously with his whole armie, began a most cruell fight: which the Turkes a great while endured with wonderfull resolution: but now destitute of their wonted multitude (their greatest confidence) and hardly layed vnto by the Christians, they in the end turned their backes and fled; whom six thousand Hungarians and Germanes fiercely pursued, and had the killing of them almost to BVDA. In this battell the Christians tooke all the enemies great ordinance, with seuenteene ensigns, and also the castle of Iasperin, which the Turkes had for feare abandoned; wherein was found good store of victuals, certaine great pieces, with much other warlike prouision. Of this so notable a victorie *Teuffenbach* by letters presently aduertised the Archduke, after he was againe returned to the siege of HATVVAN. Which letters because they containe many particularities and circumstances of this battell, I haue thought it not amisse here to insert.

Hatuan besieged by the Christians

The copie of the letters of the lord Teuffenbach to Matthias the Archduke, Generall of the emperours armie against the Turke.

Although (sayth he) *I haue by a speedie messenger vpon the very kalends of May certified your excellencie of the notable victorie, which God of his great goodnesse gaue vnto vs the same day ouer our hereditarie enemie: yet afterward vpon diligent inquisition we vnderstood many particularities, as well of the captiues themselues, as of the inhabitants about* ZOLNOCK, PESTH, *and* BVDA, *whereof I thought good to aduertise you. The captiues themselues confesse, That the Bassa of* BVDA, *with the Sanzackes of* ZOLNOC, ZARVVACE, GIVLA, *and* TSCHANGRAD, CIPPAIO, GENNE, *and others, had with great celeritie raised an armie of thirteene thousand souldiours, amongst whom were many Tartars, with purpose to haue relieued the besieged towne of* HATVVAN, *and vpon the sudden to haue oppressed vs in our tents: Filled with which hope, they in great hast came with all their power the last of Aprill towards* HATVVAN: *but for as much as they could not passe ouer the riuer Zagijwa, by reason of the height of the water, they were the next day, being the first of May, conducted by the captaine of Iasparin to a more commodious passage, so to come the neerer vnto vs, and the next day in the morning to haue surprised vs in our tents. But our most mercifull God hath auerted this so great a mischiefe from vs, and turned it vpon their owne heads. For as it is most constantly reported from* ZOLNOC, PESTH, *and* BVDA, *and confirmed by the inhabitants of the same places, there are two thousand fiue hundred of the Turkes slaine, and as many wounded, of whom many perished, and are found dead vpon the high wayes leading to* PESTH *and* ZOLNOC: *of these wee haue sent a thousand heads to* CASSOVIA, *and caused many of the Turkes to be buried for feare of infection in this so great heat. Verely it was a bloudie battell, so that the old souldiours say, they haue not remembred or seene the Turkes (no moe in number) to haue stood so long in battell, and to haue so fought it out without flying. Many men of great name & place there perished and fell, amongst whom are reckoned the Sanzacks of* PESTH, NOVIGRAD, *&* TEMESKE: GENNE, ALAVUS, BOGSTE, ALVSTAFA, MARIELAVS, *and certain Chiaus lately sent from the Court, with the Bassa his guard, wherin were eight hundred right valiant soldiors, of whom few escaped with life. Many fell that would haue yeelded great ransome; but it was agreed vpon betweene the Germanes and the Hungarians, not*

to

A *to spare any of the enemies, but to put them all to sword; and that whosoeuer did otherwise, it should be imputed vnto him for dishonour. So that more than sixteene common souldiors, none were taken prisoners, of whom we might learne how things went amongst the Turkes, with other circumstances of the battell. We tooke thirteene field pieces, whereof foure were greater than the rest; which they called organes, and foure and twentie of the enemies ensignes. The Bassa of* BVDA *(beside other three wounds by him receiued) was grieuously wounded in the side. Of our men were lost about an hundred, and many of them most expert souldiors: and about six hundred others grieuously wounded, of whom there is small hope, many of them being alreadie dead. Neither is the losse small we haue receiued in our horses and armour, for there be few amongst the Germane horsemen, which haue not lost one, two, or three of their horses or seruants, whereby our horsemen are wonderfully weakned: yet*
B *was the victorie great, to God be the praise, to him be the glorie and thankes therefore. Let vs in the meane time prosecute the siege begun. The last night I commaunded the water to be drawne another way, so that now our trenches may be aduaunced many paces, and bulwarks raised within two hundred paces of the wall. We haue alreadie planted fiue great pieces of artillerie in one bulwarke, and hope the next night to place fiue moe vpon a mount fast by, and will doe what shall bee needfull for a straight siege: and when time shall serue, vndertake the towne with all our power, God graunt vs therein good successe and victorie.*

The Turkes in gatrison at ZABOLA, a fort thereby, discouraged with the ouerthrow of their friends, forsooke the fort; which for strength and greatnesse was comparable with TOCAY or
C ERLA. Which strong place the Christians without any losse now recouered.

Whilest this valiant captaine the lord *Teuffenbach* thus lay at the siege of HATVVAN, *Matthias* the archduke Generall of the Christian armie in HVNGARIE, encouraged with the good *Strigonium besieged by the Christians.* successe he had at NOVIGRAD, came with his armie (being 44000 strong) before STRIGONIVM (sometime the Metropoliticall citie of HVNGARIE, but now of long a sute receptacle of the Turkes) and the sixt of May encamped his armie about a quarter of a mile from the castle in a most pleasant medow, from whence both the citie and the castle were plainely to be seene. Vpon whom the Turkes out of the castle, and three gallies that lay vpon the riuer, discharged certaine great pieces without any great harme doing: but after that the Christian fleet was a little before night come downe the riuer, and with their great ordinance began to answere
D them againe, the enemie ceased shooting, and lay still that night. In the meane time it fortuned, that a Turkish youth taken in a garden thereby, and brought into the campe and examined, confessed that there was no garrison in the citie, more than foure hundred Ianizaries, and that a new supply was daily expected from BVDA. The Christians labouring that night, were by the breaking of the day, come with their trenches to a hill ouer against the castle, where they placed their batterie, and forthwith began to batter the citie. The same day (being the seauenth of May) two and twentie Turkes heads were presented to the archduke, and foure men taken aliue, newly sent out of the citie to haue viewed the Christian campe. About night certaine bals of wild fire were shot into the citie, whereof one fell vpon the tower called S. *Adelbert*, and set it on fire; wherewith first the church, and afterward a great part of the towne fell on fire. The Sanzackes
E house, with all his horses and armour, and a great quantitie of pouder was then burnt, and inestimable hurt done in the citie. The next day, the Christians had with continuall batterie made a breach in the castle wall: but adjoyning vnto the wall was an high and broad sandie rampier, which could hardly be battered; for all that the Germanes gaue a fierce assault vnto the breach, hoping to haue entred by the ruines of the wall, but being not able to get ouer the sandie rampier, were enforced with losse to retire. The day following they began againe the batterie with eighteene great pieces; when about eight a clocke in the morning, the Rascians that were in the old citie gaue the Generall to vnderstand, That if he would at a place by them appointed, assault the greater citie to draw the Turks thither, they would in the meane time deliuer vnto the Christians certaine little posternes, and receiue them into the old citie; vpon condition, that no vio- *The old citie deliuered by the Rascians vnto the Christians.*
F lence should be done vnto them or theirs. Which being so agreed vpon, the Christians accordingly gaue the assault the eleuenth of May in the euening, and by the helpe of the Rascians tooke the citie; who according to promise were all taken to mercie, and the Turkes slaine, except such as by their good hap recouered the new towne. The keeping of this citie was committed to the charge of two companies of Germane footmen, and six hundred Hungarians, with

three hundred Rascians and other townesmen. Thus was the old citie of STRIGONIVM gai- G
ned by the Christians, the suburbs whereof they presently burnt; neuertheless the new towne with the castle was still holden by the Turkes. Wherefore the Christians hauing cast vp certaine trenches and mounts, and placed their artillerie as they thought most conuenient, began
The castle assaulted. againe to batter the castle, and after they had by the furie of the cannon made it faultable, with great courage assailed the breach, which the Turkes valiantly defended: so that the Christians were glad to retire, leauing behind them about an hundred and thirtie of their fellowes slaine in the breach. The Turkes a little before the comming of the Christians, had fortified an hill, whereunto the castle was something subject, called of the Christians S. *Nicholas* his hill; this hill so fortified, the Christians with continuall batterie and assault gained the 17 of May, and put all the Turkes left aliue therein to the sword; and turning the ordinance, from thence also batte- H
red the castle. The two and twentith of May a little before the going downe of the Sunne, certaine ensignes of footmen were drawne out of the campe, to haue the next day assaulted the lower towne; who taking the benefit of the night, attempting to haue entred the towne in the dead time of the night, were notably encountred by the Turkes sallying out of the towne vpon them. The Christians for all that hauing enforced them to retire, prosecuted their former resolution, and with much adoe got ouer the vttermost wall: but finding there, contrarie to their expectation, such a deepe and broad countermure as was not possible to be passed, they stood as men dismaied: neither could they in the darkenesse of the night, well see how to get back againe ouer the towne ditch, but disorderly retiring, stucke fast many of them in the deepe mud, and there perished. In this assault there were about a thousand of the Christians wounded and slaine: I
and albeit that they twise or thrise renewed the assault, yet preuailed they nothing, but were still repulsed with losse. Many also of the Turkish garrison were likewise slaine; yea the Sanzacke himselfe hurt with a great shot, with many other wounded men sent downe the riuer to BYDA, brought thither true newes of the aforesaid assaults, and of the state of the besieged.

The Rascians rise vp against the Turks. In the meane time newes was brought to the campe, That *Sinan Bassa* the old enemie of the Christians, and the Turkes great lieutenant, comming towards HVNGARIE with a great armie, and hauing by boats conuaied ouer part thereof, was set vpon by the Rascians (these are poore oppressed Christians dwelling on both sides of Danubius, who weary of the Turkish thraldome, and desirous of their auntient libertie, haue oftentimes taken vp armes against the Turkes, as they now did, encouraged by the good successe of the Christians on the other side of HVNGARIE) K
and that after diuers skirmishes, they had taken thirteene of the Turkes vessels, wherein beside victuals and certaine great pieces of artillerie, they found about 2400 waight of pouder, 447 hundred of lead, 46454 bundles of match, 1200 great shot, whereof 1005 were of 66 pound waight, and of small shot for harquebusiers 48500, with much other warlike prouision: a great part whereof was brought into the campe at STRIGONIVM, and the rest reserued to future vses. This losse so troubled the great Bassa, that he altered his purpose before entended for CASSOVIA.

The fourth of Iune, about fiue hundred Turkes sent vp the riuer from BVDA, conducted by two Sanzackes vnder two red and white ensignes, landed neere to GOKARA on the farther side of Danubius, ouer against STRIGONIVM: where after they had a while refreshed themselues, L
and left some few for the more assurance of the place, all the rest were conuaied ouer the riuer into STRIGONIVM, where they had been long looked for, the old garrison being now sore weakned by the former assaults. Foure daies after, the Turkes encouraged with this supply, sallied out vpon a sudden, and had entred one of the forts of the Christians; but were forthwith againe repulsed, hauing lost six and twentie of their men, and two of their ensignes: not farre off lay a troupe of horsemen, who if they had in time come in, not one of the Turks had escaped. Long it were to tell, how often and in what manner the Christians assaulted this citie, but were by the
Fiue thousand Christians lost at the siege of Strigonium. Turkes so receiued, that in fiue assaults they lost fiue thousand of their men, amongst whom were diuers captaines, lieutenants, auntients, and others of good account: three and twentie canoniers were also slaine, and ten great pieces of artillerie so spoiled, as that they were no more M
seruiceable. The garrison of this citie consisted for most part of the Ianizaries (the Turkes best souldiors) whose notable valour in holding out of this siege, was both of their owne people and their enemies much commended: whatsoeuer was beaten downe by day, that they againe repaired by night; and still relieued with victuall and things necessarie from BVDA, did what was

possible

A poſsible to be done for defence of the citie. About the ſame time certaine Turkes chancing vpon a troupe of Germane horſemen, in fight ſlew about fiftie of them, and put the reſt to flight: whereupon an alarum being raiſed in the campe, many ran out to the reſcue of their fellowes, taking with them certaine ſmall field pieces. Which the Turkes perceiuing, began to flie: whom the Chriſtians eagerly purſuing, were ſuddenly aſſailed by other Turkes, ſallying out of a fort faſt by, and enforced ſhamefully to retire, and to leaue their field pieces behind them. Which the Turkes ceizing vpon, cloyed them, brake their carriages, and made them altogether vnſeruiceable.

All this while the lord *Teuffenbach* lying at the ſiege of HATVVAN, about this time requeſted aid of the Archduke, for that his power was with often conflicts, hunger, and other difficulties
B alwayes attending long ſieges, ſo much weakened, as that he had ſcarcely ſix thouſand ſound men in his campe, to whom the Archduke forthwith ſent twelue hundred footmen, being loth to ſpare any moe, for too much weakening of his owne armie. *The Archduke ſendeth aid to the ſiege of Hatwan.*

Amurath diſdaining to ſee the frontiers of his empire in ſo many places impugned by the Chriſtians, and dayly to receiue from them ſo great harmes, ſought by all meanes to bee reuenged: wherefore beſide the great power of his owne, which he was now about to ſend with *Sinan Baſſa* into HVNGARIE, he had alſo procured from the great Tartar a wonderfull number of thoſe rough and ſauage people, to be ſent into HVNGARIE, there to joyne with his armie. Theſe wild people to the number of ſeuentie thouſand, according to direction giuen, breaking into PODOLIA, WALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, gathered together an incredible number of oxen and
C kine; to this end and purpoſe, that driuing them before them, they might both be aſſured of victuals, and the ſafer trauell through a part of POLONIA. But when they were come vnto the borders of that countrey, and there found the power of *Samoſchie* the great Chancellour and the Polonian Coſſackes in armes, they eaſily perceiued that they could not that way paſſe without great loſſe. Wherefore they placed the aforeſaid heards of cattell, ſome before, ſome behind, and ſome on each ſide of the armie, and ſo encloſed round about with thoſe cattell as with a trench, marched on. But when they were come neere vnto the Polonians, this rude deuice ſerued them to no other purpoſe than the ouerthrow of themſelues: for the Polonians diſcharging their great ordinance, ſo terrified the cattell, that they turned vpon the Tartars, and ouerthrowing whomſoeuer came in their way, did exceeding much harme: whom the Polonians immediatly
D following, and hardly charging the confuſed armie, armed onely with bow and arrowes, after ſome ſmall fight put them at laſt to flight, and obtained of them a notable victorie, with an exceeding rich prey. Of the Polonians were loſt about eighteene hundred, but of the Tartars were ſlaine thirtie thouſand. The reſt retiring into PODOLIA, and paſsing the riuer Neſter by the way of TRANSYLVANIA, where they did exceeding much harme, came to TEMESVVARE, and ſo afterwards further into HVNGARIE: vnto whom the Turkes ſent ſeuen hundred horſemen, to conduct them to the armie.

But to returne againe to the ſiege of STRIGONIVM. The fourteenth day of Iune the Chriſti- *Strigonium aſſaulted.*
ans betweene eight and nine of the clocke in the morning with great furie aſſaulted the towne in three places: which aſſault they moſt notably maintained, vntill it was almoſt three a clocke in
E the afternoone. Neuertheleſſe, the Turks ſo valiantly defended themſelues, that at laſt the Chriſtians were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and with loſſe to retire. The Archduke from an high place beholding the aſſault, had one of his footmen ſlaine faſt by him with a ſmall ſhot. Many of the Turks were alſo ſlaine in this aſſault, and amongſt them one of the three Sanzackes that defended the citie. The night following there aroſe a moſt horrible tempeſt, with ſuch raging wind, and abundance of raine, that many thought they ſhould neuer haue ſeene day: with the violence whereof the Archdukes tent was ouerthrowne, and diuers others blowne downe or rent in ſunder, were in the aire carried from place to place. About the ſame time the lord *Palfi* within the ſight of the caſtle caſt vp a notable fort, with high mounts and ſtrong trenches (euen in the ſelfeſame place where *Solyman* lay about fiftie yeares before, when he beſieged and woon STRI-
F GONIVM) by which fort ſo built, the enemie was embarred to conuey any thing vp the riuer for reliefe of the citie, to the great diſcomfiture of the beſieged: for to haue hindered the which worke, the enemie oftentimes ſallied out, but to no purpoſe. This fort being brought to perfection, the Chriſtians tooke alſo another fort in an iſland on the further ſide of the riuer, which the Turkes had but a few dayes before taken from the Chriſtians, and cloyed the great pieces there-

in: which fort the Christians now againe repaired, furnishing it with a sufficient garrison and other great ordinance. G

Strigonium sore bastered.

These things thus done, the castle and the lower towne were in fiue diuers places out of the new built fort, the old towne, and the island, so battered with continuall shot, that a man would haue said, that one stone would not haue beene left vpon another, but that all should haue beene beaten downe and layed euen with the ground. The seuenteenth of Iune one of the Christian canoniers so dismounted one of the great pieces in the castle, that the piece together with the Turkish canonier that had charge thereof fell downe out of the castle into the ditch. And the same day a mason that fled out of the castle into the campe, amongst other things reported, That many of the Turks were slaine with this continuall batterie and often assaults, and that not past an houre before fortie of them were slaine in one chamber, and now acknowledged themselues H to be indeed besieged: and to haue resolued, that when they were brought to the last cast, then desperatly to sallie out vpon the Christians, and so either to returne with victorie, or to make shift euery man for himselfe as he might. Which his report seemed not altogether faigned: for about midnight a thousand of the Turkes sallying out of the castle vpon the fort newly built vpon the riuer, in hope to haue surprised it, were by the Christians therein notably repulsed and enforced to retire: in which conflict fiftie of the Turkes were slaine, and many moe wounded and taken prisoners. And the same day toward euening eight Turkes of good sort being taken and brought into the campe, confessed, That but six dayes before, they had seene seuen boats full of wounded and dead men sent downe the riuer from STRIGONIVM to BVDA. Whereby it was easily to be gathered how bloudie a siege this was vnto the Turkes, for as much as all those bodies were I the bodies of men of good account and place; for the bodies of such common soldiors as were slaine, they still threw into the riuer running by.

The new built fort hardly assaulted by the Turkes.

The fort newly built vpon the banke of Danubius, much troubled the besieged Turkes in STRIGONIVM, because nothing could without danger of it be sent vp the riuer for their relefe. Wherefore they by fit messengers sent word out of the castle vnto the Admirall of the Turkes gallies lying below in the riuer, That he should at an appointed time come vp the riuer with his gallies as high as the fort, and on that side at leastwise to make shew as if he would assault it: at which time they of the towne would be likewise readie to sallie out, and to assaile it indeed on the other side by land. The Admirall accordingly came vp the riuer with his gallies, and by dis-charging of certaine great pieces, made shew as if he would on that side haue battered the fort: K but was so welcommed thereout of, that he was glad with his rent gallies quickly to fall downe the riuer againe further off out of danger. But whiles the thundering shot was thus flying too and fro towards the riuer, they of the towne sallying out, assaulted the fort on the other side toward the land, and that with such desperat resolution, that some of them were got vp to the top of the rampiers, and there for the space of two houres maintained a most cruell fight: wherein many of them were slaine and wounded, and the rest enforced with shame to retire.

The Christians thus still lying at the siege, and intentiue to all occasions, partly by their espials, and partly by such as they had taken prisoners, vnderstood, that a new supplie both of men and victuals was shortly to be put into STRIGONIVM: and therefore sent out certaine companies of souldiors, who lying in two conuenient places, the one vpon the riuer, the other by land, L might intercept the said supply. Both which places were before by the prouident enemie possessed: who suddenly assayling the Christians comming thither, and fearing no such matter, slew some of them, and put the rest to flight: who neuertheless in their retreat, brake the bridge which the Turkes had made of boats vnder the castle of STRIGONIVM ouer Danubius. Of which boats some were carried away with the violence of the streame, and of the rest thirtie fell into the hands of the Christians, without losse of any man more than fiue, who making too much hast out of a little boat, fell into the riuer, & so perished. In this time, Fame the forerunner of all great attempts had brought newes into the Christian campe, That *Sinan Bassa* the Turks great Generall was comming to the relefe of STRIGONIVM: of whose power, diuers diuersly reported. M But the greater part doubting the worst, and wearie of the long siege and of the calamities incident thereunto, added still something to the last report, to make the danger of longer stay to seeme the greater: certaine it is, that the newes of the comming of so great and puissant an enemie, raised many a troubled thought in the minds of so great a multitude. Now were the besieged Turks in great wants in STRIGONIVM, as appeared by letters intercepted from the San-

zacke

A zacke to the Baſſa of BVDA, declaring vnto him the hard eſtate of the beſieged, and humbly craving his promiſed helpe, without which the citie could not for want of victuals poſsibly be defended by the fainting ſouldiors aboue three dayes. Which letters being read in the campe, cauſed great preparation to be made for the continuing of the ſiege and the withſtanding of the enemie, whoſe comming was euery houre expected. All this while the great ordinance neuer ceaſed on either ſide: wherby many were ſlaine, as well of the Chriſtians as of the Turks; and amongſt others many of the cannoniers.

But for as much as the rife fame of *Sinan Baſſaes* comming encreaſed dayly, and the Chriſtian campe poſſeſſed with a generall feare, gaue vnto the wiſe juſt ſuſpition of ſome great miſchiefe likely to enſue: *Matthias* the Generall entered into counſell with countie *Ferdinand Hardeck*,
B the lord *Palfi*, the lord *Vngenade* preſident of the counſell for the warres, and *Eraſmus Eraun* gouernor of COMORA, What were beſt to be done in ſo dangerous a time? who with generall conſent agreed betimes (before the comming of *Sinan*) to raiſe the ſiege, and to remoue with the armie into ſome place of more ſafetie. Which their determinat reſolution, the day following, being the ſix and twentith of Iune, they made knowne to the other princes and great commanders in the armie: who wonderfully diſcontented therewith, eſpecially the Germans, both openly by word, and ſolemnely by writing, proteſted againſt the ſame, as moſt diſhonourable, and altogether made without their knowledge or good liking. To whom the preſident of the counſell for their further ſatisfaction, declared, That the enemie was comming with a very great armie, and euen now at hand, whoſe ſtrength encreaſed dayly, and with what power hee had purpoſed
C to aſſaile them in their tents, was vncertaine: beſides that, it was manifeſtly knowne vnto the world, how that in the former aſſaults they had loſt many of their beſt ſouldiors, beſide others that died in the campe: and that the place wherein they lay encamped, was ſubject to many dangers: For which ſo vrgent cauſes the Generall had reſolued to raiſe his ſiege, and before the comming of ſo ſtrong an enemie, to remoue his armie into a place of more ſafetie. Which reaſons for all that did not ſo well ſatisfie the Germane princes and commaunders, but that they ſtill vrged their former proteſtation, requeſting his excellencie to haue them excuſed before God and the world, if they yeelding to his commaund, as to their Generall, did that which they thought not altogether beſt, and which they would not haue otherwiſe done. For the more euidence whereof, the ſaid Germane princes and great commaunders cauſed their ſaid proteſtation to be
D ſolemnely conceiued in writing, which they firmed with their ſeales, and ſubſcribed with their owne hands in order as followeth: *Francis* duke of SAXONIE, *Auguſtus* duke of BRVNSVVICK, *Sebaſtian Schlick*, countie *Wigand Maltzan*, *Erneſtus* of ALSTAN, *Henry Phlugk*, *Iohn Nicholas Ruſwormb*, *Henry Curwigger Heerrath*, *Iohn* of OBERHAVSEN, *Henry Rottcirch*, *Melchior* of NOTHVVITH.

The Archduke raiſeth his ſiege, and with his armie paſſeth the riuer.

But the Archduke with the reſt conſtant in their former reſolution, firſt ſent away the great ordinance, and raiſing the ſiege the eight and twentith of Iune, followed after with the whole armie, paſsing ouer Danubius not farre from KOKARA, doubtfully expecting what courſe *Sinan* the great Baſſa (who was then reported to be euen at hand) would take. Yet before their departure they ſet the old towne on fire, and raſed the fort S. *Nicholas*, before taken from the enemie,
E which they had once purpoſed to haue kept. This vnexpected departure of the Chriſtians much gladded the beſieged Turkes: who for want of victuals had not beene able long to haue holden out. Yet lay the lord *Teuffenbach* ſtill at the ſiege of HATVVAN, labouring by all meanes to take from the beſieged Turkes their water, and with earth and faggots to fill vp their ditches; which worke he had now happily brought to ſome good perfection. Whereof they in the towne by letters aduertiſed the Baſſa of BVDA, and that except they were within the ſpace of three daies relieued, they ſhould be enforced to yeeld the towne. Which their diſtreſſe the Baſſa conſidering, with ſpeed aſſembled all his forces, and ſo ſet forward to relieue them, hoping to haue come vpon the Chriſtians before they were aware of his comming. But *Teuffenbach* vnderſtanding thereof, with fiue thouſand choſen horſemen went out of the campe to meet him, & ſuddenly comming

Fiue thouſand Turks ſlaine.

F vpon him, feating no ſuch thing, ſlew fiue thouſand of the Turkes, put the Baſſa to flight, and together with the victorie obtained an exceeding rich prey.

Hatwan in vain aſſaulted by the Chriſtians.

Now was there no leſſe expectation and hope of the winning or yeelding vp of HATVVAN, than was before of STRIGONIVM: but according to the chance of warre it fell out otherwiſe. For *Teuffenbach* hauing with continuall batterie layed the breaches faire open, and made choice

of ſuch ſouldiors as he thought meeteſt for the aſſault, was in the performing thereof ſo notably repulſed by the Turkes, that he was glad to retire with the loſſe of his beſt and moſt reſolute ſouldiors: which put him out of all hope of taking the towne by force. For beſide the loſſe of theſe good men, he had ſcarce ſo many ſound men left, as might ſuffice to furniſh his garriſons for defence of thoſe frontiers: by reaſon that the Hungarians were almoſt all ſhrunke home, and of the Germanes were left ſcarce two thouſand. Beſides that he had oftentimes craued new ſupplies of the archduke, but all in vaine: for which cauſes he was glad to abandon two ſtrong forts he had built before HATVVAN, and to leaue the towne now brought to great extremitie. Thus two notable cities, which were now as it were in the hands of the Chriſtians, and by the recouerie whereof the broken ſtate of the afflicted Chriſtians in HVNGARIE had been much ſtrengthened, were as it were againe reſtored vnto the barbarous and cruell enemie. H

Teuffenbach giueth ouer the ſiege of Hatwan.

Whileſt the Chriſtians thus lay at the ſiege of STRIGONIVM and HATVVAN, the Raſcians (of whom we haue before ſpoken) ſtriuing ſtill more and more to rid themſelues from the Turkiſh thraldome, gathered themſelues togither to the number of fifteene thouſand, betweene BVDA and BELGRADE, vnder a Generall of their owne chuſing. For feare of whom, the Baſſa of TEMESVVAR with an armie of foureteene thouſand, went to fortifie and victuall LIPPA, doubting leaſt it ſhould by them be ſurpriſed: but hauing done that he went for, in his returne he was met with by the ſame Raſcians, and twiſe fought withall in one day, and both times put to the worſe, with the loſſe of the greateſt part of his armie. After which victorie the Raſcians tooke BECZKEREKA ſtrong towne, ſtanding in a mariſh foure miles from BELGRADE, and ſlew all the Turks they found therein. After that they tooke a caſtle called OTTADT, and dealt with the Turks in like manner. From thence they went and beſieged BECHE, a caſtle ſtanding vpon the riuer Tibiſcus or Teiſe, where the towne adjoyning vnto it yeelded preſently; but they in the caſtle ſtanding a while vpon their guard, offered at laſt to yeeld alſo vpon certaine conditions. But the Raſcians knowing that the Turkes thereabouts had conuaied into that caſtle the beſt part of their wealth, and withall that it was but weakely manned, would accept of no conditions, but needs haue it abſolutely deliuered vp to their pleaſure. In the meane time the old Baſſa of TEMESVVAR and his ſonne, knowing it to tend to their diſhonour to ſuffer this baſe people ſo to rage at their pleaſure about them, gathered togither 11000 Turkes, and ſo in great haſt came to relieue the beſieged caſtle. Vpon whom the Raſcians turned themſelues, and in plaine battell ouerthrew the Baſſa, and ſo purſued the victorie, that of thoſe 11000 Turks ſcarcely eſcaped 1000: the Baſſa himſelfe being there ſlaine, and with him three Sanzacks, his ſonne eſcaped by flight. In this battell the Raſcians tooke 18 great pieces of artillerie: and not long after tooke alſo WERSETZA and LVTZ, two ſtrong places. After which ſo happie ſucceſſe, they ſent vnto the archduke *Matthias* for aid, but eſpecially for canoniers, profeſsing themſelues now vtter enemies vnto the Turkes. The Raſcians alſo about TEMESVVAR ſent word vnto the other in the campe, that they would come and joyne with them. And they which inhabite the countrey betweene the riuers Danubius and Tibiſcus, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe vnto the lord *Teuffenbach* (the archdukes lieutenant in the vpper part of HVNGARIE) offered in ſhort time to ſend him ten or twelue thouſand men, ſo that he would receiue them and their countrey into the emperours protection; which he eaſily granted them, and thereof aſſured them by writing. L And to the archduke himſelfe they ſent alſo their truſtie meſſengers, requeſting him to ſend them a Generall to lead them, promiſing vnto him all obedience: which meſſengers departing from them the fourteenth of Iune, ſhortly after returned with ſuch anſwere as was thought moſt conuenient for their preſent ſtate. Thus againſt the comming of *Sinan*, was HVNGARIE almoſt all on a broile.

A Diet of the empire holden at Ratisbone for the withſtanding of the Turke.

The emperour long before diſtruſting the Turkes purpoſe for warre, and well conſidering what a difficultie it would be for him with his owne forces only to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemie as was *Amurath*; had by his embaſſadours praied aid of diuers Chriſtian princes, but eſpecially of them of the empire, as thoſe whom this warre concerned moſt. Wherfore he after the auntient and wonted manner of his ſtate in ſo common and imminent a danger, appointed a generall aſſembly of the Princes and States of the empire, to be holden at RATISBONE, in the latter end of Februarie: which for ſundrie vrgent cauſes was put off vntill March, and againe vntill Aprill, and ſo afterward vntill May. At which time the emperour in perſon himſelfe, with the Princes Electors, and other the great States of the empire, being met togither with great M

pompe

A pompe at RATISBONE, and ſolemnly aſſembled into the biſhops pallace, began there to ſit in counſell the 2 of Iune. Vnto the which Princes and States ſo aſſembled, after that the emperour had firſt by the mouth of *Phillip* Countie Palatine of RHENE, giuen great thanks for their ſo readie apparance, & briefly declared the cauſe of their aſſembly; he himſelfe after ſome complaint made of the Turkiſh infidelitie, in expreſſe words declared vnto them, how that he by his embaſſadour then lying at CONSTANTINOPLE, had in the yeare 1591 made a league for eight years, with the preſent Turkiſh Sultan *Amurath*: which league *Amurath* himſelfe had approued and confirmed, and thereof ſent him publike and ſolemne inſtruments: wherein it was prouided, That no hoſtilitie ſhould be on either ſide during that time attempted. And yet notwithſtanding that he, contrarie to his faith giuen, as an hereditarie enemie of the Chriſtians, had violated this league, and by ſundrie incurſions barbarouſly ſpoiled and waſted, not HVNGARIE onely, but other of his imperiall prouinces alſo: But eſpecially by *Haſſan Baſſa* of BOSNA, who firſt with a ſtrong armie beſieged, battered, and tooke REPITZ, an antient frontier caſtle, and after that WIHITZ, DRESNIK, CRASSOVVITZ, with other places of name: And had in his dominion and territorie built PETRINIA a moſt ſtrong fort, hurtfull to all that countrey, out of which he had done incredible miſchiefe in CROATIA, WINDISMARCH, and the moſt fruitfull iſland TVROPOLIE; and had out of thoſe places carried away aboue fiue and thirtie thouſand Chriſtians into moſt miſerable captiuitie. Of which ſhamefull injuries and breach of faith, he had many times by his embaſſadours complained vnto the Turkiſh Sultan at CONSTANTINOPLE, and requeſted, that all hoſtilitie ſet apart, due reſtitution might haue been made, but to C haue therein preuailed nothing: and that the ſame Baſſa in ſtead of condigne puniſhment, had been for the doing thereof honoured by the Great Sultan his lord with honourable gifts, the ſure tokens of his fauour: Whereby he was ſo confirmed in his barbarous proceedings, that he began to make open warre, and hauing raiſed a full armie, and ſtrengthened alſo with certaine companies of Ianizaries ſent from the Court, had paſsed ouer the riuer of Kulp, and beſieged the caſtle of SISEG: but by the iuſt judgement of God the reuenger of wrongs, had there receiued the reward of his faithleſſe and cruell dealing, being there ſlaine, and almoſt all his armie vtterly deſtroied by his ſmall forces, raiſed in haſt for his owne lawfull defence. Neuertheleſſe the faithleſſe Turke (as if he had beene highly wronged himſelfe) to haue made this his breach both of league and faith forthwith knowne to all the world, by commanding open warre to be ſolemn-
D ly proclaimed againſt the kingdome of HVNGARIE, both in CONSTANTINOPLE and BVDA: and by the Beglerbeg of GRÆCE, to haue againe beſieged and taken the ſtrong fortreſſe of SISEG. Whereas on the other ſide (becauſe nothing ſhould on his part be wanting, which might make his deſire of peace more knowne) he had againe, and oftentimes by his embaſſadour put the Turke in remembrance of his league made, and confirmed by his faith: who for all that had changed nothing of his purpoſe, but ſent his great Viſier *Sinan Baſſa* with the Beglerbeg of GRÆCIA, and many inferiour Baſſaes and Sanzacks into HVNGARIE, who with fire and ſword enforced the inhabitants and countrey people (ſuch as they left aliue) to ſweare vnto the Turke obedience, and to become his ſubjects: and at the ſame time tooke VESPRINIVM and PALOTTA, two famous fortreſſes of that kingdome. And that the ſame Baſſa by commandement from
E his lord and maſter, had contrarie to the law of nations impriſoned *Frederik Kreckowitz* his embaſſadour, firſt at CONSTANTINOPLE, and cauſed the greater part of his followers to be thruſt into the gallies; and afterwards to haue ſent him with a few of his ſeruants to BELGRADE, and there to haue kept him ſo long in priſon, that he there miſerably died. In reuenge of which ſo great and open wrong, and for the defence and comfort of his afflicted ſubjects ſo neere the enemie, he had raiſed a good ſtrength both of horſe and foot, by whoſe helpe and the aſsiſtance of almightie God, the Baſſa of BOSNA had reaped the fruit of his perfidious dealing: as had alſo the Baſſa of BVDA, with many thouſands of their great ſouldiors, ouerthrowne neere vnto ALBA REGALIS; beſides many of their caſtles and townes taken or raſed. Yet for all that was it eaſie to be ſeene, theſe ſo great victories by the goodneſſe of God had and obtained againſt ſo
F mightie and cruell an enemie, not to ſuffice; but that there was ſtill need of a perſeuerant and continuall ſupply for the maintenance of a perpetuall warre: and that it was daily to be expected, or rather euen now preſently to be deſcried, That the Turke in his quarrell which he deemeth alwaies juſt againſt the Chriſtians, and in reuenge of theſe ouerthrowes, would draw forth all his forces, and aduenture his whole ſtrength. For which cauſes he had by the knowledge and conſent

The emperour grieuouſly complaineth vnto the Princes Electors, and States of the empire, of the infidelitie of the Turke, and craueth their aid.

ſent of the Princes electors of the ſacred empire, appointed that preſent Diet of the empire; and G
not for the aforeſaid cauſes only, but for diuers others both neceſſarie and waightie alſo: as the
generall peace of the empire, the pacification of the Low countries, the reformation of juſtice, and
amendment of the coine: but eſpecially and aboue all other things, to make it knowne vnto the
world, how much it concerned to haue the Turkes pride betime abated, and ſome effectuall de-
fence for HVNGARIE (now in danger) at length prouided; being the moſt ſure defence and
ſtrongeſt bulwarke of that part of Chriſtendome. And that whereas his owne hereditarie pro-
uinces were not of themſelues alone ſufficient to maintaine ſo chargeable a warre, he therefore re-
queſted the Electors, Princes, and States both preſent and abſent, not to grudge to be preſent
with their helpe, their counſell, and whatſoeuer elſe ſhould be needfull againſt ſo puiſſant and
dangerous an enemie. So ending his ſpeech, he cauſed all his demaunds before conceiued into H
writing to be read, and ſo deliuered vnto them. For anſwering whereunto, the Princes electors
and others there preſent required time; which granted, after many ſittings & long conſultations,
they at laſt with one conſent anſwered, That it was a hard matter by reaſon of the late dearth,
and other like occaſions, for them to grant ſuch helpe and aid as the emperour had in writing re-
quired: yet hauing before their eies the great and imminent danger wherin the Chriſtian com-
mon weale then ſtood, they not regarding their owne proper and neere difficulties, had in regard
of his ſacred and imperiall majeſtie, for the comfort and defence of the endangered Chriſtians,
and for the repreſsing of the Turkiſh furie, of their owne free will and meere compaſsion, gran-
ted beſide their accuſtomed contribution, ſuch farther reliefe for the ſpace of ſix yeares, as they
thought ſufficient for the maintenance of a defenſiue warre, both for the preſent and the time to I
come. What was by them farther decreed concerning the emperours other demaunds, as not
pertinent to our purpoſe, we willingly paſſe ouer.

Sinan Baſſa with an armie of 150 thouſand betweene Buda and Alba Regalis.

Of all theſe things, as alſo whatſoeuer elſe had happened at STRIGONIVM, HATVVAN, or other places of HVNGARIE, was not *Sinan Baſſa* ignorant: who now euen vpon the departure of the Chriſtians from STRIGONIVM, was come with an huge armie betweene BVDA and ALBA REGALIS: vnto whom alſo fortie thouſand Tartars, that by force had made themſelues way through PODOLIA and the vpper part of HVNGARIE, had now joyned themſelues: ſo that in his armie were reckoned aboue an hundred and fiftie thouſand fighting men; to the great terrour, not onely of HVNGARIE, AVSTRIA, STIRIA, CROATIA, BOHEMIA, and the prouinces therabout, but alſo of the whole State of GERMANIE. With this great armie the old K
Baſſa had purpoſed to haue ouerwhelmed the Chriſtians in their campe at STRIGONIVM: but now that they were before his comming departed ouer the riuer towards KOMARA, he reſolued to keepe on his way, and to beſiege the ſtrong citie IAVRINVM, now called RAB. And to make all ſure before him, he thought it beſt to take in his way DOTIS, a ſtrong towne of the Chriſtians, in the mid way betweene STRIGONIVM and RAB, about fiue Hungarian miles ſhort of RAB. The Chriſtian armie but newly paſſed ouer Danubius, in marching towards KOMARA, might ſee the mountaines and fields on the other ſide the riuer all couered with the multitude of the Turks armie: who though they were in deed many, yet marching diſperſedly, made ſhow of moe than in truth they were. So both armies marching in ſight the one of the other, and ſeperated onely with the riuer, held on their way: the Chriſtians to KOMARA, where L
they encamped vnder the verie wals of the citie, yet in ſuch ſort, as that they might a farre off well deſcrie one another; and the Turkes towards DOTIS, where the Baſſa with all his armie encamped the 21 day of Iuly. The night following, hauing planted his batterie, he began in furious manner to batter the caſtle, the chiefe ſtrength of the towne; the Chriſtian armie looking

Dotis and Saint Martins yeelded to the Turkes.

on, but not daring at ſo great ods to relieue their diſtreſſed friends. So whiles the Baſſa granteth no breathing time vnto the beſieged, but tireth them out with continuall batterie and alarums, they of the towne diſpairing of their owne ſtrength, and to be able for any long time to hold out againſt ſo mightie an enemie, within three daies after yeelded the towne, being in that ſhort time ſore battered, and alſo in diuers places vndermined: yet with this condition, That it ſhould be lawfull for the garriſon ſouldiors and townesmen, with their wiues and children in ſafetie to depart. M
Which was vnto them by the Baſſa frankly granted, but not ſo faithfully performed: for at their departure many of their wiues and children were ſtaied by the Turkes, and the lord *Baxi* Gouernour of the towne fouly entreated. Immediatly after, the Baſſa without much adoe tooke S. *Martins* caſtle alſo, not far from DOTIS, being by the captaine yeelded vnto him.

In

A In the meane time the countrey villages round about forſaken of the poore Chriſtians, were by the Turks moſt miſerably burnt, and all the countrey laied waſt. Yea ſome of the foretunners of the Turks armie paſsing ouer the riuer Rabnitz, ran into the countrey as farre as ALTENBVRG, within fiue miles of VIENNA, burning the countrey villages as they went, and killing the poore people, or that worſe was, carrying them away into perpetuall captiuitie: yet not without ſome loſſe, foure hundred of theſe roaming forragers being cut off by the lord *Nadaſti*. *Palfi* alſo, and *Brun* Gouernour of KOMARA following in the taile of the Turks armie, ſet vpon them that had the charge of the victuals; of whom they ſlew a great number, tooke 120 of them priſoners, and 150 camels and 30 mules laded with meale and rice, which they carried away with them to KOMARA.

B DOTIS and S. *Martins* thus taken, *Sinan Baſſa* conſtant in his former determination, ſet forward againe towards RAB, and being come within a mile of the citie, there encamped; the Chriſtian armie then lying not far off on the other ſide of the riuer. This citie of RAB is a ſtrong and populous citie, honoured with a biſhops See, and was worthily accounted the ſtrongeſt bulwarke of VIENNA, from whence it is diſtant about twelue Germane miles, ſtanding vpon the South ſide of Danubius, where the riuer diuiding it ſelfe, maketh a moſt fertile iſland called SCHVT; in the Eaſt point whereof ſtandeth the ſtrong citie of KOMARA. The defence of this citie of RAB was committed to Countie *Hardeck*, a man of greater courage than fidelitie, with a garriſon of twelue hundred choiſe ſouldiors, vnto whom a little before the comming of the Baſſa were certaine companies of Italians joyned, who togither with the citiſens made vp the
C number of fiue thouſand able men: a ſtrength in all mens judgement ſufficient for the long defence of that place. The laſt of Iuly (*Matthias* the archduke about the going downe of the Sunne departing out of the citie of RAB, ouer the riuer into the iſland ouer againſt it) came *Sinan Baſſa* with his huge armie and beſet it round, caſting vp trenches and mounts, whereon he skilfully placed his gabions and great artillerie, and whatſoeuer elſe was neceſſarie for ſo great a ſiege: and that with ſuch celeritie, as was to the beholders thought moſt ſtrange. The ſecond of Auguſt, he with great furie battered the citie, and brought his trenches within musket ſhot of the wals. At which time foure thouſand Tartarian horſemen ſwam ouer the Danubius between RAB and KOMARA; after whom followed ſix thouſand Turkes, who being with much adoe got ouer to the farther ſide, ſuddenly ſurpriſed a fort of the Chriſtians next vnto the riuer; and
D forthwith turning fiue great pieces of ordinance which they found therein, diſcharged them vpon the campe of the Chriſtians: who terrified with the ſudden accident, riſe vp all in armes, and hardly charging thoſe deſperat aduenturers, ſlew many of them; eſpecially ſuch as ſeeking after bootie had diſperſed themſelues from their fellowes, and forced the reſt againe to take the riuer, wherein moſt of them periſhed. About fiue daies after, the Tartarians (liuing for moſt part vpon prey) ſwam againe ouer the riuer, and vpon the ſudden burnt a village in the iſland, and ſlew certaine Chriſtians in their tents, but being quickly encountred by the Chriſtian horſemen, they were eaſily ouerthrowne, and many of them ſlain: the reſt caſting away their weapons and forſaking their horſes, ran headlong into the riuer, truſting more to their ſwimming than to their fighting; whom the Chriſtians hardly purſuing, in the verie riuer ſlew about two thouſand of them:
E and by this victorie obtained many of the Tartarian ſwift horſes, with their ſcimitars, their bowes and arrowes, and ſuch enſignes as they had. All this while *Sinan Baſſa* without intermiſſion, lay thundring with threeſcore great pieces of batterie againſt the citie: but to little or ſmall purpoſe, for as yet he had made no breach whereby to enter, but the harme that was done was vpon the towers or high built houſes, or in the campe, by ſuch randon ſhot as flying ouer the towne fell by chance among the tents of the Chriſtians. And the Ianizaries intentiue to all opportunities, in a great raine furiouſly and with a moſt horrible crie (as their manner is) aſſaulted an vtter bulwarke of the Chriſtians, which they for feare forſooke, and retired themſelues into the citie; vpon which bulwarke ſo taken, the Ianizaries had ſet vp three of their enſignes: When the Chriſtians aſhamed of that they had done, and better aduiſed, taking courage vnto them, forth-
F with ſallied out againe, and couragiouſly charging the Ianizaries but now entred, ſlew many of them, and recouered againe the bulwarke.

Sinan Baſſa leauing nothing vnattempted that might further his deſire for the winning of the citie, was now caſting vp a great mount againſt the citie: which whileſt he dayly ſurueyed, he chanced to fall ſicke, and therefore appointed one of the Baſſaes in his owne ſtead to ouerſee the worke;

Rab.

The Turks and Tartars paſsing ouer the riuer, ouerthrowne.

The Tartarians the ſecond time ouerthrowne.

Rab battered.

A Baſſa ſlaine.

worke; who whileſt he was walking too and fro, haſtening the worke, and commaunding this G
and that thing to be done, he was taken with a ſhot out of the towne and ſlaine.

The fifteenth of Auguſt certaine Turkes before the riſing of the Sunne getting ouer Danubius in boats, aſſailed a fort of the Chriſtians: which the ſouldiours that had the keeping of it, preſently forſooke, and left it to the enemie. Which *Iohn de Medices*, lately come into the campe with two thouſand Italians, perceiuing, forthwith came to the reſcue of the fort, draue out the Turks, and hauing ſlaine diuers of them, forced the reſt into the riuer, where they were all drowned. At which time fiue thouſand Tartars in another place, paſsing ouer the riuer into the iſland, were encountered by the lord *Palfi* and the Huſſars his followers, and without any great reſiſtance put to flight, wherein many of them were ſlaine: the reſt taking the riuer, were in good hope to haue got ouer, and ſo to haue ſaued themſelues. But other Turks meeting them in the riuer, would with their weapons haue beaten them backe, and ſtayed their flight: againſt whom the Tartars oppoſing themſelues, made with them in the very riuer a moſt cruell fight, but with ſuch loſſe vnto the Tartars, that of the fiue thouſand which aduentured ouer, few returned to carrie newes vnto their fellowes how they had ſped. Now began great ſcarcitie of victuals in the Turks campe, ſo that the ſouldiors were faine to feed vpon vnripe fruit and ſuch other vnwholeſome things: whereof enſued the bloudie flix, with many other dangerous diſeaſes: which raging amongſt them, did wonderfully conſume the Baſſaes armie. Beſide that, they of the citie with continuall ſhot had ſlain many, and among them a ſonne in law of the great Baſſaes, whoſe death he is reported to haue taken ſo vnpatiently, that he fell ſicke for griefe, but in ſhort time after paſſed it ouer, and recouered againe. I

A fight in the riuer betwixt the Turkes and the Tartars.

The Tartars not yet warned by their often loſſes, but paſsing againe ouer the riuer into the iſland the nineteenth of this moneth, were there three thouſand of them ſlaine. In the meane time certaine companies alſo of the Turks hauing ſecretly paſſed the riuer, in another quarter aſſayled the Chriſtians in their campe: in which hurlyburly other of the Tartars got ouer the riuer not farre from KOMARA, hoping now at length to performe ſome great matter, which they had before ſo often to their coſt vainely attempted. But finding the Turkes ouerthrowne before their comming, and the Chriſtians (contrarie to their expectation) in armes readie to receiue them, they were eaſily diſcomfited, and two thouſand of them ſlaine. In this conflict the Sanzacke of STRIGONIVM, with two others, and many moe of great account among the Turkes periſhed. Shortly after the Chriſtians ſallying out of the citie, ſlew a great number of the Turkes, and ſo K
retired with ſmall loſſe. Thus was the Turkes armie dayly deminiſhed, beſides that the want of victuals with the bloudie flix ſo encreaſed, that many perſuaded the Baſſa to haue raiſed his ſiege, and to haue remooued with his armie to ſome other more wholeſome place, and of greater plentie: but he reſolutely ſet downe not to depart before he had either woon the towne, or enforced them therein to yeeld, would not hearken to any perſuaſions to the contrarie.

Whileſt *Sinan* thus lay at the ſiege of RAB, *Maximilian* the emperours brother tooke *Craſtowitz*, a fortreſſe of the Turks vpon the borders of CROATIA, and put to ſword all the Turks there in garriſon. After that he layed ſiege to PETRINIA, a ſtrong fortreſſe of the Turks, which they but a few yeares before had contrarie to the league built in the emperours territorie, for the annoying of CROATIA, and for the exceeding ſtrength thereof was thought almoſt impregnable. Yet ſuch was the induſtrie of *Maximilian* and his ſouldiors, that what with continuall batterie and mines they ſo terrified the Turks there in garriſon, that they for feare ſet fire on the fort, and flying away by night, made ſhift euery man for himſelfe, as he might. Which they in the caſtle of SISEG hearing, ſet fire alſo vpon it, and ſo left it to the Chriſtians: whoſe example they alſo of GARA followed: by which ſo proſperous and happie ſucceſſe of *Maximilians*, not the frontiers only, but euen the whole countrey of CROATIA was for that time deliuered of a wonderfull trouble and no leſſe danger. L

A great skirmiſh betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians.

The eight and twentith day of Auguſt twentie thouſand of the Chriſtians paſsing ouer the riuer by a bridge out of the iſland, and joyning with them of the towne, ſallied out vpon the Turks campe. The Hungarian Heidons in the foreward at the firſt onſet tooke two of the Turks M
bulwarkes; and hauing beaten out the enemies, cloyed certaine of their great pieces: but the Turks returning with greater power, enforced the Chriſtians to retire, and recouered again their loſt bulwarkes. In this conflict many were ſlaine, as well Chriſtians as Turkes. In the meane while *Thonhauſe* a great captaine of the Chriſtians, and *Geitzhofler*, countie *Hardecke* his lieutenant,

A nant, with fifteene hundred Hungarian and Germane footmen came in great boats to haue holpen their fellowes, but landing ſomewhat too late, they were by the enemie beaten backe, and enforced with ſuch ſpeed to retire, that many of them being not able to recouer the boats, were drowned in the riuer, amongſt whom *Geitzhofler* himſelfe periſhed, and *Thonhauſe* was deadly wounded in his breaſt. Yet the Chriſtians not diſcouraged with this loſſe, but gathering themſelues together vnder the very wals of the citie, gaue a ſecond aſſault vnto the enemie. In the foreward were the footmen, who were by the enemies horſemen eaſily repulſed: but by the comming in of the lord *Rinsberg* (who was at the firſt onſet ſlaine) the Turks were enforced into their trenches, except ſome few, which deuided from the reſt hid themſelues in the vineyards, but being found out by the Chriſtians, were there all ſlaine. In this skirmiſh the lord *Palfi* was grieuouſly wounded in his thigh. Of the Chriſtians were ſlaine foure hundred, and of the Turks about two thouſand. Theſe conflicts endured from ſeuen a clock in the morning vntill twelue, at which time the Chriſtians returning into the citie, and ſo into the campe, amongſt other ſpoyles carried away with them ſeuenteene of the enemies enſignes.

Two thouſand Turks ſlaine, and 17 of their enſignes taken.

No day now paſsing without ſome skirmiſh, at length the ninth of September ten thouſand Turkes, ſome in boates, ſome by other meanes, hauing got ouer the riuer of Danubius into the iſland of SCHVT, ſuddenly ſet vpon the Chriſtians, all ſleeping in ſecuritie, and little fearing any ſuch danger: of whom they ſlew about two thouſand, and after ſome ſmall fight put the reſt to moſt ſhamefull flight, in ſuch ſort, that *Matthias* the Archduke himſelfe with the other noblemen and captaines had much adoe by flight to eſcape. Thus whileſt euery man ſurpriſed with C feare, made what ſhift he could for himſelfe; the enemie in the meane time entered the trenches, tooke their tents, the great ordinance, the ſhot and pouder, and all the money which but a little before was brought for the ſouldiors pay; beſides about a thouſand waggons, and two hundred boats well loaded with prouiſion for the campe, and ten gallies, wherein were an hundred and twentie pieces of great ordinance. The loſſe receiued this day was valued at fiue hundred thouſand duckats. And albeit that this victorie coſt the Turkes two thouſand and fiue hundred of their liues, yet thereby they gained the maſterie both vpon the riuer and the land, ſo that now roming farre and neere without reſiſtance, they ſpoyled the countrey all about, and burnt certain countrey villages not farre from VIENNA: ſo that for many miles ſpace the countrey townes were for feare of the enemie forſaken by the inhabitants; of whom ſome were taken and ſlaine, D ſome carried into captiuitie, and ſome others (reſerued to a better fortune) with ſuch things as they had, got themſelues farther off into places of more ſecuritie. And the more to encreaſe theſe calamities, the Tartars ſhortly after paſsing ouer Danubius neere vnto ALTENBVRG, firſt ſacked WEISENBVRG, and after burnt it, with certaine townes thereabout: but aduenturing to haue gone further into the countrey, they were with loſſe enforced to returne.

A great ſpoile taken by the Turks.

Whileſt the Turks thus preuaile in HVNGARIE, *Cicala Baſſa* the Turkes Admirall then at ſea with a fleet of gallies, landing his men in diuers places of ITALIE, did exceeding much harme but eſpecially in CALABRIA, where he vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed RHEGIVM, rifled the towne, and afterwards burnt it. From thence taking his courſe towards SICILIA, he in the ſight of MESSANA landed certaine of his men; who aduenturing too farre aſhore, were by the countrey E people ouerthrowne and put to flight. So the Turks returning againe to RHEGIVM, vtterly raſed what they had before left of that towne. In the meane time not farre from MESSANA, euen in the ſight of the garriſon of the towne, they tooke a certaine ſhip comming out of the Eaſt countries, and three other comming from APVLIA. Afterward chancing vpon certaine gallies of the Eaſt, they changed ſome few ſhot with them, but to no great purpoſe. And ſo turning their courſe, and ſailing alongſt the coaſt of CALABRIA, they oftentimes landed certaine companies, which skirmiſhing with the Calabrians, had ſometime the better and ſometime the worſe, and ſo with ſuch fortune as befell them, were againe receiued into the gallies. They of MESSANA, vnto whoſe eyes theſe dangers were dayly preſented both by letters and ſpeedie meſſengers, gaue the Viceroy knowledge thereof (who then for his pleaſure lay at PALERMO) requeſting his pre- F ſent aid: but he dallying of the time, they for the more ſafegard of the citie and of the ſea coaſt, of themſelues raiſed fiue hundred horſemen, whom they committed to the leading of *Philip Cicala*, the renegate Turkiſh Admirals brother; and beſide ſtored the citie with all ſuch things as they thought neceſſarie for the enduring of a ſiege, if it ſhould chance the Turke to haue any ſuch purpoſe: of all which they certified the king of SPAINE, as alſo of the negligence of the Viceroy,

Rhegium raſed by the Turks.

Viceroy, requesting his speedie aid against these terrours of the Turks. In the meane while the G
Neapolitanes for safegard of their coast put to sea thirtie gallies: vnto whom the Pope, the duke
of FLORENCE, the Genowayes, and the knights of MALTA, joyned also theirs, in all to the
number of about fourescore gallies, vnder the conduct of *Auria*. The prouident Venetians also
although they were as then in league with the Turke; yet for the more safetie of their state, put
to sea a fleet of about an hundred saile, some ships, some gallies, vnder the leading of *Foscarin*
their Admirall. Which two fleets sayling vp and downe those seas, deliuered ITALIE, SICILIE,
DALMATIA, with many other prouinces and ilands of the Christians of a great feare.

Sinan Bassa hauing before encouraged his soldiors with great hope and large promises, com-
Rab assaulted by the Turks. maunded an assault to be giuen to the citie of RAB: which was accordingly by them begun the
three and twentith day of September, the Sunne being as yet scarce vp, and furiously maintained H
all that day from morning vntill night. But they of the towne so valiantly defended themselues,
that at last the Turks were glad to giue ouer the assault, and with losse to retire. Neuertheless the
next day the assault was again renewed, and most desperatly continued by the space of two daies:
Twelue thousand Turks slaine. wherein aboue twelue thousand of the Turks there lost their liues, the other with shame retiring
themselues into their trenches. In few dayes after, the Turks by a mine blew vp one of the bul-
warkes of the towne, with the fall whereof the towne ditch was in that place somewhat filled:
whereby the Turks with all their power attempted thrice the next day to haue entered, but were
by the valour of the defendants still notably with losse repulsed. Yet notwithstanding all this
chearefulnesse and couragiousnesse of them in the towne, the puissant enemie ceased not with
continuall batterie and furious assaults to attempt the citie, vntill that at length he had gained two I
of the bulwarkes, from whence he might to his great aduantage, by the rubbish and earth fallen
out of the battered bulwarkes and rampiers, haue accesse vnto the towne, to the great terrour of
the defendants. Whereupon countie *Hardeck* the Gouernor (who corrupted by the Turke, had
of purpose many times before said that the towne could not possibly be long defended) now
tooke occasion to enter into counsell with the other captaines of the towne (diuers of whom he
had alreadie framed to his purpose) what course were best to take for the yeelding of it vp. And
so after a little consultation, holden more for fashion sake, than for that he doubted what to doe;
resolued to send a messenger vnto the Bassa, for a truce to be graunted for a while, to see if happi-
ly in the meane time some reasonable composition might be agreed vpon. Yet the Gouernour
considering vnto what scorne and danger he should expose himselfe, by yeelding vp of so strong K
a towne; to colour the matter, and to excuse his doings vnto the rest of the nobilitie and garri-
sons of HVNGARIE, caused a publicke instrument to be in his and all the rest of the captaines
names conceiued in writing, wherein they solemnely protested vnto the world, That for as much
as it was impossible (by reason of the weakenesse of the garrison) for them longer to defend the
towne against so mightie an enemy, without new supplies in stead of them that were slain, which
they had oftentimes in vaine requested, they were therefore of necessitie enforced to come to
composition with the enemie. Which protestation so made, the Gouernour with the chiefe cap-
taines confirmed with their hands and seales. So after a truce granted, and pledges giuen on both
sides, at length it was agreed vpon, That all the garrison souldiors, together with the countie and
other captaines should in armes with ensignes displayed with bag and baggage depart in safetie; L
and with a safe conuoy be brought to ALTENBVRG. Which agreement though by oath con-
firmed, was not on the Turks part altogether performed: for when the countie had the 29 day of
September, at ten a clock in the forenoone deliuered vp the citie vnto the Bassa, and the Christian
garrison was all come out, the countie himselfe with a few of his friends was with a conuoy of
Turks brought in safetie to the appointed place: but the Italians and other garrison souldiors that
came behind, and ought to haue beene by the Gouernour protected, were contrary to the Turks
Countie Hardeck corrupted by the Turke, yeeldeth the strong towne of Rab vnto Sinan Bassa. promise spoyled of all that they had, and hardly escaping with life, came that night to HOCH-
STRATE, and the next day to ALTENBVRG. Thus was RAB, one of the strongest bulwarkes of
Christendome, traiterously deliuered vnto the most mortall enemie of the Christian religion;
being euen then when it was giuen vp, victualled for a yeare, and sufficiently furnished with all M
things necessarie for defence: all which prouision together with the citie fell into the hands of the
faithlesse enemie. A losse neuer to haue beene sufficiently lamented, had it not beene about foure
yeares after, euen as it were miraculously againe recouered, to the great rejoysing of all that side
of Christendome, as in the processe of this Historie shall appeare.

Sinan

A *Sinan* glad of this victorie, as of the greateſt trophey of his maſters glorie ouer the Chriſtians, gaue him ſpeedie knowledge thereof, both by letters and meſſengers. Of whom he was for that good ſeruice highly commended, and afterward bountifully rewarded: for now had *Amurath* alreadie in hope deuoured all AVSTRIA, with the prouinces thereabout. The great Baſſa, becauſe he would not with too long ſtay hinder the courſe of his victorie, without delay repaired the rent citie, new fortified the battered bulwarkes, enlarged the ditches, and filled the cathedrall church with earth, in maiſter of a ſtrong bulwarke, where vpon he planted great ſtore of great ordinance: and with exceeding ſpeed diſpatched all things neceſſarie for the holding of the place. In the meane time he ſent certaine Tartars to ſummon the towne and caſtle of PAPPA; which caſtle and little towne ſubiect thereunto, the Chriſtians the night following ſet on
B fire, becauſe it ſhould not ſtand the enemie in any ſtead for the farther troubling of the countrey, and ſo fled. *Rab repaired by the Turks.*

The Baſſa hauing at his pleaſure diſpoſed of all things in RAB, and leauing there foure thouſand Ianizaries, and two thouſand horſemen in garriſon, departed thence with his armie and laid ſiege to KOMARA, a ſtrong towne of that moſt fertile iſland, which the Hungarians call SCHVT; which ſituated in the verie point thereof about foure miles from RAB, is on the Eaſt, South, and North encloſed with the two armes of Danubius. All theſe waies *Sinan* with his fleet (which he had there notably well appointed) laid hard ſiege vnto the towne, and gaue thereunto diuers aſſaults: and by land, the Beglerbeg of GRÆCE ceaſed not both by continuall batterie and mines, to ſhake the wals and bulwarks thereof. Thus was the citie on all ſides both by wa-
C ter and by land hardly laid vnto. But the Chriſtians within, with no leſſe courage defended themſelues and the citie, than did the Turkes aſſaile them; ſhewing indeed, that the libertie of their religion and countrey, was vnto them dearer than their liues. *Matthias* the archduke in the meane time, not ignorant how much it concerned the emperour his brother to haue this citie defended, hauing after his late ouerthrow gathered togither a good armie of Germanes, Bohemians, and Hungarians, reſolued to go and raiſe the ſiege: and ſo marching forward with his armie, came and encamped the 28 day of October at NITRIA, about fiue miles from KOMARA. Now were the Tartars a little before departed from the came, with purpoſe to returne home: yea the Turkes themſelues wearie of the ſiege, and wanting victuall both for themſelues and their horſes, began alſo as men diſcouraged to ſhrinke away. Which the Baſſa well conſi-
D dering, thought it not beſt with his heartleſſe ſouldiors and armie now ſore weakened, to abide the comming of the Chriſtians: and therefore vpon their approach he forthwith forſooke the citie, which he had by the ſpace of three weekes hardly beſieged, and by a bridge made of boats tranſported his armie and artillerie ouer Danubius to DOTIS, where the next day after he brake vp his armie. Immediatly after the Turkes were thus departed, the Archduke arriued at KOMARA, where he with great diligence cauſed the breaches to be repaired, the mines to be filled vp, and new bulwarkes and rampiers to be made in diuers places for the more ſtrength of the citie, leauing the charge thereof ſtill vnto the lord *Braun* the old Gouernour, who in the defence thereof had receiued a grieuous wound in his right knee: of whom alſo this notable fact is reported. The Baſſa in time of the late ſiege of KOMARA, vnder the colour of a parley, had ſent
E fiue Turks into the citie to the Gouernour, but in deed to proue if he were by any meanes to be woon to yeeld vp the citie, and not to hold it out to the laſt: The faithfull Gouernour, hauing giuen them the hearing vntill they had diſcharged their whole treacherie, preſently cauſed foure of their heads to be ſtrucken off, and to be ſet vpon long pikes vpon one of the bulwarkes for the Baſſa to looke vpon; but the fift (the beholder of this tragedie) he ſent backe vnto the Baſſa, to tell him, That although he had found one in RAB to ſerue his turne, he was much deceiued if in him he thought to find Countie *Hardeck*; and that he wiſhed rather to die the emperours faithfull ſeruant in the bloud of the Turkes, than to betray the citie committed to his charge. *Komara beſieged by Sinan Baſſa.*

Countie *Hardeck* late Gouernour of RAB, generally before ſuſpected to haue treacherouſly bettraied that ſtrong towne vnto the Baſſa, was therefore ſent for to VIENNA, and there by the
F emperours commaundement committed to priſon. Where among many things laid to his charge, as that he ſhould in the beginning of the ſiege negligently haue ſuffered many things to be done by the enemie, which afterwards turned to the great danger of the towne: and that in the time of the ſiege, he had cauſed ſome of the canoniers to diſcharge certain great pieces againſt the enemie, with pouder onely without ſhot: and that ſeeing one piece among the reſt to do the *Sinan Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege.*

enemie much harme, he had cauſed the ſame to be remooued, and ſo placed, as that it ſerued to little or no vſe: beſide that, he (as it ſhould ſeeme) making ſmall reckoning of the towne, ſhould oftentimes ſay, That if the Turkes ſhould win it, he ſhould be but one towne the richer: with diuers other ſuch things, giuing juſt cauſe of ſuſpition. The thing that lay moſt heauie vpon him, was the teſtimonie of one of *Sinan Baſſa* his chamber, who being taken young by the Turkes, and ſeruing in the Baſſaes chamber, was now fled from the Turks, and comming to the Archduke in the time of his ſiege, declared vnto him, that there was treaſon in his campe: and that he but three daies before by the commaundement of his maſter, had deliuered two bags full of duckats vnto two Chriſtians, of whom the one had a notable ſcarre in his face, and was afterwards known to haue bin one of the Counties ſeruants. Vpon this and ſuch like proofs, the Countie was after many daies hearing, in open court by the judgement of ſeauen and fortie noblemen and captaines of name, condemned of treaſon, and adjudged to be hanged, his dead bodie to remaine vpon the gallowes by the ſpace of three daies, and all his lands and goods to bee confiſcat: The rigour of which ſentence was afterward by the emperour mitigated, and the traitour by him adjudged to haue his right hand (by him before giuen to the emperour, in pawne of his faith) and his head ſtrucke off vpon a ſcaffold at VIENNA, and ſo buried. Which ſeuere ſentence was afterwards accordingly put in execution: for the tenth of Iune following, the traitour being brought to the ſcaffold built of purpoſe in the hie ſtreet of VIENNA, after the ſentence of his condemnation there ſolemnly read, commending himſelfe vpon his knees to the mercie of God, with his eies couered, & his right hand laid vpon a blocke couered with blacke, had both his hand and head ſo ſuddenly ſtrucke off by the executioners, as that the beholders could hardly judge which of them was firſt off. His dead bodie with his head and hand, was preſently by his ſeruant wrapped in a blacke cloth and laid in his coach, which ſtood there by of purpoſe couered with blacke, and was afterwards buried amongſt his aunceſtors.

Countie Hardeck condemned and executed for betraying of Rab.

The Tartars but lately before departed from *Sinans* campe, paſsing ouer Danubius at STRIGONIVM, had purpoſed through the vpper part of HVNGARIE, and by the borders of TRANSYLVANIA and MOLDAVIA, to haue againe returned into their countrey: of whom two companies falling into the hands of the lord *Palfi*, were by him cut off and vtterly defeated: the reſt comming vnto the borders of TRANSYLVANIA, and finding the paſſages ſo beſet by the Prince and the Vayuod of VALACHIA, as that they could not without moſt manifeſt danger paſſe that way, returned againe the ſame way they came: and hauing rifled and burnt certaine towns and villages in the vpper HVNGARIE about TOCKAIE, paſſed the riuer againe at STRIGONIVM, and wintering at VESPRINIVM, PALOTTA, and other places in the countrey about RAB, liued vpon the ſpoile of the poore Chriſtians, vpon the frontiers of AVSTRIA, euen as far as MEINERSDORF.

Theſe Tartars (of whom we haue ſo often ſpoken) at their firſt comming to the aid of *Sinan*, by direction from the Turkiſh Sultan, ſtaied vpon the frontiers of TRANSYLVANIA, of purpoſe to haue ſurpriſed that countrey, and either to haue thruſt *Sigiſmund Bator* the young prince out of the gouernment thereof, or elſe to haue ſent him in bonds to CONSTANTINOPLE: For it was commonly reported, That he wearie of the heauie tribute which he yearely paied vnto the Turke, and had now after their greedie manner been diuers times enhaunſed: had purpoſed to reuolt from the Turkiſh Sultan, and to enter into confederation with the Chriſtian emperour. Which innouation and change, certaine of the nobilitie and chiefe States of TRANSYLVANIA, ſought by all meanes to hinder: and acquainting *Amurath* with the matter, and entring into conſpiracie with the Tartars, vndertooke to deliuer the whole countrey into their hands, and to ſend the Prince priſoner to HVST, where the Tartars then lay vpon the borders encamped. Wherefore diſſembling this their purpoſe, they cunningly perſuaded the Prince, that *Samoſche* the great Chancellor of POLONIA, in the confines of his countrey lay with a great power expecting his comming, to conſult with him of matters of great importance. And the better to colour this their treacherie, they had counterfeited letters to that effect from the Chancelor to the Prince, and had wrought ſo effectually, that the Prince not ſuſpecting any ſuch treaſon, gaue credit to their perſuaſions, and ſo put himſelfe vpon his way towards the Chancellor (as he ſuppoſed:) but by the way, he was aduiſed by ſome of his friends which had got ſome ſuſpition of the matter, not to go any farther, for that his comming was not attended by the Polonians his friends (as he was perſuaded) but by the Tartars his enemies, who lay in wait for him at HVST, to bereaue

A reaue him of his life and gouernment. The Prince aſtonied with the noueltie of the matter, liſtned vnto their perſuaſion, and retired with his traine to the ſtrong fort of KEHWERES; where he ſtaied fourteene daies, as if it had been onely for feare of the Tartars. In the meane time, hee gaue notice to the nobilitie and gouernours of the countrey, his friends, of the imminent and common danger; who forthwith repaired vnto him in armes. But the traitors proceeding in their purpoſe, ceaſed not to perſuade *Bornemiſſa*, who had the leading of the princes armie, that to fight with the Tartars was a matter of no ſmall danger: and that therefore if he wiſhed well to his countrey, he ſhould not haue to doe with them, but onely ſhew himſelfe neere vnto them, and that he was not vnprouided for them: which was accordingly done, and the Tranſyluanian army brought ſo nigh vnto the Tartars, as that they might heare the noiſe of their drums and
B trumpets. Whereby the Tartars as by the watchword, perceiuing themſelues diſcouered, and nothing to fall out according to their expectation, & as had been vnto them promiſed for the betraying of the prince: they remoued thence, and by another way breaking through the middeſt of TRANSYLVANIA, and ſo into HVNGARIE, rifled and burnt fiue hundred villages, ſlew all the males that were aboue twelue yeares of age, and carried away the reſt vnto the Turkiſh army then lying at the ſiege of RAB. In the meane time the traitours (when as this firſt plot ſerued them not) conſpired to ſet vp one *Balthazar Bator*, the young princes nigh kinſman, and with the good fauour of *Amurath* to preferre him to the ſoueraigne gouernment of their countrey. Which their purpoſe the Prince perceiuing, and doubting altogither to truſt vnto the fidelitie of his owne ſubjects; writ to his neighbours the Raſcians, and other his confederats, praying
C their aid in this his ſo dangerous and doubtfull eſtate. Which after he had receiued, he appointed a generall aſſembly of all his States to be holden at CLAVSENBVRG, and that vpon a great paine to be inflicted vpon all ſuch as ſhould not there perſonally appeare: ſo at the prefixed day all came, except the Cardinall *Bator* and *Stephen* his brother, who guiltie of ſo foule a treaſon againſt their owne bloud, were now before fled into POLONIA. Being all thus met togither, the Prince commaunded the gates of the citie to be ſhut, and diligent watch and ward to be kept, forbidding by open proclamation, that any man vpon paine of death ſhould ſo much as ſpeake of any imagined treaſon. And at the ſame time politikely cauſed to be publiſhed in writing, how that the Germanes, had in the farther ſide of HVNGARIE got a notable victorie ouer the Turks; for joy whereof he commanded bonefiers to be made, and the great ordinance to be in triumph
D ſhot off, with many other ſignes of joy and gladneſſe: and withall cauſed a notable banquet to be prepared, whereunto togither with others, were inuited alſo all the chiefe of the conſpirators: Of whom, euen as they were at dinner & leaſt feared any ſuch matter, he commanded fourteene to be apprehended and committed to priſon: and the next morning cauſed fiue of them to be executed in the open market place. The principall of whom, who had vndertaken to haue himſelfe ſlaine the Prince, after three or foure light cuts in the necke, he cauſed to be drawne in pieces with foure horſes: the other foure, namely *Alexander*, and *Gabriell Gendi*, *Gregorie Diaco*, and *Ladiſlaus Sallentz* were beheaded, and their dead bodies all that day left in the market place for the people to behold: the reſt were alſo afterwards worthely executed; and *Balthazar Bator*, whom the conſpiratours had intended to haue exalted, ſtrangled. Hauing thus reuenged him-
E ſelfe vpon his enemies, he by a publike edict divulged through all his dominion, gaue leaue to all his ſubjects in generall, of their owne charge to take vp armes againſt the Turkes, and whatſoeuer they could take from them, to haue it to themſelues, as good prize gotten from their lawfull enemies. By which vnwonted libertie, the Tranſyluanians encouraged as with a great bountie, armed themſelues on all hands to the number of fortie thouſand, who being muſtered and ſworn to hold togither againſt the Turkes, made their firſt expedition towards Danubius; where at their firſt arriuall, by good hap they light vpon certaine of the Turkes ſhips laded with prouiſion for the campe, and merchandiſe of all ſorts, and much treaſure: of which rich ſhips, they at the firſt onſet tooke ſeuen, but the eighth (being in deed the Admirall) eſcaped their hands. In theſe ſhips they tooke an exceeding rich bootie, ſlew many of the Turkes, and in token of the victo-
F rie, carried backe vnto the Prince ſeaen of the Turkiſh enſignes. This victorie cauſed great joy in TRANSYLVANIA, euerie man of ſo proſperous a beginning, conceiuing good hope of moſt happie ſucceſſe. It is reported, that *Sinan Baſſa* hearing of this loſſe, ſhould ſay, That if this prouiſion had come to him in ſafetie, he could with that treaſure more eaſily haue bought VIENNA in AVSTRIA, than he had RAB in HVNGARIE. After this victorie the Prince laied ſiege

Great harme done in Tranſyluania by the Tartars.

The conſpirators againſt the prince, apprehended and executed.

to TEMESVVAR, but hearing of the returne of the Tartars from the Turks campe, and that they were comming toward TRANSYLVANIA (as is beforesaid) he left TEMESVVAR, to look to the defence of his owne countrey. G

The Ianizaries in a tumult at Constantinople.

Not long after, about the two and twentith of December a tumult rise among the Ianizaries of the Court at CONSTANTINOPLE, which grew to such an height, that in the heat thereof one of the Bassaes was by them slaine, with some others of good account, and one of *Amuraths* sonnes sore wounded, and with much adoe saued. Vpon conceit whereof, *Amurath* for anger and griefe fell into a fit of the falling sickenesse (whereunto he was much subject) and was therwith for the space of three dayes and three nights so grieuously vexed, as if he should haue presently giuen vp the ghost: so that the citie was filled with heauinesse and feare, and the great men of the Court were euen readie to thinke vpon a new lord. This tumult of the insolent Ianizaries many H

Amurath sicke.

suppосed to haue beene the cause of *Amurath* his death, which shortly after ensued: his griefe and maladie encreasing dayly by the euill newes still brought vnto him both by messengers and letters, especially out of TRANSYLVANIA, where the prince waiting vpon euery occasion, was still at hand with the Turkes, cutting them short in euery place; and in sundrie fodes which he made vpon them this moneth, tooke many of their castles and forts from them. He had at that time in the field in diuers places three armies: one vnder the conduct of *Gesty Ferens*, in the countrey of LVOAZ neere vnto TEMESVVARE: another vnder the leading of *Michaell Horwat*, on the side of Danubius, to intercept the Turkes comming to BVDA: and the third commaunded by *Caspar Cornoyse* in the country neere to GIVLA, vnto whom came shortly after fifteene hundred horsemen out of the vpper HVNGARIE. I

1595 The Transyluanian prince *Sigismund Bator* thus lately reuolted from the Turk, for the strengthening of his state thought it best betime to enter into confederation with his neighbors of VALACHIA and MOLDAVIA (who moued by his example, shortly after in like manner also cast off the seruile yoke of the Turke) but especially with the Christian emperour *Rodolph*. For which purpose he sent his embassadours honourably accompanied: who comming to COSSOVIA in HVNGARIE the fourteenth of December, arriued at PRAGE the twelfth of Ianuarie, with twentie waggons, and an hundred and fiftie horse, where they were by the emperours appointment most honourably receiued and royally entertained: and after a few dayes hauing deliuered vnto the emperour the summe of their embassage, which was for a confederation to be made betweene the emperour and the prince: after much graue consultation and serious discourse it was K fully concluded and agreed vpon: the chiefe points whereof I thought it not amisse here in briefe to set downe, for the satisfying of such as desire to know in what tearmes that worthie prince next neighbour vnto the Turke then stood with the Christian emperour.

The capitulations of the league betwixt the emperour and the Transyluanian Prince.

First it was agreed vpon, That the emperour for himselfe and for the states of HVNGARIE should promise to proceed in his wars begun against the common enemie, and not to conclude any peace with him, without the knowledge and good liking of the prince. And that in all conclusions of peace to be made betwixt him and the Turke, the countries of TRANSYLVANIA, VALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, should be alwayes compriſed: in regard whereof, the prince likewise promised for himselfe and the states of TRANSYLVANIA, to prosecute the commenced warre, and not to enter into any league with the Turke, without the knowledge and consent L of the emperour and the nobilitie of HVNGARIE, and this to be confirmed by solemne oath on both sides.

Secondly, that the prouince of TRANSYLVANIA with all the parts and confines thereof hitherto possessed by the prince in HVNGARIE, should remaine vnto the said prince *Sigismund* and his heires male, with all the profits arising thereof, in such sort as they had done in the time of *Iohn*, *Stephen*, and *Christopher*, his predecessors, to haue therein a most free and absolute authoritie: yet so, as that they should acknowledge his imperiall majestie and his lawfull successors for their lawfull soueraignes; vnto whom they should alwayes sweare their fealtie, but without any homage doing: and that to be performed by his successours at the time of the change, but by the prince himselfe, presently after the confirming of this league. But that for lacke of heires M male, the countrey of TRANSYLVANIA with all the territories thereunto annexed, should discend vnto his sacred majestie and his successours, the kings of HVNGARIE, as a true and inseparable member thereof: whereunto the prince and all the states of TRANSYLVANIA should bind themselues by solemne oath. But yet that at such time as the heires male should faile in the

line

A line of the preſent prince, and that the countrey of TRANSYLVANIA ſhould according to theſe preſent conditions be deuolued to the crowne of HVNGARIE; as well his preſent imperiall and royall majeſtie as his ſucceſſours, ſhould keepe inuiolate the auntient lawes, priuiledges, and cuſtomes of that countrey, and alwayes appoint one of the nobilitie of TRANSYLVANIA to be Gouernour or Vayuod of the ſame, and no other ſtranger.

Thirdly, that his majeſtie ſhould acknowledge the prince of TRANSYLVANIA for an abſolute prince, and by ſpeciall charter confirme vnto him the title of *Moſt excellent*.

Fourthly, that his imperiall majeſtie ſhould procure one of the daughters of the late Archduke *Charles* his vncle, for a wife for the prince, that as they were now to be joyned in league, ſo they might be joyned in affinitie alſo.

B Fiftly, that the emperour ſhould procure him to bee made one of the order of the Golden Fleece.

Sixtly, that the prince might with more cheerefulneſſe and ſecuritie make warre againſt the common enemie, his imperiall and royall majeſtie ſhould not at any time, howſoeuer things fell out, forſake the ſaid prince or any of the countries ſubject vnto him: and euen now preſently to aid him according as the preſent occaſion required, and afterward (if greater need ſhould be) with greater helpe, whether it were by his Generall of CASSOVIA, or others: and this giuing of aid to be on both ſides mutuall and reciprocall, according as the neceſsitie of the one or other part ſhould require: and that where moſt need was, thither ſhould moſt helpe be conuerted.

Seuenthly, that the ſacred Romane empire ſhould take vpon it the protection and defence of
C the prince and his territories. And that his imperiall majeſtie ſhould create the ſaid prince and the princes his ſucceſſours, princes of the empire: yet ſo, as that they ſhould haue neither voice not place among the ſaid princes.

Eightly, that whatſoeuer caſtles, towns, cities, or other places of ſtrength ſhould by their common forces be taken or recouered from the common enemie, at ſuch time as his imperiall majeſtie ſhould ſend into the field a full armie, ſhould be all his majeſties: But ſuch places as the prince ſhould by his owne forces or policie gaine from the enemie, ſhould remaine vnto the prince himſelfe. Yet that what places ſoeuer the prince ſhould recouer, which at any time before belonged to the kingdome of HVNGARIE, before it was taken by the Turke, thoſe he ſhould forthwith deliuer to his majeſtie, as ſoone as reaſonable recompence were by him therefore made vnto
D the prince.

Ninthly, his ſacred majeſtie ſhould promiſe of his owne bountie to giue vnto his excellencie ſufficient aid for the fortifying and defence of ſuch places as ſhould be thought neceſſarie for the behoofe of the Chriſtians: as again the ſaid prince ſhould likewiſe promiſe not to ſpare his own cofers or forces, that the ſame places ſhould be throughly fortified and defended, for the behoofe of his majeſtie and the common good of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Laſtly, that for as much as the euents of warre are vncertaine, and many things ſuddenly happen contrarie to mens expectation, if ſuch neceſsitie ſhould chance vnto his excellencie or his ſucceſſours (which miſhap God forbid) that hauing ſpent themſelues, they ſhould not be able longer to defend their ſtate and countrey, but that the mightie enemie preuailing, they ſhould at
E laſt be enforced to forſake the ſame: in this their extremitie, his imperiall & royall majeſtie ſhould promiſe both for himſelfe and his ſucceſſors, within the ſpace of one moneth to aſsigne ſome certaine place in ſome other of his dominions, where the ſaid prince and his ſucceſſours might honourably liue. And the like regard to be had alſo of other ſuch principall men, as ſhould together with the prince aduenture their liues and liuings in defence of the Chriſtian commonweale.

Which articles of confederation agreed vpon, and ſolemnly confirmed, the ſame embaſſadors were with all kindneſſe, bountie, and magnificence diſmiſſed and ſent back again vnto the prince: who was not himſelfe in the meane time idle, but labouring by all the meanes he could to draw vnto him *Michael* the Vayuod of VALACHIA, a man of no leſſe worth than himſelfe, and *Aaron* the Palatine of MOLDAVIA, both of them then the Turkes tributaries; and by them to alienate
F from the Turke both thoſe countries, that ſo with their combined forces they might the better defend their libertie, and withſtand their common enemie: wherein he did ſo much, and preuailed ſo farre with them both, that caſting off the Turks obeiſance, they ſhortly after to the great benefit of the Chriſtian commonweale, and no leſſe hinderance of the Turkes proceedings in HVNGARIE, joined hands both together with him for the recouerie of their loſt liberty. Which

reuolt of theſe bordering princes, for that it ſo much concerned the common good, as that the G
ſafegard of AVSTRIA, and of the remnants of HVNGARIE, with ſome good part of GERMANIE alſo, is euen by them that in thoſe matters ſaw much, not without cauſe ſuppoſed to haue reſted therein; and that this noble Vayuod (of whom much is to be ſaid hereafter) was the ſecond actor herein, it ſhall not be from our purpoſe to ſee the manner of his reuolt alſo from the Turke, as we haue alreadie the Tranſyluanians. For the more euidence whereof, as for the honour of the man (whileſt he liued, a moſt worthie member of the Chriſtian commonweale) we will a little ſtep backe to ſee how he obtained of the Great Turke this ſo honourable a preferment as was the Vayuodſhip of VALACHIA, not without his reuolt long now to be holden.

Valachia oppreſſed by the Turke.

Alexander the late Vayuod of VALACHIA, a Moldauian borne, and by *Amurath* himſelfe promoted to that dignitie, proud aboue meaſure of this his ſo great a preferment, as alſo of his H
owne nobilitie, and the deceitfull fauour of fortune ſtill fawning vpon him; not onely oppreſſed his people himſelfe with intollerable impoſitions, but to be in farther fauour with the Turkes, brought into that countrey (too much before exhauſted) ſuch a companie of them, as that they ſeemed now almoſt wholly to haue poſſeſſed the ſame, oppreſsing the poore Chriſtians (the naturall inhabitants) with new exactions, and more than tyrannicall injuries, euen ſuch as were not elſewhere by the Turkes themſelues vſed; not onely breaking at their pleaſure into their houſes, and deſpoyling them of their goods, but taking tythe alſo of their children, as if it had beene of their cattell, a thing neuer before there ſeene: and for the ſatisfying of their beaſtly luſt, rauiſhing their wiues and daughters, euen in the ſight of their husbands & parents, with diuers other ſuch outragious villanies, not with modeſtie to be rehearſed. So that by this meanes he had vio- I
lently taken from his Chriſtian ſubjects all hope of recouerie of their auntient libertie, had it not as ſometime it falleth out in theſe worldly things both vnto men and commonweales, which brought vnto the laſt caſt, & euen as it were to the bottome of diſpaire, by the goodneſſe of God contrarie to all hope find ſometime ſuch vnexpected helpe and reliefe, as that thereby they, beyond their hope, euen to the aſtoniſhment of the world, mount vp againe vnto a greater luſtre of their ſtate than was that from which they before fell: it had euen ſo by the ſingular mercy of God now happened vnto the Valachians, not knowing which way to turne themſelues. There was at CRAILOVVA, a citie in the confines of VALACHIA towards the confines of the Hungarians and Turks (where the gouernour of theſe borders is for the defence thereof with a ſtrong garriſon alwayes reſiant) a noble gentleman called * *Ion Michael,* ſonne to *Peter* the Palatine of that K
countrey, the aforeſaid *Alexander* his predeceſſour: who as he was vnto the people for the honour of his father, the prerogatiue of his birth, the comelineſſe of his perſon, and talneſſe of his ſtature, well knowne: ſo was he for his zeale towards the Chriſtian religion, his loue towards his countrey, his kindneſſe towards his equals, his courteſie towards his inferiours, his vpright dealing, his conſtancie and bountie vnto them, no leſſe gracious; and for other the noble vertues of his heroicall mind and naturall diſpoſition for the performance of great matters, his deepe wiſdome and quicke foreſight, his ſweet and pleaſing ſpeech, void of all affectation, vnto all good men moſt deare: whoſe fame, both for the honour of his houſe, and of his owne vertues, ſtill more and more encreaſing, and rife in the eares of *Alexander* the Vayuod, was the cauſe that he commaunded him as the readie or rather naturall competitour of his ſtate and honour to be ſe- L
cretly apprehended, and ſo taken out of the way: whereof he by good fortune hauing intelligence, and careſull of his owne health, for ſafegard of himſelfe fled firſt into HVNGARIE, and there not ſtaying long (God ſo directing him) went to CONSTANTINOPLE in the yeare 1591, to ſue for the Vayuod his place, all the nobilitie of his countrey and the prouinces thereunto adjoyning, ſecretly rejoyſing thereat. About which time the chiefe and moſt graue of the Valachian nobilitie and counſellours proſtrating themſelues at the feet of *Amurath*, moſt grieuouſly complained vnto him of the manifold and intollerable injuries they had alreadie ſuſtained, and were ſtill like to endure, without hope of redreſſe, from *Alexander* their Vayuod, and the followers of his Court; the Turks garriſons and marchants with plentifull teares orderly declaring many his moſt foule and deteſtable facts, and afterward highly commending *Ion Michael* for his M
rare vertues, as the true heire of their prouince; moſt humbly requeſted *Amurath* either to haue him appointed the lawfull Gouernour of their countrey, or els ſome other place by him aſsigned for them to dwell in, wiſhing any where to liue, rather than vnder the heauie commaund of ſo mercileſſe a man as was *Alexander*. For the furthering of which their ſute, *Michael* his vncle by the

**Ion ſignifieth with the Valachians as much as Chriſtian, which ſome miſtaking, call this Michael alſo by the name of Iohn*

A the mothers ſide, a Greeke borne, and a man for his exceeding wealth in great fauor in the Turks Court, ſpared for no coſt. So *Michael* by the goodneſſe of God was by *Amurath* with great ſolemnitie created Vayuod of VALACHIA, and the oppreſſed and almoſt forlorne ſtate of that ſometime moſt flouriſhing countrey by little and little well relieued (although not altogither without moſt ſharpe and violent remedies, ſuch as extremities oft require) began now againe to lift vp the head, and to aſpire vnto the auntient libertie and honour thereof. At the beginning of whoſe happie ſoueraignetie, *Alexander* his predeceſſour in his owne conſcience guiltie of his euill and ſhamefull gouernment of that ſo notable and great a prouince; and now in feare to be called to account, ſecretly fled. But certaine yeares after remouing to CONSTANTINOPLE with his wife, and there attempting diuers euill meanes for the obtaining of the Palatinat of
B MOLDAVIA, and for thoſe his vnlawfull practiſes accuſed by the Palatines Agent: he was by the commandement of *Amurath* taken in his owne houſe, and there in his princely apparell moſt miſerably ſtrangled vpon Palme ſunday, in the yeare 1597, about ſix yeares after his departure out of VALACHIA.

Michael by Amurath created Vayuod of Valachia.

Alexander ſtrangled at Conſtantinople.

Michael thus made Vayuod of VALACHIA, long it was not but that it fortuned the reuerend father *Cornelius de Nona*, ſent from Pope *Clement* the Eight, vnto the Great duke of MVSCOVIE, in his returne conferring with *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian Prince, and *Aaron* the Palatine of MOLDAVIA, enformed them of the great conſent of diuers zealous Chriſtian princes, for the maintenance of the warre againſt the dangerous and common enemie; with many graue and effectuall reaſons perſuading them (but eſpecially for that they were themſelues Chriſtians) in that
C Chriſtian quarrell to joyne vnto them their forces alſo, raiſed in thoſe their countries neere vnto the great riuers Danubius and Neſter: but vnto *Michael* the Vayuod of VALACHIA, he could not for diuers his other important buſineſſes then come; whom for all that, the aforeſaid Tranſyluanian prince *Sigiſmund* his neighbour, deſirouſly ſought to draw into the fellowſhip of that warre, euen for the ſame reaſons almoſt wherewith he had been himſelfe mooued. Firſt by diuers great reaſons remouing ſuch doubts as might juſtly ſeeme to hinder him from giuing thereunto his conſent; and then, by declaring the Turkiſh inſolencie daily increaſing, with the infinit grieuances by them deuiſed againſt the miſerable Valachians: when as the incurſions of the Turks or Tartars, or their paſſages that way (no leſſe troubleſome than their inroads) was almoſt euerie moneth to be feared, their armies as ſtriends to be in Winter and Sommer receiued, their
D ſouldiors to their great charges relieued, and their commaunders and captaines rewarded. VALACHIA thus impoueriſhed, was not able (as he ſaid) to pay the great ſums it did alreadie owe, neither was to expect any releaſement of the euils it was wrapped in; much leſſe was it able to ſuffice vnto the grieuous exactions to be thereunto by them afterwards impoſed. None of his predeceſſours (as he told him, and as truth was) had for many yeares now paſt, for any long time or with any ſecuritie held their ſtate or gouernment: but that either by the calumniation of the enuious, or bribes of their ambitious competitours, brought into ſuſpition with the Sultan, they were violently thruſt out, or moſt cruelly put to death. In briefe, he ſaid, it was a wiſe mans part, not without moſt manifeſt & waightie reaſons, to promiſe vnto himſelfe better fortune or more aſſurance of his ſtate, than had his vnfortunat predeceſſours before him; but warned by their
E harmes, betimes to prouide for his owne ſafetie. By which perſuaſion he ſo preuailed, that the Vayuod (whoſe name, whoſe fame, whoſe wealth and life togither with his ſubjects was all thereby endangered) although he would not (for the waightineſſe of the matter) at the firſt yeeld thereunto; yet aſſuredly promiſed, with his friends and the reſt of the nobilitie of his countrey, to conſider thereupon. Hauing it by the prince plainly laid downe before him, how a ſufficient number of ſouldiors might at all times be raiſed, their pay prouided, and aid ſtill ſent him as need ſhould be from the Germane emperor, or himſelfe out of TRANSYLVANIA: as alſo that *Aaron* the Palatine of MOLDAVIA, would at all times be readie to combine himſelfe vnto them; that ſo with their vnited forces, they might vpon the bankes of Danubius and Neſter, eaſily repreſſe the incurſions both of the Turkes and Tartars their enemies: the Chriſtian emperour in the
F meane time, with leſſe trouble proceeding in his warres againſt the Turke in the other ſide of HVNGARIE.

Now whileſt this plot was thus in laying, and matters too and fro in debating, not altogither without the Turkes ſuſpition; *Sinan Baſſa* comming with a great armie into HVNGARIE, had taken the ſtrong towne of RAB, as is before declared: with which miſchance ſo much concerning

ning the poore remainders of HVNGARIE, the Vayuod not a little mooued, began more deeply to conſider of his owne eſtate. And as he was a man of a great ſpirit and no leſſe zeale towards his countrey, grieuing to ſee his ſubjects committed to his charge, to be ſo daily by the inſolent Turkes ſtill more and more oppreſſed: he (as he had before promiſed to the Tranſyluanian) called an aſſembly of all the States of VALACHIA, to conſult with them what were beſt to be done for the remedie of ſo great euils, as alſo for the preuenting of greater, not without cauſe then to be feared. Where by the generall conſent of them all it was agreed, rather to joyne with the emperor and the other Chriſtian princes in confederation (as they had been oftentimes by them requeſted) than longer to endure that heauie yoake of the Turkiſh thraldome and ſlauerie. G

Michael the Vayuod of Valachia reuolteth from the Turkes.

Whereupon the Vayuod taking vnto him two thouſand of the Hungarian garriſon ſouldiors, now before for that purpoſe ſecretly laid vpon the frontiers of his countrey; and calling vpon the name of *Chriſt Ieſus*, in one day to begin withall, ſlew about two thouſand of the Ianizaries (who without his leaue had in that countrey prowdly ſeated themſelues) with all the reſt of the Turks (in the middeſt of their inſolencie) togither with the traiterous Iewes, not leauing one of them that he could come by, aliue in all the open countrey. And purpoſing to driue them out of their ſtrong holds alſo, and ſo to make a cleane riddance of them, he within foureteene daies after ſet vpon DZIVRDZOVVA, a great towne of the Turks vpon the banke of Danubius, which he burnt all ſauing the caſtle: and hauing there made a great ſlaughter, and loded with the ſpoile of the Turks, returned to BVCARESTA the chiefe ſeat of his Palatinat. H

But long it was not after this his ſo great preſumption, but that he perceiued the Turkes in reuenge thereof to ſeeke after his life: although he yet ſeemed to yeeld his obedience vnto *Amurath*, and to haue done that he did, as enforced thereunto by the inſolencie of the Turks, and for the neceſſarie reliefe both of himſelfe and his ſubjects. For the ſame moneth, RAB being (as is aforeſaid) taken by *Sinan:* one of the Turks * Emirs, diſcended of the great family and ſtocke of *Mahomet* their falſe Prophet, and then Cadileſcher (a man of great account and place amongſt the Turkes) accompanied with two thouſand choſen ſouldiors, fiftie of the great Sultans chamber, and many of the Zauſij and Spahi, vpon the ſudden came to BVCARESTA vnder the colour of refreſhing themſelues after their long trauell, but in deed with purpoſe to haue taken the Vayuod; where they without controlement committed all kind of outragious villanie: and taking vp all the chiefe houſes in the citie, imperiouſly demaunded of the Vayuod (who then lay at his pallace neere vnto the new monaſterie without the citie, built without any caſtle or defence vpon the riuer Dembowiza) ten thouſand Florens for a preſent, with victuals and other neceſſarie prouiſion for his followers. And preſently after, being certainly enformed that he lay there but ſlenderly accompanied, and almoſt himſelfe alone, the Emir himſelfe on foot with a thouſand of his ſouldiors, went out of the citie as if it had been but for his pleaſure, and in curteſie to haue ſeene him. Of which ſo ſuſpitious a gueſts comming the Vayuod vnderſtanding, got him betimes away into the campe of his Hungarian mercinaries, which then lay but faſt by: when the Turke thus deceiued of the hope he had before conceiued for the taking of him, craftily ſent certaine of his followers, to know of him, to what end he in time of peace did entertaine ſuch a number of Hungarian ſouldiors? Whereunto the Vayuod cunningly anſwered, That they were at the firſt entertained for the taking of *Peter* the ſonne of *Alexander*, ſometime Palatine of MOLDAVIA; who although he were now before apprehended, and openly hanged vpon an hooke at CONSTANTINOPLE, yet that thoſe ſouldiors were for their readie ſeruice, of neceſſitie ſtill to be billited in the countrey, vntill ſuch time as their pay might be prouided. Which the Turke hearing, commaunded the Vayuod forthwith to diſcharge them as men vnneceſſarie, and to his ſubjects troubleſome, promiſing the next day to lend him a tunne of gold to pay them their wages. Which faigned promiſe the Vayuod ſeemed thankfully to take; yet neuertheleſſe commaunded the Hungarians forthwith in armes to ſtand in readineſſe in the campe, for the intercepting of the Turkes, if happily by him diſtreſſed they ſhould betake themſelues to flight: whileſt he in the meane time with his courtiers and other ſouldiors, ſecretly aſſembled into a valley thereby, came ſuddenly vpon the Turkes (not as then dreaming of any ſuch thing) compaſſed about the Innes wherein they lay, and ſetting fire vpon them in fiue places, notably forced them both with fire and the ſword, the two greateſt extremities of war; ſeeking now for nothing more, than the juſt reuenge of his ſpoiled citie, his forced virgins, and wronged ſubjects. Howbeit the Turkes for a ſpace right valiantly defended themſelues, and by plaine force (although I K L M

* *The Turks call all them that are diſcended of the ſtocke of their Prophet Mahomet by the name of Emirs or Lords.*

A (although in vaine) ſought to haue broken through the middeſt of their enemies, and ſo to haue fled. Yea many of them by force of the fire driuen out of their lodgings, and tearing off their burning cloathes, fought ſtarke naked: but moſt of them which could, fled vnto the pallace where their great Emir lay, there with him readie to die or liue. All which their laſt endeuours of deſperation, the Vayuod eaſily fruſtrated, with two great pieces of artillerie opening a way for his ſouldiors vnto them. So that the prowd Emir now in deſpaire (like the hunted Caſtor) threw downe out of a window a great cheſt full of gold and pretious ſtones, and other jewels of great valour, if happily he might haue ſo appeaſed the Vayuods wrath: humbly now requeſting no more, but to haue his life ſpared; fearfully promiſing a large raunſome for himſelfe, and thoſe few which were yet left aliue with him. Howbeit the Vayuod mindfull of the manifold injuries by them done vnto him and his ſubjects, and nothing mitigated or moued with the rich ſpoiles thruſt vpon him, or the large promiſes the Turkes had made him; commaunded all thoſe his enemies now in his power, to be ſlaine euerie mothers ſonne: of whom his ſouldiors had a wonderfull rich ſpoile, although much more was loſt in the fire: and ſo giuing thankes vnto God for the victorie, reſted with his people a while at quiet. Yet within leſſe than a moneth after, he ſent *Albertus Kirall* his lieutenant with an armie to PHLOÇZ (a great open vnwalled towne on the farther ſide of Danubius, equally diſtant from VROSCZVK and NICOPOLIS) from whence the Turkes oftentimes paſsing ouer that frozen riuer into VALACHIA, had there done great harme: which towne, not inferiour vnto a good citie, he ſuddenly ſurpriſed, and ſacking it, put to the ſword all the inhabitants thereof, except ſuch as were before his comming fled. And ſhortly after (the more to annoy the Turkes, marching againe ouer the frozen riuer to haue ſurpriſed HERSOVVA a walled citie, but one daies journey from BRAILOVA, he was by the way vpon the iſe encountred by the Turkes, whom he there in a great conflict ouerthrew; and hauing ſlaine many of them and put the reſt to flight, holding on his intended journey, tooke that rich citie, which he rifled and burnt downe to the ground, all except the caſtle, which was yet by the Turkes valiantly defended: and ſo with the ſpoile of the citie returned againe ouer the riuer, there to refreſh his ſouldiors, wearied with labour and the extremitie of the Winter weather. And yet not ſo contented, within ſix daies after paſsing againe ouer the riuer, and hauing vpon the ſide thereof in a great battell ouerthrowne the Turkes garriſons, tooke SILISTRAA great citie of MACEDONIA, built by *Conſtantine* the Great (being the ſeat of one of the Turkes Sanzacks, and well inhabited with rich merchants) which faire citie he ranſacked, and hauing ſlaine moſt part of the inhabitants, burnt it downe to the ground as he had the other, no leſſe terror than grieſe vnto the Turkes.

The Cadeleſher with all the Turke his followers ſlaine.

Phlocz ſpoiled by the Vayuod.

Herſowa taken.

Siliſtria burnt.

But whileſt the aforeſaid confederation betwixt the emperour and the Tranſyluanian Prince was yet in hand, and the troubles in VALACHIA thus ariſing; *Amurath* the great Sultan grieuouſly vexed with the ſtoan, and attainted with the falling ſickneſſe, his wonted diſeaſe; and inwardly alſo tormented with the late inſolencie of the Ianizaries, and reuolt of the countries of TRANSYLVANIA, VALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, no ſmall hinderance to the proceeding of his warres in HVNGARIE: as a man both in bodie and ſoule tormented with great impatiencie and agonie of mind, departed this life the eighteenth day of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1595: when he had liued one and fiftie, or as ſome ſay two and fiftie yeares, and thereof raigned nineteene. At the time of his death ariſe ſuch a ſudden and terrible tempeſt at CONSTANTINOPLE, that many thought the world ſhould euen preſently haue been diſſolued. His dead bodie was not long after with great pompe and ſolemnitie buried by *Mahomet* his eldeſt ſonne (which now raigneth) in a Moſchie which hee himſelfe yet liuing had before built at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Amurath dieth.

FINIS.

Christian princes of the same time with Amurath the third.

- *Emperors of Germanie*
  - *Maximilian the second.* — 1565. 12.
  - *Rodolph the second.* — 1577.
- *Kings*
  - *Of England*
    - *Queene Elizabeth.* — 1558. 45.
  - *Of Fraunce*
    - *Charles the ninth.* — 1560. 14.
    - *Henry the third.* — 1574. 14.
    - *Henry the fourth, which now raigneth.* — 1589.
  - *Of Scotland*
    - *Iames the sixt, that now raigneth.* — 1567.
- *Bishops of Rome*
  - *Gregorie the XIII.* — 1572. 12.
  - *Xistus the V.* — 1585. 5.
  - *Vrban the VII.* — 1590. 12 dayes.
  - *Gregorie the XIIII.* — 1590. 10 months 10 dayes.
  - *Innocent the IX.* — 1543. 2 months and one day.
  - *Clement the VIII.* — 1592.

Si quid in humanis, magnum te reddere poſſit:
Quid prohibet magnis nomen ineſſe tuum?
Qui ſubiecta vides, tot diſſona regna, tot vrbes:
Et nulli cedens, ſceptra ſuperba geris.
Cum tamen ignores, quid ſit ſapientia Chriſti,
Omnia quæ iactas, ſunt Mahomete nihil.

RICH. KNOLLEVS.

In Engliſh thus.

If ought there be might make thee great, that on the earth is found:
What then ſhould let, thy name amongſt the greateſt for to ſound?
That ſees thy kingdomes and thy townes, ſo many and ſo great:
And giuing place thy ſelfe to none, doeſt ſit on royall ſeat.
Yet ſith thou knoweſt not aright, for grace by Chriſt to call:
All that thou boaſts, O *Mahomet*, is nothing worth at all.

R. K.

THE

MAHOMET THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, SEVENTH EMPEROR OF THE TVRKS, HE THAT NOW SWAYETH THAT MIGHTIE EMPIRE.

1595

THe death of the late great Sultan *Amurath* was not forthwith made knowne in the Court, but with wonderfull ſecrecie concealed, not onely for feare of the Ianizaries, who in time of the vacancie of the empire alwayes doe whatſoeuer pleaſeth themſelues: but alſo for that the people hauing in diſtruſt the fierce nature of *Mahomet*, *Amurath* his eldeſt ſonne, were generally better affected to *Amurath* the younger brother, a prince of a more mild ſpirit and courteous diſpoſition, vnto whom they in heart wiſhed thoſe ſtately honours, which could by no meanes without the great wrong and prejudice of his elder brother, and danger of the whole ſtate be giuen vnto him. Ten dayes after came *Mahomet* in poſt from AMASIA to CONSTANTINOPLE, and was there by the great Baſſaes and other his mightie fauourits ſaluted Emperour: which done, he preſently after cauſed all his brethren to be inuited to a ſolemne feaſt in the Court: whereunto they yet ignorant of the death of their father, came chearefully as men fearing no harme, but being come, were there all by his commandement moſt miſerably ſtrangled: and at once to rid himſelfe of the feare of all competitours (the greateſt torment of the mightie) he the ſame day (as is reported) cauſed ten of his fathers wiues and concubines, ſuch as by whom any iſſue was to be feared, to be all drowned in the ſea.

Mahomet ſaluted Emperour of the Turks.

He murthereth his brethren.

The Ianizaries in a tumult.

The Ianizaries and other ſouldiours of the Court not before acquainted with the death of *Amurath*, either with the choice that the great Baſſaes had without their priuitie made of *Mahomet*, and not a little offended to ſee themſelues ſo diſappointed of ſuch ſpoyles as they reckon due vnto them in the vacancie of the empire, as men diſcontented riſe vp in a rage, and made ſuch hauocke and ſpoyle in the imperiall citie, as greater they could not well haue made, had there beene as yet no emperour choſen at all; and not ſo contented, were now euen vpon the point to haue rifled their new emperours Court, and to haue laied violent hands vpon the perſon of himſelfe, in reuenge of the tyrannie by him executed vpon his brethren and fathers wiues (which inhumane crueltie the Turkiſh emperours eaſily excuſe by the name of, The policie of their ſtate.) For the appeaſing of which ſo dangerous a tumult, *Mahomet* called vnto him certaine of the chiefe men among theſe ſeditious, ſuch as were thought to be able to do moſt with them, whom he ſought by faire perſuaſions and large promiſes to win vnto him, and by them to pacifie the reſt: Which ſerued him to little or no purpoſe, vntill ſuch time as the great Baſſaes themſelues came out with their followers, who with many faire perſuaſions, mixt with moſt grieuous threats and firme promiſe of a generall pardon, with much adoe appeaſed the tumult: yet for the more ſafetie kept all the chiefe ſtreets of the citie with ſtrong watch and ward. This broile thus ouerblowne, a new tent was by the commaundement of the new emperour ſet vp before the temple of *Sophia*: wherein on the right hand was placed the dead bodie of the late Sultan *Amurath*, his father, and on the left hand the bodies of his nineteene ſtrangled brethren, layed forth of purpoſe,

The tumult appeaſed.

A poſe, as an heauie ſpectacle for the people to behold: who all not long after were together with their father with great ſolemnitie after the Turkiſh manner buried, and *Mahomet* himſelfe (being about nine and twentie yeares old) now openly proclaimed great emperour of the Turks, and lord of all, from the riſing of the Sunne to the going downe of the ſame. After that returning to his pallace, he made vnto his Baſſaes and other great men a ſumptuous and royall feaſt, as the manner was: but whileſt they were in the middeſt of their mirth, vpon the ſudden all the citie was againe in an vprore, and the people in armes, in ſuch ſort, as that it was thought ſcarce one man would haue eſcaped aliue from that banket, had not the chiefe Baſſa with his grauitie and wiſdome and wonderfull labour in good time appeaſed their furie, and withall to their greater terrour cauſed all the great ordinance in the citie to be brought forth into the ſtreets, readie charged, to be ſhot off amongſt them.

The Ianizaries againe in an vprore.

B Whileſt theſe troubles thus paſſed at CONSTANTINOPLE, vpon the late confederation made betweene the emperour, the Tranſyluanian prince, the Valachians and Moldauians, diuers fortunate inrodes and skirmiſhes were by them made in the frontiers of the Turkes dominions, many ſtrong places were ſurpriſed, many rich booties taken, and notable exploits done, which we will but briefely paſſe ouer, as the precedents of a greater warre. The citie of WEITZE, before taken by the Turks, was now againe in the beginning of this yeare recouered: and the Chriſtians about SCVTHIA, in number about foure thouſand, breaking into the Turks frontiers, carried away an exceeding rich prey, with diuers notable captiues. The like did alſo the Chriſtians of VIVARIA: at which time alſo the garriſon ſouldiors of ALTENBVRG making a rode into

Diuers fortunate rodes made by the Chriſtians vpon the Turks.

C the countrey about RAB, encountered with foure thouſand Turks, of whom they ſlew two hundred, tooke certaine priſoners, whom they ſent ſome to PRESBVRG, ſome to ALTENBVRG: and *Sinan Baſſa* the late Generall returning towards CONSTANTINOPLE with much treaſure, which he had greedily ſcraped together in the late wars in HVNGARIE, was by the Valachians ſet vpon by the way not farre from BELGRADE, and ſtript of all that he had, hauing much adoe to eſcape himſelfe with ſome few of his followers. The ſame Valachians, together with the Tranſyluanians, vnder the conduct of their valiant captaine *Geſtius Ferens*, entering further vpon the Turkes, tooke from them diuers of their townes and caſtles, as PONDESIE, NICOPLISE, KILLA, and REBNICHI, and meeting with twelue thouſand Tartars, ſlew a great number of them, and put the reſt to flight. With this inſolencie of the Valachians his late tributaries, but

D now his enemies, the Turkiſh emperour was highly offended: and therefore ſent one *Bogdanus* a Valachian borne, deſcended of the Palatines houſe, with a great power to expulſe the old Vayuod, and to poſſeſſe himſelfe of that honour, as his tributarie; promiſing vnto him all fauour and kindneſſe. *Bogdanus* thus ſupported and furniſhed, came with his power into VALACHIA, yet thought it beſt before he attempted any great matter, to expect the comming of the Tartars left the laſt yeare in HVNGARIE by *Sinan*: of whoſe comming the Valachians and Tranſyluanians hauing vnderſtanding, met them by the way, and joyning battell with them, ſlew eight thouſand of them, put the reſt to flight, and ſo returned: vnto whom preſently after this victorie the Tranſyluanian prince ſent foureteene thouſand ſouldiours moe to aid them againſt the Turkes. But *Bogdanus* vnderſtanding both of the ouerthrow of the Tartars and the comming of this new

E ſupplie, durſt not proceed any farther in his enterpriſe, but kept himſelfe ſtill in his trenches. Not long after by the commaundement of the Turkiſh emperour, *Han* the Crim Tartar with a great power of his Tartarian horſemen entred into MOLDAVIA, with purpoſe to haue by fire and ſword reduced that countrey againe vnto the Turks obeiſance: of whoſe comming *Aaron* Vayuod of MOLDAVIA hauing knowledge, and aided by his neighbour *Michael* Vayuod of VALACHIA, ſo belayed the Tartars, that he in three diuers battels ouerthrew them, and hauing ſlaine twelue thouſand of them, enforced the reſt to retire againe out of his countrey: and following the courſe of this victorie, preſently after tooke BENDAR, SCHINITZ, TIGNA, MECHNIS, with ſome other caſtles and fortreſſes of the Turkes neere vnto the riuer of Danubius, all which he furniſhed with his owne garriſons; and withall tooke in the rich countrey of BOBRA-

F GA, the inhabitants thereof willingly ſubmitting themſelues vnto him, as men wearie of the Turkiſh thraldome. With like good fortune, aided by the Polonian Coſſackes, he ouerthrew *Ianicula* the ſonne of *Bogdanus*, ſometime Vayuod of MOLDAVIA, now ſent by *Mahomet* with a great power, as a moſt fit inſtrument to trouble the Vayuod and to recouer againe that countrey: with whom *Aaron* couragiouſly encountering at SCARPETRA, a mile from Danubius,

ouerthrew him in plaine battell, and hauing ſlaine eight thouſand of his Turkes, put him to flight, and tooke the ſpoile of his whole campe. Neither yet ſo contented, marched preſently to NESTER ALBA, where he put the Turkes in a great feare, and afterwards burnt the ſuburbs of the citie, and ſo retired. G

The emperours embaſſadour dieth in priſon at Belgrade.

How *Amurath* the late Sultan in the beginning of theſe troubles, had at CONSTANTINOPLE ſhut vp in priſon *Frederick Krecowitz* the emperours embaſſadour, is before declared. This embaſſadour, *Sinan Baſſa* brought with him the laſt yeare when he came into HVNGARIE, who after many indignities by him ſuffered both vpon the way and at BELGRADE, there died: fiue of whoſe ſeruants the falſe Baſſa cauſed to be kept in ſtraight priſon, as guiltie of their maſters death, ſo to auert the infamie thereof from himſelfe. But now lying himſelfe at BELGRADE for the better mannaging of this yeares wars, vpon the comming of a new treaſurer H from the Court, he cauſed theſe fiue poore priſoners to be brought before him, and moſt impudently charged them with the death of their maſter: ſaying, that they ſhould anſwere for the ſame vnto God and their emperour; and that his purpoſe in bringing of him from CONSTANTINOPLE, was to no other end but to haue vſed his helpe in concluding a peace betwixt the Great Sultan and the emperour, and ſo to haue ſet him with all his at libertie: but now that he was dead, he would ſend them his treacherous ſeruants to the emperour to be by him examined: and withall to tell him, That he was ſent from the Great Sultan, (whoſe power was not by any but God onely to be withſtood) to beſiege VIENNA, which he could (as he ſaid) the laſt yeare haue taken with leſſe labour than he had done RAB: and that therefore it were beſt for him betime to ſeeke for peace, before ſo great a power had taken the field: And that for farther I inſtructions, he would referre them to his ſonne the Baſſa of BVDA, to whom he ſent them from BELGRADE, togither with the new come treaſurer. Being come to BVDA, they were forthwith brought before the Baſſa, and amongſt them the late embaſſadours ſecretarie, vnto whom after he had ſaid ſomewhat of the hard dealing with the embaſſadour and his followers, he declared that he had alwaies diſliked of that manner of proceeding, and oftentimes entreated his father for their libertie; and now at laſt to haue obtained, that the embaſſadour being dead, his ſeruants might be ſet free: and ſo put them in good hope, that they ſhould in ſhort time be reſtored to their wonted libertie. In the meane time, that one of them ſhould go vnto the emperours Court, and there ſpeak with one of his Secretaries, whom he had before aduiſed to bethinke himſelfe of peace: vnto whom alſo hee afterwards writ, vpon what conditions he thought peace K might be at the Sultans hand obtained. Which were, if all the caſtles and ſtrong holds taken by the emperours forces in theſe warres, as FILEK, SETCHINE, and NOVIGRAD, with their territories, ſhould be reſtored, SISEG in CROATIA ſurrendred; if the emperour ſhould from thenceforth refuſe to aid or protect the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians, and leaue them to the Great Sultan to be chaſtiſed as rebels; if finally the emperour would at once ſend vnto the Turkes Court his wonted tribute for the yeares paſt, and ſo yearly afterwards: ſo he could be content by the mediation of his father, to attempt to appeaſe the fierce and inueterat diſpleaſure of the Sultan, and to farther the treatie of peace. This he commaunded the Secretarie to write, and to ſend it by the young lord *Perling*, and to require thereof anſwere: yet that he ſhould go with this condition, That if the ſaid *Perling* within the ſpace of fiue and twentie daies L returned not with anſwere, all the reſt ſhould for his default loſe their heads. A ſubtile deuiſe and full of deceit, wherein the craftie Baſſaes, both the father and the ſonne ſought for nothing elſe but to ſee what confidence the Chriſtians had in themſelues, and to breake the confederation made betweene the emperour, the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians: and that other princes, whom God had ſtirred vp in defence of ſo juſt a cauſe, hearing of a rumour of peace, might grow cold, and deferre to ſend their promiſed aid. For now the Turkes had found by experience, how hurtfull and dangerous the reuolt of the three countries of TRANSYLVANIA, MOLDAVIA, and VALACHIA was vnto them, as they which brought ten hundred thouſand duckats yearly into the Great Sultans treaſurie: beſides that, thoſe people now become their enemies, were of all other fitteſt to intercept all manner of prouiſion to be brought by land either M to or from CONSTANTINOPLE, were it victuall or other warlike prouiſion. Notwithſtanding this motion of peace made by the two Baſſaes, *Sinan* the old Baſſa in the meane time, with great diligence at BELGRADE prepared all things neceſſarie for warre, and cauſed three bridges to be made, whereby he might in diuers places as he thought beſt, tranſport his armie ouer Danubius;

and

A and at the ſame time ſent for the garriſons round about, and other ſouldiors before billited in the countrey, and put in readineſſe all things neceſſarie for a moſt mortall warre.

Within the appointed time came *Perling* from the emperours Court with anſwere to the letters written by the embaſſadours Secretarie, at the commaundement of the Baſſa; the effect whereof was, That he had receiued his letters by *Perling*, and did thereby vnderſtand what had paſſed betweene the captiue ſeruants of the late embaſſadour, and *Sinan Baſſa* at BELGRADE, and alſo betweene them and *Sinan Baſſa* his ſonne at BVDA; and that the emperours mind was neuer other, but that a firme peace might haue been made betweene him and the Sultan; and that the emperour had done nothing elſe by his embaſſadour at CONSTANTINOPLE, or by others in other places, but that ſuch reaſonable conditions might haue been found out, as might B haue ended thoſe warres, and haue on both ſides deliuered their innocent ſubjects from their great and daily calamities; which might eaſily haue been done, if *Sinan* the authour and fautor of this warre, had with like deſire furthered the peace. But that it was manifeſt vnto the whole world, that all complaints of infinit grieuances, being by the embaſſadour, yea and by the emperour himſelfe, by his letters laid open vnto the Sultan and his chiefe Baſſaes, had not onely nothing preuailed, but alſo to haue been with great contempt rejected, and the treatie of peace once begun, to haue by the inſolencie of the Baſſa of BOSNA been interrupted: That the emperour, becauſe the matter ſhould not breake out into open warre, had ſent his double tribute into the confines of HVNGARIE, which was a great while laid vp at KOMARA vntill the Sultans mind were knowne. But when all his deſignes tended to warre, and the Chriſtian prouinces were by C his robbers on euerie ſide ſpoiled, the inhabitants led away into moſt miſerable captiuitie, the townes and villages burnt, yea whole countries left deſolat, and all manner of outrages were vpon a meere pride and contempt as it were of the whole world exerciſed: then the emperour to haue taken his refuge vnto the defence of his juſt cauſe, and to haue vſed ſuch remedies as are both before God and the world to be allowed, and ſo by lawfull war to haue repulſed warre. And that although all had not the laſt yeare proſpered in his hand, but that he had receiued ſome loſſe: yet that *Sinan Baſſa* himſelfe, and the Baſſa of BVDA his ſonne, with other of the wiſer ſort of the Turkes muſt needs confeſſe, that to haue chanced, not by their wiſedome pollicie or power, but by the ſufferance of God by a rare misfortune, through the inexcuſable negligence and treaſon of ſuch as he had put in truſt with the confines of his empire, worthie moſt D ſeuere chaſtiſement. And that no man could denie, but that great powers of the Turkes, had not once, but oftentimes been ouerthrowne and diſcomfited, by ſmall handfuls of the Chriſtians: therefore their power not to be ſo inuincible, as they vainly vaunted of. But whereas it is written, that the great Viſier *Sinan* and the Baſſa his ſonne are of opinion, that the emperour is brought to ſo low an ebbe, that he muſt be glad to accept of moſt hard and diſhonourable conditions of peace propounded by them: therein they erre much and deceiue themſelues farre, for by the power of God they ſhould ſhortly by experience know, that his imperiall majeſtie wanteth neither power nor wealth, to repaire the loſſe receiued through the treaſon of them he truſted, yea and to recouer whatſoeuer he had loſt elſe: and that it ſhould in ſhort time be witneſſed vnto the whole world, by the helpe of God and the defence of a moſt juſt cauſe, that the E emperour was not ſo poore and weake as they ſuppoſed him to be. Yet as he of his owne naturall goodneſſe and clemencie, with his own incomparable loſſe and harme, had alwaies ſought for the quiet and profit of his ſubjects, and to the vttermoſt of his power ſtaied the effuſion of innocent bloud; ſo now alſo forgetting all injuries, he could happily be content to thinke of an honourable peace: whereunto he was more enclined than to protract the warre with the vnſpeakable harmes of the ſubjects on both ſides. Yet aboue all things it behooued *Sinan* to know, that he was to reſtore all ſuch caſtles and townes as haue in this warre been taken by the Turks, beginning at WIHITZ in CROATIA euen to the laſt innocent ſubject by them carried away into captiuitie. And that the Tranſyluanians, Moldauians, and Valachians (people many ages joyned and vnited as inſeperable members to the kingdome of HVNGARIE, as vnto the true F bodie, and now of late by the practiſe and treacherie of certaine rebellious perſons ſeperated from the ſame) were from henceforth to be left vnder the protection and gouernment of his imperiall majeſtie, and neuer more to be impugned by the Turkes. If theſe things were done, and order taken that the injurie and diſgrace done vnto the emperours late embaſſadour (a fact that all the princes of the world cried ſhame of) might not remaine vnpuniſhed: and that his ſeruants

The Baſſaes ſubtill demaunds anſwered with like.

in durance at BVDA and CONSTANTINOPLE, might be reſtored vnto their wonted libertie, G
then ſome good forme of peace, and bounding of their territories might happily be agreed vpon:
without which conditions, all talke of peace was but vaine; for that God the juſt and mightie
protectour of ſuch as put their truſt in him, would not faile to helpe his imperiall majeſtie, with
the reſt of the confederat princes, in their ſo juſt a quarrell, and abate the pride of ſuch as truſt in
their owne ſtrength and power.

This anſwere the captiues at BVDA were commaunded to giue vnto the Baſſa, either by wri-
ting or by word of mouth: and withall earneſtly to requeſt him both for their owne libertie
and their fellowes, wrongfully detained at CONSTANTINOPLE. Which if it could not be
obtained, yet to comfort themſelues with that, that they ſhould in bounteous manner receiue
from the emperour ſuch allowance, as ſhould ſuffice to prouide them all things neceſſarie: as he H
had granted to *Perling*, whom he might haue juſtly detained and not ſent him backe againe, but
for his oaths ſake, being no lawfull priſoner. Thus were the vnreaſonable conditions of peace
craftily by the Baſſa propounded, by others anſwered: but by whom he knew not, no mans
name being ſet thereunto.

The emperour not ignorant with what an enemie he had to doe, and of nothing more care-
full than of the kingdome (or more truely to ſay, of the reliques of the kingdome) of HVNGA-
RIE, lying now as it were in the lyons mouth, ceaſed not to pray aid, not of the princes electors
onely, but of others alſo farther off; yea euen as farre as ITALIE and SPAINE, but eſpecially of
the king of POLONIA, as his neere alliance and neighbour. Vnto whom both he and the States
of HVNGARIE ſent their embaſſadours, at ſuch time as he moued with the daily incurſions of I
the Turkes and Tartars into the countries adjoyning vpon his, had for the ſafetie of his owne
kingdome, called a parliament of all his States in Februarie laſt, at CRACOVIA. Whereof *Ma-
homet* the Great Turke hearing, ſent alſo two of his chiefe Chiaus, his vſuall embaſſadours vnto
the king and his States ſo aſſembled, to craue his aid in his warres in HVNGARIE: which if the
king ſhould not refuſe, then to promiſe him to want no coine to pay his ſouldiors; and that *Ma-
homet* mindfull of ſo great a courteſie, would at all times be readie to requite him with like, when
his occaſions ſhould require. Theſe embaſſadours, hauing obtained ſafe conduct from *Michael*
the Vayuod of VALACHIA for their paſſage through his countrey, comming thither, were by
the Vayuod himſelfe honourably entertained and welcomed, and ſo brought into a faire lod-
ging, where they diſcourſed with him of many matters. But the Vayuods followers, grieued to K
ſee ſo great honour done to theſe their ſworne and mortall enemies, with weapons in their hands
brake into the roume where the embaſſadours were, and without more adoe ſlew them both:
and in the ſame furie ſetting vpon the reſt of the Turkes their followers, cut them all in pieces, ſo
that of them none came into POLONIA to do their Great maſters meſſage, either yet returned
to CONSTANTINOPLE to carrie newes of the reſt, but there altogither periſhed. Of which out-
rage *Mahomet* yet vnderſtanding, was therewith wonderfully enraged, threatning all euils both
to the Moldauians and Valachians, and forthwith ſent out other embaſſadours to the ſame pur-
poſe, who with better fortune afterwards in ſafetie arriued in POLONIA.

The Turkes embaſſadours ſent vnto the Polonian king ſlaine in Valachia.

The Tartars in many places (as is before declared) ouerthrowne, and many ſtrong caſtles and
forts taken from the Turkes by the Tranſyluanians, Valachians, and Moldauians, the Turkiſh L
affaires going to wracke in thoſe quarters, and ſore ſhaken on that ſide of HVNGARIE; *Maho-
met* the Turkiſh emperour called home to the Court *Sinan Baſſa* his Generall in HVNGARIE, to
conferre with him (as it was thought) of ſome great matters. In whoſe place hee ſent *Ferat
Baſſa*, he who ſometime had the leading of *Amuraths* great armies againſt the Perſians: who
now departing from CONSTANTINOPLE, came to BELGRADE in Aprill, and there tooke the
charge vppon him. Where at his firſt comming in the night time, all the ropes and cordes of
the tents were ſuddenly cut in ſunder, and ſo his tent let fall about his eares: which ſome ſuppoſed
to haue been done to his diſgrace, by the procurement of *Cicala Baſſa* before by him wronged;
or as others thought, by the inſolent Ianizaries, who diſliking of him, did it in deſpight, wiſhing
rather to haue been led by *Mahomet* himſelfe. Now at his comming, the famine which the laſt M
yeare began amongſt the Turkes, was growne exceeding great, not at BVDA and BELGRADE
onely, but euen generally in moſt places of HVNGARIE poſſeſſed by the Turkes: inſomuch,
that the Tartar women that followed the campe, were faine to roaſt their owne children and eat
them. This famine was alſo accompanied with a moſt terrible plague, whereof great numbers of
the

The plague and famine among the Turkes.

A the Turks and Tartars died dayly: ſo that of fourteſcore fiue thouſand Tartars which came the laſt yeare into HVNGARIE, now remained ſcarce eight thouſand, the reſt being all deuoured with the ſword, famine, and the peſtilence.

Great were the harmes the Turkes ſtill daily receiued from the late reuolted countries of TRANSYLVANIA, VALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, the Chriſtians of thoſe places ſeeking by all meanes to annoy them. *Michael* Vaiuod of VALACHIA, not contented with that he had alreadie done, but entring into the Turks frontiers, ſurpriſed SCHIMELE, together with the caſtle, wherein he found 14 field pieces, amongſt which were two which had vpon them the armes of the emperour *Ferdinand*, and other two hauing vpon them the armes of *Huniades*: which pieces he afterwards ſent as a preſent to the Tranſyluanian prince. After that he tooke OROSIGE, a famous

Michael Vaiuod of Valachia doth the Turkes great harme.

B port towne, the dwelling place of the Turks great purueyor for butter, cheeſe, and hony, and ſuch other prouiſion for the Court; wherein he found ſuch ſtore of the aforeſaid prouiſion, as might well haue ſufficed eight thouſand men for a whole yeare: and ſtill proſecuting his good fortune, tooke from the Turkes KILEC and GALEMPE, with the ſtrong caſtle of S. *George*, commonly called GRIGIO, and at length beſieged LAGANOC.

With the beginning of the Spring came *Matthias* the Archduke and Generall of the Chriſtian armie, from the aſſembly of the nobilitie of HVNGARIE at PRESBVRG, to VIENNA, and ſo from thence to the emperour his brother at PRAGE; who appointed him Generall of the lower HVNGARIE, and *Maximilian* his brother Generall of the vpper countrey: giuing them for their lieutenants, vnto *Maximilian* the lord *Teuffenbach*, and to *Matthias* the countie *Charles Mansfelt*, by him ſent for out of FLANDERS, and after created one of the princes of the empire. *Iohn de Medices*, who was yet in HVNGARIE, he made maſter of the great ordinance, with charge to fortifie KOMARA: which he ſo well performed, as that it was thought nothing in ſtrength inferior to RAB. All this while the emperor ceaſed not both by his embaſſadors and letters to ſollicite the Chriſtian princes, for the repreſsing of the common enemie to put to their helping hands: and ſo much preuailed with them, that out of his owne hereditarie prouinces, and from other princes his friends, he had this Spring raiſed a right puiſſant and ſtrong armie for the defence of HVNGARIE: which how it was raiſed, and from whom, it ſhall not be much from our purpoſe briefely to remember, as the chiefe ſtrength vnder God, wherby the Chriſtian commonweale was this yeare moſt notably defended. Out of the higher SAXONIE came a thouſand two hundred

The notable armie of the Chriſtians and from whence it was raiſed.

D horſemen, and out of the lower SAXONIE ſix hundred: from FRANCONIA a thouſand horſemen: from SVEVIA foure thouſand footmen: out of the countie of TIROL as many: from BAVARIA three thouſand: out of BOHEMIA two thouſand men at armes, ſix hundred light horſemen, and ſix thouſand footmen: from SILESIA a thouſand fiue hundred horſemen: from LVSATIA fiue hundred horſe and a thouſand foot: from MORAVIA a thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot: out of AVSTRIA two thouſand horſe and ſix thouſand foot: from HVNGARIE fiue hundred horſemen and a thouſand foot: from the nobilitie of SVEVIA and FRANCONIA foure thouſand foot: from the king of SPAINE out of the low countries vnder the conduct of *Charles* countie *Mansfelt*, two thouſand horſemen and ſix thouſand foot. Vnto theſe the biſhop of ROME added two thouſand horſemen and eight thouſand foot: the great duke of

E FLORENCE ſent fiue hundred horſe and three thouſand foot: the duke of FERRARA a thouſand fiue hundred footmen: the duke of MANTVA a thouſand foot: and duke *Venturee* fiue hundred horſe. All which being put together, fill vp the number of fifteene thouſand nine hundred horſemen, and fiftie thouſand fiue hundred foot. Which notable armie, raiſed from the power of diuers Chriſtian princes, and conducted by worthie chiefetaines, had by the goodneſſe of God much better ſucceſſe this Summer againſt the auntient enemies of Chriſtendome, than had the like armie the yeare before, as in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare.

Among the worthie commaunders that were in this puiſſant armie, *Charles* countie *Mansfelt* the ſonne of *Peter Erneſtus* the old countie, from his youth brought vp in armes, was by the king of SPAINE at the requeſt of the emperour ſent with the aforeſaid forces of two thouſand

F horſe and ſix thouſand foot out of the Low countries, as a man for his approued valour and direction, fit to manage theſe dangerous warres againſt the Turke vnder *Matthias* the Archduke, as his lieutenant Generall: who hauing raiſed the appointed forces, for moſt part Wallons, departed from BRVXELLES about the midſt of Februarie, and by the way taking his leaue of his aged father at LVXENBVRG, and trauelling through GERMANIE, came in March to PRAGE,

where he was by the Emperour and the Archduke his brother moſt honorably entertained, and G
ſhortly after with great ſolemnitie created one of the Princes of the empire. His forces following after him were by the way ſtaied, partly by the inundation of waters, the riuers they were to paſſe ouer (at that time riſing to an vnwonted height,) partly by the jealouſie of ſome of the Germane princes, who denied them paſſage through their territories, vntill ſuch time as that the emperour by his letters had opened vnto him the way: which princes for all that ſtood vpon their guard, and ſo gaue them paſſage.

Now ran great rumours of the wonderfull preparations of the Turkes, as alſo of the Chriſtians; Fame after her wonted manner, encreaſing the report of all things aboue meaſure: which cauſed the Turks with exceeding care to looke to the fortification of their frontier townes, eſpecially of RAB and STRIGONIVM, as did the Chriſtians to the fortification of KOMARA and H
ALTENBVRG. In the meane time many hoat skirmiſhes paſſed betweene the Chriſtians and the Turkes, eſpecially in the late reuolted countries of TRANSYLVANIA and VALACHIA, wherein the Turkes were ſtill put to the worſe, to the great diſcontentment of their emperour. Neere vnto TEMESVVAR the Baſſa of BVDA was ouerthrowne, by the valiant captaine *Geſtius Ferentz*, and the Tranſyluanians. And in VALACHIA the Turks Generall, entring with a great armie was there alſo by the lord *Nadaſti* and the Valachians aided with the Tranſyluanians, in a great battell diſcomfited and ouerthrowne. Eight thouſand of the Turkes heads in token of this victorie the lord *Nadaſti* ſent to ALBA IVLIA to the Tranſyluanian prince, and certaine enſignes, amongſt which one was moſt richly garniſhed with pretious ſtones and pearle, thought to be worth thirtie thouſand dollars; which the prince afterward reſtored againe to *Nadaſti*, offe- I
ring him great poſſeſsions in TRANSYLVANIA, if he could haue beene content there to haue ſeated himſelfe.

Ferat Baſſa ouerthrowne in Valachia.

All this Spring the Turkes countenanced their warres with greater boaſts and threats than true force, giuing it out, That they would in ſhort time worke wonders both by ſea and land. For the more credit whereof, *Murat Rays*, a notable pyrat, was ſent out with twelue gallies; who landing here and there vpon the coaſts of ITALIE, did much harme, cauſing it to be reported in euery place where he landed, That this was but the beginning of a greater war, and that a wonderfull fleet was to follow him: which raiſed a great feare, as well in other places as in ITALIE. Howbeit, no ſuch fleet afterwards appeared: for why the Turkiſh emperor, much troubled with the reuolt of TRANSYLVANIA, VALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, and the great mortalitie then K
raging both among his ſouldiors and their horſes, was not at leiſure to looke into the ſea, hauing his hands full ynough with the troubles of HVNGARIE, where his men of warre enjoyed little reſt in the frontiers of his territories.

Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian prince, had vpon ſome juſt cauſes of late ſuſpected *Aaron* the Vayuod of MOLDAVIA, to haue intelligence not onely with the Polonians, but alſo with the Cardinall *Bator* and other his mortall enemies, and ſecretly to haue beene about to make his peace with *Mahomet*, and ſo againe to fall off from him vnto the Turke: Which vehement ſuſpition growing dayly more and more, was about this time manifeſtly confirmed by certaine letters intercepted concerning that matter. For the preuenting whereof, the prince cauſed *Aaron* to bee apprehended, and with his wife and ſonne to be ſent as priſoners to PRAGE: in whoſe L
roume he by the conſent of the nobilitie of the countrey, placed one *Stephen Rozwan*, a wiſe and diſcreet man amongſt them, and ſuch an one as had been vnto him alwaies faithfull. So as much as in him was, prouiding that that countrey ſhould not be rent from him, and the vnion of the other. But againſt the ſecret practiſes of the Polonians, he proteſted openly by letters vnto the emperour, by the power of God, and aid of his faithfull ſubjects to redreſſe thoſe ſo great injuries himſelfe by the ſword.

Mahomet ſendeth embaſſadors to the prince of Tranſyluania.

In the middeſt of theſe troubles came three Chiaus, embaſſadours from the Turkiſh Sultan vnto the prince, to perſuade him againe to put himſelfe into his protection, and to giue him paſſage through his countrey, as in former time into HVNGARIE, promiſing him, that all the injuries by him or his people done, ſhould bee for euer forgotten and forgiuen: and that hee ſhould M
haue thoſe three countries of TRANSYLVANIA, VALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, as his owne free inheritance, without paying any tribute, and ſo to be accounted as the Turkes moſt louing friend and vaſſale. What the prince anſwered thereunto, was not knowne, but by his doings afterwards it was eaſily to be gathered, that he hearkened not vnto the deceitfull charmes of the

faithleſſe

A faithleſſe tyrant, truſting more vnto the league he had with the Chriſtian Emperour. Theſe embaſſadours were ſcarce gone, but that a ſecret meſſenger came with letters from the chiefe of the Chriſtians in BVLGARIA to the prince, declaring vnto him, That if he did with any good ſucceſſe proſecute his warres, they would be readie to follow his fortune, and to ioyne hands with him againſt the cruell tyrant, and to ſhut vp all the paſſages that way into VALACHIA, MOLDAVIA, and HVNGARIE.

Whileſt theſe troubleſome times thus paſſed in TRANSYLVANIA and HVNGARIE, one of the old Ianizaries, called *Waſuode Giezi*, an old ſouldior, but a confident bold ſpoken fellow, mooued as ſhould ſeeme with the diſcontentments of the time, came vnto *Mahomet* the great Sultan at CONSTANTINOPLE, and there openly ſet vpon him with this rough abrupt ſpeech.

B *How long at laſt moſt mightie Emperour, wilt thou endure thy ſelfe to be ſeduced and blinded by the great Baſſaes of thy Court, and commaunders of thine armies? How long wilt thou ſuffer thy ſelfe to be deceiued, to the great danger of thy ſelfe and hurt of thy ſubiects? Seeſt thou not how ouerthwartly, fraudulently, and cunningly, they mooued onely with their owne couetous and ambitious humor, haue hitherto dealt with thee and thy father? eſpecially in that, that perſuaded by them, thou haſt diſhonourably broken thy league, and taken vp armes againſt the Chriſtian emperour. At length open thine eyes, and ſee their deceit, and how much they abuſe thy power.* Sinan Baſſa, *who muſt haue himſelfe honoured and exalted aboue all others, hath not by ſtrong hand honourably woon* RAB, *as hath beene the manner of thine auncеſtors, but hath craftily bought it with thy money, and thereby*

C *caſt thee into a moſt dangerous warre and infinit troubles. O* RAB, RAB, *now the cauſe of great triumph and reioycing, as if thereby all Chriſtendome ſhould in ſhort time bee ſubdued to thy ſcepter. But thou art therein much deceiued, thy barnes, thy ſtore-houſes, as are* TRANSYLVANIA, VALACHIA, MOLDAVIA, BVLGARIA, *and other prouinces adioyning, from whence this thy imperiall citie of* CONSTANTINOPLE, *with the countrey about it, thy Court, yea thy ſelfe, art to be relieued, are by this warre ſhut vp; ſo that downe the riuer of Danubius out of the Weſt, or by the Euxine out of the Eaſt, thou art not to looke for any prouiſion. From whence then ô mightie Emperour, wilt thou maintaine thy ſelfe, thy Court, this populous citie, and the countrey hereabout? Not to ſpeake in the meane time of thy mightie armie now in* HVNGARIE, *fleſh, fiſh, corne, all manner of victuall are*

D *now at ſuch a price, that the common ſouldior cannot buy them. In this extreame dearth of all things not men onely, but euen the very beaſts and cattell ſtarue for hunger. Thy horſes goe fat perhaps into* HVNGARIE, *but neither thou nor thy ſelect ſouldiors can liue by graſſe and weeds, all that is left in that countrey. This miſerie and calamitie of thy people thou ſeeſt daily, and yet thou wilt not with ſound iudgement lift vp thine eyes, to ſee from whence theſe harmes come, and how that they by thee put in greateſt truſt, ſtudie not for thy profit or the profit of the commonweale, but onely how by all meanes to enrich themſelues.*

The preſumptuous ſpeech of one Waſuode an old Ianizarie to Mahomet the great Sultan.

Mahomet much moued with this confident ſpeech of the old Ianizarie, commaunded him to be forthwith committed to ward, and by faire meanes to bee examined, by whoſe ſetting on, and for what cauſe he had ſo boldly vttered this rude ſpeech vnto his Soueraigne, and what fur-

E ther thing he had intended: but the reſt of the Ianizaries hearing thereof, riſe preſently in a tumult, and by ſtrong hand tooke him out of priſon, and by ſolemne oath combined themſelues to defend him, euen to the ſpending of their owne bloud, whereat *Mahomet* was glad to winke.

The greateſt part of the aid promiſed by the Chriſtian princes for the maintenance of this yeares warres againſt the Turke being now come to VIENNA in AVSTRIA, countie *Mansfelt*, lieutenant Generall vnder the Archduke, forthwith called a counſell of the colonels, captaines, and other great commaunders of the armie, to conſult with them what courſe to take for the beginning of this great warre: as whether they ſhould preſently lay ſiege to ſome towne of the enemies, or els to expect him in the plaine field and to giue him battell. All things well conſidered, and that reſolued vpon which was thought moſt expedient; he remoued from VIENNA to

F ALTENBVRG, where he muſtered his whole armie: and departing thence with ſome few of his followers, came to WALKENBVRG, a village vpon the ſide of Danubius, where he made choiſe of a place to encampe his armie in: which after he had marked out, he returned again with ſpeed to ALTENBVRG, and by open proclamation through the campe, gaue ſtraight commaundement, That againſt a certaine houre euery man ſhould be in readineſſe to remoue and to ſet forward

The armie of the chriſtians muſtered at Altenburg.

ward toward the enemie. But diuers of the ſouldiors, and eſpecially the Germanes, began forthwith after their wonted manner to crie out for their pay before they would ſtirre any farther: ſo that the countie was glad by a ſecond proclamation to commaund them to riſe, promiſing them their pay within eight dayes. But they ſtill ſtanding vpon their former reſolution for their pay, refuſed any further to follow their captaines, and ſent ſix of the beſt ſort among thoſe mutinous ſouldiors to the countie, in the name of all the reſt to demaund their pay; whom he forthwith commaunded to be all hanged: but three of them hauing reaſonably excuſed themſelues, he let them goe, and cauſing the other three to caſt lots for their liues, hanged vp two of them. Which ſeuere execution ſo terrified the reſt, that vpon the ſigne giuen they all riſe, and with the reſt of the armie followed the Countie. The whole armie being come to WALKENBVRG vnto the place where they were to encampe; the Countie himſelfe with others of the nobilitie, began with ſpades and ſhouels to dig and caſt vp the trenches, and ſo wrought vntill they ſweat againe: with whoſe example all the reſt of the armie, of what degree ſoeuer, being moued to labour, had in ſhort time caſt vp a verie great trench from Danubius vnto the mariſhes, large enough for four ſcore thouſand men to encampe in; the great worke with reſtleſſe labour going forward both night and day, vntill it was fully finiſhed. The Countie lying thus entrenched with his armie, was ſtill carefull by his eſpials to vnderſtand where the enemie lay, and what he did. He was readie ſtill to heare all, but to beleeue that which ſeemed to be moſt like to be true: what he purpoſed, he kept moſt ſecret; ſo that the enemie could neuer diſcouer any of his deſignes (wherein the Generals of late yeares before him had much erred:) and commonly his moſt certaine reſolutions were ſhadowed vnder the open ſhew of ſome other matter nothing meant: ſecuritie he much abhorred, as neuer free from danger: and although it was by diuers meſſengers brought vnto him, That the enemie was but of ſmall ſtrength, vnable to meet him, diſorderedly encamped, and in great diſtreſſe for want of victuals; yet would he giue little credit therunto, as knowing ſuch reports to haue oftentimes been of purpoſe giuen out by the Turkes to lull the Chriſtians in ſecuritie, the more eaſily to oppreſſe them. The Chriſtian armie thus ſtrongly entrenched, and the trenches planted with great ordinance, the Countie himſelfe with certaine troupes of horſemen would oftentimes ſhew himſelfe before RAB, and ſometime before DOTIS, viewing ſometime the one place and ſometime the other, as if he had verily purpoſed to haue beſieged the one of them: and to giue the greater ſhew that he had ſo determined, he cauſed the ground to be marked out for his armie moſt conueniently to encampe in, and for the caſting vp of his mounts. Which cauſed the Turkes of STRIGONIVM, VESPRINIVM, PALOTTA, and other places farther off, to ſend part as well of their warlike prouiſion as of their garriſon ſouldiors, ſome to RAB, ſome to DOTIS for the defence of thoſe places neereſt (as they thought) vnto danger. The Countie in the meane time hauing now put all things in readineſſe, came with his armie and ſat before DOTIS, demaunding to haue it yeelded vnto him. And the more to confirme the Turkes that he would aſſuredly beſiege that place, he began to caſt vp his trenches, and to raiſe his mounts as ſeemed moſt conuenient, ſtraitly commaunding euerie man of what condition ſoeuer, to put his hand in ſome meaſure to the furtherance of thoſe workes: and the more by his owne example to encourage others, would oftentimes himſelfe carrie a fagot or ſome other thing before him vpon his horſe, for the raiſing of the mount. For all that certaine Hungarian gentlemen, diſdaining ſuch baſe labour (as they deemed it) refuſed to doe any thing therein: which the Countie perceiuing, ſtraitly charged one of them by his example, to carrie a fagot to the mount, which the Hungarian gentleman refuſing, the Countie therwith much moued, laid the fagot he was carrying himſelfe, before the Hungarian vpon his horſe, charging him to ſee that he caried it to the appointed place: the Hungarian diſdainfully taking it, caried it vntill he thought he was out of the Counties ſight, and then in ſcorne threw it downe: which the Countie (hauing ſtill an eye after him) perceiuing, commanded him to be taken, and all armed as he rid, to be preſently hanged vpon the next tree for his obſtinacie. Which wholſome ſeueritie both then and afterwards, cauſed others more diligently to doe what they were commanded by their ſuperiors.

The vigilant carefulneſſe of Countie Manſfeld.

Doris beſieged by the Chriſtians.

It happened about this time, that three Turkes being taken priſoners, were brought into the campe: whom the Countie ſtraitly examined of many matters. But the firſt of the three could neither by faire or foule meanes be induced to anſwere to any thing that he was asked: and was therefore by the commaundement of the Countie in the ſight of the other two, cut into ſmall pieces. Who terrified with his diſmembring, confeſſed many things whereof they were asked: and

An obſtinat Turke.

A and among others, that the Turkiſh Sultan had determined to turne his greateſt forces into TRANSYLVANIA, MOLDAVIA, and the vpper part of HVNGARIE: and therefore would this Sommer ſend ſmall forces, or elſe none at all into thoſe quarters.

Now was DOTIS ſo belaid by the Countie, as that no man doubted, but that he had theron purpoſed to haue gaged his whole forces, when ſuddenly the laſt of Iune, commaundement was giuen through the campe, that euerie man vpon ſigne giuen, ſhould be in readineſſe to follow his leaders, for that the Countie had determined forthwith to remoue: yet whither the armie was to be remoued, few or none knew, more than certaine of the chiefe commaunders. As for to go to STRIGONIVM, few there were that ſo much as dreamed thereof, all was kept ſo ſecret: yet was it the Counties purpoſe, euen from the beginning to attempt the winning of that citie, *Countie Manſfeld remoueth with the armie from Dotis to Strigonium.*

B which the Archduke had in vaine the laſt yeare beſieged. The next night being both darke and foule, the Countie riſe with all his armie, and the next day being the firſt of Iuly, came to STRIGONIVM, they of the citie not hearing of his comming before they ſaw him vnder their walles. Whererefore the Turkes in the ſuburbs called the Raſcian citie, and they in the fort vnder Saint *Thomas* hill, deſpairing of the keeping of thoſe places, ſetting fire on the houſes, and defacing the fort ſo much as in that ſudden feare they poſsibly could, fled into the lower towne. The next day the Countie with reſiſtance tooke the aforeſaid places forſaken by the Turkes, which hee manned with certaine companies of Wallons, and made a bridge of boats ouer Danubius, caſt vp certaine mounts, and did many other things for the furtherance of the ſiege. In three daies he had againe repaired the fort vnder Saint *Thomas* hill abandoned by the Turkes, and therein

C placed foure great pieces of artillerie, wherewith he began to batter the lower towne, and in other places to ſtrait the beſieged more than they had been the yeare before. The Baſſa of BVDA, not ignorant of the want both of men and munition in the beſieged citie (and the rather for that they had but a little before ſent part of their garriſon with ſhot and pouder to RAB and DOTIS) attempted thriſe (as he did many times after during the time of the ſiege) to haue by the riuer put new ſupplies both of men and munition into the citie: but was ſtill by the diligence of the Chriſtians excluded, and enforced with loſſe to returne. In ſhort time the Lower towne which they call WASSERSTAT, or the Water towne, was with continuall batterie ſore beaten, ſo that ſcarcely any houſe or building was left whole; and a counterſcarſe made the laſt yeare, beaten downe. Whereunto certaine Wallons were ſent, only to haue viewed the breadth and

D manner of the ditches, after whom certaine companies of the Hungarian Heidons preſently followed, without any commaund from their captaines, who with great courage got to the top of another high counterſcarſe, & there ſet vp ſome of their enſignes. Which the Turks beholding, *The Chriſtians repulſed.* and comming on cloſe togither, by plaine force enforced them with loſſe to retire. Among theſe Hungarians were diuers alſo of the Wallons ſlaine, with ſome others of good name and place, to the great griefe of the Countie, being not a little offended with that diſordered ſeruice: yet day and night the batterie ceaſed not, and the Chriſtians out of their trenches with their musket ſhot, ſlew many of the Turks vpon the wals, receiuing little hurt againe, the Turkes ſtill ſhooting but ſparingly, for feare of wanting ſhot and pouder at their greater need; yet that they ſpent they beſtowed ſo well, that amongſt others they had ſlaine foure of the Chriſtian canoniers, and

E one Wallon captaine. About the middeſt of Iuly, the Countie with continuall batterie had made the Water towne (as he thought) faultable: and therefore ſent certaine companies to begin the aſſault, who hauing paſſed the counterſcarſe, found the ditch full of deepe mud, and but newly cut broader certaine paces by the Turks, ſo that it was thought ſcarce poſsible to be paſſed without a bridge; behind which ditch was an high wall, with ſtrong bulwarkes; and within all this was another new caſt ditch, and vpon the very brinke thereof a thicke and high parapit: all which for all that, certaine companies of the Wallons with great labour and danger aduentured to paſſe: but ſuch was the valour of the defendants, and the ſmall number of them that came on to the aſſault, with the diſaduantage of the place wherein they ſtood, that at length they were glad to retire, with the loſſe of many of their fellowes. The Chriſtians in the beginning of this ſiege

F had taken a little iſland in the riuer before the citie, which was kept with ſome few companies of the lord *Palfi* his Heidons; whereof the Turks hauing intelligence at BVDA, with three gallies and certain other veſſels, landed in the iſland 3000 ſoldiors, which ſlew the Heidons, vnto whom no ſuccour could be ſuddenly ſent, and ſo recouered againe the iſland: wherein they left a ſufficient garriſon for the keeping thereof, furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, and ſo departed.

About

About three dayes after the former aſſault, the Chriſtians in hope of better ſucceſſe the ſecond G
time aſſaulted the Water towne: in which aſſault the chiefe leaders were the lord *Greis*, and *Anthonie Zinne*, a famous captaine, had he not ſtained his honor with countie *Hardeck* at RAB; but being pardoned by the Emperour, did now together with the reſt appointed to that ſeruice, moſt couragiouſly aſſault the breach; but were againe by the Turks notably repulſed, and enforced at laſt to giue ouer the aſſault, and ſo to retire with the loſſe of an hundred and fiftie men: amongſt whom *Zinne* himſelfe was ſlaine, with one captaine *Ruger*, and ſome of the counties owne guard: the lord *Greis* was wounded in the head, and the yonger lord *Schuends* with diuers other captaines grieuouſly hurt. The next day after, ſix hundred of the mountaine people came into the campe vnto the countie with ſupplications to requeſt him, Not to giue ouer the ſiege vntill he had woon the citie, promiſing in the name of thoſe towns and villages from whence they H
were ſent, of their owne charges to repaire for him what harme ſoeuer he ſhould doe in the citie for the taking therof, yea though he ſhould lay it euen with the ground: for why the harmes they daily receiued from the garriſon of that citie, were wonderfull.

Mahomet carefull of Strigonium.

At the ſame time alſo he was aduertiſed by his eſpials (of whom he maintained many for the diſcouerie of the enemies doings) that *Mahomet* the Turkiſh Sultan had writ vnto the Baſſa of BVDA, carefully to prouide, that his beloued citie of STRIGONIVM tooke no harme, and not to ſpare either for men or money betime to relieue it: and therein to do nothing without the aduice and good liking of his old and faithfull ſeruant *Alis Beg*, who of long time had gouerned and alſo defended that citie: and to the intent that nothing ſhould be wanting for the performance hereof, that he had ſent *Alexander* Aga of the Ianizaries from the Court (whoſe ſeruice he might I
euill haue ſpared) whoſe approued counſell and helpe he might alſo vſe in all things: for that he had rather looſe ſome other whole kingdome than that one citie: And that therefore he ſhould beware that it were not by the enemie woon, or by any compoſition yielded: wherein if he failed, he threatned vnto him his heauie diſpleaſure, not to be appeaſed without the price of his head. Which ſo ſeuere a commaundement of the great Sultans, the Baſſa ſent to them of STRIGONIVM, with moſt grieuous threats from himſelfe, if they, terrified with any batterie, vndermining, or aſſault, ſhould yield the citie, and not hold it out as became valiant ſouldiors vnto the laſt man, ſwearing to empaile them all vpon ſtakes, that ſhould conſent to the yielding vp thereof. The old Gouernour *Alis* hauing receiued this ſo ſtraight a commaund from him that was both able and like ynough to performe what he had threatened, vtterly to deterre the ſouldiors from K
once thinking of yielding, cauſed diligent enquirie to be made throughout the garriſon, if any of them had at any time made any motion of yielding vp the citie, or otherwiſe murmured againſt their captaines or commaunders, appointing them to any ſeruice: and ſuch as he found to haue ſo done, he to the terror of others cauſed to be preſently executed: and after that went down himſelfe into the lower towne, to ſee that nothing were there wanting or amiſſe where moſt danger was. But when he would haue againe returned into the vpper towne, he was ſtayed by the Ianizaries, who told him, That ſeeing he was of ſo valiant and couragious a mind, and their Gouernour, he ſhould there ſtay with them, and take ſuch part as they did, were it better or worſe: and ſo would he or would he not, there needs ſtay he muſt.

Now the Baſſaes of BVDA and TEMESVVAR, with diuers Sanzackes as well of thoſe parts of L
HVNGARIE which the Turks poſſeſſed, as other places, were aſſembling their forces for the reliefe of the beſieged in STRIGONIVM: Whereof the Tranſyluanian prince hearing, made ſhew as if he would forthwith haue beſieged TEMESVVAR, ſo that the Baſſa thereof leauing the intended expedition for STRIGONIVM, was glad to returne for the defence of his own charge. They alſo of STIRIA, CARINTHIA & CROATIA, with the troupes of countie *Serinus*, had ſo ſtopped all the paſſages, that twelue thouſand Turks which were comming from ZIGETH and the places thereabout, could by no meanes come to joyne themſelues with their fellowes for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed citie.

The higher citie of Strigonium battered by the Chriſtians.

The countie leauing nothing vnattempted or vndone that might helpe for the gaining of M
STRIGONIVM, had made a notable fort vpon S. *Thomas* hill, and therein placed fiue great culuerines, wherewith he furiouſly battered the higher citie, and did therein great harme: and thereby alſo brought to paſſe, that no man could goe vp or downe the hill, betwixt the vpper towne and the lower, but he was in danger to be ſet off with thoſe pieces, or the musketiers; who defended by thoſe great pieces, lay vpon the ſide of the hill in caues and buſhes, awaiting for ſuch as

ſhould

A ſhould goe vp or downe betwixt the two townes. Thus the Chriſtians at one time battered the vpper towne, the lower towne, and the ſtrong towne and fort of GOKARA, ſtanding on the farther ſide of Danubius ouer against STRIGONIVM, beſieged by the lord *Palfi*. But of all theſe places, GOKARA was with the furie of the great ordinance moſt ſhaken: which the countie perceiuing, cauſed the batterie to be encreaſed, and ſo continued, vntill he had beaten downe the counterſcarfe, and made certaine faire breaches in the wall. Whereunto the Morauians (vnto whoſe lot it fell) the one and twentith of Iuly gaue an aſſault in fiue diuers places, whom the lord *Palfi* ſeconded with his Hungarians, of whom certaine were of purpoſe appointed beſide their armes to bring things with them for the firing of the towne, which they in the time of the aſſault found meanes ſo well to beſtow, that in a while the towne was all on a light fire. The Turkes at *Gokara taken by the Chriſtians.*

B firſt made notable reſiſtance; but finding themſelues ouerpreſſed, and ſeeing the towne now on a fire about their eares, which with the force of the wind ſo encreaſed, that it caught hold of the lower towne on the other ſide of the riuer, they retired to the riuers ſide, where ſome of them by boats got ouer to STRIGONIVM, otherſome periſhed in the riuer, the reſt falling into the hands of the Chriſtians, were by them all put to the ſword. GOKARA thus taken, and the fire quenched, the Chriſtians repaired the breaches, and ſtoring it with all warlike prouiſion, left in it a ſtrong garriſon. Within a night or two after were two hundred of the Turks horſemen deſcried in a field faſt by, which cauſed an alarum to be raiſed in the campe, as if the whole armie of the Turks had beene at hand: howbeit thoſe horſemen retiring, and no other appearing, it was afterwards knowne, that they were onely ſcouts ſent out by the Turkes to take view of the armie

C of the Chriſtians and in what ſort they lay encamped.

The latter end of this moneth it fortuned that a young countrey fellow, ſecretly ſent out of the citie by the Gouernour, and falling into the hands of *Palfi*, was by him ſent to the countie, by whom he was in friendly manner demanded, From whence he came, whether he was going, and whereabouts? Whereunto the youth frankely anſwered, That he was ſent from the Gouernour with letters to the Baſſa of BVDA, which he preſently drew out of his boſome, and deliuered them vnto the countie; who after he had read them, cauſed them to be cloſed vp againe, and ſo deliuered them to the young man, with ſome few crownes, commaunding him to carrie them to the Baſſa, as he was about, and in his returne to bring him the Baſſaes anſwere, promiſing for his ſo doing to reward him bountifully: which the young man vndertooke to doe, and ſo departed.

D Now the purport of the Gouernours letters was, That if the Baſſa did not within ſix or ſeauen dayes ſend him aid and relieue him, he ſhould for want of victuals and other things neceſſarie for the holding out of the ſiege, be enforced either to abandon the citie, or to yield it vp into the enemies hands. Whereunto the Baſſa returned anſwere by the aforeſaid meſſenger, That he would within the appointed time bee with him, willing him in the meane while to be mindfull of his wonted valour, and not to be with any thing diſcouraged: appointing him the day, the houre, the way, the meane, with all the other circumſtances how he would relieue him. Which letters the young man according to his promiſe deliuered vnto the countie: who thereupon prouided accordingly for the welcomming of the Baſſa. Within a day after alſo, one of the Turkes canoniers conſidering the danger the citie lay in, and feating that it would be loſt, fled out of it into

E the campe: who beſides that he aptly declared the ſtate of the citie, and the wants the beſieged were in, did alſo afterwards good ſeruice during the time of the ſiege. The Turkes had in this while many times ſallied out, to their great loſſe: yet now vpon hope of better ſucceſſe they aduentured the nine and twentith of this moneth to ſallie out againe, but with like fortune as before, leauing foureſcore of their men behind them, hauing ſlaine but fiue of the Chriſtians.

Now had the Turks in great wants by the ſpace of a moneth right worthily defended STRIGONIVM, expecting ſtill for reliefe. At length newes was brought into the campe, That the Baſſa of BVDA with twentie thouſand men was comming to raiſe the ſiege: who the ſecond of Auguſt came accordingly, and with his armie encamped within foure miles of the Chriſtians: lying ſo nigh, certaine of the Turkes horſemen ſeeking after bootie, came very neere vnto the

F campe of the Chriſtians, and out of the paſtures, euen vnder their noſes, carried away ſome few horſes: againſt theſe deſperat aduenturerers certaine troupes of the Hungarian and Germane horſemen iſſuing out, had with them an hot skirmiſh: but the Turkes of purpoſe retiring as men ouercharged, and the Chriſtians ſtill following on, had at length drawne them vnto the place where diuers other troupes of the Turkes lay in ambuſh for them, who now ſtarting forth on *A skirmiſh betwixt the Turks and the Chriſtians.*

euery

euery ſide,hardly charged them. The Hungarian light horſemen well acquainted with ſuch skir- G
miſhes,ſeeing the danger, preſently fled and left the Germanes to themſelues; who for a while valiantly encountered their enemies,but oppreſſed with multitude, were glad at laſt to flie alſo. In this skirmiſh of the Chriſtians were loſt and grieuouſly wounded about an hundred. The Turkes encouraged with this ſo proſperous a beginning, came on the next day with all their armie, being before reſolued by plaine force to open themſelues a way into the citie, and ſo to relieue the beſieged. Of all theſe things was not the Countie ignorant,as thereof forewarned by the Baſſaes letters before deliuered vnto him, and had therefore with his armie ſtrongly belayed all the wayes vnto the citie: neuertheleſſe the enemie came ſtill on betweene the hils S. *Thomas* and S. *George*, and neere vnto the ſuburbes called the Raſcian citie, put themſelues in order of battell, as did alſo the Chriſtians, giuing the enemie leaue to come euen to their trenches. In the meane H
time the lord *Palfi* with his Hungarian horſemen, fetching a compaſſe about the hill on the one ſide,and the lord *Swartzenburg* with his horſemen on the other,had ſo encloſed the Turkes be-
A cruell battell betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turkes before Strigonium. hind, as that they could not without great danger retire. Both armies orderly raunged, and the ſignall of battell giuen, the Turkes hauing before without any great harme done diſcharged ſeuenteene field pieces, came on after their wonted manner with a moſt hideous crie, and at the firſt onſet with their Turkie arrowes, as with a thicke ſhower, darkened the skie: when on the other ſide the Germane and Wallon horſemen with their petronels ſent their deadly ſhot as thicke as haile amongſt them againe; and the men at armes after them taught the Turks to their coſt,how vnfit their light and halfe naked horſemen were in a ſet battell to meet with men ſo well appointed: in a trice but not without great ſlaughter the battell was brought to the ſword, and I
to be tried by true valour: Thete was to be heard a crie heauens high, the thundering artillerie both great and ſmall, the clattering armour, the gliſtering weapons, the neighing of the horſes, the crying of the wounded, the heauie gronings of the dying, with the noiſe of the trumpets drums and other warlike inſtruments,made deafe the eares of the hearers, preſenting vnto them nothing but horror and euen preſent death. It was a moſt miſerable ſight to ſee ſo many men in
The Turkes ouerthrowne. ſo ſhort time ſlaine: for the battell had yet ſcarcely endured halfe an houre, when many thouſands of the Turks lay dead vpon the ground,and the reſt ſeeing the victorie encline to the Chriſtians,betooke themſelues to flight, leauing behind them their great ordinance and whatſoeuer els they brought for the reliefe of the beſieged: whom ſo flying, the lord *Palfi* and *Swartzenburg* (who had before taken the ſtraits whereby they were to paſſe betweene the mountaines) ſo K
receiued with their freſh horſemen,that of them that came that way,few eſcaped. The Baſſa himſelfe, who ſtood vpon the hill, ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his armie, fled alſo himſelfe: the Baſſa of NATOLIA with about an hundred Turkes moe by good fortune got into STRIGONIVM. The number of the Turks ſlaine in this battell was great,and is of diuers diuerſly reported,ſome ſaying that there was ſlaine fourteene thouſand; and ſome, fewer. Beſides them that were ſlain, many were alſo taken,and ſome of them men of great name and place. There were alſo taken ſeuen and twentie enſignes,with a multitude of cammels,aſſes,and mules,laded with mony,ſhot, pouder, and other neceſſarie prouiſion: all which,brought thither for the reliefe of the beſieged, became a prey vnto the Chriſtians. In the heat of this battell they of the citie ſallying out, had entred a fort of the Chriſtians vpon the riuers ſide,but were againe preſently driuen out,and with L
loſſe enforced againe to retire. After this victorie the countie ſent certaine companies of the Hungarian and Germane horſemen with fiue hundred waggons to the enemies campe,not farre off in the mountaines; who comming thither, found it vtterly forſaken by the enemie, but well ſtored with all manner of neceſſarie prouiſion, which they carried all away, together with ſix hundred tents, many whereof were lined with damaske, ſattin, and other ſilke, richly embroderted or layed with gold lace or twiſt. The Baſſaes rich tent taken by the colonell of the horſemen, was afterwards by him giuen vnto the Countie, as was alſo the plate and money there found, all which he deuided among the ſouldiors according to their deſerts. In the Turks campe were alſo found certaine heads of the Chriſtians, with the dead bodie of the lord *Brandenſteine*, ſlaine in the conflict but the day before; which the Chriſtians caried away with them into the campe,and M
there honourably buried them. Thoſe that remained of the Turks armie, hid themſelues in the mountaines and woods,and ſo holpen by the darkeneſſe of the night, made beſt ſhift for themſelues that they could. The Baſſa himſelfe accompanied but with twentie horſe, came to BVDA about midnight,and by his comming filled the citie with great heauineſſe, euery man lamenting his

A his loſt friends. The Hungarian Heidons beſt acquainted with the countrey, pricking vp and downe the mountaines and by waies, for certaine daies after the battell, brought in daily into the campe ſuch priſoners as they tooke, or elſe the heads of ſuch Turkes as they ſlew. Of this ſo notable a victorie, the Countie by a ſpeedie meſſenger certified the Archduke at VIENNA, who rewarded him for his good newes with a chaine worth fiue hundred duckats: and preſently cauſed the ſong of thankeſgiuing to be ſung in the Church of the Auguſtine Friers, and afterward in all the churches of the citie. The Countie alſo to gratifie the emperour, ſent him by the lord *Chalon* his néphew vnto PRAGE, two of the chiefe priſoners taken in the late battell, with foure horſemens Guidons cunningly made of horſe haires, ſuch as are commonly carried before the greateſt commanders of the Turks armies, and fourteene other enſignes of the Turks, with four-
B teene moſt goodly horſes of the Turks for a preſent.

The next day after this battell, the Countie ſent the lord *Palſi* with an interpretor vnto the citie, to demaund it to be yeelded: who hauing audience, declared vnto the Turkes in what danger they were, that the helpe they looked for was now quite ouerthrowne, new reliefe could not but in long time be ſent vnto them; and that therefore it ſhould be good for them, whileſt yet they might, to be well aduiſed, and betime to bethinke themſelues of yeelding vp the citie, leaſt happily when they would, it then would not be accepted: promiſing to intreat with the Generall, that they might in ſafetie depart, and with ſure conuoy be brought vnto ſuch place of ſafetie as were conuenient. Whereunto the beſieged Turkes anſwered, That the Chriſtians had now fiue weekes lien at the ſiege, and muſt yet lie three weekes longer: and that whereas
C of late ſome few of their friends came to haue relieued them, and had failed therein; there was yet an hundred thouſand moe to come after them, who if they ſhould not be able to performe that they came for, yet that they would not for that deliuer or forſake the citie, before they were readie to be drawne out of it by the heeles, and that yet they would then take three daies to reſolue thereupon.

Now had the Chriſtians with long and continuall batterie ſore beaten both the vpper and the lower towne, which batterie they now maintained with greater furie than at any time from the beginning of the ſiege; and within the citie their wants increaſed daily, hauing nothing left to liue vpon but a little wheat and barley, with ſome horſefleſh: vnto whom thus diſtreſſed, the lord *Palſi* by the commandement of the Countie (to trie what confidence they yet had in them-
D ſelues) the ninth of Auguſt, ſent two Gentlemen to the citie, to doe a meſſage from him to the Gouernour. Who aduertiſed thereof, being a verie aged and courteous man, accompanied with the Aga of the Ianizaries, came to the wals to heare what they had to ſay; where one of the ſaid gentlemen in few words deliuered him this ſhort meſſage.

My moſt gratious Lord the lord Palſi, *moſt worthie Gouernour greeteth thee well, and knowing thee to be a captaine both valiant and wiſe, and one that hath alwaies courteouſly vſed ſuch as haue fallen into thy hands, hath compaſſion of thy deſperat obſtinacie: and therefore, whereas thou art to looke or hope for nothing elſe but preſent death and deſtruction, he as thy neighbour and a louer of thy vertues, aduiſeth and exhorteth thee, if thou wilt ſaue thy ſelfe and thine from moſt vndoubted and imminent death and vtter confuſion, without delay to deliuer vp this citie, which thou canſt*
E *not longer hold.*

The meſſage ſent by the lord Palſi to the Gouernor of Strigonium.

Vnto whom the old Gouernour thus without ſtay courteouſly anſwered.

Thy ſpeech my friend, and thy maſters aduiſe are vnto me both vaine. Tell the lord Palſi *in my name, that I cannot pleaſure him with the leaſt ſtone in this citie. One foot I haue alreadie in the graue, and will with honour carrie theſe my graie haires into the ſame: and am yet comforted with a moſt certaine and vndoubted hope, that my moſt dread and mightie ſouereigne, and my lord* Sinan Baſſa *will not forſake me: yea and that if they ſhould write vnto me, that they could find no meanes or way to relieue me (which I am ſure they can) yet would I well, and at leiſure conſider, whether it were fit for me to deliuer vp this citie or not; ſeeing that of the defence thereof, dependeth all mine honour and credit. Beſides that, what reward they haue on both ſides, that ſo eaſily deliuer ouer the ci-*
F *ties they haue in charge, all the world doth ſee.*

The reſolute anſwere of the old Gouernor to the meſſage ſent him by Paſi.

With this anſwere he ſent them away. All this while the Aga of the Ianizaries ſtanding by, ſpoke not one word, but ſighing in ſilence and grinding his teeth, declared by his countenance his indignation and inward griefe.

In the mid way betwixt BVDA and STRIGONIVM, in the middeſt of the riuer of Danubius lieth

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The besieged Turkes in STRIGONIVM vnderstanding of this ouerthrow of their friends, from whom they expected most speedie reliefe, and beside the terrour of the continuall batterie and still feared assaults, pinched also with extreame wants of all things, began now to faint. Wherefore the Bassa with the other captaines, ouercome with the aforesaid difficulties, and the generall outcrie of the fearfull people, resolued with one consent to come now to parley, and vpon reasonable conditions to yeeld vp the citie: whereupon a flag of truce was set vp, and parley craued. Which granted, the Archduke after the going downe of the Sunne came into the lower towne, where nine of the Turks attended his comming: who entring into parley, required that they might vnder safe conuoy with bag and baggage depart, and so leaue him the citie: which the Archduke would not by any meanes agree vnto. At length with much entreatie, they ob- H
tained that they might vpon the same conditions depart that the Christians did at RAB; with their scimitars by their sides, and so much of their goods as they could carrie vpon their backes,
Strigonium yelded vnto the Christians. vnto such ships as were to be appointed for the carriage of them to BVDA. For the performance whereof, hostages were on both sides giuen: and so the next day (being the second of September) they began to come out of the citie, moe in number than either the prisoners taken in the time of the siege had confessed, or the Christians had thought. Thirtie ships were appointed for the conuaying of them downe the riuer to BVDA, which not suffising, many of them tarried in the citie vntill the next day, at which time the Bassa with the sicke and wounded sayled to BVDA, the prisoners and pledges on both sides being before faithfully deliuered. Thus by the goodnesse of God and the good conduct of a few valiants Christians, was STRIGONIVM the Metropoliticall I
citie of HVNGARIE, after it had 52 yeares groaned vnder the miserable yoake of the Turkish
The castle of Vicegrade taken by the Christians. seruitude, againe restored vnto the Christian common-weale: which the Christians forthwith repaired and new fortified, as was thought best for the defence thereof against the enemie. All which being done, about the middest of this moneth the Archduke sent eighteene thousand to besiege VICEGRADE, otherwise called PLINDENBVRG, a strong castle of the Turks vpon the riuer betweene STRIGONIVM and BVDA, which castle they tooke. Which when they of BVDA vnderstood, they were strucken with such a feare, that many of the better sort were readie to forsake the citie, insomuch, that the Bassa to stay their flight, was glad to commaund the gates of the citie to be shut vpon them, and no man suffered to passe out. This good successe of the Christians in these wars, caused great rejoycing to be made in most parts of Christendome. K

All this while the Christians were thus busied at the siege of STRIGONIVM, the Transyluanian prince was not idle, but in diuers places did the Turks exceeding much harme; so that now his name began to be dreadfull vnto them. It fortuned that the same day that the Countie *Mansfelt* departed at KOMARA, that the prince at ALBA IVLIA with great solemnitie married *Maria Christina*, the daughter of the late Archduke *Charles* the sonne of the emperour *Ferdinand*, her other sister *Anna* being before married vnto *Sigismund*, now king of POLONIA: for so it was agreed for the more assurance of the league betweene the emperour and him, that he should take his wife out of the house of AVSTRIA, which he now did. Of this solemnitie the Turks (his euill neighbors) hauing intelligence, assembling to the number of 30000 or more, thought as vnwelcome guests to haue come vnbidden or vnlooked for thereunto: but the vigilant prince vn- L
derstanding of their comming, prouided for their entertainment accordingly, and setting his pleasures for a while apart, and comming vpon them when they least looked for him, in a great battell ouerthrew them, and slew most part of them, carrying away with him as a triumphant victour, the whole spoile of his enemies.

About the same time the Transyluanians also besieged FAGIAT, a towne holden by the Turkes, not farre from TEMESVVAR; where after they had lien twelue daies, they of the towne dispairing to be able long to hold out, came to parley, and couenanting to depart with bag and baggage, began to go out of the towne. But in their departure, vnderstanding that the Bassa of TEMESVVAR with the Sanzacks of LIPPA and IENNE were comming to their reliefe, they M
that were yet in the towne began to find delaies, and they that were alreadie gone out began to returne. Wherewith the Transyluanians much moued, by plaine force entred the towne, and put them all to the sword: and afterward turning vpon the Bassa, who with ten thousand Turks and certaine field pieces was comming to haue relieued the town, had with them a cruell battell; wherein most part of the Turks fell with small losse of the Transyluanians: who so eagerly pursued

A ſued the victorie, that the Baſſa himſelfe had much adoe with fiue hundred others to eſcape. The two Sanzackes, with diuers others of good place, were taken and ſent priſoners to the prince. Not long after, about the latter end of Auguſt the Tranſyluanians alſo beſieged LIPPA, a famous citie of HVNGARIE, ſtanding vpon the riuer Maracz, not farre from TEMESVVAR, which the Turkes being not able longer to hold, fled into the caſtle: where finding themſelues in no great ſafetie, after three dayes ſiege they came to parle, and ſo yielded, vpon condition that they might in ſafetie depart with ſo much of their goods as they could themſelues carrie. About which time alſo the Baſſa of BOSNA with ten thouſand Turks and Tartars went forth to haue againe recouered BABOTSCA, a frontier towne, before taken by the Chriſtians: which the Stirians and the reſt of the Chriſtians dwelling thereabouts, betweene the two riuers of Sauus
B and Drauus, vnderſtanding, conducted by the lords *Herbenſtein*, *Lewcowitz*, and *Eckenberg*, that had the charge of thoſe frontiers, ouertooke the ſaid Turks and Tartars neere vnto BABOTSCA, fought with them, and in the plaine field ouerthrew them.

Lippa taken by the Tranſyluanians.

Mahomet not a little grieued with the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in euery part of HVNGARIE, and aboue meaſure offended with *Ferat Baſſa* his Generall, through whoſe negligence all or at leaſtwiſe moſt part of this had happened (as he was by the enuie of *Sinan Baſſa* perſuaded) ſent for *Ferat* home, and in his place ſent out *Sinan*. Of which the great Sultans diſpleaſure *Ferat* was not ignorant, as forewarned thereof by her that beſt knew, euen the Sultans mother, and aduiſed not to come in ſight vntill his peace were made. Who neuertheleſſe truſting to his own innocencie (the comfortable, but moſt dangerous and weake ſtay of the great)
C and doubting not to anſwere whatſoeuer *Sinan* ſhould be able to charge him with, came to the Court: where he was by the commandement of *Mahomet* ſhortly after ſtrangled, and his goods to the value of fiue hundred thouſand duckats confiſcated.

Ferat Baſſa ſent for to Conſtantinople, and there ſtrangled.

Sinan Baſſa ſent in Ferats ſtead.

Among all the dangerous enemies of the Chriſtian common-weale, was none at this time more cruell than was *Sinan*, an Epirot borne, a fiſhers ſonne, of a rough and vnciuile diſpoſition, now about foureſcore and three yeares old, euen from his youth brought vp in the warres: and yet (as his mott was) breathing nothing but, *Bloud and Warre*. He had many times fortunately led the huge armies of the Turkiſh Emperours, *Solyman*, *Selymus*, and *Amurath*, and is now ſent by the great Sultan *Mahomet*, as the fitteſt man to reduce the late reuolted countries of TRANSYLVANIA, VALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, to their former thral-
D dome; which he before promiſed vnto *Mahomet*, vpon perill of his head to doe. He hauing raiſed a right puiſſant armie, by a bridge made of boats (after a moneths labour ſpent therein) paſſed ouer the great riuer of Danubius into VALACHIA: of whoſe comming the Tranſyluanians, with the Valachians and Moldauians, hauing knowledge, had before ſo ſhut vp the paſſages of the countrey, as that he could not without much danger haue farre entered; and were alſo readie with their vnited forces euen at his firſt enterance to giue him battell. Which hee not refuſing, there began a moſt mortall and cruell fight, with much bloudſhead on both ſides. Thrice were the Tranſyluanians enforced to retire, but ſtill relieued with new ſupplies, and knowing that they then carried in their armes the welfare of their whole countrey, came on afreſh againe, and as hardly charged the Turkes, as they had beene by them charged. Thus
E with doubtfull fortune and great ſlaughter was the battell maintained, from the morning vntill night, victorie with doubtfull wings houering now ouer the one ſide, now ouer the other: vntill that at length, the Turkes ouercome by true valour, their battailes being quite diſordered and broken, were now glad to ſeeke to ſaue themſelues by flight. In this battaile, being fought the eleuenth of September, beſides many thouſands of the common ſouldiours, were ſlaine alſo diuers of great account amongſt the Turkes: and amongſt the reſt *Haidar Baſſa*, a man of them much regarded, was found dead euen in the ſame place where the battaile was fought. *Sinan* himſelfe, in making too much haſt to get ouer the bridge, fell into the deepe mud, and in that generall confuſion of his armie, was like ynough there to haue periſhed: but as the common prouerbe goeth, *Seldome lieth the diuell dead in a dike*, the old Veiliarde was
F with much adoe drawne out by them of his guard, and ſo ſaued to further miſchiefe. Neuertheleſſe, the danger was ſo great, that for certaine daies it was commonly reported, that he was there drowned, moſt of his owne people not as yet certainely knowing what was become of him. All the ſpoyle of the Turks became a prey vnto the Chriſtians, as did alſo their great ordinance, and many of their enſignes; amongſt which was one greene one, which they accounted religious, as

A mortall battell betwixt Sinan and the Tranſyluanian prince.

The Turks ouerthrowne.

Sinan in flying like to be drowned.

ſacred to their prophet *Mahomet*, whereunto they in time of their greateſt diſtreſſe flie as vnto their laſt refuge: there was taken alſo all their tents, with great aboundance of victuals and other warlike prouiſion. G

The old Baſſa thus ouerthrowne, full of griefe, and euen mad for deſpight, poſted himſelfe in all haſt to the Court, thinking it better himſelfe to make the beſt of that which was indeed nought, than to haue it made worſe than nought by the enuious report of others: and withall to fill the mind of the great Sultan with deſire of reuenge, which no man ſo much longed after, as himſelfe: wherein he ſo diſcreetly vſed the matter, as that the late loſſe was eaſily paſſed ouer, as receiued by the common chance of warre, or any other occaſion els whatſoeuer rather than by any default of his; and new commiſsion giuen him for the raiſing of another armie for the ſubduing of the late reuolted countries. In the meane time, to ſhew his hatred vnto the Chriſtians, H and to pleaſe the eyes of them of the Court with the noueltie of the ſight, he cauſed an hundred and twelue Chriſtian captiues whom he had in priſon at BELGRADE, to be brought in chaines like beaſts to CONSTANTINOPLE; and ſo being led through the principall ſtreets of the citie, to the vaine contentment of the citiſens, to bee brought to the Court gate for the Sultan to looke vpon and the Courtiers to deride: from whence they were after many vnſpeakeable indignities conueyed to moſt miſerable and loathſome priſons, there to be fed with the bread of tribulation.

The Turks ouerthrowne in Croatia.

About this time the Turks vnder the commaund of the Baſſa of BOSNA, to the number of almoſt twentie thouſand, made a rode into CROATIA, where they were by the Chriſtians vnder the leading of the lord *Eckenberg* and *Leucowitz* ouerthrowne and almoſt all ſlaine: the Chri- I ſtians following the chaſe euen into the Turks frontiers, burnt fifteene of their villages, and tooke the caſtle of VARVINAR: immediately after, their forces encreaſing by the comming in of the lord *Herbenſteine*, Gouernour of VALERIA and WINDISMARCHE, and certain other troupes of horſemen out of CARINTHIA and the countries thereabouts, they returned the thirteenth of September to beſiege PETRINIA, otherwiſe called PETROVVINA; which becauſe they were in hope to take by aſſault, they euen at their firſt comming couragiouſly aſſailed. But after two houres hard fight, finding both greater reſiſtance and more difficultie than they had before ſuppoſed to haue found, and that without great ordinance (which could not in ſhort time bee got ouer the mountaines) there was no good to be done, they were glad to giue ouer the aſſault, and with ſuch loſſe as they had receiued to returne to SISEG, there to conſult further of the matter. K

Petrinia taken by the Chriſtians

But the ſame night a fugitiue horſeman fled from the enemie, came to the campe and told the Chriſtians, That *Ruſtan Beg* Gouernour of PETRINIA was in the late aſſault wounded in the breaſt with a ſmall ſhot, and dead: and that the Turkes in the towne diſcouraged with his death and the late ouerthrow of their friends in CROATIA, would vpon the firſt ſight of them abandon the towne, if they would but againe returne to beſiege it. Vpon which good hope the Chriſtians preſently riſe, and ſet forward againe towards PETRINIA: which the Turkes hearing of their comming, had before (as the ſoldior reported) for feare abandoned. So the Chriſtians without reſiſtance entering the towne, found therein ſome pillage, but better ſtore of ſhot and pouder: and preſently ſending forth certaine troupes of horſemen to purſue the flying Turks, tooke diuers of them, and among the reſt the late Gouernours lieutenant, whom they brought backe againe L into the towne. Thus was PETRINIA againe recouered from the Turkes, to the great quiet and ſafetie of all that ſide of the countrey.

Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian prince not ignorant with what an enemie he had to doe, either of the mallice of old *Sinan*, who he knew would not be long before he returned, or yet of the ſecret practiſe of the Polonians for the withdrawing of the countrey of MOLDAVIA from him, ſought now by all means (as it ſtood him vpon) to make himſelfe ſo ſtrong as he could againſt ſo many ſtormes ariſing. It fortuned that euen at the ſame time the Zaculians (better known by the name of Siculi) in former time a free people, but as then tributaries vnto the Turkes, bordering vpon the Northeaſt part of TRANSYLVANIA, now weatie of the Turkiſh thraldome, and ſeeing the good ſucceſſe of the prince, and the late reuolted countries their neighbours, offered vnto M the prince their ſeruice; promiſing of their own charge to maintaine fortie thouſand men in the field during his warres with the Turke, and yearely to pay him of euery houſe a dollar, with a certaine meaſure of wheat, oates, and barley, after the manner of their owne countrey: and further, That if God ſhould bleſſe him with a ſonne to ſucceed him in his gouernment, euery houſholder

A sholder should giue vnto him a good fat oxe. For all which seruice they craued no more, but that they might as his subjects liue vnder his protection: yet so, as to be gouerned by their owne auntient lawes and customes. Of which their offer the prince accepting, it was forthwith by them proclaimed in their campe, and all the people sworne to the performance of the aforesaid agreements. And hauing at that present but fiue and twentie thousand in the field, they without delay sent out their officers to presse out fifteene thousand moe, for the filling vp of the promised number of fortie thousand, wherewith they came vnto the prince, who taking a view of his armie, found himselfe to be now fourescore thousand men strong, to welcome the Bassa withall when he should come againe into his countrey. *The prince taketh a view of his armie.*

Now had *Sinan* with great speed raised an armie of seauentie thousand choice souldiours,
B amongst whom were many whole bands of the Ianizaries, the strength of the Turkish empire. With which power joyned vnto the reliques of his other broken forces, he thought himselfe strong ynough for the subduing of the prince: vnto whom came also afterwards *Hassan Bassa*, the sonne of the great Bassa *Muhamet*, one of the Turkes most renowned men of warre, and *Bogdanus* the late expulsed Vayuod of VALACHIA, with many others of great name. With this armie the old Bassa by a bridge, which he with exceeding charge had made of boats, passed ouer the great riuer of Danubius at a towne called ZORZA or GIORGO (with vs S. *George*) in VALACHIA, a great way beneath that place where sometime the emperour *Traian* built his famous bridge of stone, worthily accounted amongst the rare and wonderfull buildings of the world. *Sinan Bassa by a bridge made of boats passeth ouer Danubius into Valachia.*

From ZORZA he marched with his armie to TERGOVISTA (sometime the Vayuod his chiefe
C citie, but then in the power of the Turks) where is a notable monasterie, which he conuerted into a castle, fortifying it with deepe trenches and strong bulwarks, and good store of great ordinance, purposing to make that the seat of his warre, vntill he had againe restored those late reuolted countries vnto the Turkish empire, which hee vpon paine of his head had vndertaken to performe. The prince both by messengers and letters vnderstanding of the Bassaes arriuall there, and hauing his armie in good readinesse, set forward to meet him and to giue him battell. But being come into VALACHIA, and there encamped, it is reported, that a great Eagle descending from an high rocke thereby, called, The Kings rocke, and houering ouer the Christian armie, flew about the princes tent, and there lighting, was taken and presented to the prince, who commaunded her to bee kept as the presage of his good fortune; holding on still his way, and the fifteenth
D of October being come within halfe a dayes march of TERGOVISTA, he vnderstood by two Christians lately escaped from the Turks, That two dayes before the Turks hearing of his comming, were strucken with such a generall and sudden feare, that *Sinan* had much adoe either by faire meanes or by foule to stay the Ianizaries from flight; and that when he had done what he could, yet that certaine companies of them were quite fled and gone. But the truth was, that *Sinan* seeing the generall feare of his armie, and he himselfe no lesse fearefull than the rest, vpon the princes approch fled with all his armie, leauing behind him fot hast his tents, his great ordinance, with much victuals, and other warlike prouision, carrying with him onely such things as were of most value. As for the citie of TERGOVISTA, with the castle which he had made of the monasterie, he committed it to the keeping of *Hassan Bassa*; and *Bogdanus* the late Vayuod, now be-
E come a renegate Turke, with a garrison of foure thousand chosen souldiors, promising within a few daies, if need should be, to relieue them, but fled himselfe in all hast with his armie to BVCARESTA, a daies journey from TERGOVISTA. From whence he presently writ backe againe to *Hassan Bassa*, willing him if he could to defend the castle: but if he should thinke it not possible to be kept against the power of the prince, then betime to forsake it and to shift for himselfe. But these letters being intercepted by the Christians, neuer came to the Bassaes hands. Not long after the departing of *Sinan*, the prince comming to TERGOVISTA, entred the forsaken campe, where he found many tents, with some ordinance, and great store of victuals: & without further delay summoned both the citie and the castle, which for all that were both denied him. But the next day after, *Hassan* considering the flight of *Sinan*, the power of the prince, and withall doubting if need
F should be to be relieued by *Sinan*, whom he not without cause suspected not to loue him, was about vpon some reasonable composition to haue yielded vp both the citie and the castle: whereunto the garrison souldiors (being most part of them Ianizaries) would not in any case giue their consent, but stood vpon the defence of the place. Whereupon the prince began furiously to batter both the citie and the castle, and after some few houres batterie by assault tooke both, and put

Hassan Bassa taken.

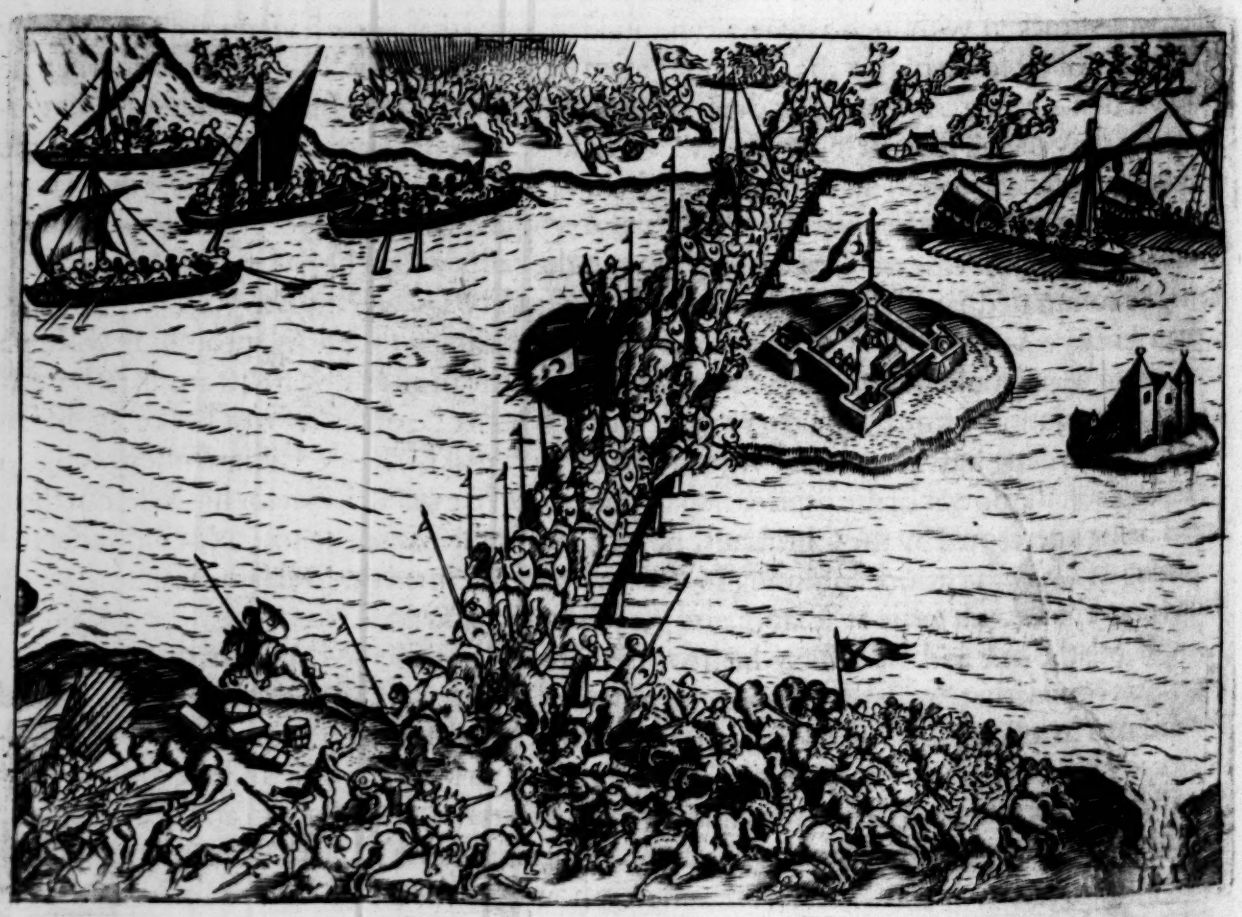
to sword the whole garrison: onely *Hassan Bassa*, as taken with his owne hand, he spared, and two other Sanzackes. *Bogdanus* the renegate was there slaine among the rest. The Christians had there a rich prey, besides 42 great pieces of ordinance, and good store of all manner of warlike prouision. *Hassan* thus taken, grieuously complained that *Sinan* had of a malitious purpose exposed him to so manifest danger, for the grudge he bare vnto his dead father the Visier *Muhamet*, vpon whom because he could neuer be reuenged, he now by sinister meanes had cunningly performed it vpon his sonne; yet he craued of the prince to bee well vsed, offering for his ransome 100000 Hungarian duckats. Whilest the prince yet thus lay at TERGOVISTA, came thither 4000 Turks, whom *Sinan* had before his departure thence sent forth to spoyle the countrey and to seeke after prey, thinking to haue there found him still: who now falling into the hands of the Christians, were there all slaine, and 60000 head of cattell recouered, which these Turkes had taken out of VALACHIA and MOLDAVIA, and should by *Sinans* appointment haue been sent to CONSTANTINOPLE. For VALACHIA and MOLDAVIA doe so abound with corne and cattell, that they plentifully serue the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE not onely with corne and flesh, but also yearely send at the least 150 ships thither by the black sea, laded with other kind of victuals. Of which so great commodities the Turkes were now depriued by the reuolt of the aforesaid countries.

The fruitfulnesse of Valachia and Moldauia.

The prince leauing a strong garrison in TERGOVISTA, set forward with his armie towards BVCARESTA, hoping there to haue found *Sinan*. But he hearing of the losse of TERGOVISTA, and thinking himselfe in no good safetie at BVCARESTA, fled thence also to ZORZA. The prince comming to BVCARESTA, found it abandoned by the Turks, and so tooke it without resistance, yet had therein certaine field pieces, with good store of shot and pouder left there by *Sinan*. Hauing there stayed a while for the manning of the place, he set forwards againe towards ZORZA, and that with such speed, that he ouertooke great numbers of the Turks, whom he put all to the sword: so that the fields betwixt BVCARESTA and ZORZA, were in many places couered with the dead bodies of the Turkes. Neuertheless, he could not make so great hast, marching still in good order, but that the fearefull Bassa disorderly hasting, was about some six houres or more before come to the bridge he had with great charge made ouer the riuer of Danubius, the forme whereof you may here see.

Bucaresta taken by the prince.

The picture of the Bridge made ouer Danubius by Sinan Bassa, *Anno* 1595.



A Ouer the hithermoſt part of which bridge (being in length about a mile) was *Sinan* with the greateſt part of his armie (before the comming of the prince) got ouer into an iſland in the middeſt of the riuer, wherein he had at his comming ouer, encamped: but doubting now there to ſtay, with all the ſpeed he could got him ouer the other part of the bridge alſo vnto the farther ſide of the riuer, with ſo many of his men as in ſo ſhort time poſsibly could. Where to ſtay the farther purſuit of the prince, he brake the bridge on that ſide, and ſet fire vpon it: and thereby cut off alſo many of his owne men that were not as yet come ouer. Whom the prince enclo- *Sinan flieth ouer Danubius.*
ſing, forced many of them into the riuer, where they periſhed: the reſt flying into the iſland, were by the Chriſtians fiercely purſuing of them, either there ſlaine, or ſeeking by the other part of the bridge to haue got ouer (whereof the farther end before broken downe by *Sinan*, and
B the hither end toward the iſland now cut off by the Chriſtians) were togither with the bridge carried away by the violence of the riuer, and ſo altogither periſhed. Otherſome of the Chriſtians in the meane time tooke the bridge that leadeth vnto the caſtle of ZORZA, which ſtandeth compaſſed about with an arme of Danubius, and being not verie great, was kept by a garriſon of ſeuen hundred ſelect ſouldiors. Vnto which caſtle the prince preſently laid ſiege (the reſolute ſouldiors being not by any meanes to be perſuaded to yeeld it vp, but to hold it out euen vnto the laſt man) and after he had ſore battered it, by plaine force tooke it, and put to the ſword all the garriſon ſouldiors he could lay hands vpon. About an hundred of theſe Turkes ſeeing they muſt needs fall into the power of their enemies, deſperatly leapt from the top of the caſtle into the riuer, where not one of them eſcaped, being all either drowned or ſlaine with ſmall ſhot. In
C the winning of this caſtle, two hundred and fiftie of the Chriſtians were loſt, and many wounded: but of the Turkes and Tartars, betwixt the eighteenth and the laſt of October periſhed aboue ſix and twentie thouſand. In this caſtle were taken thirtie nine great pieces, with ſuch ſtore of armour and other warlike prouiſion, as might haue ſerued for an whole kingdome: and foure thouſand Chriſtians beſide women and children, whom *Sinan* had taken out of VALACHIA, reſtored to their former libertie. With whom the prince after hee had ſet all things in *The Prince returneth with victorie to Alba Iulia.*
order, returned in great triumph to TERGOVISTA, and ſo afterwards to his pallace at ALBA IVLIA, where, as alſo at CLAVDIOPOLIS and other cities through his dominions, he cauſed publike prayers with thankeſgiuing to almightie God, to be deuoutly made for ſo great a victorie: as did alſo *Michael* the Vayuod in VALACHIA, who in all theſe great warres againſt the
D Turkes was nothing inferiour vnto the Tranſyluanian himſelfe. A greater loſſe than this the Turkiſh emperour receiued not at land in many yeares before, being by this ſo happie and victorious a prince, and the reuolt of theſe three countries, depriued of ſo much territorie, as they had not from the Chriſtians of long time gained. It was by ſome of them of the better ſort of the Turks that were taken, reported, that *Sinan Baſſa* ſhould oftentimes ſay, That this young Tran- *The opinion Sinan Baſſa had of the Tranſyluanian.*
ſyluanian prince had bereft him of all the honour and renowme he had with great trauell got in the courſe of his long life: and that although he had eſcaped his hands, yet that he feared he would be the cauſe for him in theſe his great yeares, euen in the winding vp of all, to looſe his life togither with his goods and honour. Now was the Tranſyluanian princes name (after the ouerthrow of this great Baſſa) become dreadfull vnto the Turkes, and alſo famous through
E all Chriſtendome: Which as it hath filled the eares of many with admiration, ſo happily may the liuely repreſentation of his feature by cunning hand ſet forth, feed the longing eies of ſome with delight, and ſerue in better ſtead than the rude deſcription of his perſon.

SIGIS-

SIGISMVND, Prince of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia.

Miles eras Christi, nulli pietate secundus
Et solus patriæ gloria magna tuæ
Inclita si virtus, quæ te super æthera vexit:
Tàm stabili cursu continuata foret. R. KNOLL.

Of Christ thou wast a souldior true, inferiour vnto none:
Thy countries joy and glorie great, vnto the world well knowne.
If worthie vertue, that thee raisd aboue the starrie skie,
With stedfast pace had run the race so well begun by thee.

Ienna yeelded to the Transyluanians.

Whilest this worthie Prince was thus busied in this expedition against *Sinan*, he caused the castle of IENNA (standing vpon the hie way betweene TEMESVVAR and GIVLA) to be besieged by certaine of his captaines appointed to that seruice: in which castle lay one of the Turks Sanzackes with a garrison of seuen hundred Turkes, who much troubled such as passed that way. They now brought to some extremitie, and terrified with the successe of the prince, offered to giue vp the castle, so that as souldiors with their scimitars by their sides they might in safetie be M brought to PANODA. Which their offer being accepted of, and they now vpon their way, the Hungarian light horsemen that should haue conducted them (enformed that these Turkes now vnder their charge, had secret intelligence with the Turkes in garrison at GIVLA and TEMESVVAR, that they should lie in ambush for them neere PANODA, and so cut them off by the way) set

A set vpon these Turkes whom they should haue conducted, and cut the throats of foure hundred of them: and yet still holding on their way, met with these Turkes that lay in ambush for them, whom they after a sharpe skirmish ouerthrew, and hauing slaine a great many of them, put the rest to flight. By the taking of IENNA the waies thereabout were quieted, especially for them of WARADEN. The Sanzacke of IENNA reported, that *Mahomet* had a little before sent word vnto his Bassaes and Sanzackes in HVNGARIE, that such castles and townes as they thought were not to be defended against the Christians, they should betimes as occasion serued yeeld them vp, or forsake them, so to spare the needlesse losse of his good souldiors: of whom he had with so many townes and strong holds lost no small number this yeare in HVNGARIE. IENNA thus taken, diuers of the richer sort in TEMESVVAR fearing to be euen presently besieged, sent
B their wiues and children with their treasure and such other things as they made most reckoning of, out of the citie in wagons to be conuaied vnto places of more safetie: of which wagons, seuentie were by the Christians (lying thereabout in garrison) intercepted, and in them an exceeding rich bootie.

Mahomet hauing this yeare fully purposed the vtter ruine of the Transyluanian prince, and the reducing of the countries of TRANSYLVANIA, MOLDAVIA, and VALACHIA, vnto his obeisance by the great Bassa *Sinan:* had for the better effecting therof, before prouided that the Crim Tartar (readie still at his call) should with his own people (wherof he hath great store) and certaine bands of the Turkes, at the same time inuade MOLDAVIA; and possessing himselfe of his countrey, to place one *Sidriake* Vayuod in stead of *Stephen* placed by the prince, and to people the
C countrey with his Tartars in reward of his good seruice (as he said) but indeed to haue them alwaies neere at hand to doe his commaunds in HVNGARIE, POLONIA, TRANSYLVANIA, or the other countries of the Christians thereunto adjoyning. The Tartar according to his appointment came with seuentie thousand Tartars, accompanied with their wiues and children, to haue planted themselues in the countrey, at the verie same time that *Sinan* came to TERGOVISTA: but being come vpon the frontiers of MOLDAVIA, to haue put in execution what he was by *Mahomet* commaunded, he found there *Zamoschie* the great Chancelor of POLONIA, readie with a strong armie to oppose himselfe against him, and to stay his farther passage. Wherupon some light skirmishes passed betweene the Tartars and Polonians: where the Tartars were still put to the worse, with the losse of three thousand of their men. The Tartar *Cham* with *Sidriake*
D the Vayuod appointed by the Turke, finding themselues, though in number moe, yet in strength inferiour vnto the Polonian, and that without his good leaue they could not passe; sent vnto the Chancelor to excuse that was alreadie past, as done without their consent by the insolencie of their souldiors, and to tell him, That their comming was not to fight with him, as hauing expresse commaundement from the great Sultan *Mahomet*, in no case to disturbe the league betwixt him and the Polonians; but quietly to passe by their frontiers into MOLDAVIA, and there to place *Sidriake* Vayuod his tributarie in stead of *Stephen* that now vsurped the place, by the appointment of the Transyluanian: which that they might doe, they craued his leaue as friends to passe. Whereunto the Chancelor answered, That he was come thither by the commaundement of the king, to defend those countries from the inuasion of such as had in them no right: and
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Mahomet calleth in the Tartars to inuade Moldauia.

SIGISMVND, Prince of Transyluania, Valachia, and Moldauia.

Miles eras Christi, nulli pietate secundus
Et solus patriæ gloria magna tuæ
Inclita si virtus, quæ te super æthera vexit:
Tam stabili cursu continuata foret. R. KNOLL.

Of Christ thou wast a souldior true, inferiour vnto none:
Thy countries joy and glorie great, vnto the world well knowne.
If worthie vertue, that thee raisd aboue the starrie skie,
With stedfast pace had run the race so well begun by thee.

Ienna yeelded to the Transyluanians.

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ction of the Turke, than to see them so honourably at libertie, gouerned by the prince: such is the force of malitious enuie, the inseperable companion of worthie vertue. Which the Chancelour (otherwise a man of great fame and honour) began now openly to poure forth: for presently after the departure of the Tartars, he with all his power passing ouer the riuer Nijester or Tyros into MOLDAVIA, euen at such time as the prince was going against *Sinan* at TERGOVISTA, first seized vpon the castle of Chotijm, which he furnished with his owne souldiors: and from thence marching to ZOZONA, the metropoliticall citie of that prouince, & seat of the Vayuod, had it yielded vnto him: and so proceeding on, had in short time almost the whole countrey deliuered vnto him; *Stephen* the Vayuod placed by the prince, flying from place to place before him from whom he least feared any such thing, hauing made account of no other enemies but of the Turks and Tartars. *Stephen* the Vayuod thus driuen out, and the Chancelour possessed of the countrey, he presently placed one *Hieremias* Vayuod in stead of *Stephen*, to hold that honour of the Polonian king as his soueraigne. Yet neuertheless, to satisfie the Turke, he sent a messenger to *Sinan Bassa*, then but newly come to TERGOVISTA, requesting him not to take it in euill part that he had entred into MOLDAVIA, and there placed a new Vayuod, but in the name of the great Sultan *Mahomet*, to confirme this his doing, and the Vayuod by him placed; promising the countrey of MOLDAVIA to remaine tributarie still vnto the Sultan, and that this new Vayuod should forthwith pay vnto him what tribute was behind, and from thenceforth a farre greater tribute yearely than had the countrey of MOLDAVIA before. Whereunto the hautie Bassa (then fearing nothing lesse than that which immediatly after happened, to be driuen out of those countries by the prince) proudly answered, That it was not the great Sultans mind, that the Polonians should at all inuade MOLDAVIA: for that beside hee could without their helpe reduce those countries to his obedience, he had giuen that countrey vnto the Tartar, in reward of his good seruice alreadie done in HVNGARIE and other places; whose subjects the Tartars would ere long be readie with their wiues and children to take possession thereof. Neuertheless the Chancelor proceeded to defend the new Vayuod by him placed: which was no great matter for him to do, *Sinan* the Turks champion (as is before declared) being presently after ouerthrowne, and driuen quite out of those countries by the prince. Who if he had not then gained the victory, the Chancelour had not now holden MOLDAVIA, but the Turke; whose quarrell he seemed rather to fauour, than the princes. The Chancelour to colour this his inuasion, pretended, That the countrey of MOLDAVIA did of auntient right belong vnto the kingdome of POLONIA: which the Transyluanians tooke to be no other but meere and open wrong. This supposed title, such as it was, the Chancelor had so fashioned out vnto the king and the states of that kingdome, that they referred it to his discretion to inuade the countrey, and remooving the Vayuod placed by the prince, to place another in his stead: and the rather to persuade them, laboured by many forced reasons to shew the power of the Transyluanian prince to be so far inferiour vnto the Turks, that it was to be feared he should at length be thrust out of all his dominions, and so they together with MOLDAVIA become subject to the Turke. Which if it should so come to passe, then should the Polonians haue an vntrustie and troublesome neighbour. And that therefore it were better that MOLDAVIA were possessed by them that were better able to defend it than was he, that so the Turke might be kept farther off from POLONIA. Which occasion he said was not longer to be delaied, but now betime to be laid hold vpon: persuading himselfe to find such grace and fauor with the Turkish emperor, as that he should be therewith right well contented: which was like ynough for a time to be, for that the Transyluanian should thereby be much weakened. By these and such like reasons, framed to serue his owne turne, the Chancelour so preuailed with the king and the states of the kingdome, that he receiued from them (as I said) full authoritie to proceed in the matter, as he did, and as is before declared, to the great trouble of the prince, and benefit of the Turke: the late chosen Vayuod not long after opening a way in three places for the Tartars into TRANSYLVANIA, one by the countrey of SICVLI, another by the way that leadeth to ALBA IVLIA, and the third by VALACHIA.

The reasons pretended by the Chancelour for the inuasion of Moldauia.

The late chosen Vayuod openeth three waies vnto the Turkes and Tartars into Transyluania.

The Transyluanian prince seeing the countrey of MOLDAVIA by the practise of the Chancellour thus taken from him, and disseuered from the other vnited prouinces, to the great weakening of his state, after the flight of *Sinan* sent certaine companies both of horse and foot to *Stephen* the late Vayuod, but now driuen out by the Polonians, to proue if happily he could by that meanes driue out the Polonians againe, and recouer his former dignitie. With this aid sent

from

A from the prince and others that fauoured his quarrell, he joyned a bloudie battell with the Polonians: but being therein by them ouercome and taken, and for a ſpace kept (as the prince feared, to haue beene deliuered vnto the Turke) he was by them (as is reported) cruelly afterwards put to death.

This foule dealing of the Polonian in MOLDAVIA much grieued many good Chriſtians, as tending to the generall hurt of the Chriſtian commonweale. For which cauſe the Emperour by his embaſſadours ſent for that purpoſe vnto the Polonian king, ſought to perſuade him to deſiſt from ſuch inuaſion of the Tranſyluanian prince by his Chancellour, as nothing ſtanding with his honour; and that ſome good reconciliation might be made betweene the prince and the Cardinall *Bator* and his brother, the princes vncles, authors of all theſe troubles. To which purpoſe al-
B ſo the Pope ſent a meſſenger with like inſtructions and letters vnto the king, perſuading him, not ſo to proſecute his warres againſt the prince, but to turne his thoughts vnto a more peaceable and Chriſtianlike courſe, eſpecially with him with whom he was ſo neere linked in mariage. To the like effect he writ alſo vnto the Cardinall *Bator*, and after many graue admonitions peremptorily cited him to ROME. But for as much as the proceedings of the Polonian againſt the prince are more plainely to be gathered by the Popes letters vnto the king, it ſhall not I hope be miſtaken, if I here ſet them downe thus as I find them by others reported.

The Popes letters vnto the king of Polonia, to diſſuade him from inuading the prince.

Pope Clement *the eight to our beſt beloued ſonne in Chriſt*, Sigiſmund, *by the grace of God king*
C *of* POLONIA, *with the benediction Apoſtolicall ſendeth greeting. By how much greater affection of fatherly loue we embrace your maieſtie in the Lord, ſo much the more feruently we wiſh all your actions to be adorned with the greateſt commendation of true godlineſſe and wiſedome, both before God and men: Whereof it proceedeth, that we are ſo much the more vehemently and grieuouſly moued, if we heare any ſuch thing of you, as may ſeeme not agreeable to your vertue and approued Zeale toward the Catholike religion, or tending to the obſcuring of the glorie of your name, as is now brought vnto vs concerning the affaires of* MOLDAVIA; *whereof not without great griefe we write vnto you. And to rehearſe things a little before paſt: With what earneſtneſſe and feruencie dealt I with you, that for Gods cauſe, and the defence of the health and libertie of the Chriſtian commonweale againſt the tyrannie of the Turkes, you would combine your ſelfe with our moſt dearely beloued ſonne* Rodolph *the Emperour, and diuers other Chriſtian princes? and that you ſhould not let ſlip ſo nota-*
D *ble an occaſion, ſo worthily to deſerue of God, of the Catholike faith, and of the Chriſtian commonweale in generall? And albeit we then thought, as well for many your owne priuat reſpects, as alſo of your kingdomes, That you were to be borne withall and excuſed if you did not now openly deſcend into this confederation of the Chriſtian princes againſt the moſt mortall and common enemie, neither apertly ioyne your forces or giue aid for the repreſſing of his inſolencie; yet we alwayes aſſured our ſelues, that no let ſhould in any caſe proceed from you, whereby either the Emperour or the other Chriſtian princes ſhould be the rather hindered, iuſtly to proſecute their iniuries, or to caſt off from their necks the heauie yoke of the moſt cruell tyrant: whoſe deſire of ſouereignetie is not compriſed within the compaſſe of any bounds. But that you ſhould in fauour of the Turkes impugne the Catholike princes and defen-*
E *dors of the Chriſtian faith, and ſo ioyne hands with the enemies of the Croſſe of Chriſt, as that by your helpe their force and furie ſhould be encreaſed, and ours not only weakened, but in the very courſe of victorie hindered, and caſt into moſt grieuous perils; this we haue not onely not thought of you, but not ſo much as once ſuſpected: yea and can now ſcarce be perſuaded to beleeue thoſe things to bee done by you, which are reported vnto vs as moſt true and vndoubted. For the report goeth, That you hauing intelligence with the Turkes and Tartars, haue with them conſpired, and namely againſt our welbeloued ſonne* Sigiſmund, *prince of* TRANSYLVANIA, *who with inuincible courage fighteth the battels of the Lord: and leaſt he ſhould be able to abate the force and attempts of the moſt proud enemie (which by the ſingular mercie of God he hath hitherto aboue his owne power performed) but rather be enforced much to feare his owne eſtate, a new Vayuod and Prince as it were by a triumuirat authoritie and compact to be placed in* MOLDAVIA, *and him by the Turkes, you, and the Tartars*
F *together, to be made gouernour of that countrey. Which vnto vs ſeemed ſo new and ſo ſtrange, and contrarie to the good opinion we had alwayes conceiued of you, yea and ſo vnbeſeeming your zeale and wiſedome, that for griefe and admiration I had almoſt cried out with the Prophet,* You heauens be amaſed at this, & you gates thereof be you exceedingly heauie. *For what could be ſuſpected or imagined farther from the expectation of vs and all good men, or more incredible, than that* Sigiſmund

the most religious king of POLONIA *and* SWEDEN, *who had alwaies professed himselfe a most* G
earnest defendor of the Catholike religion, who was readie euen with his owne bloud to redeeme the victorie of the Christians, and glorie of the Crosse, against the most wicked enemies of the same, to be vpon the sudden become so vnlike vnto himselfe? and (so much as in him was) to cut off the hope and happie successe of that religious warre, and to doe harme to a Christian and Catholike prince, not to refuse to ioyne in league and friendship, euen with the most barbarous nations and the Tartars, the perpetuall enemies of himselfe, and of the kingdome of POLONIA. *For which causes our mind is tormented with such bitternesse of griefe, that we could not but by speedie messenger write vnto you concerning this matter, that hereby you might the sooner see the greatnesse of our griefe: and wee also without delay might signifie vnto you, what our fatherly loue towards you requesteth in so important a matter. For happely wee will send one euen of purpose to you concerning this cause, the care whereof* H
grieueth vs more than can well be expressed. Wherefore most dearely beloued sonne, we exhort you, and in the most effectuall manner we can, aduise you, and beseech you in the Lord more attentiuely to consider what great displeasure both of God and man this your action and resolution may incurre, what a staine it may bring vnto your crowne and dignitie. For beleeue vs, that are to you in stead of a father in Christ, who loue you not fainedly, but faithfully, and in deed; who wish for your glorie in this world, and your eternall felicitie in the world to come: beleeue vs (I say) this doth much blemish your fame with all Christian kings and princes; all men take it in euill part, and detest it as a thing monstrous, that it should by your meanes be wrought, that the Christian affaires should not prosper, that an heroicall prince, who hath vowed himselfe for Christ and his countrey, should not haue prosperous I
successe in this so religious and necessarie a war against the Infidels, Turkes, and Tartars, no lesse yours, or peraduenture also more yours, and other Christian princes enemies, than his. But what do we say, you to hinder the proceedings of the Transyluanian prince, this were happely but a small matter: nay verely, by this meanes not only a Christian and Catholike prince, and valiant champion of the Christian faith (a vertue both admirable and amiable in the very enemie) but your owne brother in law, bound vnto you with so many bonds of affinitie, whose children shall be as it were your childrens brethren, is by this meanes brought into great danger, and exposed vnto the furie of the most mercilesse Turks. What do you then my most dearely beloued sonne? Beware that all men, both now liuing, and hereafter to come, condemne you not of the greatest inhumanitie: But beware yet more, that you seeme not ingratefull not onely to your owne nigh kinsman, but to God himselfe, who hath bountifully blessed you with two great kingdomes, and so many good things: and that you prouoke not him to wrath against your selfe, K
that reiecteth and confoundeth all euill and wicked deuices: and that this mischiefe that you haue brought vpon your brother, by the iust iudgement of God redound not to the greatest destruction of you and your kingdome, which he in mercie forbid. Doe you thinke, that the Transyluanian being ouercome, you shall in safetie liue from the trecherie of the Turke? Do you not know him to be a faithlesse man, which measureth all things by his owne profit, which keepeth faith with none, but as standeth with his owne commoditie, who with an vnsatiable desire gapeth after euery kingdome, nay thirsteth after the destruction of all Christendome? Thinke also my sonne what wrong you shall doe vnto the Emperour your cousin, out of whose imperiall bloud you haue begotten sonnes and heires, and by the grace of God shall moe, but also our dignitie, and the dignitie of this Apostolicall seat, which you haue alwaies so deuoutly honoured, is thereby hurt, and your most deare mother (which we know you of L
all other least would) the Romane Church is offended, which for the maintenance of this sacred warre is at great and wonderfull charges: and our forces, which by you ought to haue beene relieued and encreased, being in so vnfit a time by these stirres in MOLDAVIA *disseuered and deminished, and the enemies on the contrarie part encreased and strengthened, into what danger and distresse may both our armie of the Church and the Emperours fall? And withall, how greatly all the manner and managing of this whole warre is thereby confounded, there is no man that seeth not. Yea and this moreouer, which no little concerneth the dignitie of vs and of this holy See, we haue vndertaken and certainely promised to our most dearly beloued sonnes* Rodolph *and* Sigismund, *that your royall maiestie should not in any thing hinder or hurt their affaires: neither did we hereof assure them vpon a light occas-* M
on, but moued with great reason, not onely for that we deseruedly ought so to promise of you in so iust a cause, but also for that it was so vnto vs plainely and expressely written by the reuerend father, the Bishop of S. Seuerus, *our Apostolicall Nuntio with you, whom we know to be both vnto vs faithfull, and to you dutifull: neither can we by any meanes doubt thereof, because he hath writ vnto vs concerning so weightie a matter, that he receiued it euen from your owne mouth. Which things so standing,*

seeing

A *ſeeing you of your ſelfe ſee the manifold abſurdities of this fact on euerie ſide, not to ſpeake of the hainouſneſſe thereof: we requeſt you againe, yea and oftentimes, forthwith to apply the neceſſarie remedies to theſe hurts. The Tranſyluanian prince your brother in law, deuoted to your ſelfe, and deſirous of your fauour, either protect with your defence, or at leaſtwiſe hurt him not: yea hurt not the whole ſtate of the Chriſtian common-weale, and relieue not by any meanes the quarrell of the enemies of Chriſt. If you haue any controuerſie with the prince* Sigiſmund, *or deſire of him any thing, referre it vnto vs, that is to ſay, vnto your moſt louing father: you know your affaires to be of vs fauoured, and we hope by the power of God that it may eaſily come to paſſe that ſome conuenient meanes may be found whereby peace and quietneſſe may be confirmed betwixt you, and good vnitie grow betwixt you two brethren our ſons, and ſo all the root of bitterneſſe and diſpleaſure to be vtterly pluckt out of your*
B *minds. This haue I writ vnto you my ſonne, frankly and from a ſincere heart, though truely much grieued, becauſe we loue you, and are much carefull of your honour and good: Shew you againe in deed that you take it ſo, as written from your father; and that you altogither preferre our fatherly and wholſome exhortations before the ſiniſter perſuaſions of others. Farther concerning theſe matters, you ſhall vnderſtand by the ſame biſhop our Nuntio now with you, to whom you may (as you haue done) giue credit in all things as to our ſelfe.*

Theſe letters dated from ROME the 8 day of Nouember, were deliuered to the king in December, with others to the Cardinall and Chancelor, whom he Pope ſharply reproued as the authors and contriuers of all theſe miſchiefes.

C The Tartar Cham before ſtirred vp by the Turkiſh emperour *Mahomet*, for the inuaſion of MOLDAVIA (as is alreadie before declared) about this time ſent his embaſſadour alſo vnto the Polonian king, for the confirmation of ſuch articles as he had before agreed vpon with the Chancelor: which becauſe they manifeſtly declare the ground and purpoſe of his intended expedition into MOLDAVIA, with the foule colluſion of the Chancelor with the Turks and Tartars againſt the Tranſyluanian prince, I thought it not amiſſe or from our purpoſe (for the more manifeſtation of that which is alreadie ſaid) here to ſet them downe, as they are tranſlated out of the Tartar language.

The coppie of the letters of the Tartar vnto the king of Polonia.

Cham Kazikiery *vnto the king of* POLONIA *and* SVVEDEN *our brother, one of the great lords*
D *among the Chriſtians, humbly boweth his head. Firſt we ſignifie vnto you, that* Aaron *Palatine of* MOLDAVIA *was a forſworne traitour; who hauing gathered a power of the Valachians, and ioyning vnto him the Polonian Coſſackes, ſpoiled the territories of the great Sultan. But afterward diſſention ariſing among them, the Hungarian Coſſackes liuing in* VALACHIA, *ſent* Aaron *in bonds vnto the king of* VIENNA: *after him followed another traitour called* Rozwan, *who alſo hauing raiſed certaine companies of ſouldiors, began in like manner to forrage the countries of the Turkiſh emperor thereabout: which as ſoone as he had knowledge of, he writ vnto me his brother, That I ſhould with all poſſible ſpeed go into* VALACHIA *to chaſtice theſe rebels, to burne their houſes and towns; and hauing with the edge of the ſword ſlaine their men, to carrie away with me their wiues and children into captiuitie. Hauing this in charge, I the great Cham of the great territorie of the great Horde* Karyk-
E tery, *with my brother* Letikerry Galga, *and other my brethren and counſellors, warlike and valiant captaines and Murzis; mounting my horſe, came with mine armie into* VALACHIA *vnto the riuer Prut where it meeteth with another riuer called Cocoza: here we chanced vpon a faithfull ſeruitour of yours, our brother the Chancelor, who was alſo come a little before vs into* VALACHIA, *with whom after ſome light contention when we began to be more tractable, he declaeed vnto vs, that he was of purpoſe come into* VALACHIA *to place there a new Vayuod, which (as he ſaid) of antient right belonged vnto the Polonians; without any wrong or preiudice therein to be done to the couenants and league they had with the emperour of the Turkes; and farther that his deſire was, that one* Hieremias *whom he had appointed Vayuod, might haue the commaund of that prouince; and that the auntient amitie, ſuch as was in the time of Sultan* Solyman *and Cham* Dawlethgerd, *might be faithfully kept.*
F *Which when I had for my part faithfully ſworne to doe, and he likewiſe had cauſed the ſame to be done by ſuch of his as he had therefore ſent vnto me, we decreed togither, that the Coſſackes on the farther ſide of Nyeſter (diſordered and rebellious men) ſhould be vtterly rooted out, that they ſhould not hereafter doe any harme in the territories of the great Sultan: and that the preſents vſually ſent vnto vs of long, euen ſince the time of Sultan* Solyman, *ſhould no more be detained, nor any harmes be*

hereafter done in any part of our dominions. And therefore when the Chancellor had promiſed vnto vs, that hee would take order that theſe Coſſackes ſhould be vtterly deſtroied, I alſo conſented, that according to the pleaſure of the royall maieſtie of you my brother, Hieremias *ſhould hold the Vayaodſhip of* VALACHIA: *which I forthwith by letters ſignified vnto the Turkiſh emperour. Now if it be ſo, that your maieſtie ſhall giue your conſent vnto thoſe things which we haue here agreed vpon with your Chancellor, you ſhall then for euer find brotherly friendſhip with me, my brother and all other our captaines and Murzis: but if you ſhall not deſtroy theſe Coſſackes, you ſhall not then performe the oath and couenants made. Theſe things we haue commaunded to be declared vnto you by our embaſſadour our brother* Gianach Metagra, *whom we requeſt your maieſtie courteouſly to entertaine, and by him to ſend the preſents vnto vs: for we will not now this yeare ſend any other. Giuen at at the riuer Prut in the yeare of* Mahomet 1004. H

The Treſents offered by the Tartar embaſſadour to the king of Polonia.

After the Tartar embaſſadour had deliuered theſe letters vnto the king, with a ſpeech in effect to the ſame purpoſe, he in the name of the Cham gaue vnto him an horſe and an arrow for a preſent: and afterward being brought to a lodging appointed for him, was commaunded there to expect his anſwere. At length his diſpatch was giuen him in letters ſealed vp, which he tooke much againſt his will, requeſting the king to ſend an embaſſadour vnto the Cham: and farther by word of mouth, to tell him what to anſwere vnto his lord. But other anſwere could he get none, than was alreadie deliuered him in writing: and ſo rewarded with a gowne furred with Sables, was diſmiſſed without the preſent requeſted by the Cham, or any embaſſadour to accompanie him. I

Thus the Tranſyluanian prince, on the one ſide mightily impugned by the Turke, and on the other by the ſetting on of the Turke readie to haue been no leſſe endangered by the inuaſion of the Tartar, receiued greater harme from the Polonians being Chriſtians than from both thoſe great Mahometane princes: The Polonian in ſome ſort performing for the Turke, what hee had plotted to haue been done by the Tartar: and ſo by the taking away of MOLDAVIA from the prince, not onely weakened his ſtrength, but alſo opened a way for the barbarous enemies into his countrey. Howbeit much it is that the Polonians alleadge for the excuſe of themſelues, and the defence of that which was by the great Chancelor then done in MOLDAVIA: which for that it cannot be better told than by the great Chancelor himſelfe, let vs heare how he by his letters anſwereth the matter, euen vnto *Clement* the Pope himſelfe that now is. K

Iohn Zamoſchie vnto *Clement* the Eight the great Biſhop.

Zamoſchie the great Chancelor his letters vnto Clement the Pope that now is.

Moſt holy and bleſſed father in Chriſt, and moſt gratious lord, after the kiſſing of your moſt bleſſed feet, and my moſt humble commendations; I haue by your Holineſſe lettters directed both vnto the kings maieſtie and my ſelfe, vnderſtood as well his royall maieſtie and my moſt gratious lord and maſter, as alſo my ſelfe as his ſeruant to be both accuſed vnto your Holineſſe: as if by thoſe things by vs done in MOLDAVIA, *the endeuours of the Chriſtians had been hindered, and the power of the enemie confirmed. Whereof I am not with many words to purge my ſelfe vnto your Holineſſe, foraſmuch as I aſſure my ſelfe your Holineſſe to haue alreadie fully vnderſtood both what the things were that were done in* MOLDAVIA, *and how they were done: partly by the kings maieſties letters, and partly by his principall ſecretarie, for that cauſe eſpecially ſent vnto your Holineſſe. Yet doubt I not to requeſt this one thing of your Holineſſe, that if it hath knowne me for a man, I will not ſay of any capacitie or wit, but euen of the leaſt experience in the world, or of any religion at all; ſo to perſuade it ſelfe of me, nothing to haue been done, eſpecially in this matter, either raſhly, or to the hinderance of the Chriſtian common-weale. I will not now repeat what mine opinion was concerning the league and confederation to be made with the reſt of the Chriſtian princes, for the combining of their forces againſt the common enemie, eſpecially his ſacred maieſties: as alſo what mine owne labour and endeuour was in the laſt aſſembly of the States in the high court of parliament. Which thing after it was* L M *euen by them whom it moſt concerned, either delaied or neglected, or vtterly caſt aſide: and yet his maieſtie had ſtill a great deſire to doe the Chriſtian common-weale ſome great good, I alſo to the vttermoſt of my power laboured to that end; that by the common decree of the kingdome, an expedition might be made into* TARTARIA, *not ſo much in reuenge of the iniuries done by that enemie in theſe late*

A late yeares past, as so in the meane time to turne him from the necks of the Christians, as that he should not ioyne his forces with the Turks: or if it so pleased God to blesse those our endeuors, vtterly at length to roote out that so great a mischiefe. But how it came to passe that this expedition, so much by the king desired (yet scarcely begun or taken in hand) tooke not effect, it is not needfull for me to declare, for that I suppose your Holinesse hath by others, especially your Nuntio, vnderstood the same. In the meane time, by others and often messengers newes was brought, That Sinan Basha with a great armie was already come ouer Danubius, and I by letters from the Vayuod of the further VALACHIA was aduertised, how that he not able to encounter him, had forsaken that prouince; which at the first impression taken and almost vtterly wasted by Sinan, he was now come fast vpon TRANSYLVANIA: and in MOLDAVIA the Tartar was still expected, insomuch that Roswan (who hauing taken prisoner Aaron the Palatine
B whom he serued, in his house, and so himselfe inuaded the Palatinat) began now also to quake for feare, and to craue helpe of me, or rather to seeke how he might flie away (as not long after he did) neither hauing any great strength about him, or expecting any greater from the people of that countrey: for why that prouince was brought so low by the miseries of the former yeares, but especially by such as had euill gouerned the same, that at such time as I entred into MOLDAVIA, I assure your Holinesse there were not in it of housholders aboue 15000, and those also for the most part poore countrey people of the basest sort, in whom there could neither be any great helpe, neither if they had bin able to haue done any thing, durst Roswan haue trusted himselfe with them, vpon whom he had with all kind of crueltie tyranised. Chotim a castle in the very confines of this kingdome, was kept with no greater garison than 200 Hungarians, who perceiuing themselues neither of sufficient strength to hold the place, nor to withstand the
C enemie, they also by and by followed after Roswan. All the rest of the prouince was not only vnarmed, but altogether poore & naked, without any certain gouernment, without counsell, without strength, and without any defence at all, two castles only excepted: which standing vpon the confines of POLONIA, might haue serued better for the enemy, out of them to haue infested vs, than for the defence of MOLDAVIA against them: so that had the enemie once set foot into that prouince, neither could it without a great power haue bin recouered, neither being recouered, could easily haue bin defended against so puissant an enemy: and that which worse was, was not it selfe alone to haue bin consumed with that fire, but like ynough to haue caried away with it PODOLIA also, bordering vpon it, with a great part of RVSCIA. Wherefore in this state of things, when as both that prouince was in greatest danger to haue bin lost, & so many enemies houered not more ouer the heads of all Christendome than ouer this kingdome,
D what was of vs to be done? I know to whom I speake these things, euen vnto him, not only whose diuine wisdome but singular loue also towards my natiue countrey is to me most knowne. Verely I entred into MOLDAVIA with no great armie, yet such an one as happily (as in like case it often chanceth) fame had made amongst the enemies a very great one: so that Sinan fearing if he should thrust himselfe with his army into the straits whereby he was to breake into TRANSYLVANIA, to be shut in by our armie, stayed his iourny: and the Tartar the more earnestly he was called vpon by Sinan (by reason of the fame of this our armie) resolued to make himselfe so much the stronger. So that whilst he assembleth the Nogaian Tartars and others further off, and so from all parts raiseth the greatest power he could, the matter was delated almost vnto the end of Nouember: at which time he with a most huge armie, accompanied with Sendziak Iehiuense, and a great power of the Turkes raised out of their prouinces there-
E by, came directly vpon me in the fields of COROCE. Sendziak the Tartar Cham his sisters sonne, now called himselfe the Bassa of MOLDAVIA, as did the Tartars eldest sonne name himselfe prince of another part of that prouince also: for so that countrey was to haue beene deuided betwixt them, that that part which was next vnto the Tartars dominions should be allotted vnto the Tartar, and the other part confining vpon this kingdome, to be gouerned by Sendziak, as Bassa thereof, and so to make it the seat of a perpetuall war, from whence PODOLIA, RVSCIA, and the lesser POLONIA might be with continuall incursions wasted euen before our faces; concerning which matter they now dispersed their letters, wherein they published the power and authoritie giuen them from the grand signior, exhorting the people of that country to receiue the same. A whole day we fought with this multitude, our men alwaies by the goodnesse of God hauing not onely the vpper hand, but without any notable losse al-
F so; yet not without great slaughter of theirs: and would to God I had had such strength, as that not onely the conditions of peace, but euen the enemies themselues might haue beene in my power. But when we were oftentimes come to parle (they still requiring the same) and so at length vnto conditions of peace; if such were giuen them, as whereby this onely kingdome had without the wrong of any other beene deliuered from so great and sudden a danger, what reasonable man could find fault there-

therewith, if we should haue preferred the health and welfare of our country (whereunto all good men G
owe all they haue) before other mens profits? But now these things were so done, as that it was no lesse
prouided for the good of the neighbour Christians, yea and happily not the least for theirs, who for the
same slander this kingdome vnto your Holinesse: the furie of Sinan Balla was by this meanes repres-
sed, who whilest he feared to be shut vp in the straits by our armie now come into MOLDAVIA, and
expected the Tartars comming, spent almost all the rest of the Summer idely and without any thing do-
ing. The Tartar himselfe was not onely turned from the bowels of Christendome, whereinto hee had
purposed (as the yeare before) to haue entered, we hauing with our owne breasts receiued his force and
furie: but being brought vnto conditions, was expressely enioyned in a most short prefined time, and
without any more harme doing to returne againe into his country by the selfesame way he came, and by
no other: whereby it is come to passe, that vntill this day Christendome hath not this yeare yet felt the H
Tartars weapons. But vnto TRANSYLVANIA and HVNGARIE, what a space and power was gi-
uen for them to gather their strength and forces together, and out of the same places to oppose them
against the enemie, when as our armie kept them safe at their backes; and eased not onely MOLDA-
VIA, but VALACHIA and TRANSYLVANIA also of that care? Whereas if this cause of delay had
not been obiected vnto the Turks first, and after vnto the Tartars; not to say any thing of the Turkes,
the Tartars at the very selfesame time that the Transyluanian armie was gone into VALACHIA a-
gainst Sinan, might haue broken into TRANSYLVANIA before it could haue returned home, or els
marching directly towards that armie, might haue met with it out of TRANSYLVANIA. As for
MOLDAVIA, which together with the memorie of the Christian name, yet left in it, had vtterly pe-
rished, was most manifestly preserued by the comming of our armie. Which what end it would haue I
had, if the enemie might at his pleasure haue raged as he did in the farther VALACHIA, those most
bitter remembrances in it yet at this day smoking, doe well declare: out of which it is well known moe
thousands of Christian captiues to haue beene carried away into most wofull captiuitie, than almost out
of any other prouince in all the time of these miserable warres. Which although it bee thus, yet boast
we not thereof, neither send we any triumphant letters vnto your Holinesse, nor brag we of our good
seruice done for the Christian commonweale, contenting our selues with the conscience of the thing it
selfe. In the meane time we are accused vnto your Holinesse: but for what cause? If any man com-
plaine for the taking of MOLDAVIA, I will not say it was by them before willingly forsaken, whilest
I was yet in the frontiers thereof; but that this kingdome hath a most auntient right vnto it, and such
a right, as that when our kings being busied in their warres against the Muscouite, the Cruciat Teu- K
tonic brethren, or others; some others also troubling the state thereof, it for a time became a prey vn-
to the Turkish tyrants, yet in all the leagues made or renewed betwixt this kingdome and them, was
still excepted, That all such things as the Palatine of MOLDAVIA was of dutie to performe vnto the
king, should by him still be performed. Which kings of POLONIA, and namely Augustus himselfe,
the last of the Iagellonian race, appointed diuers of those Palatines themselues. Which although they
be things most manifest, yet hauing more regard vnto the welfare of that prouince, as a Christian
countrey, than of our right, we restored the same into the same state wherein it hath beene for many
* viz. to become tributarie vnto the Turk. yeares before these * wars. Wherefore if any man thinke any thing done, whereby the enemies of the
croße of Christ might be eased or strengthened, or the defendors of the faith hindered, it is so farre
from any such thing to be done, that rather (as is before declared) the enemies force is repressed and L
auerted, and greater meanes giuen to the Christians afront to impugne them, the enemie being at
their backes by vs shut from them. But I feare that they haue not fully enformed your Holinesse how
these things were done, who haue reported vnto your said Holinesse not onely the name of the Turkes
to haue beene proclaimed together with the Polonians in MOLDAVIA, but also the name of the Tar-
tars the proper enemies of the Polonians, and by the power and decrees of them three, as it were confe-
derat together, things to haue beene ordered in MOLDAVIA. Which their complaint if it tend to
that end, as if a confederation were made with them, I frankely confesse certain conditions to haue been
giuen them, but such as whereby is prouided not only for the quiet and securitie of this kingdome, but
no lesse also for the whole Christian commonweale, as is before declared. All which things for all that
although they were done for the good of this kingdome, and all Christendome in generall, yet were they M
so done, that they were all by me referred vnto the kings maiestie and the states of the kingdome: so
that at this present the kingdome is at free libertie either to ioyne in confederation with the rest of the
Christian princes; or if that cannot vpon certaine and indifferent conditions be agreed vpon, yet with
no mans iniurie or hurt to ratifie this, ioyned with the health and good of a great part of the Christian
commonweale:

A *commonweale: onely God graunt that the Chriſtian princes may ſeriouſly thinke both of this ſo Chriſtian a confederation againſt the common enemie, and ſtriue alſo all together againſt the enemie with their weapons, and not with miſreports and ſlanders one againſt another. They are not to aſſaile the enemies feet, but his throat: neither is the ſeat of the warre to be placed in the borders of* POLONIA, *where it concerneth themſelues much to haue all things rather peaceable behind them: but let the war be vndertaken with no leſſe charge and preparation, than if the enemies royall ſeat were to be aſſailed; which ſtanding in an open and plaine countrey ſhall alwaies without much adoe be his that being ſtrongeſt can take it. This haue I written at large as my purpoſe was, all which I moſt humbly beſeech your Holineſſe with your diuine wiſedome to conſider of, and with your wonted clemencie to accept the ſame: and ſo proſtrate at your Holineſſe feet, I moſt humbly commend me to your clemencie. From*

B Zamoſchie *the tenth of Ianuarie* 1596.

Thus much the great Chancelour in defence of himſelfe and of that he had done in MOLDAVIA: which howſoeuer it contented the Pope, well I wote it nothing pleaſed the Emperour, and much leſſe the Tranſyluanian prince, now not a little weakened by the taking away of the countrey of MOLDAVIA from him.

To end this troubleſome yeare withall, many ſharpe and bloudie skirmiſhes yet daily paſſed in diuers places of thoſe frontier countries, the Turkes almoſt in euery place ſtill going to the worſe. In the beginning of November, *Leucouits* gouernour of CAROLSTAT, the ſecond time ſurpriſed WIHITZ in the frontiers of CROATIA, where theſe wars firſt begun: but being not

C able to take the caſtle, contented himſelfe as before with the ſpoile of the citie, and afterward ſetting it on fire, departed. *Maximilian* alſo attempted ZOLNOC: and the Chriſtians in garriſon at STRIGONIVM and PLINDENBVRG now become neere neighbours vnto the Turkes at BVDA, did with continuall inrodes not a little moleſt them both all the latter end of this yeare and the beginning of the next. And the Turkes in BRAILA in VALACHIA, vpon the ſide of Danubius, fearing after the flight of *Sinan* to be beſieged by the Vayuod, forſooke the citie, and in ſuch haſt paſſed the riuer, that in that tumultuous paſſage three hundred of them periſhed. *Sinan Baſſa*, by the Tranſyluanian prince of late driuen out of VALACHIA, was not long after *Sinan Baſſa ſent for to Conſtantinople.*

D ſent for to CONSTANTINOPLE, but the craftie old fox not ignorant of the fierce nature of the great Sultan, and warned by the late miſerie of *Ferat*, found occaſions to delay the time ſo long, vntill that he was ſent for againe, and after that, the third time alſo. In the meane while he had ſo wrought by his mightie friends in Court, & by rich rewards, mightier than they, that at his comming to the Court he was there honourably receiued, as the chiefeſt of the Baſſaes: and being afterwards offered to bee diſcharged of the warres, as a man of aboue foureſcore yeares old, he refuſed ſo to be, ſaying, That he was borne and brought vp amongſt ſouldiors and martiall men, and ſo wiſhed amongſt them to die: as not long after he did; dying as was thought of con- *His death.*

E ceit of the euill ſucceſſe he had in his warres againſt the Tranſyluanian.

Mahomet the Turkiſh Emperour exceedingly grieued with the loſſe of ſo many his cities and ſtrong places this yeare loſt, as namely STRIGONIVM, VICEGRADE, SISEG, PETRINIA, LIPPA, IENNA, TERGOVISTA, BVCARESTA, ZORZA, and many others of leſſe name: and both by letters and meſſengers vnderſtanding daily of the ſlaughter of his people, and waſting of his frontiers, commaunded great preparation to be made againſt the next Spring, giuing it out, That he would then in perſon himſelfe come down into HVNGARIE with ſuch a power as neuer had any his predeceſſours the *Othoman* kings and emperours, and there take moſt ſharpe reuenge of all his former wrongs. Neuertheleſſe, theſe his ſo haſtie deſignes were by the plague and famine, (which then both raged extreamely in moſt part of his empire) and by other great occurrents of *Mahomet perplexed.*

F the ſame time ſo croſſed, that by that time the Spring came, he ſcarcely well knew which way to turne himſelfe firſt. For beſide theſe troubles of the Weſt, of themſelues ynough to haue filled his hands, the Georgians in the Eaſt, a warlike people, moued with the good ſucceſſe of the Chriſtians in VALACHIA and HVNGARIE, had taken vp arms againſt him: and the old Perſian king but a little before dead, had left that great kingdome to his ſonne, a man of greater ſpirit than was like to endure the manifold injuries before done vnto his father by the Turks, to the great diſhonour of that kingdome, and prejudice of himſelfe. Of which things the Baſſa of TAVRIS gaue him ample intelligence, wiſhing him betimes to prouide for ſuch ſtormes: which joyned to the reſt, filled his head with many troubled thoughts, wherunto we leaue him vntill the next Spring.

The

1596 The Transyluanian prince carefull of his estate, and not a little troubled with the dissceuering of MOLDAVIA: thought it not vnfit for his affaires, now after the flight of *Sinan* and discomfiture of the Turkes, to go in person himselfe vnto the emperour, to declare vnto him the wrong done him by the Polonian; and farther to conferre with him, concerning the mannaging of the warres against the common enemie. So hauing put all things in readinesse for his journey, he set forward in Ianuarie 1596, and by the way of CASSOVIA the fourth of Februarie, arriued at PRAGE in BOHEMIA, where he was by the emperours appointment most honourably entertained. But immediatly after his comming thither he fell sicke of an ague, which grieuously vexed him for the space of three weekes. In the latter end of Februarie hauing somewhat recouered his health, he went to the church: where after his deuotions done, he was by the Deane of the Cathedrall church welcomed with a most eloquent oration, setting forth his worthie praises, and farther animating him vnto the like exploits against the common enemie of all Christianitie: Whereunto he forthwith answered in Latin, so eloquently and so readily, that all men maruelled that heard him: protesting in his speech, That as he and his subiects had not hitherto spared their liues or goods in defence of the common cause; so would they not afterwards spare the same, but aduenture all for the benefit of the Christian common-weale; well hoping that the emperour and the other Christian princes would not as occasion should require, be wanting vnto him with their forces, or the cleargie with their prayers: which done, he doubted not (as he said) by the power of God, but to obtaine more notable victories than he had yet against the Turkes the enemies of God. G H

The Siculi rebell against the prince.

Whilest he yet thus lay at the emperours Court, it fortuned that the people called Siculi, offended to haue their liberties in some part infringed in the late assembly of the States holden in TRANSYLVANIA in December last: rise now vp in armes in diuers places, refusing to yeeld their former obedience vnto the prince. A matter like enough to haue wrought him much trouble, and supposed not to haue been done without the priuitie of the Cardinall his vncle: but by the wisedome and courage of such as he had in his absence put in trust with the gouernment of his countrey, diuers of the ringleaders of this rebellion were apprehended, and in diuers sorts executed: and three hundred of their complices to the terrour of their fellowes, had their noses and eares cut off. By which wholsome seueritie, all those troubles were appeased, and the countrey againe quieted. I

At the same time also the Transyluanians obtained of the Turks a notable victory, with an exceeding rich bootie. *Mahomet* the Turkish Sultan had about this time sent a new Bassa for the gouernment of TEMESVVAR: against whose comming the old Bassa before Gouernour, had in seuentie fiue wagons trussed vp a wonderfull deale of wealth, which he had there gotten in the time of his former gouernment, to haue been togither with himselfe with a strong conuoy conducted to BELGRADE. Of this his purpose, the Hungarian Heidons lying at LIPPA and IENNA hauing intelligence, lay in wait for him vpon the way, and in his passing by set vpon him: where in a sharpe conflict they ouerthrew the conuoy, and slew the Bassa, whose head they sent for a present to the princesse at ALBA IVLIA: and tooke the spoile of the Bassaes carriages, wherein was taken a wonderfull wealth, for in one of those wagons is reported to haue beene found twentie thousand Hungarian duckats. K

The Bassa of Temeswar slaine, and a great bootie taken.

L

In this absence also of the prince, ten thousand of the Rascians reuolting from the Turke, came and offered their seruice vnto the princesse, whereof she by letters with great speed certified the prince her husband; who thereupon hasted to dispatch with the emperour: and hauing procured both from him and the Pope the promise of some aid to be afterward sent him, tooke of him his leaue, and being honourably accompanied, departed from PRAGE to VIENNA: where he arriued the eleuenth of March, sitting in a princely chariot, drawn with six most beatifull horses, the gift of the emperour. At his comming thither he was met by the nobilitie of the countrey, and by *Aldobrandinus* the Popes nephew, who presented him with three goodly horses for seruice, most richly furnished. Him the prince tooke into his chariot, and so accompanied entered the citie, where he was with all due honour receiued and joyfully entertained, and so brought vnto the emperours pallace, where by the learned students of that Vniuersitie, was for his pleasure acted before him the notable historie of *Iosua*. Hauing staied there three daies, and purposing to haue in his returne visited his mother in law at GRBICZ in CROATIA: newes was brought him, that the Turks and Tartars by the setting on of *Stephen Bator* his vncle, were about M

to

A to breake into TRANSYLVANIA. Wherefore changing his purpoſe, he departed thence to PRESBVRG, and ſo with all ſpeed kept on his way towards TRANSYLVANIA: where he to the great joy and comfort of his ſubiects in generall arriued in ſafetie in the beginning of Aprill.

In this while many hoat skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turkes in the frontiers of their territories: and now the plague and famine, which had of long raged in CONSTANTINOPLE and other places of the Turkes dominions, began to aſſwage. Of which ſo great calamities as had deuoured many thouſands of his people, the Turkiſh emperour finding himſelfe ſomewhat eaſed, forthwith cauſed the continuation of his warres againſt the emperour and the Tranſyluanian prince, to be three daies togither proclaimed in CONSTANTINOPLE, and a great armie to be raiſed to be ſent into TRANSYLVANIA and HVNGARIE: giuing it out, that he B would with that ſo puiſſant an armie in perſon himſelfe come into HVNGARIE. At which time it was alſo reported, that he had alreadie ſent his tents and other his neceſſarie prouiſion before to HADRIANOPLE: for now was nothing more odious in the Turkes court, than the name of the Tranſyluanian prince.

Warres proclaimed in Conſtantinople againſt the emperour & the Tranſyluanian prince.

Of all theſe things was not the emperour ignorant, as fully thereof certified both by letters and eſpials, as alſo by the vniforme confeſsion of ſuch Turks as were daily taken priſoners. For which cauſe, he alſo with as much ſpeed and care as he could, prouided for the raiſing of his armie, as he had the yeare before; as alſo for the leuying of mony, and prouiſion of all things neceſſarie, that the enemie at his comming might not find him vnprouided. Neither ſpared he to pray aid of the other Chriſtian princes his neighbours, eſpecially of the Polonian, whom he had di- C uers times ſought after to haue drawn him into the confederation with the other Chriſtian princes againſt the Turke. To which purpoſe he now alſo ſent vnto him the biſhop of PRESLAVV and the lord *Poppelius* his embaſſadours: as did the Pope alſo ſend vnto him the Cardinall *Caietane* his legat, and the princes electors alſo their embaſſadours: vnto whom the Polonian gaue good yearing and good words, but would not by any meanes be perſuaded to breake his league with the Turke, or to affoord any aid vnto the Chriſtians; although the Cardinall with many pregnant reaſons ſhewed him what ſmall aſſurance there was in the Turkes leagues, and how dangerous it might be to his State if the Turke making peace with the emperour ſhould turne his force vpon him, which it was like enough he would, as knowing no man longer for friend than ſtood with his profit; beſide the immortall blemiſh of his honour by diſſeuering himſelfe D from the vnion of the Chriſtian princes, to hold friendſhip with the Turkes and infidels. But all this and much more to no purpoſe, ſo reſolutly was the Polonian ſet downe for the keeping of the Turks fauour; ſo that of all the Chriſtian princes ſo neere vnto the deuouring enemie, none ſtood the Chriſtian common-weale in leſſe ſtead than he. Which for all that, moſt men imputed not ſo much vnto the king as to others about him, eſpecially to *Zamoſchie* the great Chancelor, by whom that ſtate was moſt ſwaied, who was not onely ſuppoſed but openly reported to haue ſecret intelligence both with the Turke and the Tartar.

All this while the lord *Palfi* Gouernor of STRIGONIVM, ceaſed not with continuall inroads to vex the Turks euen to the gates of BVDA, as did alſo the other Chriſtian captains in other places of the Turkes frontiers in HVNGARIE. Neere vnto BVDA were two great countrey villa- E ges, for moſt part inhabited by Chriſtians, who hauing giuen their oath of obedience vnto the Turke, liued a miſerable life for the payment of an exceſsiue tribute yearly. Theſe poore Chriſtians, wearie of the Turkiſh thraldome and the continuall ſpoile of their labors by them of STRIGONIVM, by ſecret meſſengers requeſted of the lord *Palfi*, of mercie to carrie them with their goods and cattell away into ſome other place of the Chriſtian territorie, that ſo they might yet liue amongſt Chriſtians, as he had but a little before done for them of old BVDA. Vnto which their ſo reaſonable a requeſt, the Chriſtian Gouernor charitably harkened; willing them againſt a certaine appointed time, to put themſelues with all their things in readineſſe. There was of theſe Chriſtians about 755 families, who with their wiues and children, and ſuch traſh as they had, packt vp into eightie wagons drawne with fourteene and ſixteene oxen apiece, at the ap- F pointed time about midnight committed themſelues with all that they had vnto the conduct of them of STRIGONIVM, ſent out of purpoſe for them; by whom they were in ſafetie brought to STRIGONIVM. Amongſt them were many rich men, who brought with them good ſtore of coine, with an exceeding great number of cattell. Vnto theſe newcome gueſts, *Palfi* aſsigned certaine fields betwixt STRIGONIVM and VIVARIA, on the North ſide of Danubius; where they

they ſo commodiouſly liued, as was poſsible in ſo troubled an eſtate of a countrey.

Six hundred of the garriſon ſouldiors of Lippa ſlaine by the Turkes.

Shortly after, ſix hundred garriſon ſouldiors of LIPPA ſeeking after bootie, and aduenturing too farre into the enemies territorie, were diſcouered by the Turkes ſcouts: and ſo beſet by the Turkes and Tartars billeted in the countrey about TEMESVVAR, that there was no way left for them to eſcape. Which they well perceiuing, reſolued among themſelues (as became valiant men, to fight it out euen vnto the laſt man; and with no leſſe reſolution performed what they had before determined: for being on euerie ſide beſet and hardly charged by their enemies, they as men before reſolued to die, although ſcarce one to twentie, fought moſt deſperatly, ſeeking for nothing elſe but to ſell their liues as deare as they could vnto their enemies: and ſo fighting were all ſlaine, except ſome few which by great fortune eſcaped, leauing vnto the enemie a right bloudie victorie. Yet by this loſſe of ſo great a partie, was the garriſon of LIPPA greatly weakened, which the enemie knew right well, and thereupon began forthwith to prepare to beſiege the towne. Which *Barbelus* the Gouernour (a moſt valiant man) wiſely foreſeeing, ſent in poſt vnto the Tranſyluanian prince, to requeſt him with all ſpeed to ſend him foure or fiue thouſand good ſouldiors, with which power he doubted not by the helpe of God, to be able to defend the towne againſt all the forces the enemie was at that time able to bring againſt it. Vnto whom the prince without delay ſent eight thouſand, who all in ſafetie in good time arriued at LIPPA: for ſhortly after their arriuall, fortie thouſand of the Turkes and Tartars came and ſat downe before the towne, encloſing it on euerie ſide, and ſo lay for certaine daies without any thing doing worth the ſpeaking of; they of the towne in the meane time doing them all the harme they could with their great ſhot, which they ſent amongſt them not ſparingly. But they had not thus long lien, but that newes was brought into the campe, that the Tranſyluanian prince was with a great power comming thither to relieue the towne: whereupon they preſently riſe, and retired to the place where they had before encamped, about two miles from LIPPA; where certainly vnderſtanding that the prince neither was neither could in ſhort time be in ſuch readineſſe as was before reported, they forthwith returned, and more ſtraitly beſieged the towne than before. They had now brought with them ſeuenteene pieces of batterie, eight wagons laded with ſhot and pouder, and fortie ſix others laded with ſcaling ladders and other warlike prouiſion: thus appointed they began to batter the towne, and afterwards gaue therunto diuers deſperat aſſaults; which the Chriſtians valiantly receiued, and ſtill with great ſlaughter repulſed their enemies. For that ſtrong towne was with towers and bulwarkes flanking one another ſo fortified, that out of them the Chriſtians with their murthering pieces made great ſpoile of their enemies, and ſtill enforced them with loſſe to retire, no bullet almoſt flying in vaine. In the heat of one of theſe aſſaults, the Gouernour cauſed one of the gates of the towne to be ſet open, hauing before within in the towne placed ſixteene great pieces, at the verie entrance of the ſame gate, charged with all kind of murthering ſhot: vnto which gate, as of meere deſperation ſet open by the defendants, the Turkes and Tartars deſirous of reuenge, came thronging as thicke as might be, thinking to haue thereby entred: when ſuddenly, and as it were in the turning of an hand, they were with the aforeſaid murthering pieces cut downe as with a ſithe, and ſo againe, and the third and fourth time, before they could cleare themſelues of the danger thereof, their heads, armes, legges, and other rent limbes, flying in the ayre moſt miſerably to behold. Neuertheleſſe the ſiege was by them continued, and the often aſſaults ſo reſolutly maintained, as if they had thereon purpoſed to haue gaged all their liues. But this ſo obſtinat a reſolution, was by an vnexpected accident when they leaſt thought, conuerted into ſuch a deſperat feare and aſtoniſhment, that they vpon the ſudden (no man forcing them) forſooke their trenches wherein they lay encamped, and leauing behind them their tents, their great ordinance, and whatſoeuer elſe they had, they betooke themſelues to a moſt diſordered flight. The Tranſyluanians, who by chance were euen then comming thither, purſuing them, ſlew diuers of them, and tooke ſome others of them priſoners. At this ſiege the Baſſa of TEMESVVAR himſelfe was mortally wounded, and *Hamat* Sanzacke of GIVLA with diuers others of good place ſlaine, and foure thouſand of the common ſouldiors. The cauſe of the Turks ſo great and ſudden feare was this: VVhileſt the Baſſa of TEMESVVAR lay at the ſiege of LIPPA, as is aforeſaid, they that were left in the citie fearing no harme, liued in great ſecuritie; in the meane time the Gouernour of LVGAZ ſent out ſix thouſand ſouldiors towards TEMESVVAR, now in the abſence of the Baſſa to ſeeke after bootie; who comming to TEMESVVAR, with great ſpeed rifled the ſuburbs of the citie, ſlew all the Turks they could light vpon,

Lippa beſieged by the Turkes and Tartars.

A vpon, and ſet at libertie a thouſand captiues: and ſo hauing truſſed vp their bootie, ſet on fire all the ſuburbes, and departed. Which fire grew ſo great and ſo terrible, that it was plainly ſeene into the campe at LIPPA, making a ſhew as if the whole citie had beene on a light fire. Which ſo daunted the hearts of the Turkes at the ſiege, that they preſently fled (as is before ſaid) leauing all that they had behind them.

The Tranſyluanian all this while buſied in raiſing of his armie, and prouiding of things ne- *Plenia a towne of the Turkes ſacked by the Chriſtians.*
ceſſarie for the maintenance of his warres, was come into the confines of HVNGARIE, towards TEMESWAR, euen as the Turkes fled from LIPPA. At which time certaine Hungarian Hei-
dons that ſerued him, getting ouer Danubius, not farre from NICOPOLIS tooke PLENIA, a
B little towne of the Turkes, which they ranſacked and burnt, and hauing ſlaine in the countrey thereabout aboue three thouſand of the Turks, returned with a rich prey vnto the prince.

Not long before the Chriſtians had ſurpriſed CLISSA, a ſtrong frontier towne of the Turks *Cliſſa lately ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians, loſt againe to the Turkes.*
in DALMATIA, not far from SPALATO: which towne the Baſſa of BOSNA ſought now againe to recouer, and thereto layed hard ſiege: for the reliefe wherof, *Leucowitz* gouernour of STIRIA and the other prouinces thereabouts belonging to the houſe of AVSTRIA, and the gouernour of ZENG, with a fleet of two and fortie ſhips, wherein they had embarked foure thouſand ſouldiors well appointed, with all things neceſſarie ſet forward toward CLISSA: and by the way lighting vpon a gallie of the Venetians, bound with certain warlike prouiſion towards the Turks campe, tooke her as good prize, and rifled her. This fleet with a faire wind arriued at SIRET,
C neere vnto TRAV, where the gouernour landing his men, marched that night part of his way toward CLISSA, and all the next day lay cloſe. The night following they ſet forward againe, and hauing marched fifteene miles, came vnto the enemies campe before day: where ſetting vpon the Turkes in their trenches, fearing no ſuch perill, they brought ſuch a generall feare vpon the whole campe, that the Turks as men amaſed fled ſome one way, ſome another, euery man (as in ſuch ſudden feare it commonly happeneth) making ſhift for himſelfe, leauing whatſoeuer they had in their trenches behind them. The Chriſtians contented ſo to haue put their enemies to flight, fell preſently to the ſpoile, as more deſirous thereof, than by the haſtie purſute of their enemies to put themſelues in poſſeſsion of an aſſured victory. Which the Turks quickly perceiuing, and from the hils with the dawning of the day diſcouering the ſmall number of the Chriſtians, and how they were diſordered, they gathered themſelues againe together, and comming downe,
D encloſed on euery ſide the diſordered Chriſtians (greedily hunting after the ſpoile) and ſlew them downeright. *Leucowitz* himſelfe with the gouernor of ZENG and ſome others got into CLISSA: where hauing ſtaied two daies, and doubting to be able to keepe the towne, they ſecretly by night iſſued out with ſix hundred men, in hope to haue recouered their fleet: but the Turkes ſuſpecting ſuch a matter, had ſo beſet the paſſages, that of all that companie *Leucowitz* had much adoe himſelfe with three others to eſcape. The enemie now againe poſſeſſed of his trenches, laid ſtraighter ſiege to the towne than before: which they of the garriſon perceiuing, and now out of hope of reliefe, agreed with the Baſſa, that they might with bag and baggage depart; and ſo yeelded vp the towne. Thus CLISSA, one of the ſtrongeſt townes of DALMATIA, through the greedie couetouſneſſe of the diſordered ſouldiors, fell againe into the hands of the Turks.

E About the ſame time, *Palfi* gouernour of STRIGONIVM vnderſtanding of the meeting to- *Sombock taken by the lord Palfi.*
gether of certaine notable aduenturers of the Turks at SOMBOCK, a caſtle almoſt in the mid way betwixt ALBA REGALIS and BVDA, raiſed the greateſt ſtrength he could, and ſo with certain pieces of artillerie, and other things neceſſarie for an aſſault, ſet forward from STRIGONIVM the two and twentith of May before the riſing of the Sunne, and about three a clocke in the afternoone came to the aforeſaid caſtle, whereunto he preſently gaue a moſt terrible aſſault; which he neuer gaue ouer vntill he had taken it: For after that he had by the ſpace of three houres together with great danger maintained a moſt deſperate aſſault, at length hee with much difficultie preuailed, and put to the ſword all the Turkes he found therein, man, woman, and child; and with the reſt, fiftie Ianizaries but that day come thither. This caſtle was of great beautie, and moſt
F pleaſantly ſituated, whereunto the Baſſa of BVDA oftentimes for his pleaſure repaired: for which cauſe *Palfi* was very deſirous to haue taken it without ſpoyling: but the fire hee had therein alreadie raiſed, ſo preuailed, that it burnt downe all the goodly buildings thereof, with great ſtore of victuals and other prouiſion, nothing remaining, but what the Chriſtians had ſaued for themſelues.

The

Temeſwar beſieged by the Tranſyluanian prince.

The Tranſyluanian prince hauing raiſed a great armie for the reliefe of LIPPA, being by great chance a little before his comming relieued, came and layed ſiege to the citie of TEMESVVAR: where he had not long lien, but that the Turkes and Tartars fearing to looſe that ſo famous a citie, aſſembled together from all places thereabouts, to the number of fortie thouſand, and ſo came to raiſe the ſiege. Of whoſe comming the prince hearing, roſe with his armie, and went to meet them, and had with them a great and terrible battell, the victorie for a great while ſtanding very doubtfull, yet ſeeming to encline rather to the Turkes and Tartars, than to the Chriſtians: but at length the Turkes diſordered with the great artillerie, and the Tranſyluanians charging them afreſh, began to giue ground, and ſo at laſt to betake themſelues to plaine flight. In this battell were ſlaine of the Turkes and Tartars fiue thouſand, and of the Chriſtians fifteene hundred. It was for a time reported, that the prince himſelfe was in this battell ſlaine, which was not ſo, being reſerued to the further plague of the Turkes, and comfort of his afflicted countrey. After this victorie he returned againe to the ſiege, which he more ſtraightly continued than before, leauing nothing vnattempted that he could poſsibly deuiſe for the winning of the citie. Where whileſt he yet thus lay battering the citie both night and day, newes was brought him, That *Gazzar Baſſa* and the Tartars were comming with a great armie to the reliefe of the beſieged: whereupon hee conſidering his owne ſtrength and the power of his enemies, and that the aid promiſed him both from the Emperour and out of HVNGARIE, was not yet readie, with great griefe of mind raiſed his ſiege, and retired with his armie to LIPPA, there expecting new ſupplies as well of his owne as from his friends. Whileſt he yet there lay, he was certainely aduertiſed, That the Baſſa of NATOLIA, the forerunner of the great Sultan *Mahomet*, was come to BELGRADE with foureteene thouſand horſe and foure thouſand Ianizaries to joyne with the Baſſa of BVDA for the relieuing of TEMESVVAR; whoſe forces joyned together, were in number about threeſcore thouſand: and that *Mahomet* himſelfe, of whoſe comming riſe report had been all this yeare, was now comming after with a farre greater power. Wherupon he departed from LIPPA, leauing therein a ſtrong garriſon, and ſo returning to ALBA IVLIA, called there an aſſembly of all his ſtates, for the repreſsing of ſo puiſſant an enemie.

The prince raiſeth his ſiege.

Mahomet for the better ſucceſſe of his warres in HVNGARIE had drawne forth the Tartar with a mightie power: who although he was at the firſt ſo vnwilling to that ſeruice (conſidering the great loſſes he had therein before receiued) that he would not as he ſaid ſend ſo much as one Aſſe thereunto: yet ouercome with great gifts, and the reſpect he had of the Turkiſh Sultan, was now ready with a ſtrong armie vpon the frontiers of MOLDAVIA to meet him in HVNGARIE: vnto whom the late choſen Vayuod ſent certaine preſents with ſuch ſtore of victuals as he could poſsibly prouide for him. Yet for as much as he was not that way to paſſe without the leaue of the Polonian, *Mahomet* had both by letters and diuers his embaſſadours entreated with the Polonian king for his paſſage: as alſo for the confirmation of the auntient league hee and the Polonian kings his predeceſſours had to their good of long time had with the *Othoman* emperors; from which he well knew the Chriſtian Emperour, with diuers other Chriſtian princes to ſeeke by all meanes to withdraw him. *Mahomet* alſo not ignorant how hurtfull and dangerous the confederation betwixt *Michael* the Vayuod of VALACHIA and the Tranſyluanian was vnto him and his deſignes, ſent vnto him an embaſſador, by the ſhew of great dangers to deterre him from the Tranſyluanian, and by many glorious promiſes to allure him to ſubmit himſelfe againe vnto his protection, and in token of his fidelitie to deliuer vnto the Sultan two of his frontier townes, ſuch as he ſhould require: in regard whereof he ſhould together with the Sultans fauour receiue golden mountaines. Whereunto the Vayuod anſwered, That as yet he was not wearie of the friendſhip he held with the prince: and for the townes he required, that they were not in his power to giue, as belonging to the prince; vnto whom he ſaid he would write, and ſtay the embaſſadour in the meane time vntill he had from him anſwere.

The Emperour on the other ſide had with all carefulneſſe ſo farre as in him was, prouided that his armie might be readie to take the field with the beginning of the Spring: but as it commonly chanceth, the ſpeedie proceedings of great actions (wherein the hands of many mightie is required) to be much hindered by delaies, ſometimes of one, and ſometimes of another; ſo fell it out with him now: for albeit that his owne forces were in ſome good time readie, yet was the Spring, yea and a good part of Summer alſo farre paſt, before the aid promiſed from other princes met together. At length after long expectance, when ſome conuenient number for an armie

A armie was from diuers places come togither at VIENNA: they were by the lord *SwartZenburg* and their other commaunders brought forth into the field, and not farre from ALTENBVRG encamped, within the selfesame trenches that were the last yeare cast vp by countie *Mansfeld* for the safetie of his armie; there to expect the comming downe of the great ordinance and other prouision by the riuer from VIENNA, as also the rest of the Christian forces daily looked for. From ALTENBVRG the Christian armie remoued to KOMARA, and not staying there long, the foure and twentith of Iuly marched towards VACIA, otherwise called WOCZEN: but before it came thither, the Turks hearing of the approach of the Christians, forsooke the towne, and with their cattell and best part of their substance fled to PESTH, carying also away with them the great ordinance; the greatest whereof they buried by the way, which was neuertheless afB terwards found out by the Christians. And although the Turkes at their departure had set fire both vpon the towne and the castle, yet the Christians left therin did what they might to quench the same: by whose diligence and the helpe of two thousand footmen, and certaine troupes of horsemen sent thither by *SwartZenburg*, a great part both of the towne and the castle was preserued: the whole armie of the Christians following after, encamped in the open field, and with their horsemen braued the Turkes euen to the gates of PESTH. This so sudden a comming of the Christians, brought a great feare both vpon them of PESTH and BVDA; insomuch, that they sent their wiues and children, with the chiefest of their substance downe the riuer vnto places of more safetie, and farther off from danger: which was done so disorderedly (as it happeneth in such common feares) that many of them for hast thrust one another into the riuer, C and so perished.

Vacia abandoned of the Turkes, is taken by the Christians.

Hitherto in the former warres against the Turke, had *Matthias* been Generall of the Christian armies: but now of late, *Ferdinand* the emperours vncle Countie of TIROL being dead, *Matthias* was by the emperour his brother preferred to the gouernment of that rich countrey and the prouinces thereabouts, not inferiour to some kingdomes; and *Maximilian* his yonger brother appointed Generall in his stead: who departing from VIENNA in the latter end of Iuly, came into the campe the fourth of August, where he was by the lord *SwartZenburg* his lieutenant, and the lord *Palfi*, honourably and with great triumph receiued.

Now were the Christians threescore thousand strong, and hauing fortified VACIA, and therein placed a conuenient garrison, resolued by common consent to besiege HATVVAN, a D strong towne of the Turkes in the vpper HVNGARIE. And thereupon rising with their armie from VACIA the thirteenth of August, came the fifteenth of the same moneth about noone and sat downe before the towne; and that with such speed, that they were before seene of the Turkes in the towne, than that they heard any thing of their comming: insomuch, that at the first shew of them, they of the towne tooke them to haue been some come out to seeke after bootie; and therefore sallying out vpon them, skirmished with them a while, vntill they perceiued the whole battell comming. The Christians approaching the town, encamped themselues as they thought most conuenient, and began in three places to batter the counterscarfe. This frontier towne of the Turkes, beside that it was kept with a strong garrison, was also strengthned with a broad ditch, and fortified with a broad counterscarfe and strong palisadoes. Whilest the Christians E thus lay at the siege, the Turkes sallying out of the towne brake into their trenches, and there did great harme, and like enough they were to haue done more, had not the horsemen in good time come in vpon them, and enforced them to retire. In this sally, amongst others was one *Greis* a notable captaine slaine, being shamefully forsaked of his owne men; who for that their cowardise, were all in the sight of the whole armie disarmed, and so turned out of the campe as men vnworthie any longer to beare armes. One morning also as the Christians were at their deuotions in their trenches, a Turkish priest from out of an high tower not farre off, railed most bitterly vpon them, cursing and deriding them: wherewith one of the Christian canoniers much moued, made a shot at the tower, which he so well bestowed, that therewith he strucke downe the tower together with the idolatrous priest, as he was yet rayling and blaspheming. At length the F Christians had with exceeding labour and continuall batterie made the towne saultable; wherewith the Turkes discouraged, offered (but all too late) to yeeld vp the towne vpon the same conditions, that they of STRIGONIVM had: whereunto they receiued no answere, yea commaundement was giuen throughout the campe, that no man vpon paine of death, should haue any parley with them. Shortly after all things being now in readinesse for the assault, the Christi-

Hatwan besieged by the Christians

Cowardise punished.

Hatwan woon by the Christians.

ans one day about fiue a clocke in the afternoone, assaulted the towne in foure places; and after three houres hard fight, by strong hand tooke it, with the great scriching and lamenting of the women and children, and other fearefull people, who now gaue themselues all lost and forlorne. Foure houres execution was done vpon all that came to hand, without respect of age, sex, or condition: women were slaine great with child, and yong children hanging at their mothers breasts, it booted not to crie for mercie, the bloudie sword deuouring all. The furie of the Wallons here exceeded, who ript the children out of their mothers wombs, and made thongs and points of the skins of men and women, whom they had slaine quicke. Which their crueltie they afterwards excused when they were therefore reproued, by pretending that thereby they did teach the Turkes hereafter not so wickedly to blaspheme against Christ, or with such their wonted and barbarous crueltie to torment the Christians that fell into their hands, for feare of like themselues. In this assault and furie perished of the Turkes about foure thousand, and of the Christians not past three hundred. In this towne beside that which the fire deuoured, was found a verie rich prey. The first that entred the towne was one *Terskie*, a notable captaine with his companie: after whom followed *Ruswurme*, who each of them were thought in their entrance at the breach, to haue slaine with their owne hand eight or ten Turkes. G H

Extreame crueltie.

Mahomet the great Sultan cõmeth to Buda with an armie of two hundred thousand.

Now in the meane time *Mahomet* the great Sultan being come to BELGRADE, remoued thence to come downe into the heart of HVNGARIE, sending *Cicala Bassa* before him: and at length after long looking for, the second of September arriued at BVDA, hauing in his armie about two hundred thousand men, and three hundred field pieces. From thence he presently sent fortie thousand to TEMESVVAR; but staied there himselfe with the rest of his armie. I

The Christians yet lying at HATVVAN, and doubting least the Sultan suddenly passing the riuer should come vpon them not yet readie for battell; departing thence, and retiring backe againe, came and encamped not farre from VACIA. And albeit that the Archduke before his departure from HATVVAN, had left a conuenient garrison for the keeping of the towne; yet such was the terrour of the Turkes approach, that the next day after, they that were there left in garrison forsooke the towne, and setting it on fire, followed themselues after the campe. This comming of the Turkish Sultan to BVDA, brought also a great feare vpon them at VIENNA, as much doubting least he should that way haue turned his forces, which caused them both day and night to labour for the better fortification of the citie, and for the prouision of all things, as if it had been for a present siege. K

Agria.

But *Mahomet* not prouided for the vndertaking of so strong a place, and not ignorant of the disgrace his great grandfather the victorious *Solyman* had sometime receiued vnder the walles thereof; had no purpose thereto, as hauing bent his thoughts quite another way. In the vpper part of HVNGARIE is an auntient famous citie, well fortified and honoured with a bishops See called AGRIA, not farre from HATVVAN: Vpon this citie, as the chiefe fortresse of the Christians in those quatters, had *Mahomet* at his comming into HVNGARIE cast his eyes, and began now that way to make head; with purpose by taking of that citie, and placing there of a strong garrison, to hinder the vniting of the emperours forces with the Transyluanians, for the mutuall strengthening of the one the other by the way of the vpper HVNGARIE. Which the Archduke perceiuing, sent thither forthwith the valiant Colonell *Terskie* with a notable companie of Italians and Germanes, and a thousand other harquebusiers, who all arriued there in safetie. At which time also the lord *Teuffenbach* sent into the citie three thousand footmen, vnder the conduct of countie *Turn*, with good store of warlike prouision needfull for the defence thereof. The one and twentith of September, *Mahomet* attended vpon by the great Bassaes, *Ibrahim*, *Giaffar*, *Hassan*, and *Cicala*, for old *Sinan* was now dead, with his armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand men, came and encamped betweene the two riuers of Danubius and Tibiscus, couering a great part of the countrey with his tents. Approaching the citie, he with wonderfull celeritie cast vp fiue great mounts, and from them with such furie battered the wals, that the Christians were glad night and day to stand in armes for the defence thereof. And although that the wals were so great, and in many places so weakly fortified as that they were not but by a greater garrison to be defended against so puissant an enemie; and that therefore the defendants with their honour lawfully might euen the first day haue set the citie on fire, and retired themselues into the castle, which was both faire and strong, and the onely place to be trusted vnto; yet for the space of six daies they worthily defended the whole citie against the furie of the enemies, and out of it did them L M

Agria besieged by Mahomet.

A them great harme. But ſeeing the danger daily encreaſing, and that the citie was not longer to be holden, they ſet it on fire; hauing before conuaied all the beſt of their ſubſtance with themſelues into the caſtle: which the Turkes quickly perceiuing, brake ſo ſuddenly into the citie, as if they would togither with the Chriſtians haue entred the caſtle alſo; but in the attempting therof they were notably repulſed and many of them ſlaine. Adioyning to the caſtle was a great and ſtrong bulwarke, againſt which the Turks for certaine daies furiouſly thundred with their great ordinance, and that without intermiſsion: and hauing in diuers places ſore ſhaken it, in the ſpace of two daies aſſaulted it twelue times, but not without the wonderfull loſſe of their men: and yet gaue it not ſo ouer, but as men with their loſſe more enraged, came on againe with greater furie than before, and ſo at laſt by plaine force tooke it: and there put to the ſword all them they
B found therein, except ſuch as by good hap got betimes into the caſtle. This bulwarke thus loſt, the Chriſtians the next day ſallying out, againe recouered; wherein they ſlew a great number of the Turkes, with the loſſe of ſome thirtie men, and as many moe wounded. The beſieged now diuers times both by letters and meſſengers craued aid of *Maximilian* the Generall, giuing him to vnderſtand, that they could not long hold out for want of ſhot and pouder, if they were not betimes relieued (whereof the enemie alſo was not ignorant) yet were they reſolued to hold it out euen to the laſt man; although the great Sultan had oftentimes by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe, willed them to yeeld it vp, with promiſe that they ſhould in ſafetie with life and goods depart, otherwiſe threatning vnto them greater extremities than was of late ſhewed vnto the Turks at HATVVAN, if they ſhould as obſtinat men hold it out vnto the laſt. Whereunto they neuer
C anſwered him any thing: for *Terskie* had forbid them all parley with the enemie; and in the middeſt of the market place had cauſed a paire of gallowes to be ſet vp, threatning to hang him thereon, whoſoeuer he were that ſhould once make motion of yeelding vp the citie.

A bulwarke twelue times aſſaulted in two daies.

Whileſt the beſieged thus liue in hope of reliefe, the Archduke vpon the comming ouer of the Sultan towards AGRIA, hauing retired with his armie to STRIGONIVM, and there ſtaied ſomewhat too long expecting the comming of more aid: began now at length to ſet forward, and to make ſome ſhew as if he had indeed purpoſed to haue relieued his diſtreſſed friends ſo hardly beſet at AGRIA. But ſuch was the foulenеſſe of the weather, hindering the paſſage of his great ordinance (not to ſpeake of any thing elſe) that in foureteene daies he marched ſcarcely twelue miles forward. Whereby the enemie tooke occaſion to preuaile as he did in his ſiege:
D who now hearing of the comming of the Chriſtians, and ſeeing to how little purpoſe he had ſo long battered the caſtle, conuerted all his endeuours to the filling vp of the ditch of the old caſtle, with fagots, earth, and ſuch like matter: for the haſtening of which worke, *Mahomet* himſelfe ſpared not to ride vp and downe in all places of his armie, with his preſence and cheerefull ſpeech encouraging his men in that deſperat worke. But whileſt the Turkes are thus buſie in fulfilling his commaund, the Chriſtians ſallying out vpon them made great ſlaughter of them, and put to flight *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa with ſuch as were about him: after whom they ſo eagerly followed, that he in the flight loſt his tulipant for haſt, and was there verie like to haue been taken. Neuertheleſſe the worke went ſtill forward, and was now at length with the reſtleſſe labour of ſo great a multitude brought to ſuch perfection, that the Turkes thought it now no
E great matter by aſſault to enter the caſtle: and therupon the tenth of October gaue vnto it foure deſperat aſſaults one vpon another, being ſtill with great ſlaughter of his men repulſed. But comming on againe the fift time with freſh ſupplies, and greater furie than at the firſt, they preuailed; and ſo entring, put to the ſword all they found in the caſtle, in number about eight hundred: four hundred of whoſe heads, one of the Turkes captaines cauſed to be carried vnto *Mahomet* in the campe, in the beholding whereof he is ſaid to haue taken great pleaſure, as in the vndoubted ſignes of his victorie.

The old caſtle taken.

The old caſtle thus taken, nothing remained but the new caſtle, againſt which the Turks conuerted their whole forces, wherein they repoſed not ſo much hope, although their batterie were verie terrible and their power great, as in the ſecret mines wherewith they had in foureteene pla-
F ces vndermined the caſtle, and were now almoſt readie to be blowne vp. Which the beſieged perceiuing, and withall conſidering the ſtate wherein they ſtood, and not hearing any thing of reliefe; reſolued amongſt themſelues (without the conſent of their chiefe commaunders) no longer to hold out, but to yeeld. And thereupon altogither as if it had been but one man, riſe vp in a mutinie againſt their two Gouernours, *Paul Nyari* and *Terskie*; who at the firſt by all

the reaſons they could deuiſe, diſſuaded them from ſuch cowardiſe, putting them in mind of the oath they had taken: which not preuailing, they afterwards vpon their knees requeſted them as men to hold it out yet a while, in hope of ſpeedie reliefe: yea *Terskie* with his hands caſt vp entreated them, that if they would no longer hold it out but needs yeeld, they they ſhould firſt kill him with their owne hands, that he might not liue to ſee ſo great a diſhonour. But what auaileth perſuaſion with men poſſeſſed with ſo great feare? And in the meane time two hundred and fiftie of the common ſouldiors, amongſt whom were many Italians, ſecretly eſcaping out of the caſtle fled into the campe, of whom diuers became renegats and turned Turke; which added to the former feare, ſo much diſcouraged the minds of the reſt, that they forthwith required to come to parley with the enemie, and ſo agreed, That they might with bag and baggage & their ſwords by their ſides in ſafetie depart: the great Sultan giuing his faith for the performance thereof, with hoſtages deliuered on either ſide. So the thirteenth of October about noone, the garriſon ſouldiors came out of the caſtle in number about two thouſand: but they were not gone farre, but that they were in a great plaine ſet vpon by the Turkes and Tartars, and there cut in pieces; ſome of them were ſlaine quicke, and ſome other of them otherwiſe ſhamefully diſmembred; the Turkes in the meane time vpbraiding them, and ſaying, That faith was not to be kept with them that had ſo cruelly before dealt with them of HATVVAN. This perfidious dealing much offended diuers of the better ſort of the Turkes, inſomuch, that ſome of them complained thereof vnto the Sultan; who (as is reported) cauſed ſome of the chiefe authors thereof to be put to death: and afterward by open proclamation commaunded, that if any of the Turkes or Tartars had taken any of them priſoners, they ſhould forthwith ſet them at libertie. Thus is the famous citie of AGRIA, of long time a Chriſtian biſhops ſeat, now become a ſure receptacle for the Turkes and Infidels.

Agria yeelded vnto the Turkes.

Petrinia beſieged by the Turkes.

Whileſt *Mahomet* thus lay at the ſiege of AGRIA, the Baſſa of BOSNA with certaine other of the Sanzacks thereabouts, hauing raiſed a great armie, came and beſieged PETRINIA in the borders of CROATIA: which he at his firſt comming ſo furiouſly battered by the ſpace of ſeauen daies, that it was of many thought not poſsible for it to hold out two daies longer. In the meane time the lord *Herbenſtein* and *Leukowitz*, with all the power they could make out of CROATIA and WINDISMARCH, came towards PETRINIA: but hauing no meanes in ſo great haſt to make a bridge ouer the riuer of Kulp, they retired towards SISEG there to paſſe ouer. The Turkes hearing of their retire, and ſuppoſing them to haue fled for feare, put ſix thouſand horſemen ouer the riuer to purſue them: vpon whom the Chriſtians turning, and charging them home, ouerthrew them; and hauing ſlaine many of them, draue the reſt headlong into the riuer, where moſt of them periſhed. The Chriſtians neuertheleſſe keeping on their way to SISEG, there the next day by a bridge paſſed ouer the riuer, and ſo marching towards PETRINIA, and being come neere vnto the towne, were encountred by eight thouſand Turkes, whom they alſo put to flight; and by certaine priſoners there taken, vnderſtood that the Baſſa the day before was riſen from before the towne and gone: which they at the firſt beleeued not, but comming thither found it ſo, to their owne good contentment, and the great joy of the late beſieged.

Petrinia relieued.

Maximilian the Generall marching on faire and ſoftly from STRIGONIVM, at length the ſeuenteenth of October came to CASSOVIA, foure daies after that AGRIA was loſt; and there met with the Tranſyluanian prince, who was come thither with eighteene thouſand men, and fortie field pieces to aid him: of whom eight thouſand were mercinarie horſemen, fifteene hundred were of the nobilitie of his countrey, and the reſt footmen. The next day after they ſetting forward from CASSOVIA, joyned themſelues with the reſt of the armie led by the lord *Teuffenbach* and *Palſi*, and ſo of all their vnited forces made one armie, conſiſting now of two and thirtie thouſand horſemen and eight and twentie thouſand foot: who drew with them an hundred and twentie field pieces, and twentie thouſand wagons, wherewith they euerie night encloſed their armie as with a moſt ſure trench. So orderly marching, they kept on their way towards AGRIA, with a full reſolution to giue the Turkes battell, whereof the whole armie ſeemed to be verie deſirous. By the way at length they came to a faire heath two miles long and foure broad, where they were to paſſe ouer a certaine riuer, the paſſage whereof *Giaffar Baſſa* had before taken with twentie thouſand Turkes and Tartars, the reſt of the Turkes armie lying ſtill not farre from AGRIA. Now the purpoſe of the Baſſa was, to haue enlarged the paſſage of the riuer, and

ſo

A ſo to haue made way for the whole armie, to haue afterwards paſſed vnto the other ſide, as moſt commodious for many purpoſes, eſpecially for water, whereof they ſo might themſelues haue had plentie, and yet kept the Chriſtians from it. But of this his purpoſe, by the comming of the Chriſtians he was quite diſappointed: for the next day being the three and twentith of October, they skirmiſhed with him in diuers places, eſpecially at the paſſage of the riuer, where at the firſt encounter he loſt three hundred of his men, & in the end ſeeing himſelfe too weake to withſtand the whole power comming on, fled to the Sultan, hauing loſt two of his enſigns and twentie field pieces, but of his men not many, both for that he fled betime, and the approch of the night hindered the purſute of the Chriſtians, who were now become maſters both of the paſſage of the riuer, and of the place where the Baſſa lay: which they finding not ſo commodious for them as
B they had at the firſt ſuppoſed (eſpecially for lacke of wood, the weather then being extream cold, as alſo hearing of the approch of the Sultan with his whole armie) they forthwith forſooke the ſame, and retired again ouer the riuer vnto the place where they lay before, encloſing themſelues with their waggons, as if it had beene a citie ſtrongly encloſed with wooden wals. The next day, which was the foure and twentith of October, towards night, *Mahomet* with all his army ſhewed himſelfe vnto the view of the Chriſtians, and ſent three thouſand Tartars to paſſe the riuer: of whom the Chriſtians ſlew a great number with their great ſhot, and put the reſt to flight. Both the armies were populous and ſtrong, and couered a great deale of ground, a moſt goodly ſight to behold: both drunke of the ſame riuer, as well the men as their horſes, and therefore kept continuall watch all that night on both ſides of the riuer, eſpecially at the paſſage. In the morning be-
C twixt ſix and ſeuen a clocke, *Mahomet* with his armie raunged in order of battell, came within ſight of the Chriſtians, his ſquadrons as it were couering all the countrey on that ſide of the riuer as farre as the Chriſtians could well ſee; and now againe ſent part of his armie ouer the riuer: with whom the Chriſtians skirmiſhed from morning till night, both the armies parted but by the riuer, all this while ſtanding faſt, and as it were facing the one the other. But being at length on both ſides well wearied, and many ſlaine, the Turks retired againe ouer the riuer to the campe: in the meane time (as if it had beene by conſent) they reſolued on both ſides the next day to trie the fortune of a battell, and ſo commaundement was giuen through both the armies, for euery man againſt a certaine appointed time to make himſelfe readie. So the next day, being the ſix and twentith of October, *Mahomet* brought forth his armie againe out of his campe, which
D was not farre from the Chriſtians; and began now to draw downe towards the riuer. Neere vnto this place were the ruines of an old church, where *Mahomet* placed certaine companies of Ianizaries, and foure and twentie field pieces, and commaunded ten thouſand of his ſelect ſouldiors to paſſe the riuer, which they readily did. The Chriſtians alſo readie for battell, and now thinking it time vpon the comming ouer of the enemie to begin; with part of their armie thereunto appointed, ſo fiercely charged the Turkes that were alreadie come ouer, that they quickly ouerthrew them, and not them onely, but certaine companies of Tartars alſo that were in another place come ouer the riuer: and not ſo contented, but following them they had in chaſe, put to flight them alſo that ſtood on the further ſide of the riuer, of whom they ſlew a great number, and by the comming on of the reſt of the armie tooke from them an hundred and ninetie great
E pieces of artillerie: whereof ſo great a feare riſe in the enemies campe, that *Mahomet* with *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa ſeeing the diſcomfiture of the armie, fled in all haſt towards AGRIA, ſhedding ſome teares by the way as he went, and wiping his eyes with a peece of *Mahomets* garment, which he for reuerence carried about him as a relique. It drew now towards night, and the Archduke was about to haue cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and that day to haue done no more. But the Tranſyluanian prince, the lord *Palfi*, and the reſt, perſuaded him in that ſo great feare of the enemie to proſecute the victorie; and the rather, for that the Turks began againe to make head, and to repaire their diſordered battels. Wherefore the Chriſtians ſtill keeping their array, charged afreſh the front of their enemies reſtored battell, conſiſting of fortie thouſand men, and that with ſuch violence, as that they in ſhort time had ſlaine the moſt part of them, and put the reſt to
F flight: and with the like good fortune charging the bodie of the maine battell, forced the diſcouraged Turkes with great ſlaughter into their owne campe. Now commaundement was before giuen throughout the Chriſtian armie, that no man vpon paine of death ſhould in ſeeking after ſpoile breake his arra[y], or forſake his place, before the victorie were aſſuredly gotten. But they in this hot purſute breaking together with the Turks into their tents, & there killing a great number

A great and long skirmiſh betwixt the Turkes and the Chriſtians.

Ten thouſand Turks paſſe the riuer, and are ſet together with the Tartars put to flight.

of them,and ſeeing in euery place great ſtore of rich ſpoile, contrarie to the aforeſaid commandement, left the purſute of the enemie, and diſorderly fell to the ſpoile of the tents, vntill they came to the very tent of the great Sultan. But here began all the miſchiefe, with a moſt ſudden change of fortune. For here theſe greedie diſordered men,not now worth the name of ſouldiors, light vpon a ſtrong ſquadron of reſolute men, with good ſtore of great ordinance readie charged, which they diſcharged amongſt the thickeſt of their enemies, and rent in ſunder a number of them,and after that came on reſolutely themſelues: when in the meane time *Cicala Baſſa* with his horſemen yet vntouched, brake in vpon them alſo, and with the terrour of his comming brought ſuch a feare vpon them, that they began amaine to flie, eſpecially the Hungarians and Germanes,moſt buſied in the ſpoile. Neither could they in that feare, by any threats or entreatie of their commaunders be perſuaded to make a ſtand, or ſo much as once to looke backe, or to ſhew any token of true valour: which their haſtie flight was the ouerthrow not of themſelues onely, but of others alſo that would haue fought: for whileſt they fled headlong vpon the ſpur, and could not be ſtayed, they ouerran their owne footmen, and ſo furthered the enemies victorie. Thus for want of good order, through the greedie couetouſneſſe of a ſort of diſordered men the moſt notable victorie that euer the Chriſtians were like to haue had ouer the Turks, was let ſlip out of their hands. Many noble gentlemen and commaunders,in ſeeking to ſtay the flight of their owne men, were here ſlaine: and although the enemie followed the chaſe ſcarce halfe a mile,yet were the Chriſtians poſſeſſed with ſuch a feare,that they fled amaine all ouer the countrey with greater ſhame than loſſe,no man purſuing them. The Archduke himſelfe ſeeing all deſperat,fled to CASSOVIA. The Tranſyluanian of all others moſt orderly retired himſelfe towards TOCAII, hauing not loſt in this battell aboue two hundred men, and of them neuer a man of name. All this loſſe he imputed to the couetouſneſſe of the Hungarians, and cowardiſe of the Germane horſemen. The lord *Bernſtein* hauing charge of the great artillerie,fled alſo,and made ſhift for himſelfe,as did *Palfi*,and in fine all the reſt. Neither was the feare leſſe amongſt the Turkes (a wonderfull thing to be ſpoken) than it was amongſt the Chriſtians: for the night following they for feare of the returne of the Chriſtians,truſsing vp the beſt of their things,fled alſo towards AGRIA. And it was afterwards knowne,that the Turks great ordinance,tents, and baggage ſtood three daies in their trenches, either altogether vnguarded, or ſo ſlenderly guarded, as that they might haue beene eaſily taken by the Chriſtians, if they would but haue made head againe. Yea *Mahomet* himſelfe is reported oftentimes to haue confeſſed the danger and feare he was then in to haue beene taken,and all his armie deſtroied,if the Chriſtians had (as they ſhould) purſued the victory,and not ſo baſely run after the ſpoile: by which danger he then warned,hath euer ſince ſhunned to aduenture his perſon to the like perill in the field. In this battell of KARESTA (for ſo it is of a place thereby called) and at the ſiege of AGRIA were loſt of the Chriſtians about twentie thouſand,and of the Turks threeſcore thouſand. *Mahomet* after this victorie fortified AGRIA,and for the keeping therof left in it 10000 ſoldiors,and ſo returned to BELGRADE.

The Chriſtians in ſeeking too greedily after the ſpoile, ouerthrowne and diſcomfited.

Twentie thouſand Chriſtians ſlaine, and threeſcore thouſand Turks.

The Baſſa of BVDA perſuading himſelfe that the Chriſtians after ſo great an ouerthrow could not this yeare to any purpoſe recouer their ſtrength,came with all the power he was able to make, and the fourth of Nouember beſieged VACIA, in hope to haue eaſily carried it: but finding there greater reſiſtance than he had before imagined,and hearing that the diſperſed Chriſtians in the vpper part of HVNGARIE were making head for to come to the reliefe of the towne, he more afraid than hurt,brake vp his ſiege,and ſo returned to BVDA: for indeed the diſperſed reliques of the late armie of the Chriſtians were drawing together, but vnarmed and vnſeruiceable,as hauing in the late flight ſhamefully caſt away their armes,and therefore could haue done the Baſſa ſmall harme if he had continued the ſiege.

Vacia beſieged by the Baſſa of Buda.

Mahomet thinking it honour ynough for him to haue thus woon AGRIA, and driuen the Chriſtians out of the field,deuided his armie into two parts at BELGRADE: whereof the one he billetted in the countrey thereabout,to be readie for all euents; and with the other he returned to CONSTANTINOPLE: but by the way he was ſet vpon by *Barbelius Ianuſchi* the Tranſyluanian princes lieutenant,and the Vayuod of VALACHIA, who with a great power both of horſe and foot being got ouer the Danubius, and ſecretly fauoured by the countrey people, lay in ambuſh for him in places of aduantage,and ſtill following in the taile of his army,cut off 7000 of his men before he could be rid of them: and ſo with much trouble arriued at length at CONSTANTINOPLE,where we will for this yeare leaue him,vntill we heare of him more.

Maximi-

A *Maximilian* with a ſmall retinue arriued at VIENNA in the latter end of Nouember, where he found the Vicount of BVRGAVV, *Swartzenburg*, with ſome other of the commaunders of his late armie; moſt of the reſt, eſpecially the Italians, being ſlaine. The ſmall remainder of this vnfortunate yeare was ſpent with often skirmiſhes and inrodes one into anothers frontiers, as the manner of warre is, without any other great thing done worth the remembrance.

Rodolph the Chriſtian Emperour, notwithſtanding the late diſcomfiture of his armie not farre from AGRIA, made choice againe of his brother *Maximilian* the Archduke, for the managing of his forces for his next yeares wars againſt the Turke. Wherunto the Pope by his legate *Fran. Aldobrandino* promiſed of his owne charge to ſend ten thouſand Italians, vnder the conduct of the duke of MANTVA: as did alſo the Germane princes their wonted aid, with ſome others:

B All which ſlowly at length meeting together neere vnto POSSONIVM and ALTENBVRG, in the moneths of Iuly and Auguſt, departing thence, marched to PAPPA; which after eight daies hard ſiege they tooke, and ſo againe retired to ALTENBVRG, where they tooke a generall muſter of the armie: and afterwards in the beginning of September ſhewed themſelues before the ſtrong towne of RAB: where the lord *Bernſteine* approching too neere the wals, was with a ſhot ſlaine. Neuertheleſſe the reſt there ſtaied, vntill that hearing of the comming of *Mahomet Baſſa* the Turks Generall with a great armie, they left the ſiege, and the foure and twentith day of September paſsing ouer the riuer Danubius into the iſland SCHVT towards KOMARA, there on the North ſide of the riuer encamped. Where they had not lien paſt eight daies, but that the caſtle of DOTIS, ſtanding vpon the South ſide of Danubius, was by the Baſſa before their faces and as

Pappa taken by the Chriſtians.

Dotis taken by the Turks.

C it were euen vnder their noſes beſieged and taken; the whole armie of the Chriſtians in the meane time as idle beholders looking on, but not daring to relieue their diſtreſſed friends: but afterwards ariſing, marched to VACIA, where hearing of the Turks comming againſt them from PESTH, they ſet fire on the caſtle, and ſo retired alongſt the North ſide of the riuer, vntill they came oueragainſt VICEGRADE, a caſtle of their owne on the other ſide of Danubius: where by the good direction of the lord *George Baſta* a moſt expert captain, and lieutenant Generall of the armie, they encamped ſo ſtrongly, as that the Turkes after many braue attempts giuen to haue forced them in their trenches, were glad with ſome loſſe to depart.

Neither went things this yeare better forward with the Chriſtians in other places than in this ſide of HVNGARIE. For *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian prince by his Chancelour beſieging the

D ſtrong citie of TEMESVVAR in October, was by the valour of the defendants and the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather enforced to raiſe his ſiege, and with diſhonor to depart. *Michael* alſo the Vayuod of VALACHIA, who mooued with the example and perſuaſions of the Tranſyluanian prince, had reuolted from the Turkes, and done them great harme (as is in part before declared) now wearied with their often inuaſions and the ſpoile of his countrey, almoſt brought to vtter deſolation, many thouſands of his ſubjects being by the Turks and Tartars caried away captiues, and his townes and caſtles for the moſt part raſed, to giue his people a time of breathing, ſubmitted himſelfe againe vnto the Turkiſh obeiſance, ſolemnely receiuing at the hands of one of the Turks Chiaus (for that purpoſe ſent from CONSTANTINOPLE) an enſigne in token of his ſubmiſsion vnto the Turkiſh Emperour, as alſo of his fauour towards him. Which the more to aſ-

Michael the Vayuod yeeldeth his obeiſance vnto the Turke, and yet refuſeth to aid him againſt the Chriſtians.

E ſure him of, he by another honourable meſſenger ſhortly after receiued from *Mahomet* the Turkiſh emperour more kind letters than at any time before, with the confirmation of the Vayuodſhip of VALACHIA, by the graund ſignior his ſolemne oath vnto *Michael* the Vayuod and his ſonne *Peter*, then about thirteene yeares old, for the tearme of both their liues, without diſturbance, paying but the halfe of the old yearely tribute by the Turks before demaunded: ſo glad they were vpon any conditions to haue reduced that martiall man with his countrey vnto their obeiſance: and in token of further grace together with theſe letters, hee receiued alſo a goodly horſe, moſt richly furniſhed, with a faire ſcimitar and an horſemans maſe, in ſigne of the martiall power and gouernment committed vnto him by the great Sultan *Mahomet*. All which goodly gifts and honours the Vayuod ſeemed thankfully to accept: neuertheleſſe not daring too farre to

F truſt vnto the Turkiſh faith, of the ſmall aſſurance whereof he had before had ſufficient experience, he ſtill kept ſtrong garriſons vpon the frontiers of his countrey, with ſuch other forces alſo as he was wont, excuſing the ſame to be done for feare of the Tartars; by whom he alſo excuſed himſelfe, for not going with the Turkes Generall this yeare into HVNGARIE, as he was by ſpeciall meſſengers from the grand ſignior himſelfe requeſted, telling them that he might not in any caſe

caſe ſo doe for feare of the Tartars moſt horrible incurſions, and the ſpoiles of his countrey: yet knew he right well how that they were by the great Sultan his expreſſe commaundement charged not to do any harme either in MOLDAVIA or VALACHIA, as they went into HVNGARIE. But this warie Vaiuod not greatly truſting either the Sultan or them, as alſo loth himſelfe a Chriſtian to go againſt the Chriſtians his friends and late confederates, excuſed himſelfe by the neceſſarie care he had of his ſubjects and country, and ſo requeſted that his reaſonable excuſe to be in good part of the great Sultan accepted: but of him more is to be ſaid hereafter. Thus paſſed this yeare without any great thing done more than is before declared, both theſe great princes, the emperor and the Turkiſh Sultan, being well warned by the laſt years worke what it was to put all to the fortune of a battell: and therefore now contenting themſelues to haue ſhewed their forces, as not afraid one of the other, countenanced this yeares wars with greater ſhewes than deeds.

1598 What great things might by the Chriſtian princes at vnitie amongſt themſelues be done againſt the Turks, is by the conſiderat right eaſily to be gathered: but eſpecially by the notable victorie of the famous Tranſyluanian prince *Sigiſmund*, who confederated but with his poore oppreſſed neighbours the Valachians and Moldauians, and ſtrengthened with ſome ſmall aid from the Emperour and the Hungarians, not onely deliuered thoſe three countries from the heauie burthen of the Turkiſh thraldome, but vanquiſhed alſo their moſt renowned captaines, ouerthrew their mightie armies, burnt and ſpoiled their countries, raſed their townes and cities, which as it hath beene in part before declared, ſo if it ſhould be all particularly ſet downe, beſide that it would be tedious, ſo alſo might it happily ſeeme almoſt incredible. Beſide which calamities of war (commonly more felt of the ſubjects than of the prince) the great Sultan himſelfe found no ſmall wants, as well in his cofers, as other his neceſſarie ſupplies for the maintenance of his wars, eſpecially in HVNGARIE; the onely countrey of MOLDAVIA (before theſe troubles) yeelding vnto him yearely a tunne of gold, two thouſand horſes for ſeruice, ten thouſand great meaſures of wheat, with as much barley, and a wonderfull proportion of butter, honie, and other victuals; the other two prouinces paying alſo the like or more, as a yearely tribute: whereof he had of late to his great diſcontentment by the generall reuolt of theſe three countries bin quite diſappointed. But this ſo wholeſome a confederation, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian commonweale and benefit of the Turks, now broken, and MOLDAVIA by the Polonians diſſeuered from the reſt, and againe made tributarie vnto the Turke (as is before declared) and now VALACHIA alſo in a ſort acknowledging the Turks obeiſance, the noble Tranſyluanian prince, who hitherto with great cheerefulneſſe and courage had fought the moſt Chriſtian battels againſt the Turke, now left as it were all alone, and doubting how with his own ſmall forces to be able long to defend his countrey againſt the Turke and the Polonian, whom he feared not much leſſe than him; leaſt the ſame ſhould together with himſelfe fall into the hands of the Turkes, or ſome other his enemies, by a wonderfull change voluntarily reſigned this his country of TRANSYLVANIA vnto *Rodolph* the Chriſtian emperour and his heires for euer: and ſo leauing his wife in TRANSYLVANIA, went himſelfe into SILESIA, there to take poſſeſſion of the dukedomes of OPPELL and RATIBOR, which together with the yearely pention of 50000 Ioachims, or the reuenues of the biſhopricke of VRATISLAVIA, he had in lieu thereof receiued of the emperour: whereupon the poſſeſſion of TRANSYLVANIA, by the generall conſent of all the ſtates of that country, was in the beginning of this yeare 1598 deliuered vnto the Archbiſhop of VACIA, the Countie *Nadaſti*, and Doctor *Petzi*, the emperors commiſſioners; and a ſolemne oath of obedience and loialtie taken of them all in generall: albeit that the aforeſaid commiſſioners as alſo the emperour himſelfe would haue perſuaded the prince either not at all or at leaſtwiſe not ſo ſuddenly to haue forſaken his country, but to haue ſtill kept the gouernment therof himſelfe yet for a yeare or two; well foreſeeing that the ſame could not ſo conueniently bee gouerned by any other as by himſelfe, a naturall prince therein borne, and exceedingly beloued of his ſubjects. The ſame commiſſioners alſo in Iune following going into VALACHIA, there tooke the like oath of obedience of *Michael* the Vayuod and his people: who loathing the Turkiſh ſoueraignetie, all willingly yeelded themſelues into the emperours protection. Theſe commiſſioners alſo at the ſame time came to agreement with the Tartars embaſſadors, offering vnto the emperour peace and aid for the yearely penſion of 40000 duckats, and as many ſheepe-skin gownes, their vſuall manner of apparrell.

A great tribute.

The prince of Tranſyluania reſigneth his countrey vnto the Emperour.

Michael the Vaiuod ſubmitteth himſelfe with his people vnto the Emperours protection.

All this while continued the Diet of the empire, begun in December laſt paſt at RATISBONE, *Matthias* the emperours brother being there his deputie, and in his majeſties name demanding a greater

A greater aid for the maintenance of his warres againſt the Turke the common enemie, than was by the princes and ſtates of the empire offered: where after great and long deliberation, a large proportion was by them all agreed vpon for the defraying of the charges of thoſe wars and defence of the Chriſtian commonweale, to be paied in three yeares next, and ſo thereupon was the aſſembly diſſolued. But as they were returning home, behold contrarie to all hope RAB one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of Chriſtendome, three yeares before betrayed vnto the Turks by countie *Hardeck*, was now by the wiſedome and valour of *Adolphus* Baron of *Swartzenburg*, the Emperours lieutenant in the lower HVNGARIE, againe recouered; to the great griefe of the Turks, and wonderfull rejoycing of the Chriſtians, in ſort as followeth.

This noble gentleman the lord *Swartzenburg* of no leſſe courage than experience, then lying
B at KOMARA, and ſtill in doubt leaſt the Turks ſo neere vnto him at RAB, ſhould attempt ſomething againſt him and his charge, prouided for his own defence all that winter time with a ſtrong garriſon, keeping continuall watch and ward, although it were as then no time for the enemie with any armie to keepe the field. So Winter paſsing and the Spring approaching, it fortuned that the two and twentith day of March about ſeauen a clocke in the night, the gates being ſhut, were heard neere vnto the wals of the towne two men, who by their ſpeech ſeemed to be Italians: with great inſtance requeſting, for the ſafegard of their liues to be let in, for feare of the ene-
mies purſuit. Which by one of the Sentinels was forthwith reported vnto the Gouernor; who
C doubting it to be ſome ſubtile practiſe of the enemie, commaunded them there to take their fortune vntill the morning: at which time they were receiued into the citie, and being brought before the Gouernour, proſtrating themſelues forthwith at his feet, pitifully requeſted him to haue compaſsion of their miſerie, and to comfort them with his charitable reliefe, that ſo they might at length returne againe into their countrey: who at the firſt asked them, what countrey men they were? and from whence they came at that time of the night? Whereunto they anſwered, That they were Italians, and that they had but euen then eſcaped out of the cruell hands of the Turkes at RAB. But deſiring to know of them ſome newes, they after their manner humbled themſelues, ſhewing by their geſture not to know any; yet would he needs vnderſtand of them the particularities, when and how they were taken by the Turkes, and the meanes they had vſed to eſcape out of that cruell ſeruitude, all in order as it had befallen them. Where the yonger of them beginning, told him, That now almoſt two yeares ago, at ſuch time as the Chriſtians were
D ouerthrowne by the Turkes vnder AGRIA, and euerie man in that confuſion then ſeeking the beſt and neereſt way to ſaue themſelues; they hauing by flight now eſcaped the greateſt danger of the enemie, and ſo trauelling ouer the countrey towards VIENNA, were to their great misfortune (by an hundred Turkes come out of RAB to ſcoure the countrey, and to ſeeke after prey) taken priſoners, and as ſlaues committed to the chaine, where they had almoſt two yeares vntill now, with great patience ſerued. Theſe two fugitiues by their outward appearance, ſeemed to be men of good ſpirit and valour, which cauſed the Gouernor to be the more deſirous to know of them the meanes they had vſed for their eſcape. So the yonger proceeding in his tale, gaue him to vnderſtand of the whole matter, telling him, That they had been three moneths before ſtill carefully deuiſing how to recouer their loſt libertie, which now ſeemed to make ſome offer
E of it ſelfe vnto them: For that ſince the time that the emperours armie riſe the laſt yeare from before the towne, they were not kept ſo ſtrait or looked vnto as before, but lay as men by the Turkes not much regarded: which cauſed them the more cheerfully to take the offer of the time, and to reſolue either the ſooner to die, or to ſet themſelues at libertie. And that ſo one day as they were carrying certaine munition from the pallace of *Giaffer Baſſa* for the ſouldiors, they ſecretly conuaied three pieces of coard of ſome reaſonable bigneſſe, therwith by night to let themſelues downe from the wall, and ſo as they might to eſcape: which ſtolne coard that it ſhould not be ſeene, and ſo their purpoſe ſuſpected, they buried in the ground. But the night being come for them to effect in what they had ſo long deſired, and they roaming vp and down in the darke, and ſtill finding one let or other, they were enforced for that time to ſtay, and to deferre it vntill
F the night following: which being come, and choiſe made of a moſt conuenient place, they made faſt the coard aboue, and ſo thereby ſlid downe, firſt the elder, and then the yonger; who not knowing how to ſwim, was yet by the good direction and helpe of his fellow conducted ouer vnto the farther ſide of the broad and deepe ditch: and that ſo, in the night (ſo darke as that one of them could hardly ſee the other) they were come by chance to KOMARA, thinking to haue taken

Two Italian priſoners flying out of Rab diſcouer the ſtate of the towne to the lord Swartzenburg.

taken the way to VIENNA. The Gouernour thus fully inſtructed of their eſcape, demaunded of G
them farther, how the ſtrong towne of RAB was by the Turks gouerned and guarded: who told
him, verie euill, and with ſmall care, eſpecially ſince the departure of the emperours campe: and
alſo, that foure gates of the towne were filled vp with earth, which if they were broken open,
would all fall into the towne ditch, and ſo farther them that would attempt to enter: with diuers
other particularities. Whereof the Gouernour hauing well conſidered, thought with himſelfe,
that if by ſome ingenious deuiſe he might by night with ſome good ſtrength vpon the ſudden
enter the towne, it might happily be ſo againe recouered. Vpon which ſo great a deſignment
he thought good to conſult farther with the lord *Palfi*, whom he requeſted in all haſt and with as
much ſecreſie as was poſsible, with 1600 foot and as many horſe as he could make, to come vnto
him to KOMARA. Who vpon the aduertiſement ſo giuen ſtaied not, but preſently giuing or- H
der vnto his men, ſet forward by night, and the ſix and twentith day of March before day with
1400 foot and 120 horſe arriued at KOMARA; where they were all ioyfully receiued, and the
gates after they were entred, againe faſt ſhut, and ſo kept for feare of the enemies ſecret ſpies, of
whom no man can be too warie, be he neuer ſo wiſe. Now whileſt theſe ſouldiors were refreſhing
themſelues, in the mean time the Gouernour with the lord *Palfi* diſcourſed to the full concerning
the entended enterpriſe: which reſolued vpon, they found themſelues vpon the view of their
men to haue two thouſand ſix hundred foot of the garriſon ſouldiors, and three hundred horſe,
all good and couragious men, and well appointed for the entended ſeruice: who there ſtaying
two daies after their comming, and many of them in the meane time (after the manner of their
religion) confeſsing themſelues, and receiuing the ſacrament, were become ſo couragious, as that I
they doubted not in the quarrell of the Chriſtian Religion to encounter a farre greater number
of the Turks than themſelues. And the more to ſtirre them vp, the lord *Palfi* at the ſame time
deliuered vnto them a notable ſpeech: not for all that telling them whither they were to go, but
that they were his Chriſtian ſoldiors and brethren, vnder his leading both of long and late time;
who neuer by him deceiued of their wonted pay at ſuch time as it was due, would not now as he
hoped forſake him. And albeit that he well knew them to haue deſerued at his hands a greater
contentment: neuertheleſſe being himſelfe depriued of his reuenue by theſe late warres, and his
poſſeſsions euerie houre ſubiect vnto the incurſions of the Turks, could not therefore according
to his deſire and their deſerts, ſhew vnto them the great good will he bare them: Yet that now,
and euen preſently was come the time wherein they might not only aboundandly enrich them- K
ſelues, but alſo adorne their heads with an immortall crowne of glorie, and make themſelues for
euer famous, by performing the moſt happie and glorious exploit that euer was by valorous
ſouldiors attempted or atchieued in that part of the world. And to the intent that they all might
know how deerely he accounted of the life and honour of euerie one of them, he would there-
fore himſelfe with the lord *Swartzenburg* (of whom proceeded all that faire deuiſe and new ſtra-
tageme) be preſent with them in the action: and that therefore they were not to thinke, that
they were led forth to any priuat danger, farther than their commaunders themſelues; whoſe
folly were to be accounted great, if raſhly and vpon no good ground they ſhould aduenture their
liues and honours togither: wherof they ought not now to doubt, hauing by a thouſand proofs
knowne, how much they had been of them alwaies regarded. And that therefore it behoued L
them ſo much the more to ſhew their valour in this peece of ſeruice vndertaken for the great be-
nefit of the Chriſtian common weale, and the honour of Chriſt Ieſu: vnto whom they were
with one accord to make their prayers, with his mightie hand to ſtrengthen their hearts, and with
glorious victorie to bring to happie end the intended exploit againſt his enemies, to the honour
of his name, and the aduancement of the Chriſtian religion and faith. At the end of which ſpeech
all the ſouldiors cried aloud, That they were moſt readie to do any their commaunds, and to fol-
low them whither ſoeuer. So order was taken, that within three houres they ſhould euerie man
be preſt and readie with their armes according to their places: and ſo hauing well refreſhed them-
ſelues, about eleuen a clocke the ſeuen and twentith day of March, they in good order began to
ſet forwards toward RAB. But for that the multitude of ſouldiors oftentimes giueth the enemie M
warning of that is intended againſt him, *Palfi* gaue order to one *Iohn Stroine* his Sergiant maior,
to follow faire and ſoftly after him with 1700 horſe and foot, which he well performed. And ſo
vpon the breake of the day they began to draw towards RAB, and there lay cloſe in ambuſh all
that day vntill night, about ſeuen miles ſhort of the towne: refreſhing themſelues in the meane
time

The notable ſpeech of the lord Palfi vnto his ſouldiers.

A time with plentie of victuals, which they had brought with them from KOMARA. Night (the fauourer of deceit) being come, in two houres march they began to draw neere to RAB, and there ſtaied about fiue houres: from whence they ſent before them a French enginer, a man of great judgement, with thirteene others (before rewarded with 1500 duckats) hauing with them foure Petardes (engines of force to blow vp into the ayre any thing whereunto they be faſtened, be it neuer ſo great or waightie;) where by good chance they found the draw-bridge down, and the portculleis vp: for that the Turkes then caſting no perill, expected euerie houre for certaine wagons with prouiſion from ALBA REGALIS. By which good hap the Chriſtians vnperceiued comming to the gate, and therunto faſtening their Petardes, in good order gaue fire to the ſame, which preſently tooke not hold: yet were they not farre gone, but that they were by a
B Sentinell deſcried, who demaunding what they were, was preſently anſwered by the violent engines, which in a trice tore in ſunder the gate, with ſome part of the wall and of the fortifications neere vnto it. When now the watch (but all too late) began to giue the alarum, and the Chriſtians in the foreward thruſting preſently in, tooke the gate, none of the Turkes yet comming to the defence thereof, or to hinder them from entring. The firſt that appeared were two hundred Turkes, which with their wonted crie, *Alla, Alla*, in ſuch hideous manner as if they would therewith haue rent the heauens, would haue ſtaied the Chriſtians from farther entring, but were themſelues ouercharged by three hundred which were alreadie entred. At which time alſo the Baſſa came on, with more than a thouſand following him, and that with ſuch courage and furie, as was neuer greater to be ſeene in any Turke: where after a moſt terrible fight maintained by
C the ſpace of two houres, the Baſſa himſelfe being ſlaine, the Turks began a little to retire; whereby a thouſand Chriſtians mo had leiſure to enter: when ſtrait waies after came *Giaffar* the great Baſſa, with aboue a thouſand tall ſouldiors following him, all the inhabitants alſo of RAB running after him, and that with ſuch force, that they conſtrained the Chriſtians to retire vnto the gate whereby they entred. Who (reſolued rather honorably to die within the towne, than with diſhonour to be forced out) there with incredible courage ſuſtained the greateſt impreſsion of the furious enemie: where was to be ſeene the true Chriſtian valour, for the performance of ſo great an exploit, well worthie of eternall memorie. But this Baſſa alſo (the other being dead of a wound in his necke) encountred by the lord *Swartzenburg*, after he had in that ſharpe conflict ſhewed great tokens of his valour, was there at length ſlaine alſo: both whoſe heads ſtrucke off,
D were for a preſent afterwards ſent to the emperour at PRAGE, with all the particularities of the whole action. But now the Turkes perceiuing that all their chiefe commaunders were ſlaine, retired moſt part of them into the citie: ſome three hundred of them crept vnderneath one of the bulwarkes, where ſtood certaine barrels of gunpouder, which they deſperately ſet on fire, and ſo together with themſelues blew vp 300 Chriſtians that were aboue vpon the bulwarke, the greateſt loſſe the Chriſtians had in all that victorie, who were otherwiſe ſuppoſed not to haue loſt therein aboue 200 of their men. Thus the Turkes diſcomfited and altogither full of feare, looſing both their force and courage, fled in euerie place before the Chriſtians, they in euerie corner making of them a moſt horrible ſlaughter. The Turkiſh women all this while out of their windowes and other high places, ceaſed not to caſt downe ſtones, timber, and ſuch like things vpon
E the heads of the Chriſtians, whom they ſought by all meanes to annoy, and to helpe the Turks. The bloudie execution continued all that day vntill night, the Chriſtians ſtill finding one or other hidden in the moſt ſecret places of the citie, vpon whom to exerciſe their wrath: who ranſacking alſo euerie corner thereof, were by the wealth therein found greatly enriched. But comming to the pallace of *Giaffer* the great Baſſa, they found ſuch great ſtore of rich furniture, as better beſeemed ſome great prince than a Turkiſh ſlaue. There they found alſo letters written in caracters of gold from the Baſſa of BVDA to this Baſſa, greeting him and promiſing him in his behalfe to deale with the grand ſignior againſt the next Spring, with the firſt that his armie ſhould take the field, That he might therein haue ſome honourable place of commaund, to the end he might in the field ſhew his greater valour, and no longer lie idly in that ſtrong towne. So found
F they there alſo many things written from the great Sultan himſelfe vnto this Baſſa, with great ſtore of coine, which all fell to the ſouldiors ſhare; inſomuch that by this ſo notable an exploit, ſo well performed, the publicke ſtate, together with the ſouldiors priuat, was not a little bettered. There amongſt other things were recouered threeſcore and ſix pieces of artillerie, which were knowne to haue beene ſometime the Emperours, and foure and twentie others, which the Baſſa had

Rab ſurpriſed by the Chriſtians.

Two of the Turks Baſſaes ſlaine.

A great booty.

had cauſed to be brought from BVDA with great ſtore of ſhot and pouder and other ſmall pie- G
ces, and meale ſufficient to haue ſerued foure thouſand men for a yeare and a halfe, but of wine
(little vſed of the Turkes) onely foure veſſels. In the Baſſaes pallace was alſo found of armour
and weapons of all ſorts, great ſtore, with abundance of cloth and apparrell, which was all giuen
in ſpoile to the ſouldiors. Thus RAB, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of Chriſtendome, not full
foure yeares before beſieged by *Sinan Baſſa* with 150 thouſand men, by the ſpace of almoſt
three moneths, and then at length by the treaſon of the Gouernour to him betraied; was now in
one night, by the valour and pollicie of a few reſolute men to their immortall glorie againe re-
ſtored to the Chriſtian common-weale, the nineteenth day of March in the yeare 1598. Of
which ſo notable a victorie, the Chriſtians rejoyced not a little both in HVNGARIE and elſe-
where: the great Sultan with the Turkes in the meane time no leſſe grieuing and ſtorming, as H
well for the loſſe of the towne before got with no ſmall charge, as for the death of his people
there ſlaine, to the number of about ſix thouſand and moe, with the loſſe of ſcarce ſix hundred
Chriſtians.

Yet for all this *Mahomet* the great Sultan ceaſed not to make great prouiſion for his wars in
HVNGARIE, and that greater than before; and ſo with greater furie alſo, to proſecute his wrath-
full indignation, to be reuenged vpon the Chriſtians. Whereunto order was giuen vnto *Ibra-*
him Baſſa his brother in law, and Generall of his armie, with all conuenient ſpeed to take the
field: which for all that fell out farre otherwiſe, for that now thinking to haue had all things in
good forwardneſſe, a great diſſention riſe betwixt the Ianizaries and the Spahi: the Ianizaries
being the beſt footmen, and the Spahi the beſt horſemen of the Turkiſh empire; both the faith- I
full keepers of the perſon of their prince, and the greateſt ſtrength of his ſtate: whereby it com-
meth to paſſe, that in ſetting forward towards the wars, theſe two ſorts of valiant ſouldiors, the
one ſtanding vpon their ſtrength, and the other vpon their honour, and both jealous of their re-
putation and credit, haue no good liking of one the other, but oftentimes, and eſpecially of late
in this corruption of their martiall diſcipline vnder their degenerat emperours, fall at ods among
themſelues, as now they did, to the great hinderance of their affaires, and trouble of their Gene-
rall. Inſomuch that to appeaſe this tumult, he was glad to put to death certaine of the inſolent
Ianizaries, refuſing to ſet forward as they were by their Aga commaunded. But proceeding far-
ther, and thinking to haue executed ſome others of them alſo, to the farther terrour of the reſt;
he was by them and their adherents put in ſuch feare of his life, that to auoid the preſent danger, K
he was glad to excuſe himſelfe by his lieutenant, laying all the blame vpon him as the cauſe ther-
of: who was therefore as a ſacrifice deliuered vnto the furie of the Ianizaries, by whom he was
preſently ſlaine, with ſome others of the Baſſa his followers. So theſe broiles with much adoe
ouerpaſt, *Ibrahim* hauing taken a generall reuiew of his armie at SOPHIA, there ſtaied, expecting
order from the great Sultan where to begin his wars, in HVNGARIE or in TRANSYLVANIA
(for as yet that was in queſtion:) which could not well be before the beginning of Iuly, by rea-
ſon of the ſcarcitie of victuals euen then ariſing in the campe: for the ſupplying whereof *Maho-*
met himſelfe had no ſmall care. But this long delay was the cauſe that a great number of the Ia-
nizaries comming from HADRIANOPLE, and hearing by the way that the Generall would not
as yet ſet forward, not knowing the cauſe of his ſtay, and doubting to be deceiued of their pro- L
miſed entertainment, were about to haue returned backe againe: which knowne at the Court,
commandement was preſently ſent thence vnto the Generall, without longer ſtay to ſet forward
towards HVNGARIE, which the more haſtened his departure with his armie.

A great tumult betweene the Ianizaries and the Spahi.

In this the Turks ſo long delay, the Chriſtians had good leiſure to prepare their new forces,
being now the latter end of Sommer: for well they might thinke that the enemie ſlept not,
knowing what prouiſion hee had made as well in CONSTANTINOPLE as in other places.
Wherefore reaſonably doubting, that Sommer well ſpent and Auguſt now at hand, he would
not ſo late turne his forces into the lower HVNGARIE, they thought it beſt to prouide for the
ſafetie of the vpper countrey: And to the end that the enemie approaching thoſe frontiers might
there find forces readie to encounter him, the lord *George Baſta*, a man of great experience and M
valour, was appointed lieutenant Generall for that countrey; to the great contentment of the
ſouldiors in generall, all ſhewing themſelues moſt readie at his commaund. The lord *Swart-*
zenburg in the meane time remaining in the lower HVNGARIE at RAB, with eight thouſand
good ſouldiors: and the Archduke *Matthias* at VIENNA for the diſpatch of *George Baſta*, and
the

A the hasting of him foeward: for that the vpper HVNGARIE to the great hurt thereof began now to feele the incursions of the Turkes and Tartars: besides that, he was afterwards to returne himselfe to speake with the emperour his brother, still expecting a Chiaus of the Turkes by the appointment of the Grand signior, sent by the way of POLONIA for PRAGE, to intreat with the emperour concerning a peace.

They of BVDA in the meane while seeing the delay of the Turks, of whom not one band yet appeared in those quarters; and on the other side perceiuing the great preparation of the Imperials, and the great garrison at RAB so neere at hand; began now to doubt some new resolution of the Christians: wherein they were no whit deceiued; for no armie of the Turks being then in field in the lower HVNGARIE, and the countrey plaine and open, the lord *Palfi* with a conueni-
B ent power and certaine pieces of batterie set forward to attempt the enterprise, and the sixteenth of October with sixteene pieces of artillerie began to batter the citie of BVDA, to the great feare and discomfiture of them within: hauing first taken the fort S. *Gerarde*, with hope to haue gained the rest also. For which cause, the men, the women, and all that dwelt in the citie, most instantly besought the Bassa, not to endure the destruction of the same, with the inhabitants and wealth thereof altogither; but being not able long to hold out against so furious a batterie, in time to hearken vnto some reasonable composition, that so they might yet euerie man at least with life depart. Whereunto the Bassa for all that would not hearken, but put them still in hope that they should be presently relieued. Howbeit the batterie still continuing, and they not able longer to endure the force of the Imperials, nor any relieue yet comming, they were glad at
C length to abandon the citie with the losse of two thousand of the Ianizaries, and but three hundred of the Christians slaine, and eight hundred hurt: the rest of the Turkes at the same time retiring themselues into the castle, where they might for a space deeme themselues safe. So the lord *Palfi* possessed of the citie, with all his forces laid siege vnto the castle, which although it were in some places shaken with the continuall furie of the cannon, yet were the defendants still readie to make good the same: insomuch, that *Palfi* vpon good hope of successe giuing thereunto a generall assault, was by their valour enforced to retire; they within in the meane time with great labour and industrie repairing the breaches and gaules made by the artillerie. So that *Palfi* considering the difficultie of the assault, thought it better by vndermining to shake the rock whereon the castle stood, than by a new assault to expose so many worthie men vnto so mani-
D fest a danger: which his purpose by the enemie discouered, was by them also by countermining disappointed: yet for all that were the Christians still in good hope by an other mine not yet by the enemie perceiued, to sort to the full of their desire: and the more, for that they saw not so much brauerie or shew of courage in the defendants as before. Who now kept themselues silent and quiet, as if they had been consulting about the yeelding vp of the castle, as men bereft of all hope of relieue and succour: the Christians being now possessed of a strong abbey and fortresse fast by, and hauing broken downe all the bridges ouer the Danubius, in such sort, as that the besieged could not receiue any relieue either by land or water. But forasmuch as the time of the yeare began now to grow tedious, and the winter weather sharpe, the Christians thought it not best there long to protract the time; and therefore resolued to present vnto the castle another
E generall assault, and at the same instant to blow vp the mine: but in giuing this assault, they were againe repulsed with the losse of two hundred men. At which time also a number of the Turks sallying out of the castle, courageously encountred the Christians, but not with successe answerable to their valour, being there almost all cut in pieces: neither did the mine take the desired effect, but being blowne vp did little or no harme at all. So that the Christians wearie of their long suffering of the extremitie of the weather, and withall considering the great courage of the defendants, were euen vpon the point to haue risen: yet willing to giue a fresh attempt by the mine, they began againe to worke in the same, and in hope to preuaile began to parley with the defendants about the giuing vp of the castle, but all to little or no purpose; for that the mine hauing taken no effect, the souldiors could hardly be drawne on through the deepe and muddie
F ditches, to giue a new assault. In fine, seeing no hope to preuaile, and hearing also of the comming of a great armie of the Turkes for the relieue of the besieged, they raised their siege, and at their departure burnt their suburbs, carrying away with them a great bootie: and so retiring towards STRIGONIVM, expected farther direction where to winter. Where shortly after order was taken, that the forces disbanded should be dispersed, some into the garrisons, and some into

Buda besieged by the Christians.

The Christians depart from the siege of Buda.

the countrey thereabout; to the intent they might ſo be in the more readineſſe with the firſt of the next Spring to take the field, or as occaſion ſhould ſerue to be otherwiſe imploied. G

But *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian prince in the mean time repenting himſelfe of the vnequall exchange he had made with the emperour, in diſguiſed apparell haſting in poſt out of SILESIA came to CLAVSENBVRG in TRANSYLVANIA: and there joyfully receiued of his ſubjects, and taking of them a new oath of obedience, by meſſengers ſent of purpoſe certified *Maximilian* the Archduke (appointed by the emperour for the gouernment of TRANSYLVANIA, and now vpon his way as farre as CASSOVIA) of the cauſes of his returne, perſuading him rather to conuert his forces againſt the Turkes for the recouerie of AGRIA, than to trouble himſelfe to come any farther for TRANSYLVANIA, now againe by him to the great contentment of his ſubjects repoſſeſſed: as did alſo the princeſſe his wife (*Maximilian* his couſin german) wiſhing him to H conſider what hurt and diſhonour he ſhould doe vnto the Emperour his majeſtie, himſelfe, the Roman empire, and the whole Chriſtian common-weale in generall, if in ſo dangerous a time hee ſhould attempt any thing againſt the prince her husband, and vnto him by her ſo neerely allied.

Veradinum beſieged by the Turks.

Now the Turkes great armie being come into the vpper HVNGARIE, lay encamped vnder the wals of the ſtrong citie of VERADINVM, where that worthie captaine *George Baſta* was lieutenant Generall for the emperour: but not hauing ſuch ſtrength, as without farther helpe to go againſt ſo mightie an enemie, or to relieue the beſieged citie, not as then furniſhed with a ſufficient garriſon, he gaue knowledge thereof vnto *Maximilian* the Archduke, who (as is aforeſaid) with a conuenient power was but a little before come to CASSOVIA, to haue gone into TRANSYLVANIA, had he not there by the way been ſtaied by embaſſadours from the prince *Sigiſmund* but lately before returned out of SILESIA; and hauing againe taken vpon him the gouernment, by theſe his embaſſadors requeſted him no farther to trouble himſelfe with that journey, offering to giue him aid againſt the Turkes whenſoeuer he ſhould require it. The beſieged neuertheleſſe in the meane time notably defended themſelues, and with certaine braue ſallies did the enemie great harme; ſtill expecting, that *Baſta* the lieutenant, or the Tranſyluanian prince, or *Maximilian* the Archduke, or they all with their vnited forces ſhould ſend them reliefe: vnto whom they gaue knowledge the nineteenth of October, how that the Turkes with all the force and furie they had vſed, had as yet little preuayled, being by their valour ſtill repulſed, and with many ſharpe ſallies to their great loſſe encountred, and ſome of their great ordinance cloyed, in K ſuch ſort, as that they were in good hope to protract the time vntill they might by them their friends be relieued: yet not doubting, but that the Turkes according to their wonted manner, would doe what they might to ſubdue them. According to whoſe expectation, the Tranſyluanian prince with a great power taking the field to haue relieued them, was letted ſo to doe by the Tartars, to that purpoſe ſtirred vp by the Turks: ſo that he could by no meanes joyne his forces with *Maximilians*, for looking to the ſafetie of his owne people and countrey. Yet in token of forwardneſſe, he ſent certaine companies of braue ſouldiors vnto the lieutenant *Baſta*: who vnderſtanding that of two thouſand good ſouldiors in garriſon in the citie at the beginning of the ſiege, there were ſcarce ſeauen hundred left aliue, all the reſt being with continuall aſſaults ſlaine or mortally wounded, vſed a notable ſtratageme to delude the enemie withall: for hauing put L his men in good order, and comming brauely on, as if he would euen preſently haue joyned battell (a thing which the Turkes moſt deſired) whileſt they likewiſe with great ſtirre were putting themſelues in order of battell, and wholly buſied therein, he by an other way (of the Turks leaſt ſuſpected) cunningly thruſt into the citie eight hundred good ſouldiors; and that done, preſently retired againe into his trenches, wherein he ſtrongly encamped feared not all the Turkes forces: who thinking euen then to haue come to a day of battell, and ſtill in vaine expecting the ſame, returned deceiued by this fineneſſe. And ſo ſhortly after (enforced by continuall foule weather) raiſed their ſiege, not without great difficultie and danger (reliefe lying ſo neere at hand, and the defendants ſtrengthned with new ſupplies) to haue beene longer maintained. So paſſed the troubles of this yeare, with no gaine but great loſſe of the Turkes: who at their departure en- M forced by the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather and feare togither, left behind them in their trenches many tents, with ſome great pieces of artillerie, being not able to conuay the ſame by water to BVDA: and withall fearing greatly to be encountred by the forces of *Baſta*, ſtrengthned with new ſupplies euen then ſent vnto him from the emperour.

A new ſupply put into Veradinum by Baſta.

The

A The Archduke *Matthias*, *Swartzenburg*, and the other commaunders of the armie in the lower HVNGARIE, being twelue thouſand ſtrong, with the garriſon ſouldiors of RAB, STRIGONIVM, and KOMARA, in the meane time becauſe they would not ſtand idle, togither with the Hungarian horſemen, ouerran all the countrey thereabout euen vnto the gates of BVDA: in good hope alſo to haue met with 8000 Turks (as they were by their eſpials aduertiſed) comming towards PESTH with victuals for the reliefe of the caſtle of BVDA.

Whileſt things thus paſſed in HVNGARIE, *Mahomet* to ſhew his greatneſſe, as alſo the more to keepe the Chriſtian princes in ſuſpence, ſent *Cicala* (or as the Turkes call him *Cigala*) *Baſſa* his Admirall with a great fleet to ſea: wherewith being come vpon the coaſt of SICILIA, he requeſted the Viceroy of that kingdome, to ſend him abourd his fleet the ladie *Lucretia* his
B mother, which dwelt in MESSINA, for that he greatly deſired to ſee her and to doe her honour; promiſing ſo quietly to depart without any harme doing. And the Viceroy againe conſidering how that the angrie renegat for the like courteſie to him at an other time before denied, had in his rage done great harme all alongſt the ſea coaſt; couenanting with him to ſend her in ſafetie backe againe, ſent her honourably accompanied abourd the Admirall gally: whom *Cicala* her ſonne receiued with great joy and triumph, and hauing kept her with him one day with all the honour that might be, according to his promiſe ſent her backe againe to MESSINA; and ſo without any harme done for her ſake to any part of Chriſtendome, peaceably returned backe againe with his fleet.

Now in the meane time *Michael* the Vayuod of VALACHIA with good forces of his owne,
C becauſe he would be doing ſomething alſo, reſolued to giue an attempt vpon NICOPOLIS, a citie of the Turkes in BVLGARIA: and ſo giuing order to his people, cauſed a bridge to be made ouer Danubius to paſſe that great riuer by. Whereof the Baſſaes of SILISTRIA and BADOVA vnderſtanding, thought good with all their power to diſturbe him in that worke: and ſo comming, as the ſaid bridge was by the Vayuod his ſouldiors laid ouer the riuer vpon boats, without farther ſtay attempted to haue broken the ſame, to the intent that the Vayuod ſhould not that way paſſe. Who haſting thither with his armie, reſcued his worke, and enforced the Baſſaes to forſake the exploit by them begun: where betwixt them for a ſpace was fought a moſt hard conflict, vntill at length the Turks were with a great ſlaughter ouerthrowne; and ſo glad, ſome here, ſome there, by flight as they might to ſaue their liues. After which victorie, he without let paſſing
D ouer the riuer with his whole forces, came & encamped vnder the wals of NICOPOLIS: where they of the citie vnderſtanding of the late ſlaughter of the Turks, and finding themſelues not able to hold out againſt the force and valour of the Valachies, and now out of hope of any helpe or reliefe in time to come from the Turkes, without farther reſiſtance yeelded themſelues into the power of the Vayuod. Who hauing ſacked the citie and ſet it on fire, caried thence a great ſpoile and bootie, with a number of the Bulgarians: chuſing out the beſt and moſt able bodies amongſt them to ſerue him in his wars, and appointing the reſt to inhabit & manure the waſted places of VALACHIA. The report of this ouerthrow giuen vnto the Turks by the Valachian, with the ſacking of NICOPOLIS, running abroad, brought a generall feare vpon the Turkes euen in the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE. For the ſtaying whereof *Mahomet* commaunded the
E chiefe of his Baſſaes, with a great power of tumultuarie ſoldiors taken vp in haſt to go forthwith againſt the Vayuod, to ſtay the courſe of his farther proceedings, to the diſmaying of his people, himſelfe thundring out moſt horrible threats againſt him: who encouraged with his late victorie, and well acquainted with the Turks manners, little regarded the ſame, as knowing that he was not with words but with armes to be vanquiſhed.

Nicopolis ſacked and burnt by the Vayuod.

Now *Mahomet* the Turkiſh emperour oppreſſed with melancholie to ſee himſelfe at once 1599
aſſailed with the plague then raging in CONSTANTINOPLE, the bloudie wars in HVNGARIE, and the horrible mortalitie and loſſe of his people in both places; and withall not ignorant of the euill ſucceſſe of his armie at VERADINVM, & of the great harme done at NICOPOLIS by the Valachian: yet for all that ceaſed not in what he might to prouide for ſo many euils, but gaue or-
F der to *Taut Baſſa* with all ſpeed to ſet forward (as we haue ſaid) from CONSTANTINOPLE toward VALACHIA; as from whence he feared the greateſt danger: who without delay to make the Vayuod to vnderſtand how highly the great Sultan was diſpleaſed with him, put himſelfe vpon the way with ſix hundred Ianizaries towards HADRIANOPLE, with purpoſe there to Winter vntill the Spring, and ſo to expect the comming of the reſt of the armie, that ſo with the

ſame, vnited vnto the forces of *Mehemet Satergi* (who the laſt yeare beſieged VERADINVM) G
he might in the field appeare more terrible vnto his enemies. The Chriſtian Emperour alſo at
the ſame time reſted much diſcontented, that his people in ſo faire a way for the winning of the
caſtle of BVDA, had yet failed thereof: the Wallons laying the fault vpon the lords *Swartzen-*
burg, *Palfi*, and the reſt of the commaunders, that it was not woon; for that when they as vali-
ant men offered to haue done therein the vttermoſt of their deuoir, their leaders had made choiſe
by the ſpade and mattocke rather than by the ſword to performe the ſame.

The Turkes againe ſpoiled by the Vayuod.

But *Michael* the Vayuod ſeeing the Turkes not a little diſmayed with the ſacking of NICO-
POLIS, began afreſh to their greater terrour and hurt to make new inrodes vpon them, in ſuch
ſort, as that he was entred an hundred miles into their territorie: againſt whom *Mehemet Satergi*
(as yet the Turkes generall in HVNGARIE) comming with his forces, he againe retired, carrying H
away with him the ſpoile of the countrey by him waſted.

Buda diſtreſſed.

They of BVDA in the meane time fearing ſome ſudden aſſault to bee giuen vpon them, and
ſuffering within great want of victuals, expected long to be relieued both with victuals and other
neceſſaries: vnderſtanding yet withall, that the Grand ſignior had cauſed it to bee giuen out in
CONSTANTINOPLE, that he was raiſing a great power of his beſt and moſt expert ſouldiors,
and had therefore ſent for vnto the Court all his old men of warre, ſuch as had ſerued in the wars
of PERSIA, to be now againe employed in HVNGARIE. Where the Turks in the meane time
prouiding to relieue the diſtreſſed citie of BVDA both with men and many other neceſſaries;
certaine reſolute Hungarians vnderſtanding by their eſpials, that one of the Turkes Baſſaes with
three thouſand ſouldiors was comming thither to encreaſe the garriſon, laied themſelues cloſe in I
ambuſh in a place whereby the Turkes were to paſſe: where they had not long ſtayed, but
that the Turks as men without feare diſorderedly paſsing by, were by them with ſuch force and
furie aſſailed, that in a moment, when they leaſt thought, they were ouerthrowne and put to
flight, with the loſſe of many of their horſes, much money and jewels, and many captaines there
taken priſoners, the Baſſa himſelfe with much adoe hardly eſcaping into the citie. But ſhortly af-
ter foure hundred Chriſtians ſcouring the countrey about BVDA, and hauing taken a good boo-
tie of cattell and other pillage, returning loaded with the prey, were by the way aſſaulted by the
Turks, and enforced to forſake the ſame, and to fight for their liues: whom for all that they nota-
bly repulſed, with the ſlaughter of diuers of them, and ſo againe recouering their bootie, returned
with victorie. And about this time or not long after in the vpper HVNGARIE, a great power of K
the Turkes and Tartars hauing forraged a great part of that countrey, and done the Chriſtians
great harme, came before CASSOVIA, making ſhew as if they would euen preſently haue beſie-
ged that citie: which put the inhabitants in ſuch a feare, that many of them without further de-
liberation fled forthwith as faſt as they could into the mountaines, thinking themſelues more
ſafe there than in the citie. Neuertheleſſe, by the perſuaſion of *George Baſta*, the emperours lieu-
tenant in thoſe parts, two thouſand valiant and expert ſouldiors ſtaied there with him, expecting
what the Turks would doe: who approching the wals, demaunded of them of the citie a great
ſumme of money, by way of contribution, threatening otherwiſe the vtter ruine and deſtruction
thereof. Which their proud demaund was by *Baſta* ſtoutly rejected, and they with the loſſe of a
great many of their liues enforced to get them further off. Wherfore ſeeing themſelues not able L
to preuaile againſt a citie ſo well prouided, they for feare by night riſe, and departed quite ano-
ther way than that whereby they came, doing great harme ſtill as they went. The free Haiduckes
of VALACHIA alſo, a warlike kind of people, liuing for the moſt part vpon prey, and willing to
ſhew ſome token of their hatred toward the Turkes, by certaine bridges paſsing ouer the Danu-
bius, encountered with the Baſſa of NATOLIA with a great power, whom they ouerthrew with
much ſlaughter of his people, and the loſſe of his brother there ſlaine alſo: and ſo afterwards
ouerrunning the countrey, did there exceeding harme, and tooke the ſame Baſſa his ſonne priſo-
ner. Thus paſſed the Winter with many light skirmiſhes and incurſions in diuers parts of HVN-
GARIE and other the frontier countries, which had done great harme, had it not beene before
hand well prouided for by the Imperials; who in moſt places ſtrengthened with new ſupplies, M
ſtayed the furie of their barbarous enemies. *Maximilian* the Archduke in the meane time com-
ming from PRAGE to VIENNA, found himſelfe there to haue in his campe but foure and twen-
tie thouſand foot and ten thouſand horſe, readie againſt the next Spring (diuers of the Germane
princes this yeare not ſending thither any aid at all, by reaſon of their troubles neerer home, with
the

A the Spaniards in the lower ſide of GERMANIE) which made him the more to dread the enemies comming, who he knew after his accuſtomed manner would that Summer appeare in the field with a farre greater number. But to haue holpen this want, the great duke of MVSCOVIE about this time, by his embaſſadours amongſt other things requeſted leaue of the Polonian, for fortie thouſand horſemen to paſſe through his countrey, which horſemen he had determined (as hee ſaid) to ſend in aid of the emperour againſt the Turke. Which his requeſt the Polonian would by no meanes graunt, as dangerous to his eſtate. Wherefore the Muſcouite offended with the Polonian, ſent other his embaſſadours vnto the emperour by ſea: who embarked in an Engliſh ſhip in the port of S. *Nicholas*, and ſayling about the kingdomes of SWEDEN, NORWAY, and
B DENMARKE, after long trouble at ſea, at length arriued at STOAD, and ſo from thence by land trauelling to HAMBOROW, LVBECKE, and MAIDENBOROW, and in euery place honourably entertained, came at laſt vnto the emperour into BOHEMIA, then lying at PLISENA, for that the plague was then hot at PRAGE: where they hauing with great ſtate deliuered their preſents and letters of credence vnto the emperour, had audience, and were by him moſt honourably vſed. Yet the Polonian hauing thus denied the Muſcouite paſſage, ſuffered the Turkes embaſſadour, who called himſelfe *Gabriel* a Iew, to paſſe through his countrey vnto the emperour, to entreat with him of a peace to be made betwixt him and the Turke. Which *Gabriel* comming to PRAGE as embaſſador from the great Turke, and hauing no letters of credence to ſhew for his negotiation (for that they were, as he ſaid, vpon the way taken from him by the Polonian Coſſackes, and certaine of his retinue ſlaine) was there taken for a ſpie, and ſo ſent to VIENNA:
C where at his firſt arriuall he was well vſed in a common Inne: but the night following being taken in his chamber by the Martiall, was ſo clapt faſt in priſon, with as many yrons vpon him as hee could beare, and all his followers with gyues vpon their legs compelled as ſlaues daily to worke in the towne ditch.

The Turks embaſſadour taken for a ſpie, and impriſoned at Vienna.

About this time alſo *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian prince (whom hitherto all men admired as a man euen ſent from heauen, for the benefit of his country and of the Chriſtian commonweale) by a wonderfull change gaue a moſt manifeſt token of a diuers and vnconſtant nature, to the great wonder of the world: For hauing broken the agreement made with the emperour the laſt yeare, and being ſecretly in poſt returned out of SILESIA into TRANSYLVANIA, and againe taken vpon him the gouernment (as is before declared) and hauing withall requeſted himſelfe
D and the Tranſyluanians his countreymen to be diſcharged of the oath of obedience and loyaltie by them before giuen vnto the emperour, and the citie of VERADINVM, with the country thereabout, to be againe reſtored vnto him; and the emperour pauſing thereupon: did now (doubting of his owne abilitie for the keeping of that countrey) in the beginning of this yeare 1599, by his embaſſadours the Biſhop of ALBA IVLIA, and *Stephen Paſchai* his Chancellour, ſent of purpoſe vnto the emperour, requeſt him to haue the firſt agreements againe renewed, and the principalitie of TREBNITZ in MORAVIA, to be added vnto the two dukedomes of OPPELL and RATIBOR in SILESIA, with fiftie thouſand duckats to be yearely paied vnto him out of the chamber of the empire; and a generall pardon to be giuen vnto all the Tranſyluanians, that following him had of late reuolted from the emperour, and their auntient liberties to be againe vn-
E to euery one of them confirmed. With all which conditions obtained at the emperours hands (as of him that ſaw how needfull it was for him by any meanes to keepe that ſtrong countrey in his power) the ſame embaſſadours with their diſpatch returned from PRAGE the nineteenth of Aprill.

But *Sigiſmund* in the meane time at home, was entred into new conceits with certaine of the Polonian nobilitie, farre differing from his former agreement with the emperour: and hauing ſent for one of the Turkes Chiaus from CONSTANTINOPLE, and for his couſin *Andrew Bathor* the proud Cardinall out of BORVSIA, and ſo meeting with them in an obſcure village in the confines of TRANSYLVANIA, towards POLONIA, accompanied with certain of the chiefeſt of the ſtates of his countrey: there in the preſence of the Polonians and of the Turkiſh em-
F baſſadour, reſigned all the right and title he had in the countrey of TRANSYLVANIA vnto the Cardinall his couſin, commaunding all the States there preſent to ſweare vnto him their obedience and fidelitie: who ſhortly after together with the Polonian embaſſador ſent one of his eſpeciall fauourits to CONSTANTINOPLE, to deſire ſafe conduct for his embaſſadours to bee ſent thither to conclude of all matters with the Turke. Which meſſenger ſo ſent, together with the Polo-

Sigiſmund yeeldeth his countrey of Tranſylnania vnto the Cardinall Bathor his couſin.

Polonian embaſſadour, were both courteouſly receiued in the Turks Court, and as with an eſpe- G
ciall fauour rewarded with right ſumptuous garments, and charge giuen them, That the Cardi-
nall within three moneths next ſhould ſend thither a ſolemne embaſſadour, with the old accu-
ſtomed tribute by the Turke demaunded. Thus through the inconſtancie of the prince, the am-
bition of the proud Cardinall, and the foule colluſion of the Polonian, the countrey of TRAN-
SYLVANIA (one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of that ſide of Chriſtendome) falling from the obedi-
ence of the emperour, and ſo in ſort bereft from the Chriſtian commonweale, became againe tri-
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they had brought for the reliefe of the ſame, being letted ſo to doe by the Imperials; who about
a league off diligently attended euery motion of the enemie: from whence the lord *Swartzen-
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the greateſt part of them that were left: amongſt whom the Baſſa his ſonne, with the Aga of the
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A sand Turkes, which conducted it vp the riuer. Of all which the Imperials vnderstanding, the lord *Palfi* dispatched his lieutenant with a conuenient power, and the captaine of the Hussars with his followers, all good and valiant souldiors, to cut off this conuoy: Who to make the matter short, suddenly assailing them, and so comming to handy blowes, cut in peeces the conuoy, and rifled the ships, of whom the greater part were there sunke in the deepe riuer; and so tooke an exceeding great bootie, deemed to be worth a million of gold: where amongst other things of great value, there was found abourd an hundred thousand dollars, which were all deuided amongst the souldiors as a reward of their trauell. This great ouerthrow once knowne at BVDA, ALBA REGALIS, and the cities thereabouts, brought vpon them a great feare: yea the armie of *Ibrahim* grew thereby much discontented, as being at once disappointed both of their victu-
B als and their pay. Besides that, the Imperials ouerran all the countrey thereabout, ransacking, sacking, and destroying the countrey villages and castles without mercie, although the poore inhabitants offered them large contribution to haue staied their furie, which would not bee accepted. Vpon this notable ouerthrow also the lord *Swartzenburg* was determined with all his forces to come againe to the siege of BVDA, in hope in so great a discomfiture and want of victuals to haue had it deliuered vnto him; and for that purpose sent for certaine great pieces of artillerie to VIENNA. But whilest things went thus well in the lower HVNGARIE, colonell *Rodolet* of S. *Andrewes* in the vpper countrey, tooke occasion also vpon this ouerthrow of the Turkes with fiue hundred horse and six hundred foot, to shew himselfe with this small companie before AGRIA, hauing yet left the greatest part of his forces a little off in secret ambush: Which small companie
C the Bassa of AGRIA beholding, presently put himselfe in arms, and so sallying out, began an hot and braue skirmish: when suddenly the other souldiors left in ambush starting out and couragiously assailing their enemies, brake their order, & put them to flight, pursuing them at the heeles euen to the gates of the citie: and had there beene a greater force of footmen, it was verely thought, that the Turks (dismaied with the flight, and altogether confounded) had abandoned the defence of the place, and the Christians euen then become masters of the citie, which had beene the cause of their notable ouerthrow in the yeare 1596. Neuertheless they with great brauerie and small losse retired, hauing slaine a great number of the Turkes, and carrying away with them an hundred prisoners, with a bootie of fiue hundred horse, and much other cattell.

The Turkes receiue a notable ouerthrow vpon the riuer of Danubius.

The free Haiduckes also strengthened with new supplies, had done great harme in the coun-
D trey about BVDA, scouring freely all ouer it; finding none to oppose themselues against them: for which cause the poore Christians, which yet dwelt in that country, rise vp against the Turks, promising their obedience vnto the emperour: and moreouer, to the intent they might bee no more molested by the Imperials, offered to take vp armes themselues against the enemie, and to the vttermost of their power to hinder his passage both by land and water. These same Haiduckes also had broken downe all the bridges which the Turkes had made betwixt BVDA and ALBA REGALIS, to the end they should not that way commodiously bring either victuals or munition from the one place to the other. And the lord *Palfi* and *Nadasti* vnderstanding by their espials, That the Tartars deuided into three companies, had ouerrun a great part of the country, and with a great bootie were retiring towards BVDA, presently went out against them and en-
E forced them to fight: which barbarous people, better inured to filtch than to fight, there lost all their liues, together with that they had before stolne. After which victorie, these valiant men turning their forces against certaine other places of the Turkes there by, tooke two of their castles with much rich spoile: which castles they sacked and burnt, together with the great towne of ZOLNA, breaking downe also the bridge vpon the riuer Traua.

Now at this time the Turkes at BVDA held themselues malecontent within the citie, hauing
F no Gouernour; their Bassa being before taken by the Haiduckes, and they themselues pinched also with great want of victuals: Wherefore doubting some sudden attempt of the Christians, as men dismaied, they for their more safetie, retired themselues into the castle, a place of great strength, leauing the citie vnto the Imperials then readie to haue besieged it: but doubting of the Turkes great armie, which as they heard was marching thitherwards, the auauntguard thereof being come to MOATHES, where *Sarles Bassa* was also looked for; the report being giuen out, that the Turkes hauing relieued BVDA, would go to besiege CANISA or else STRIGONIVM, they staied to go any farther, as men in doubt what to resolue vpon. So were sent certaine colonels And other captaines with their souldiors, to fortifie certaine passages whereby the Turkes

The Turkes for fake the citie of Buda, and flie into the castle.

Polonian embaſſadour, were both courteouſly receiued in the Turks Court, and as with an eſpe- G
ciall fauour rewarded with right ſumptuous garments, and charge giuen them, That the Cardi-
nall within three moneths next ſhould ſend thither a ſolemne embaſſadour, with the old accu-
ſtomed tribute by the Turke demaunded. Thus through the inconſtancie of the prince, the am-
bition of the proud Cardinall, and the foule colluſion of the Polonian, the countrey of TRAN-
SYLVANIA (one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of that ſide of Chriſtendome) falling from the obedi-
ence of the emperour, and ſo in ſort bereft from the Chriſtian commonweale, became againe tri-
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Now the Turkes in BVDA not able longer to endure the great famine therein, had moſt ear- H
neſtly requeſted reliefe from the other Turkes their friends in HVNGARIE, who on all hands ran
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a league off diligently attended euery motion of the enemie: from whence the lord *Swartzen-
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The Baſſa of Bu-da taken priſo-ner. an ambuſh of the Haiduckes, who after their manner fiercely encountered him, and putting him
to flight, tooke him priſoner, his horſe in the chaſe falling vnder him: whom his ſouldiours ſee- I
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A ſand Turkes, which conducted it vp the riuer. Of all which the Imperials vnderſtanding, the lord *Palfi* diſpatched his lieutenant with a conuenient power, and the captaine of the Huſſars with his followers, all good and valiant ſouldiors, to cut off this conuoy: Who to make the matter ſhort, ſuddenly aſſailing them, and ſo comming to handy blowes, cut in peeces the conuoy, and rifled the ſhips, of whom the greater part were there ſunke in the deepe riuer; and ſo tooke an exceeding great bootie, deemed to be worth a million of gold: where amongſt other things of great value, there was found abourd an hundred thouſand dollars, which were all deuided amongſt the ſouldiors as a reward of their trauell. This great ouerthrow once knowne at BVDA, ALBA REGALIS, and the cities thereabouts, brought vpon them a great feare: yea the armie of *Ibrahim* grew thereby much diſcontented, as being at once diſappointed both of their victu-
B als and their pay. Beſides that, the Imperials ouerran all the countrey thereabout, ranſacking, ſacking, and deſtroying the countrey villages and caſtles without mercie, although the poore inhabitants offered them large contribution to haue ſtaied their furie, which would not bee accepted. Vpon this notable ouerthrow alſo the lord *Swartzenburg* was determined with all his forces to come againe to the ſiege of BVDA, in hope in ſo great a diſcomfiture and want of victuals to haue had it deliuered vnto him; and for that purpoſe ſent for certaine great pieces of artillerie to VIENNA. But whileſt things went thus well in the lower HVNGARIE, colonell *Rodoler* of S. *Andrewes* in the vpper countrey, tooke occaſion alſo vpon this ouerthrow of the Turkes with fiue hundred horſe and ſix hundred foot, to ſhew himſelfe with this ſmall companie before AGRIA, hauing yet left the greateſt part of his forces a little off in ſecret ambuſh: Which ſmall companie
C the Baſſa of AGRIA beholding, preſently put himſelfe in arms, and ſo ſallying out, began an hot and braue skirmiſh: when ſuddenly the other ſouldiors left in ambuſh ſtarting out and couragiouſly aſſailing their enemies, brake their order, & put them to flight, purſuing them at the heeles euen to the gates of the citie: and had there beene a greater force of footmen, it was verely thought, that the Turks (diſmaied with the flight, and altogether confounded) had abandoned the defence of the place, and the Chriſtians euen then become maſters of the citie, which had beene the cauſe of their notable ouerthrow in the yeare 1596. Neuertheleſſe they with great brauerie and ſmall loſſe retired, hauing ſlaine a great number of the Turkes, and carrying away with them an hundred priſoners, with a bootie of fiue hundred horſe, and much other cattell.

The Turkes receiue a notable ouerthrow vpon the riuer of Danubius.

The free Haiduckes alſo ſtrengthened with new ſupplies, had done great harme in the coun-
D trey about BVDA, ſcouring freely all ouer it; finding none to oppoſe themſelues againſt them: for which cauſe the poore Chriſtians, which yet dwelt in that country, riſe vp againſt the Turks, promiſing their obedience vnto the emperour: and moreouer, to the intent they might bee no more moleſted by the Imperials, offered to take vp armes themſelues againſt the enemie, and to the vttermoſt of their power to hinder his paſſage both by land and water. Theſe ſame Haiduckes alſo had broken downe all the bridges which the Turkes had made betwixt BVDA and ALBA REGALIS, to the end they ſhould not that way commodiouſly bring either victuals or munition from the one place to the other. And the lord *Palfi* and *Nadaſti* vnderſtanding by their eſpials, That the Tartars deuided into three companies, had ouerrun a great part of the country, and with a great bootie were retiring towards BVDA, preſently went out againſt them and en-
E forced them to fight: which barbarous people, better inured to filtch than to fight, there loſt all their liues, together with that they had before ſtolne. After which victorie, theſe valiant men turning their forces againſt certaine other places of the Turkes there by, tooke two of their caſtles with much rich ſpoile: which caſtles they ſacked and burnt, together with the great towne of ZOLNA, breaking downe alſo the bridge vpon the riuer Traua.

Now at this time the Turkes at BVDA held themſelues malecontent within the citie, hauing no Gouernour; their Baſſa being before taken by the Haiduckes, and they themſelues pinched alſo with great want of victuals: Wherefore doubting ſome ſudden attempt of the Chriſtians, as men diſmaied, they for their more ſafetie, retired themſelues into the caſtle, a place of great ſtrength, leauing the citie vnto the Imperials then readie to haue beſieged it: but doubting of the
F Turkes great armie, which as they heard was marching thitherwards, the auauntguard thereof being come to MOATHSA, where *Sarles Baſſa* was alſo looked for; the report being giuen out, that the Turkes hauing relieued BVDA, would go to beſiege CANISA or elſe STRIGONIVM, they ſtaied to go any farther, as men in doubt what to reſolue vpon. So were ſent certaine colonels and other captaines with their ſouldiors, to fortifie certaine paſſages whereby the Turkes

The Turkes for feare forſake the citie of Buda, and flie into the caſtle.

The Christians vpon the approch of the Turkes great armie retire.

Turkes armie was to passe. The rest in the meane time retiring, for that the puissant enemie began now to approch; as also for that they knew the great desire that *Ibrahim Bassa* had to recouer again STRIGONIVM, and had therefore sent a great number of Tartars to forrage and wast the countrey, and so suddenly hauing relieued BVDA and AGRIA, there to resolue whether to turne his forces. The Imperials in the meane time encamping neere vnto HATVVAN and ZOLNOK, to hinder the Turkes from victualling of BVDA, as they desired, cut off fiue hundred of them at their first attiuall, who to that purpose were going towards BVDA; and tooke also one of the Turkes Chiaus prisoner: who sent from *Ibrahim* the Generall, was going to AGRIA, to put them in hope of their speedie reliefe. They also at the same time attempted to haue surprised ZOLNOK: where a good number of them with certaine Petardes approching the gates, in hope so to haue broken them open, being discouered by the watch, were inforced to retire, leauing fortie behind them slaine, and carrying away with them many moe of their fellowes wounded: in reuenge whereof, the rest shewed their furie vpon the countrey thereabout, destroying the villages, and intercepting a great deale of munition, which together with other victuals they met by the way as it was going to BVDA and AGRIA. G H

Summer now almost spent, *Ibrahim* the great Bassa in the beginning of September came to BVDA with an armie of an hundred and thirtie thousand strong, and from thence in the name of his great lord and master gaue the emperour to vnderstand at PRAGE, That for the sauing of further effusion of innocent bloud, and not for any feare or distrust of his owne strength and power, hee could bee content to hearken vnto some reasonable conditions or treatie of peace. Whereunto both these great princes (hauing well wearied themselues with these long warres, and exhausted their treasures) seemed not now vnwilling, expecting (as was thought) nothing more than for the honour to be the first entreated: and the rather, for that the old Sultanesse, *Mahomet* his mother (whom by the weakenesse of her sonnes gouernment, such as neuer was in any the *Othoman* kings or emperours before, beareth the greatest sway in his affaires) seemed in what she might to further the same. Wherefore in the latter end of September a place was agreed vpon for a parley for peace, which was in an island in the riuer of Danubie beneath STRIGONIVM: whither the lords *Swartzenburg*, *Nadasti*, *Palfi*, and the bishop of VACCIA, being come for the emperours; and *Amurath* the Bassa of BVDA, with the lieutenant Generall of the Tartars, and some others for the Grand signior: the Turkes at the first (after their vnreasonable manner) demaunded to haue RAB, STRIGONIVM, FILEK, SETCHIN, with all the rest of the townes and castles in fiue yeares before taken from them by the Christians, to bee now againe surrendered vnto them, with a certaine yearely tribute by the emperour to be paied vnto the great Sultan at CONSTANTINOPLE; as also there to haue his embassadour leiger continually attending vpon the Turkes Court: for which they offered to deliuer againe vnto the emperour the citie of AGRIA onely. All which their proud and vnreasonable demaunds being by the aforesaid commissioners on the emperours behalfe rejected, they were contented to come to some more reasonable talke, offering to leaue vnto the emperour RAB and AGRIA (whereof RAB was his owne alreadie) onely for STRIGONIVM, exchanging as it were STRIGONIVM for AGRIA. Which when it could neither bee obtained, the parley was so broken off, and nothing concluded, and so the warres againe continued, without any memorable thing more this yeare betwixt them done, either on the one side or the other: the Christians contenting themselues to haue distressed the chiefe cities the Turkes held in HVNGARIE, and the Turks no lesse apaied to haue relieued the same. I K L

A parley for peace.

Michael the Vayuod with a great armie entreth into Transyluania.

But whilest things thus passed betwixt the Christians and the Turks in HVNGARIE, *Michael* the Vayuod of VALACHIA, yet the emperours friend and confederat, and vnder his protection, certainely enformed his life to be sought after in the Turkes Court by the ambitious Cardinall *Bathor* his enuious neighbour, but lately become the prince of TRANSYLVANIA (as is before declared:) by commaundement from the emperour, and to be reuenged of so great a wrong, as also betimes to prouide for his owne safetie, with an armie of threescore thousand strong suddenly entred into TRANSYLVANIA, in most horrible manner burning the countrey and killing the people before him as he went. Where whilest the Cardinall (who was thought to haue purposed to haue serued him in like sort, had he not beene by him preuented) was making head against him, heist the meane time had the citie of CRONON (commonly called BRASSO) with the strong castle of Fogaras, yeelded vnto him: from whence he marching towards ALBA IVLIA, the M

A the ſix and twentith of October with all his armie, before deuided into three parts, but now againe vnited, came into the plains neere TEMISON, about three leagues from HERMENSTAT: where vnderſtanding that his lieutenant corrupted by *Ibrahim Baſſa*, had promiſed to kill him; and now well aſſured thereof, to rid himſelfe of that danger, with his owne hands preſently cut his throat, and ſo diſpatched him. When by and by after came vnto him the Popes Nuntio, ſent by a fineneſſe from the Cardinall, accompanied with another embaſſadour, the better to countenance out the matter, telling him, that the ſame embaſſadour had commiſsion from the emperor, to will him forthwith to deſiſt from armes, and without further delay to depart out of TRANSYLVANIA. Which thing ſeeming vnto the Vayuod very ſtrange and almoſt impoſsible, hee deſired to ſee the ſaid commiſsion. Whereunto the Nuntio before inſtructed, anſwered, that he
B had left it with the Cardinall himſelfe: but I (ſaid the Vayuod) haue one here preſent from the emperour of another purport, which I purpoſe fully to put in execution: yet was he for that day entreated by the Nuntio to ſtay his armie. And ſo in the meane time lying both ſtill, and in great ſuſpence, the Vayuod deſired to know of the Nuntio the cauſe why the Cardinall forgetting himſelfe, ſo troubled that countrey, by intruding himſelfe thereinto, to the great prejudice of them vnto whom it of better right belonged, not attending vnto the gouernment of the Church, better beſeeming his calling than the managing of arms, to the diſturbance of the Chriſtian peace. Whereunto he receiued no anſwere. So the eight and twentith of October, a day dedicated to the commemoration of the Apoſtles *Simon* and *Iude*, theſe meſſengers were ſent backe againe vnto the Cardinall: who preſently returned them back vnto the Vayuod with new
C inſtructions (being then buſie with his young ſonne, in ſetting his men in order of battell, preſently to goe againſt the Cardinall:) of whom they could get no other anſwer, but that he was reſolued forthwith to come vnto the triall of a battell with him. So the two armies lying encamped not paſt a quarter of a league the one from the other, and the ſame day meeting together, joyned a moſt terrible and cruell battell, which for the ſpace of fiue houres was with ſuch deſperat obſtinacie fought, as if they had euery man vowed to haue carried away the victorie ouer his enemie, or there to haue left themſelues dead vpon the ground; vntill the Cardinals people at length ouercome in a long and bloudie fight, were there vtterly ouerthrowne: amongſt whom were thirtie thouſand Turkes and Tartars, ſent vnto him from *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turks Generall. The Cardinall himſelfe ſeeing the diſcomfiture of his armie, was by ſome reported to haue ſaued
D himſelfe by flight: but by ſome others was ſaid to haue beene drowned in paſsing a riuer, as hee fled from the Valachians that had him in chaſe. But the truth was, that the Vayuod now maſter of the field ſent out certaine troupes of horſemen diuers waies ſtill to purſue him: and himſelfe with the reſt of his armie proſecuting the victorie, came to the Cardinals campe, now by the Tranſyluanians and Turkes quite forſaken, wherein he found fiue and fortie pieces of artillerie, with great ſtore of coine and wealth, beſide a number of tents and horſes, all which became vnto him a prey. From thence he marched vnto ALBA IVLIA, where he was with great joy receiued of his friends and confederats there: for though the greater part of the Tranſyluanians, eſpecially the nobilitie, had together with the Cardinall ſubmitted themſelues vnto the Turkes protection, and followed his enſignes: yet were there diuers others alſo, who ſtill fauoured the em-
E perour, and therefore rejoyced not a little of this victorie. The Vayuod after that ſent his lieutenant to CLAVDIOPOLIS, to ſee if they would yeeld alſo: which they willingly did, with many other cities and caſtles in diuers parts of that countrey, which hauing none to reſt vpon, now yeelded alſo: in ſuch ſort, that ſhortly after all TRANSYLVANIA ſubmitted it ſelfe againe vnto the emperours obeiſance, and ſwore vnto him obedience: moſt of the nobilitie of that countrey being either ſlaine in the battell, or afterwards put to death by the Vayuod: amongſt whom were fiue, which corrupted by the Cardinall, had before vndertaken to kill him. Now the fourteenth of Nouember, after diuers reports of the Cardinals eſcape, his vngratious head was for all that preſented vnto the Vayuod, which to the terrour of others, being for a while ſet vp in ALBA IVLIA (where he but a little before had commaunded as a prince) was afterwards taken
F downe, and ſent for a preſent from the Vayuod vnto the Emperour and the Archdukes his brethren; his headleſſe bodie being afterward by the commaundement of the Vayuod honourably buried in a monaſterie at ALBA IVLIA, in the ſame tombe he had before made for his brother, beheaded by his couſin *Sigiſmund Bathor*. The Cardinals treaſure alſo fell into his hands, which was ſaid to haue beene three millions of gold. Thus the countrey of TRANSYLVANIA, lately before

A terrible battell betwixt the Vayuod and the Cardinall.

The Cardinals head ſent for a preſent vnto the emperour.

before by the Cardinall yeelded vnto the obeisance of the Turke, was againe by this worthie Vayuod recouered, and restored vnto the Christian empire; the proud Cardinall cast out and brought to confusion, hauing not yet possessed these his new honours full eight moneths. His cousin *Sigismund* the late Transyluanian prince, who almost all this while had stayed at BORYSIA, and in disguised apparrell seene DANSKE, and diuers other the free cities thereabouts, now hearing newes of the Cardinals ouerthrow, secretly got him away from thence into POLONIA to seeke againe his new fortunes. The lord *Swartzenburg* at the same time vniting his forces in the lower HVNGARIE with them of STIRIA, and now twentie thousand strong, sought by all meanes to reduce so many places vpon those frontiers as he could vnto the emperours obeisance, and so tooke in aboue two hundred villages. But afterward thinking to haue surprised the strong castle of CAPISVAR, and by night secretly approching one of the gates with a Petarde, which tooke not the expected effect, he was discouered by the watch, and so by the garrison souldiors (now raised with the alarum) repulsed, and enforced to retire with the losse of about an hundred men, and diuers others wounded, all men of good account: in reuenge whereof *Swartzenburg* afterwards sent out diuers troupes of horsemen, which scouring all ouer the countrey as farre as SIGETH, burnt it also, and so returning, carried away with them a great bootie.

Ibrahim Bassa hearing of this ouerthrow of the Cardinall, with all the forces he had sent him, much troubled therewith, sent newes thereof in post to CONSTANTINOPLE: the brute whereof brought a generall feare vpon the whole citie also, insomuch that commission was forthwith sent vnto him from the great Sultan, giuing him power (if it might be) to come to some honourable peace with the Emperour, and to bring it with him to CONSTANTINOPLE: whither he was shortly to returne, being now no longer time to keepe the field with his armie, which beside the cold season of the yeare suffered great want of bread, the plague also then raging therein with the death of many his best souldiors both horse and foot, beside the wonderfull mortalitie of their cattell also: in such sort, that the souldiors not able longer to endure the famine and wants increasing, fell to robbing of one another, and so at length into mutinie; wherein diuers of them being slaine and cut in pieces by their fellowes, the rest for the most part brake in sunder of themselues, and so by diuers waies returned home, not well trusting one another. So that nothing more was now done with the great preparation of the Turkes, their armie being discomfited with wants and the euill successe of their affaires, as well in HVNGARIE as in TRANSYLVANIA. Neither did *Ibrahim* the great Bassa for the reliefe of those euils, at his returne bring any conclusion of peace vnto his great lord and master, as was commonly expected.

The Turks great armie of it selfe dissolued.

Cusahin Bassa of Caramania riseth vp in rebellion against the great Sultan.

Now beside these troubles of TRANSYLVANIA and the other reuolted countries, *Cusahin* (or as some call him *Cassan*) the sonne of one of the Sultanesses, brought vp in the Seraglio according to the manner thereof, and hauing long serued in the wars of PERSIA and in HVNGARIE, and so at length made Bassa of CARAMANIA, a man of great spirit, and not able to endure the imperfections he daily saw in the *Othoman* empire, and the cowardise of the grand signior; vpon the report of the euill successe of the affaires of HVNGARIE on the one side, and the desire he saw in the Persians to recouer their lost fortresses on the other, and grieued also with more particular wrongs concerning himselfe; as a man altogither discontented, resolued to take vp armes: and calling vnto him his souldiors, and (as he was a well spoken man) laying before them the deformities of the present state, gallantly perswaded them with the promise of honour, soueraignetie, and rich rewards, what an easie thing it were to chase the grand signior out of ASIA, and to set themselues with all that part of the empire at libertie. And so euen at the first hauing woon vnto him three thousand harquebusiers, and fiue thousand horsemen, tooke the field to the great hurt of the Turkes, and trouble of the state. A strange matter in that tyrannicall empire. The newes whereof comming in post to the Court, commission was forthwith directed vnto foure of the Sanzackes of ASIA neerest vnto him, for the speedie suppressing of that rebellion but euen then arising. Whereof *Cusahin* vnderstanding, and that they with ten thousand horse and foot were comming to oppresse him: without farther stay went couragiously to meet them, and so encountring of them, ouerthrew them with a great slaughter, and tooke from them their baggage with six pieces of great ordinance. And after with his people seized vpon all the castles thereabouts, giuing whatsoeuer he found therein for a prey vnto his souldiors: who also much enriched themselues with the spoile of the Iewes, as the people whom they most hated, and neuer rested vntill he had made almost all the countrey of CARAMANIA his owne. After that he laid

A laid ſiege to COGNA, a citie in the confines of NATOLIA, which was forthwith yeelded vnto him. And yet not ſo contented, gaue it out by open proclamation, that for the reformation of the diſordered ſtate, he would ere long go to beſiege the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE: and that therfore all ſuch as would follow him, ſhould of him be intreated as his friends and companions, threatning vnto the reſt moſt cruell death and deſtruction. Of which his proceedings *Mahomet* (as then diſporting himſelfe at his gardens of pleaſure in the countrey, all alongſt the ſide of PROPONTIS) vnderſtanding, and fearing to be there ſurpriſed, or that ſome ſudden innouation might be raiſed in the citie: haſted with all ſpeed to CONSTANTINOPLE, and from thence in all haſt diſpatched *Mehemet* one of the Viſier Baſſaes the ſonne of *Sinan*, with all the forces he could make to go againſt him. Who paſsing ouer into ASIA with a great power, and
B yet fearing to come to the triall of a battell with him whom he knew to be a man of himſelfe deſperatly ſet, and not a little fauoured alſo euen of his owne ſouldiors: ſo ſecretly wrought by large promiſes, that *Cuſahin* his footmen were euen vpon the point to haue forſaken him. Which he quickly perceiuing, fled forthwith through SIRIA into ARABIA with his horſemen, and the horſemen of *Simon* the Georgian: purpoſing the next Spring by the helpe of Arabians and Perſians to appeare in the field with greater forces than before. After whom *Mehemet* the great Baſſa following, came with his armie to ALEPPO, there to Winter, and to expect the returne of the rebell together with the Spring. This ſo dangerous a rebellion, with the troubles of TRANSYLVANIA and VALACHIA, were the cauſe that the grand ſignior ſeeing himſelfe in ſo many places forſaken of his ſubjects, was the readier to encline vnto peace with the emperour; whereunto for
C all that the emperour was not haſtie to hearken, but vpon honourable conditions: as knowing that the Turke required the ſame, not for any deſire he had to liue in quiet, but for that his troubled affaires both at home and elswhere abroad ſo required; his Ianizaries and other men of warre in this his ſo weake gouernment being growne ſo inſolent, as that they were hardly to bee by him commaunded; openly threatening in their diſcontented humors not only the depoſing of the principall officers about him, but of himſelfe alſo, and of the baniſhment of the Sultaneſſe his mother, ſaying, that ſhe had bewitched him, to the end ſhe might her ſelfe rule, which ſhe indeed doth in all his greateſt affaires. But the rebell *Cusahin* the next yeare growne againe very ſtrong, was now come into the field, and euen readie to haue giuen the Baſſa battell: who as hee was a man of great wiſedome and experience, well conſidering with what a deſperat enemie hee
D had to doe, thought it beſt againe to proue, if his rebellious followers might by faire meanes bee drawne from him: and ſo comming neere vnto him, by open proclamation promiſed a free and generall pardon to all ſuch as had followed the rebell in thoſe wars, if forſaking him, they ſhould forthwith returne home to their dwellings, and ſo to the obedience of their juſt and lawfull prince and ſoueraigne. Which generall pardon ſo proclaimed, was the ruine of *Cuſahin*, for that the greateſt part of his followers now enriched with the great booties they had gotten, and now alſo hauing free pardon offered them, returned home into their owne countries, there at eaſe to liue of their euill gotten goods, leauing their captaine with ſome few others which ſtaied with him, with little hope to be ſaued. So that within a few daies after *Cuſahin* thus forſaken of his followers, was himſelfe taken and brought priſoner to CONSTANTINOPLE, where ſhortly after hee
E was with moſt exquiſit torments tortured to death.

Mehemet one of the Viſier Baſſaes ſent againſt the rebell.

Cuſahin the rebell taken and tortured to death at Conſtantinople.

The troubles of this yeare thus paſt, *Rodolph* the Chriſtian emperour with the beginning of the next (whileſt the ground yet couered with ſnow, and the vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather would not ſuffer the ſouldiors to keepe the field) cauſed a Diet of the princes of the empire to be called, to conſider with him of ſuch helpes as were by them to be giuen againſt the Spring, for the maintenance of the warres which yet he had againſt the Turke: who all promiſed to ſend their ſouldiors with their pay, and ſuch further contribution as might ſerue for the maintenance of that defenſiue warre againſt the common enemie. Whereunto alſo *Clement* now biſhop of ROME (this yeare of Iubilie) put to his helping hand, as he had diuers times before, by ſending thither ſuch aid both of men and money as hee had before promiſed: ſo that by this meanes great pre-
F paration was made by the Chriſtians for the taking of the field with the firſt of the Spring. At which time the Turkes alſo began to ſtirre: who although *Ibrahim Baſſa* their Generall by the appointment of his great lord was then in ſome ſpeech with the emperour about a peace, yet ceaſed not they in the meane time that this treatie was from day to day prolonged, with their companies ſcattering here and there, to doe what harme they could vpon the frontiers of the empe-

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The emperour maketh proviſion againſt the Turke.

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rours territories, the cauſe why he with more ſpeed called vpon his friends for their promiſed aid. G
And for the better managing of this yeares warres againſt the Turke, he appointed duke *Mercurie* (who had drawne a great number of Frenchmen both horſe and foot out of FRANCE) Generall of all his forces, ſending *Ferrant Gonzaga* ſurnamed the Lame (whom for his approued valour and experience in martiall affaires, he had ſent for to MANTVA) gouernour into the vpper HVNGARIE. So the ſouldiors now day by day by companies reſorting from diuers parts into AVSTRIA, were from thence ſent vnto ſuch places as were by the Turkes moſt moleſted, ſo to repreſſe their often incurſions, as in many places they did. For eight thouſand of the Turkes going out vpon the ſudden to haue ſurpriſed PAPPA, were by the garriſon ſouldiours of that place encountered and ouerthrowne. And on the other ſide, whileſt *Ferdinand* the Archduke was aſſembling his people in CROATIA, for the defence of that countrey againſt the incurſions H
of the enemie, ſix thouſand Turks without reſiſtance entring the ſame as farre as BVCCARI, and burning the countrey villages as they went, had taken many priſoners, with a great bootie of cattell; and ſo (merrie and out of feare) being about to haue returned, were ſuddenly ſet vpon by the Countie *Serinus* in certaine ſtraight and troubleſome paſſages, where they leaſt feared any ſuch matter, and ouercharged alſo with their prey, were (I ſay) eaſily by him for the moſt part ouerthrowne, and the reſt put to flight, and ſo the priſoners with all the reſt of the bootie againe recouered. At which time alſo one of the imperiall colonels with fifteene hundred horſe making an inrode into the countrey about ALBA REGALIS, and meeting with the Turkes and Tartars theteabouts, ſlew ſix hundred of them, and tooke diuers of their captaines priſoners. Six thouſand other Tartars alſo at this time returning out of HVNGARIE home towards their owne I
countrey, were by the Coſſackes neere vnto the Blacke ſea ſet vpon with ſuch force, that many of them being ſlaine, the reſt for feare ran into the ſea, leauing all the prey they had got in HVNGARIE vnto their enemies. In the heat of theſe broiles the noble lord *Palfi* gouernour of STRIGONIVM, a man that all his life long had done great ſeruice for his prince and countrey, & whom we haue ſo often in this hiſtorie remembred, died the three and twentith of March in his caſtle at BIBERSPVRG, to the great griefe of many, eſpecially the Hungarians his countreymen. And for that STRIGONIVM (ſo neere vnto the enemie) required in his ſtead to haue a right valiant and couragious gouernour, the emperour appointed the lord *Swartzenburg* to that charge: the fame ſtill running, that *Ibrahim Baſſa* would come thither with the great armie he was in prouiding, if the peace went not forward, which was now ſtill leſſe and leſſe hoped for, by reaſon of his prowd K
and inſolent demaunds.

The death of the lord Palfi.

The Frenchmen and Wallons mutinie in Pappa.

But whileſt theſe troubles with ſuch others too long to rehearſe, thus paſſed in diuers parts of this miſerable countrey of HVNGARIE: twelue hundred Frenchmen and Wallons in garriſon at PAPPA (a ſtrong frontier towne of the emperours in the lower HVNGARIE) for want of pay began to mutinie. For which cauſe it was thought good to the chiefe commanders to haue them thence remooued, and others placed in their roume. Which they perceiuing, and withall knowing themſelues too ſtrong for the reſt of the garriſon, all Hungarians or Almaines, not partakers of their conſpiracie; they firſt reſolued to thruſt their owne captaines out of the towne, as lets vnto their deſires: and then laying hands vpon *Michael Marotti* the paymaſter, and other the Hungarian and Dutch commaunders, with their ſouldiors, tooke from them their weapons, and L
caſt the ſaid *Marotti* with the other captaines and ſome of the better ſort of their ſouldiors into yrons, exacting of the reſt as well Hungarians as Dutch, in number about a thouſand perſons, a thouſand duckats; threatening otherwiſe to deliuer them into the hands of the Turkes: and albeit that *Marotti* offered for his libertie eighteene hundred duckats; yet would they not bee ſo contented, but ſpoyling both him and the reſt of all that they had, with their apparrell and weapons furniſhed ſuch Turkes as were there priſoners, and ſo ſent them away to ALBA REGALIS; and afterwards rifling euery mans houſe, as if they had beene enemies, tooke from them whatſoeuer pleaſed themſelues: and that which worſe was, to encreaſe theſe outrages, compacted with the Turkes of ALBA REGALIS and BVDA, for the pay which (they ſaid) the emperour ought them, to deliuer them the towne: certifying them withall, how that the lord *Swartzenburg* with- M
in two daies was comming with money to giue them contentment; promiſing if hee came into the towne, to deliuer him with the ſame into their hands: or to bee the more ſure of him, they might if they ſo pleaſed intercept him at the paſſage ZESNEGKH, whereby he muſt needs come. For the more credit of which their wicked purpoſe, they ſent an enſigne of the emperours, as a token

Pappa offered vnto the Turkes by the mutiners.

A token vnto the Turkes at ALBA REGALIS: who for all that altogether beliued them not, yet willing farther to trie them, ſent them for hoſtages two Chians; for whom the rebels ſent alſo two others of the better ſort of them to ALBA REGALIS; with concluſion, that the fiue and twentith of Iune at the furtheſt the money ſhould be paied, and the towne deliuered. For the receiuing whereof, and for feare of ſome hidden treaſon, the Turkes and Tartars began to make themſelues ſtrong: the Imperials alſo doing what they might for the appeaſing of ſo dangerous a tumult. So the tenth of Iune the lord *Swartzenburg* with two thouſand horſe and foot came within two miles of the towne, and from thence ſent foure and twentie horſemen to diſſuade the rebels from yeelding the towne vnto the Turks, and to tell them that they ſhould ſhortly receiue their pay: who ſhamefully deriding them, ſent them backe againe as wiſe as they came: ſo that
B *Swartzenburg* perceiuing himſelfe with ſo ſmall forces to be able to doe nothing againſt them, neither yet by faire meanes to perſuade them, retired againe to RAB, vntill ſome greater ſtrength were come vnto him. Immediatly after, doctor *Petzen*, Councellour for the warres, a man of great authoritie, grauitie and wiſedome, was by *Matthias* the Archduke with foure hundred horſe conducted to PAPPA, to ſee if he by his diſcretion could haue diſſuaded them from their ſo vngodly a purpoſe, for the yeelding of the towne vnto the enemie: whom they not onely refuſed to heare, although he ſpake vnto them moſt kindly, but alſo bent their muskets and harquebuſies vpon him, threatning to kill him if he did not forthwith depart. When ſhortly after, twentie of the Hungarians impriſoned in a cellar in the towne, brake out, and comming to RAB, brought newes thither, That the Frenchmen and Wallons in PAPPA were at variance among
C themſelues about the yeelding vp of the towne vnto the Turkes (ſome better minded than the reſt, not willing to conſent thereunto) inſomuch, that they in the caſtle ſhot at them in the towne, and they againe at them in the caſtle: and that they had alreadie receiued from the Turks twentie thouſand duckats, with ſome prouiſion of victuals, & were ſhortly after to receiue from them the reſt of the money promiſed them, and ſo to deliuer the towne. For preuenting whereof, the lord *Swartzenburg* the two and twentith of Iune ſent the lord *Sharpfenſtein* with a French colonell, three thouſand ſouldiors, certaine Petardes, and a number of ſcaling ladders towards PAPPA: whom the falſe rebels ſuffered peaceably to enter the towne the foure and twentith of Iune, ſtill encouraging them to come on, calling them their countreymen and brethren, and in token of friendſhip ſhaking them by the hands, telling them, that hauing aſſurance of their pay, they
D deſired no more: But hauing now receiued in ſo many of them as they thought good, and as they knew they were well able to deale with, ſhutting the reſt out, they cut them all in peeces, and afterwards in deriſion called vpon the high Dutches to come on in like manner. Three hundred of theſe rebels at the ſame time had laied themſelues in ambuſh by a mill taſt without the towne, who by the Wallons and Haiduckes without diſcouered, were alſo by them charged: vpon whom for all that, by reaſon of the ſhot out of the towne, they could doe no good; but hauing loſt three hundred men, and amongſt them *Hanniball Kralzs*, the lord *Sharpfenſteins* his lieutenant generall, and one *Del la Margoſe* the chiefe enginer, they retired: Which loſſe the deſperat rebels (if it had beene in their choice) had wiſhed rather to haue happened vnto the Dutches than to the Wallons or Hungarians. About three daies after, three of theſe rebels being by chance ta-
E ken priſoners by the Imperials, and brought to RAB, were not only apparrelled but alſo trimmed after the Turkiſh faſhion, as men not deſiring longer to be accounted Chriſtians, the reſt of their fellowes in the towne alſo all imitating the Turkes faſhions, as well in their apparrell as in their manner of ſeruice: yet for all that would not theſe metamorphoſed monſters yeeld the towne vnto the Turks, before they had the full ſumme by them agreed vpon, the Baſſa of BOSNA being commaunded from the Grand ſignior in all haſt to prouide it for them, and ſo to receiue of them the towne. Neuertheleſſe, for their more ſtrength and their more credit with the Turkes, they receiued into the towne one enſigne of the Turks, with certain waggons of victuals, brought thither with ſo ſtrong a conuoy as that the Imperials durſt not meddle therwith: in which wag- *A moſt wicked fact.*
gons (being diſcharged) they ſent in bonds ſix hundred Hungarians and Dutch, men, women, and
F children, priſoners to ALBA REGALIS; being all of them glad to be ſo ſent away, in hope to find more fauour and courteſie at the hands of their enemies, than they had found with theſe renegat Chriſtians. So ſhortly after, theſe rebels ſent out certaine meſſengers vnto the gouernour of ALBA REGALIS, to know his full reſolution; which meſſengers (conducted by certaine Turkes of great account) were vpon the way by the free Haiduckes all intercepted, and the meſſengers taken,

ken, with an hundred Turkes moe. In the meane while *Michael Marotti*, before impriſoned by the rebels in PAPPA, by letters ſecretly aduertiſed the lord *Swartzenburg* of a certaine place, whereby he might (as he ſaid) eaſily enter the towne, and the rather, for that the rebels were at variance amongſt themſelues. Who thereupon the twelfth of Iuly came to PAPPA with nine thouſand horſe and foot, but diſappointed of his purpoſe for entering the towne, hardly neuertheleſſe belayed the ſame: vpon whom the mutiniers many times deſperatly ſallied out, & right valiantly encountered them, albeit that they were ſtill, without any notable loſſe, by their enemies (too ſtrong for them) beaten backe againe into the towne. In one of which ſallies it fortuned one of their captaines to be taken, who to the terrour of the reſt was preſently ſlaine quicke, and his head and skin vpon a pike ſet vp before the towne, for his fellowes to behold. But the lord *Swartzenburg* ſtill more and more preuailing vpon them, they ſent ſecretly for aid to the Turks: whereof he for all that getting intelligence, ſent alſo for three regiments of ſouldiours moe to come vnto him to the ſiege; by whoſe comming he well ſtrengthened, and bringing his approches neerer the towne, tooke from the rebels the mill, a ſtrength which they very vnwillingly loſt, as in hope thereby to haue the more eaſily receiued aid from the Turkes; who hauing made preparation to haue relieued them, were letted ſo to doe by the riſing of the water, which had ſpoiled all the prouiſion for their reliefe at the bridge of ESSEG, as alſo hindered them for marching forward. At length the Imperials were come with their trenches euen to the towne ditches, out of which they had let out all the water: where ſome of the townesmen eſcaping out of the towne, declared, how that the mutinous ſouldiors within laboured both day and night to fortifie the towne, but to be in their worke much letted by the continuall aſſaults of the Imperials: as alſo that they now had neither bread nor wine, nor other victuals left, more than a little ſalt, and threeſcore horſe, of which they had alreadie begun to eat: and that although they were not altogether ſo valiant, yet that they had reſolued to die by the hands of the ſouldiors, as men expecting no other mercie. Yet ſhortly after, *viz.* the nine and twentith of Iuly, they deſperatly fell out vpon the trenches of *Marſpurgiſch*, a Dutch captaine; of whoſe ſouldiors they ſlew many, being drunke, and driuing the reſt out of their trenches, raiſed a great alarum. Which the lord *Swartzenburg* hearing, haſted thither to the reſcue; where with an vnluckie musket ſhot hee was ſtrucke in the head and ſlaine. Whereof the rebels got knowledge the ſame euening, and *Della Mota* their Generall in reward of that ſeruice gaue vnto them that had made that ſallie a thouſand dollars to be deuided amongſt them. The dead bodie of that ſo worthie a man, as had done great ſeruice for the Chriſtian commonweale, was afterwards with great ſolemnitie brought to RAB, and there honourably enterred. The like deſperate ſallie they made againe the next day, and ſlew of the Imperials an hundred and thirtie, and tooke certaine priſoners: and in retiring backe againe into the towne, cried aloud, That when they lacked meat, rather than they would yeeld the towne, they would eat Chriſtians, whereof *Marotti* ſhould bee the firſt.

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A whom and the Huſſars they were almoſt all ſlaine: diuers others of them alſo were ſlaine in comming out of the towne, and in the mariſhes therabouts. Their Generals lieutenant with ſuch other of their principall commaunders as were taken, were by the lord *Rederns* commandement deliuered vnto the Prouoſt martiall; the reſt of the rebellious traitours he at the requeſt of the ſouldiors deuided into diuers parts of the armie, there to the terrour of others to be executed, from whom the ſouldiours could hardly be perſuaded euen for the preſent to hold their hands. But afterwards hauing brought them to RAB, and leaue giuen them to doe with them their pleaſure, they as farre exceeded in the cruell manner of their execution, as had they before in their outragious dealings, eſpecially the Hungarians and Wallons, notwithſtanding moſt of them were of the Wallon countries. Some of them they empailed, ſome they brake vpon the B wheele; ſome of their skins they cut off their bodies as it were into thongs, and ſo poured into the wounds, vinegar, ſalt, and pepper; from ſome others they cut off their priuities; ſome they roaſted, and ſome they put vnto the Tenalia; vpon ſome they dropped molten pitch, and then caſting gunpouder vpon them, ſo burnt them to death; otherſome they hanged vpon yron hookes; and ſome they ſet in the ground vp to the chin, and for their diſport with yron bullets bowled at their heads. In all which torments no ſigne of compaſsion was to be ſeene, the tormentours to make their paine the greater doing nothing but deride them: the miſerable wretches in the meane time confeſsing the hainouſneſſe of their offence, and crauing for death as a fauour. A moſt horrible thing it was to ſee, how whileſt ſome were thus tortured, others were brought to ſee the ſame miſerie they themſelues were by and by to endure. Amongſt the reſt of C theſe exquiſit torments, one *Peter Orſy* cauſed one of the mutiners to be ſowed vp in the belly of a mare, with his head hanging out, and ſo to be roaſted; in which miſerable torment he liued three houres, and then died: after which he cauſed the loathſome bodie ſo roaſted, to be giuen to them that lay ſtaruing vpon the wheele to eat. Thus was the dangerous mutinie at PAPPA with much adoe ended, and that ſtrong towne like to haue been loſt, preſerued: the rebels themſelues being become a dreadfull example to all poſteritie, for all them to looke vpon that ſhall attempt the like villanie.

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Two Baſſaes of Sigeth ſlaine one after another.

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D paſſe them all ouer, were greatly to wrong thoſe worthie perſonages by whom they were not without their great aduenture done. Among the reſt one *Nicholas Horbath* countie *Serinus* his lieutenant, with an hundred and fiftie ſouldiors, and *Andrew Thuſsi* an other great commaunder, going forth to ſeeke for bootie; *Thuſsi* hearing that the Turkes were abroad for the ſurpriſing of certaine Haiduckes then gone out, ſtaied fast in a ſecret place vntill he might heare farther newes, *Horbath* another way ſtill going on. Now it happened that the Baſſa of SIGETH hauing been abroad, in returning home by chance met with *Horbath*, and encountring with him ouerthrew him, and ſlew moſt of his men, *Horbath* himſelfe by flight hardly eſcaping. But *Thuſsi* hearing this skirmiſh, as lying cloſe not farre off, and now haſting thither to haue been partaker thereof, found the Baſſa yet in the field on foot, viewing the bodies of the ſlaine: vpon whom
E he came ſo ſuddenly and with ſuch force, as that the Baſſa with his diſordered men had much adoe to take horſe, and ſo without any great reſiſtance to betake himſelfe to flight: after whom the Hungarians fiercely following ſlew many of the Turks, and amongſt the reſt the Baſſa himſelfe, whoſe head preſently cut off, *Horbath* ſent to the countie *Serinus*, who ſhortly after by *Thuſsi* himſelfe ſent it to *Matthias* the archduke. This Baſſa was a man of great ſtrength and courage, a moſt expert and aduenturous captaine, about thirtie ſix yeares old, and for his valour of a common ſouldior created a Baſſa by the great Sultan. His head being brought to VIENNA, and there ſhewed to the Baſſa of Buda then there priſoner, and he demaunded whether he knew it or not, ſighing anſwered, that he knew it well, and that it was the head of the Baſſa of SIGETH, a brauer man than whom the Sultan had none in all his empire, earneſtly withall deſiring to
F know how he was ſlaine. And not long after the aduenturers out of COMORA, STRIGONIVM and other places thereabout hauing made a great partie, and taken a great bootie from the Turks at a faire at GOMBAR, and by TRA and ESSEG, thinking to haue paſſed Danubius in hope of a greater bootie, ſeuen hundred of them being paſſed the riuer, were by the new Baſſa of SIGETH, and others with fiue thouſand Turkes in an hoat skirmiſh ouerthrowne; yet not without their great

Two Baſſaes of Sigeth ſlaine one after another.

great losse also: the Bassa himselfe with two other Sanzackes and fiue hundred Turkes being there slaine, and but fiftie of the Christian aduenturers left dead in the place, the rest disordredly retiring to their boats, being for most part drowned in the Danubie. The free Haiduckes also surprised IVLA and set it on fire, in which confusion the Turkes flying into the castle, for hast thrust one another from the bridge into the castle ditch; wherein so many of them were drowned, that a man might haue gone drie foot ouer vpon the bodies of the dead. They tooke there also six hundred prisoners with much other bootie, and deliuered two hundred Christians which were there captiues. And albeit that these Haiduckes after this exploit done were hardly pursued by the Turkes from other places, yet they in safetie retired with such bootie as they had alreadie gotten. G

Iula surprised and burnt by the free Haiduckes.

But now to leaue these the troubles of HVNGARIE for a while, as the forerunners of greater ere long to ensue; let vs againe looke backe into TRANSYLVANIA and VALACHIA, to see how *Michaell* the Vayuod now in the meane time behaued himselfe there. The Cardinall *Bathor* ouerthrowne and slaine, and the countrey of TRANSYLVANIA againe brought vnder the emperours obedience; the Vayuod by his embassadours gaue him forthwith to vnderstand of all his proceedings, with the whole successe thereof, as also of a purpose he had to inuade MOLDAVIA: for that it was commonly reported, and also beleeued, that *Sigismund* the late prince (not a little moued with the death of the Cardinall his cousin, and the reuolt of his countrey) aided by the Turkes, the Tartars, the Polonians, and Moldauians, would now attempt some great matter for the recouerie of TRANSYLVANIA: All which was shortly after the rather thought to be true, for that diuers of his spies being taken, some at CLAVSENBVRG, some at NESSEN, beside the letters that were found about them from him vnto the nobilitie and states of TRANSYLVANIA (perswading them to reuolt from the Vayuod vnto him, and that his meaning was shortly to come with a great armie out of POLONIA for the repulsing of him) they also of themselues confessed, how that *Sigismund* in disguised apparell had himselfe beene in TRANSYLVANIA, to conferre with diuers his secret friends concerning that matter. Which his embassadours the emperour honourably entertained, and by them confirmed vnto the Vayuod the gouernment of TRANSYLVANIA, sending also vnto him diuers honourable presents; forbidding him neuertheless to inuade MOLDAVIA, for feare of raising a new and dangerous warre against the Polonians also, vnder whose protection and the Turkes the Palatine thereof then rested. According vnto which commaund the Vayuod staied his intended expedition; yet sending some good part of his forces vnto the frontiers of MOLDAVIA, for feare of *Sigismund* whom he heard to be hatching some mischiefe in POLONIA, and euen then to lie vpon the frontiers of that countrey. Some few moneths thus passing, *Husraim Aga* (a graue reuerend old man, and much employed by the Turkish Sultan) with fiue other Turkes of good account, embassadours from the great Sultan, and a great retinue following him, came to CRONSTAT in TRANSYLVANIA where the Vayuod then lay. Of whose comming the Vayuod hearing, with foure thousand horsmen most brauely mounted, went halfe a mile out of the citie to meet them: the footmen in the meane time on both sides of the street standing in good order, from the gate of the citie whereby they were to enter, euen vnto the Vayuods lodging; where stood also his guard all in red and white silke. So meeting in the field, they both alighted from their horses, with great reuerence saluting the one the other: when presently the embassadour embracing the Vayuod, vngirt his scimitar, and in the name of the great Sultan put another about him, so richly garnished with gold and precious stones, as that no part of the scaberd was therefore to bee seene: Besides this, he presented him with a faire plume of blacke Hearnes feathers mixed with some white (a right goodly ornament, in forme of a great bush) which the Vayuod would not in the field put vpon his head, although he were thereunto by the embassadour most earnestly requested, but caused it to be carried before him: He also presented him with two verie faire red ensignes, in token of the Turkes fauour and protection; the one for himselfe, and the other for his sonne *Petrasco*: moreouer, hee gaue vnto him two exceeding faire horses richly furnished, with foure others, and a most faire faulcon. The Vayuod himselfe was most brauely mounted, and (after the maner of his country) had ten verie faire spare horses led before him. At whose enterance into the towne, all the great ordinance was discharged, with great vollies of small shot. And so the embassador still riding on the left hand of the Vayuod, being brought to his lodging, had six of his chiefe followers euerie one of them presented with a rich robe of cloth of gold; in requitall H I K L M

The gouernment of Transyluania by the emperour confirmed vnto Michael the Vayuod.

A requitall whereof the embaſſadour rewarded an hundred of the Vayuod his followers euerie one of them with a good ſute of apparell: with this embaſſadour of the Turkes was alſo the Polonian embaſſadour, whom the Vayuod in like manner honourably entertained. Theſe embaſſadours (as was thought) did what they might to haue drawne this worthie and renowmed man, togither with the countries of TRANSYLVANIA and VALACHIA, from the emperour vnto the Turkes obeiſance: howbeit he ſeldome or neuer ſpake with them, but that either before or after he had conference with the lords *Vngnad* and *Zeckell* (the emperors commiſsioners) concerning their requeſts; alwaies proteſting vnto them, not to yeeld to any thing without the emperours conſent and good liking. Wherof *Mahomet* aduertiſed, and that he was not by any thing yet ſaid or done to be remoued from the emperour, gaue him by the ſame embaſſadours
B to vnderſtand, How that he was in ſome ſpeech with the emperour concerning peace (as indeed he then was by meſſengers from the Baſſaes at PRESBVRG) which if it ſorted to effect, that then all ſhould be well; but if not, that then it ſhould be good for him whileſt he had yet time, wiſely to conſider of his owne eſtate, and to ſubmit himſelfe vnto his protection who was able to defend him, rather than for the vaine praiſe of a certaine fooliſh conſtancie, to aduenture himſelfe with all that he had vnto moſt certaine danger and deſtruction: promiſing him in recompence of that his loyaltie, to giue vnto him for euer the countries of TRANSYLVANIA, VALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, and at his need to furniſh him both with men and money; offering moreouer to make him a great commaunder in his armie in HVNGARIE, and the Baſſa of TEMESVVAR as his friend to be at all times readie with fiftie thouſand horſe and foot (as need ſhould
C be) to aſsiſt him againſt the emperour, reſeruing vnto himſelfe whatſoeuer he ſhould more win from him: for all which bountie and kindneſſe, requiring onely to haue him vnto him loyall. All which his large offers the Vayuod little regarding, declared the ſame vnto the emperours commiſsioners; yet ſtill proteſting neuer to ſtart, but to ſtand faſt for the Chriſtian emperour. Notwithſtanding as a man deſirous to better his eſtate, he tooke hereupon occaſion to requeſt of the emperour the countrey of TRANSYLVANIA, by him ſo lately taken in, vnto him and his ſonne in inheritance for euer, with ſuch frontier townes as in former time belonged vnto TRANSYLVANIA: and that whatſoeuer he ſhould win from the Turkes, might be his and his ſonnes: He alſo requeſted, that all the preferments and dignities in former time granted by his Imperiall majeſtie vnto *Sigiſmund* the late prince, might now be beſtowed vpon himſelfe; and for his ſer-
D uice done, to be furniſhed with money for the payment of his ſouldiors: And that the emperor with the other princes of the empire ſhould aſſure him, That if he were taken by the Turke, they ſhould raunſome him: but in caſe he were by the great power of the Turke driuen out of thoſe countries, then by the emperours appointment to haue ſome conuenient place allotted vnto him in the vpper HVNGARIE to liue in, with the yearly penſion of an hundred thouſand dollars. All which his requeſts if it would pleaſe him to grant, he promiſed this yeare to doe ſo much againſt the Turke, as had not in an hundred yeares been done before: with vaunt, that if he had had the imployment of the money which was ſpent in the time of this war, he would not haue doubted but to haue brought all the countries from the Euxine (or Blacke ſea) to BVDA, ALBA REGALIS, and SOLNOCK, vnder the emperors obeyſance. A large promiſe indeed, but hardly to haue
E been performed by a farre greater prince than he.

Thus whileſt things ſtood in diſcourſe after the Cardinals death, *Sigiſmund* the late prince in the meane time ſupported by the Polonians, with the aid of the Turkes, the Tartars, and the Moldauians, was readie to haue inuaded TRANSYLVANIA: yea the Tartars (as the foretunners of his greater power) were alreadie entred the countrey, and had out of the frontiers thereof carried away ſome bootie. Whereof the Vayuod vnderſtanding, in great haſt aſſembled his forces out of all places, which in ſhort time was growne to ſome good head, the countrey people togither with the free Haiduckes (an aduenturous and reſolute kind of ſouldiors) in great number daily reſorting vnto him. So being now eight thouſand ſtrong, and moſt of them braue and luſtie men, he with them and twentie pieces of artillerie remoued to CRONSTAT the foure and
F twentith day of Aprill, ſending part of his armie (which euerie day more and more encreaſed) before him to NESSEN: where all his forces being aſſembled to the number of almoſt fiftie thouſand horſe and foot, hee with great ſcelerities paſſed the rough and high mountaines into MOLDAVIA without reſiſtance, but yet not without ſome trouble, his ſouldiors by the way being glad ſometimes to eat the leaues of trees, the enemie hauing of purpoſe before carried away

Michael the Vayuod goeth againſt Sigiſmund Bathor and the Vayuod of Moldauia.

whatſoeuer he could that might haue yeelded him reliefe. Of whoſe ſpeedie comming and great G
ſtrength, *Sigiſmund* and *Ieremias* the Vayuod of MOLDAVIA hearing, and vpon the reaſonable eſtimate of their owne forces finding themſelues too weake to encounter him, retired themſelues out of MOLDAVIA into the frontiers of POLONIA, there to gather greater ſtrength, and ſo to meet him: for as yet *Ieremias* the Vayuod had not receiued from the Turke ſuch forces as were vnto him promiſed, and as he ſtill expected. *Michael* the Vayuod in the meane time (his enemies thus fled) with fire and ſword entering into MOLDAVIA, tooke in the greateſt part thereof, the fearefull countrey people ſtill yeelding vnto him as he went: and the rather, for that *Ieremias* their Vayuod (placed by the Polonian, but tributarie vnto the Turke) had laied vpon them a moſt grieuous impoſition, as vpon euerie man a duckat a moneth, for which they exceedingly hated him. But here in MOLDAVIA, *Michael* the Vayuod (hauing ſtill in his companie H
one of the emperours commiſsioners in TRANSYLVANIA moſt truſtie ſeruants, who might faithfully report vnto them the whole manner of their proceedings) after the departure of *Sigiſmund* and *Ieremias* his enemies, ſtaied not long; but hearing that they were retired towards the confines of POLONIA, without longer delay made towards them, and the eighteenth of May found them by the caſtle OTHVNE neere vnto the riuer Neſter, being thirtie thouſand ſtrong; Polonians, Moldauians, Turkes, and Tartars: with whom he joyned a moſt fierce and cruell battell, which begun about ten a clocke before noone, was with great courage but greater obſtinacie on both ſides maintained vntill the euening. At which time the fortune of the Valachian preuayling, his enemies at laſt betooke themſelues to flight, of whom were there ſlaine eight thouſand, beſide many others of them drowned in the riuer Neſter: where of the Valachi- I
ans were loſt two thouſand onely. Concerning *Sigiſmund* and *Ieremias*, diuers reports were after this ouerthow giuen out, ſome ſaying that they were ſlaine, and ſome that they were in flying drowned: howbeit the truth was, that they both by flight eſcaped, to the greater trouble of themſelues as of their afflicted countries alſo. *Michael* after this ſo notable a victorie, taking in the reſt of MOLDAVIA, cauſed the people to ſweare their obedience vnto the emperour, himſelfe, and his ſonne, to the great offence of the Polonians, not a little (as they tooke it) wronged therein; but eſpecially of the great Chancellor, an old enemie vnto the houſe of AVSTRIA. Whereof enſued greater troubles in thoſe frontier countries than before, to the further effuſion of more Chriſtian bloud, much better to haue been emploied againſt the fatall enemie in defence of the Chriſtian common-weale. Yet thus the three warlike and frontier countries of TRANSYLVANIA, VALACHIA, and MOLDAVIA, the ſureſt bulwarkes of that ſide of Chriſtendome, and moſt expoſed vnto the furie of the common enemie, were now once againe vnited vnder the obeyſance of the emperour, to the great benefit (no doubt) of the Chriſtian common-weale, and hurt of the Turkes; if they might haue ſo continued, as God wot they did not long. K

Sigiſmund and the Moldauian ouerthrowne by Michaell the Vayuod.

Moldauia ſubdued by Michael.

Now the Vayuod notwithſtanding this ſo great a victorie, well conſidering that he of himſelfe could hardly keepe this new gained prouince of MOLDAVIA againſt the power of the Turke, pretending that to him it belonged as his own to giue to whom he pleaſed: as alſo againſt the Polonians (not more deſirous to reſtore *Ieremias* againe into MOLDAVIA, than the prince *Sigiſmund* into TRANSYLVANIA) without the help of ſome other more mightie prince whom he might reſt vpon: by his embaſſadours (ſent for that purpoſe) offered the ſoueraignetie of all L
thoſe three countries vnto the emperour, with condition, that he ſhould appoint him perpetuall Gouernour of the ſame vnder him. The emperour alſo vnderſtood how that *Mahomet* the great Turke had not long before againe ſent vnto him another of his Chiaus, commaunding him without delay to reſtore the countrey of TRANSYLVANIA vnto the prince *Sigiſmund* (vnto whom he was by the mediation of the king of POLONIA now before reconciled) threatning otherwiſe with fire and ſword to deſtroy VALACHIA, and by force of armes to depriue him both of TRANSYLVANIA and his life togither. Wherefore the emperour doubting leaſt the Vayuod either for feare, or for the better aſſuring of his owne eſtate, ſhould to his prejudice fall to ſome agreement with the Turke, yeelded to all that his embaſſadours had of him requeſted; with condition, that he ſhould be bound as need ſhould require to ſerue with his people againſt the M
Turke; and that in TRANSYLVANIA neere vnto his owne perſon ſhould be alwaies reſident one of the emperours counſellors, as Superintendent ouer the whole countrey. Wherewith the Vayuod being contented, the Emperour ſent thither doctor *Petzen* with ſix thouſand ſouldiors, and a great ſumme of money to pay the Vayuods ſouldiors, as he had before requeſted; and

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A ſo to take of them an oath, That they ſhould from thenceforth become his majeſties faithfull ſeruants. Which Superintendent ſo by the emperor ſent, the Vayuod receiued with great honour, as vnto him of all others moſt welcome. Neuertheleſſe being againe returned into TRANSYLVANIA, it was not long, but that (without regard of him) he begā with new exactions to oppreſſe the people of that countrey, and in ſome ſort to tyrannize ouer them; vſing great ſeuerities againſt diuers of the Nobilitie alſo, eſpecially ſuch as he knew to haue taken part before with the Cardinall, or now of late with *Sigiſmund* his couſin, or any way to haue fauoured his quarrell. All which he did without the conſent or good liking of *Petzen*, contrarie to his promiſe made, No more to embrue his hands in the bloud of the nobilitie of TRANSYLVANIA, without the knowledge or conſent of his Imperiall majeſtie, or the Superintendent by him appointed: which for
B all that had he not done, he could not poſsibly haue kept them (diſdaining to be gouerned by him) vnder his obeiſance. Neuertheleſſe the Tranſyluanians taking it in euill part to be ſo oppreſſed, and the nobilitie almoſt extinguiſhed, yea and indeed to be at all ruled by him; by generall conſent as if it had been but one man, riſe all vp in armes againſt him: inſomuch, that he finding himſelfe with his Valachians and other his fauourits too weake for them, retired with all ſuch as would follow him into the mountaines, and from thence ſent preſently for aid vnto the lord *George Baſta* (a worthy captaine and then the emperours lieutenant in the vpper HVNGARIE) for the ſubduing of theſe rebellious people, and the reducing of them to their former obedience. Who by letters from *Matthias* the Archducke at the inſtance of the Vayuod commaunded ſo to doe, with about ſix thouſand horſe and foot, and eight field pieces, remoued from CASSO-
C VIA in the vpper HVNGARIE the fourth of September: Where by the way came vnto him embaſſadours alſo from the people of TRANSYLVANIA now vp in armes, and confederat alſo againſt the Vayuod: who in like manner alſo requeſted his aid, pretending themſelues to be the emperours moſt loyall ſubjects, but not vnder the gouernment of ſuch a tyrant as was the Vayuod: alleadging and exaggerating many his moſt cruell actions, and clearely proteſting, That for the preſent want of a good Gouernour they were enforced for the ſafegard of their owne liues to band themſelues togither: which if happily it might be in any thing prejudiciall vnto the emperour his claime and intereſt, which he with ſo great toyle and coſt had procured in that prouince, it was againſt their wils, as enforced by neceſsitie to doe that they did in defence of themſelues. Which embaſſadours ſo ſent from the people, *Baſta* with all ſpeed diſpatched away backe again,
D comforting them without farther ſtir to expect his arriuall in TRANSYLVANIA: yet couenanting withall, That they ſhould before conceiue into writing the oath of their fidelitie and alleagiance vnto his Imperiall majeſtie. Now might many and important conſiderations trouble the mind of *Baſta* in ſo doubtfull a caſe. To giue aid vnto the Vayuod againſt the people, was the expreſſe order from *Matthias* the Archduke the emperours lieutenant Generall: but to aid the people confederat againſt him as they had requeſted, ſeemed now both more profitable and honeſt, eſpecially hauing moſt certaine tokens of the ſmall and doubtfull faith of the Vayuod; who onely by deputation intereſſed in that prouidence, was not ſo carefull of an other mans; neither ſeeming to haue regard of *Petzen*, or of his owne word giuen, for not farther embruing his hands in the bloud of the nobilitie of TRANSYLVANIA, without the emperors knowledge and leaue:
E vpon which promiſe was alſo grounded the Archdukes order for giuing of him aid. So that ſuch breach of his faith, and contempt of *Petzen* had haſtened the conſpiracie of the people againſt him, diſpairing of all other health than that which by force of armes they could procure vnto themſelues. To ſtand doubtfull himſelfe, or to hold others in ſuſpence, vntill that by courrors in this new caſe he might receiue new inſtructions from the emperour or the archduke, had in it too much danger, as giuing leiſure to each partie to make ſides, and to encreaſe the ſlander of the laſt yeare, That he might ſo eaſily (and eſpecially from the Valachian) haue aſſured that prouince to his majeſtie, had he not beene an heartleſſe man of no reſolution, euen ſuch an one as durſt not looke vpon a cat (as ſome had ſaid:) all which might not a little pricke an honourable mind. To take part with the people confederat againſt the Vayuod, if it ſhould not happily fall
F out at the firſt encounter; might betwixt the two contendants giue an entrance vnto the third, either the Turke or the Polonian in the fauour of *Bathor*: but if it ſhould ſort to the quite contrarie, and ſo himſelfe to looſe the day; then he ſaw himſelfe void of all defence againſt the malicious, eſpecially in that the world commonly meaſureth the wiſedome vſed in any action, according to the ſucceſſe thereof, than which nothing can be more vnreaſonable, but aboue all others

Michaell tyrannizeth in Tranſyluania.

The Tranſyluanians rebell.

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in matters of warre. In this ſo troubled a tempeſt of contrarie winds, of power to haue driuen a right good martiner out of his courſe, *Baſta* laid hand vpon the helme of good meaning, and ſpread the ſayles of ſuch diſcretion as taught him, in matters of warre to be lawfull for a Generall to depart euen from the inſtructions of his prince, not concerning the end, but the meanes leading to that end: eſpecially when the preſent occaſion ſo requireth, which the prince could not with reaſon before comprehend; as depending of the moſt mightie fortune of war, which ſuffereth not ſo much delay as to expect counſell from farre. So in this ambiguitie, *Baſta* reſolued to joyne himſelfe vnto the confederats, moſt in his judgement concerning his Imperiall majeſtie, as being the vttermoſt ſcope of his ſo great coſt and charge, to keepe the country of TRANSYLVANIA at his deuotion, which conſiſted in the people, and not in the woods or mountains: the matter being not great by what means ſoeuer it were done, ſo that it were honourable and honeſt. G H

Baſta taketh part with the Tranſyluanians againſt the Vayuod in whoſe aid he was ſent.

Vpon this deſire *Baſta* ſet forward, and the 14 day arriued at TORDA, and there joyned himſelfe vnto the confederats (to the great wonder of the Vayuod in whoſe helpe he was ſent:) where repoſing himſelfe one day conſulting and conſidering of their forces, about twelue thouſand ſtrong, with foure field pieces, beſides eight of his owne, with the ſix thouſand ſouldiors hee brought with him, in all about eighteene thouſand: he determined not to giue leyſure vnto the Vayuod to call vnto him farther helpe, hauing now with him about twentie thouſand foot and twelue thouſand horſe, with ſeuen and twentie field pieces; amongſt whom were diuers of the Siculi, in hope of their auntient libertie, men of good account and ſort, with a mixture of the Coſſackes, Valachians, Raſcians, and Seruians, people of prey ſeruing onely to ſpoile: whom *Baſta* knew to be farre inferiour in courage to his twelue thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe; I not onely for the valour of his owne men accuſtomed vnto the frontire ſeruice, but alſo for the confederats: who engaged with their goods, liues, and honour, and deſirous to be reuenged of the Vayuod, were like enough to ſtand well by it. Wherefore he ſet forward the ſixteenth day, and in two daies march came within ſight of the Vayuod: who hauing ſent out certaine great troupes of horſemen to take view of the enemie, and ſeeing them repulſed, ſet fire on MIRISLO, a village faſt by, out of which they had before drawne certaine ſmall field pieces into the campe.

MIRISLO is a village two leagues on this ſide of ALBA IVLIA, directly vpon the high way, ſtretching from the ſide of Maracz, a nauigable riuer, vnto the foot of an hill; alongſt which the riuer running, ſometimes neerer, and ſometimes further off, together with the riſing of the hill, K maketh an vnequall liſt of ground, in ſome places halfe a mile broad and more, and in ſome other ſhut vp as it were into a narrow throat, as in the ſelfeſame place where the aforeſaid village ſtandeth, and where the Vayuod lay encamped in a place of great aduantage, behind a great trench drawne from the riuer croſſe that little ſpace of ground betwixt the mountaine and the riuer. On this ſide, which frō MIRISLO the further a man goeth the further the plaine enlargeth, *Baſta* encamping cloſe vnto the village, oppoſed againſt the comming of the enemie three great *corps du guard*, two of them Hungarians, towards the hill fauoured with a church, and the third towards the riuer, of the Almaine footmen, vnder the charge of countie *Tomaſo Caurioli* of BRESCIA, Sergeant Major of the field, with all the artillerie: who as in a place neer and very open vnto the enemy there entrenched himſelfe, ſtill approching neerer and neerer both on the one ſide and the L other. Towards the euening of the ſelfeſame ſeuenteenth day came to *Baſta* one *Peter Armenio* with letters from the Vayuod, containing, That hauing vnderſtood of his arriuall in the campe of the conſpirators, he now further deſired to know whether it were by the conſent and commaundement of the emperour, or not; and how it came to paſſe, that he would ſo doe, conſidering the diuers chances of warre, the ſword hanging as it were euen ouer his head, if hee ſhould chance to loſe the battell? Whereunto *Baſta* anſwered, That the morrow following he would ſhew him the authoritie he had from the emperour (alluding to the imperiall ſtanderd he carried with him:) and that as concerning the fortune and danger to enſue, he referred that vnto the will and pleaſure of the Almightie, the juſt judge of all controuerſies. But in the meane time hee exhorted him to leaue that prouince he had ſo euill gouerned, vnto his imperiall majeſtie, as he was M in dutie bound; promiſing him free paſſage into VALACHIA, and giuing him time to conſider thereupon vntill eight a clock the next morning; after which time it ſhould be free for euery man to doe for himſelfe what he could. Which anſwere the Vayuod hauing red, enflamed with diſdaine, with many proud words full of threats and diſgrace, although it was then night, preſently

A ſently cauſed by the ſound of the drum and trumpet the battell to bee proclaimed againſt the next day.

On the other ſide, *Baſta* after he had aſſured his campe, hauing not onely ſent, but gone himſelfe to haue the counſell of his owne eyes, for his better vnderſtanding how the enemie lay: and finding no reaſonable meanes for him there to attempt any exploit by, as well for the ſtrength of the trench before the front, and in part along the ſide of the enemies campe, as alſo for the danger of a riſing ground on the left hand, whereunto all the plaine betwixt the enemies campe and the village was ſubiect: thought it beſt to remoue, and to make a ſhort retreat about the ſpace of an Italian mile, according to the commodiouſneſſe of the place; thinking it no hard matter, of ſo proud an enemie and not altogether ſo well acquainted with martiall ſtratagemes, to gaine a no-
B table victorie. This his purpoſe propounded in counſell, was greatly diſliked of the captaines of the confederates: vnto whom it ſeemed more ſafetie to aſſault the Vayuod, yet lying in his ſtrength, than to retire before the face of an enemie, ſo ſtrong and aduenturous: for that ſuch a retreat according to the manner of that countrey, would be deemed no other than a plain flight; and to breake his order and ariſe, was (as they ſaid) but to diſcourage his owne people, and to encourage his enemies. But *Baſta* the better to perſuade them, promiſed therein to ſhew vnto them a more cunning kind of fight than was yet vnto them knowne; and declared the aſſurance that he in his own perſon, with the Almaines in the rereward would giue them in that retreat, in ſuch ſort, as that they ſhould not looſe ſo much as a man, much leſſe they needed to feare to fall into any diſorder in ſo ſhort a ſpace, his purpoſe being only to giue the plaine vnto the enemie, wher-
C in to ſhew himſelfe in the open field. So the retreat being agreed vpon, the morning following being the eight and twentith of September, the three *corps du guard* (before ſpoken of) were betimes called backe, and the baggage ſent away: after which followed the Tranſyluanians and Hungarians, the Almaines in the rereward encloſing the great ordinance.

The battell of Miniſlo betwixt Michael the Vayuod and Baſta the emperors lieutenant.

The Vayuod aware of their departure, ſent forthwith a great troupe of horſemen, eſpecially of the Coſſackes, to take view of them, and to skirmiſh with them; which were ſo farre kept off by a companie of musketiers in the rereward, as that they could not come ſo nigh as to doe any harme, although that all the way they went they were by them ſtill charged, to the great contentment of *Baſta*, to ſee ſo good a beginning of his deſignes as might bring them all to their wiſhed effect. But when he ſaw the great artillerie vpon the carriages to come out of the village,
D a certaine ſigne that the enemie ſet forward with all his forces, he marched faire and ſoftly to giue him hope to ouertake him: and ſo retired as farre as he thought good from the village, hauing before thought of a conuenient place wherein his people might with roume ynough vpon aduantage ſtay: when as about halfe a mile from him, and as farre from the village, he might ſee the enemie march with his people in order of battell, then began he to march towards him alſo: and perceiuing the enemie to come on in one onely thicke front, by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the place, hauing on the right hand towards the riuer placed as it were all his horſemen, and towards the mountaine his footmen alone, and fiue hundred foot placed aloft without any artillerie, as it ſeemed he would haue done, hauing planted ſome below at the foot of the hill in the way, and in the middeſt, euen before the front of the battell, where the horſemen came after the foot-
E men: he alſo placed his ſquadron in one front onely, to the entent not to be encloſed by the enemie on the flanke of his armie. The bodie of his maine battell conſiſted of one great ſquadron of about three thouſand Almaine footmen, flanked on each ſide with a hundred & fiftie Rutters of SILESIA: before the ſquadron toward the right hand he had ſet a looſe wing of three hundred musketiers: in the right wing towards the hill he placed a companie of launces, with two ſquadrons of the countrey footmen: and in the left wing toward the riuer one ſquadron of Tranſyluanian footmen, and two of launces, for that the enemie was at that time very ſtrong in horſemen: the Coſſackes, archers, and harquebuſiers he placed in the reward: of his great artillerie he would make no vſe, for that hauing not much, he would not ſtand vpon the defence thereof, but deſired rather with all ſpeed to come to the ſword with the enemie, vnacquainted with ſuch cloſe
F fight, foot to foot; and well the leſſe fit, by reaſon of their light armour. And therfore he thought it beſt firſt to ſet forward his ſquadron of Almaines to giue the charge, bending towards the right hand, amongſt the thickeſt of the footmen towards the artillerie at the foot of the hill, as thereas was the ſtrength of the enemies infanterie. And doubting in the performing hereof, to be charged on the left ſide with a great ſquadron of about three thouſand launces, which ſeemed

to ſtand vpon that wing to giue the firſt charge; hee gaue order vnto *Rechouiz* his lieutenant G
and colonell of the Rutters, which had the leading of the left wing, that he ſhould at a certaine
ſigne giuen, ſet forwards towards the left hand, for the charging of that great ſquadron. So his
people being ſet in order, and the manner of proceeding ſet downe, hee putting on his hel-
met, with cheerefull countenance ſaid, That at that time he truſted hee ſhould ſhew vnto the
Vayuod, that his truncheon could doe more than his ſcimitare: And himſelfe ſetting forward
betwixt the ſquadron of the Almaine footmen and the wing of the musketiers, about two
houres after noone, marched faire and ſoftly towards the enemie: who without mouing ex-
pected the diſcharging of their artillerie; whereunto the neerer that the enemie came vnto it,
the leſſe harme it did him, by ſhooting either ouer or ſhort in the field, which eaſily aſcended.
The wing of musketiers went directly to giue a charge vnto the artillerie; and the ſquadron to- H
wards the foot of the hill, where *Baſta* deſired forcibly to charge, that thereby they might bee
enforced to ſpend their firſt vollies, and with ſome diſcouragement or diſorder to retire, pre-
ſently came in all afront juſt vpon the ſigne giuen; and ſo with his Almaine footmen and the
Rutters on the right hand, encloſed and compaſſed in behind the greateſt part of the enemies
footmen. At which very inſtant, the Rutters on the left hand alſo ſo couragiouſly charged vp-
on the three thouſand launces, that better could not haue beene deſired of any band of moſt
Michael the Vayuod ouerthrowne. old and expert ſouldiours. The launces retiring without any hurt, and the firſt volley diſchar-
ged, forced the infanterie, and ſo diſordered the reſt. Whereupon the wings charging, there
enſued preſently a great ſlaughter and ouerthrow, onely fortie of *Baſta* his men being ſlaine,
and as many hurt; where of the enemies were loſt in the battell ten thouſand: and greater had I
the ſlaughter beene, if the village and approach of the night had not couered many of them
that fled, and ſtayed the purſuite of the victors that followed them. Which putteth me in re-
membrance of the great victorie that *Scipio Aſiaticus* had againſt *Antiochus*, wherein were
ſlaine of the Romanes but three hundred (although that in the fight one of the wings ſtood
for a time doubtfull) there being loſt of the enemies aboue fiftie thouſand. Howbeit there were
afterwards found in all (as was by the peaſants of the countrey reported) twentie thouſand
ſlaine in this battell. By this victorie *Baſta* recouered many enſignes and much armour, be-
fore ſent by the emperour vnto the Vayuod, together with all his tents and baggage. And
preſently after the ouerthrow there were many troupes of horſemen ſent out euery way with
proclamation, To ſpare the liues of ſuch of the Siculi as ſhould lay downe their armes: of K
whom many were ſent priſoners vnto diuers places, eſpecially to FOGARAS, a ſtrong towne
toward VALACHIA. As for the Vayuod himſelfe, hee with certaine Coſſackes eſcaped by
flight.

The morrow following, *Baſta* diſpatched away the Countie *Caurioli*, to enforme the em-
perour of all the particularities of the ſucceſſe of that expedition: who ſeemed to bee there-
with pleaſed, yet neither gaue reward vnto the Countie, neither commended *Baſta* in that he
had done, (foreſeeing perhaps what was to enſue thereof) although hee had in writing before
approoued his reſolution and motion made in fauour of the Confederates. Staying that day
This Chiaki was the chiefe man, and as it were the ring-leader of the Tranſyluanians into rebellion. in that quarter, *Baſta* gaue order vnto the Chiaki, to ſend out a thouſand horſemen to pur-
ſue the flying Vayuod: who in ſtead of ſo doing, joyning themſelues with other their con- L
ſorts, ſetled themſelues to ranſacke ALBA IVLIA, vnder the colour, that there was the Vay-
uods wealth and ſubſtance; yet (as the manner of ſuch men is) ſparing neither marchant nor
citiſen: which worthely ſeemed vnto *Baſta* a great wrong, for to ſee the innocent puniſhed, and
the guiltie to eſcape free. And albeit that he made what haſt he might thitherwards with all
his campe, and ſo ſtayed one day not farre from thence, to haue giuen ſome redreſſe vnto the
ſpoile that had happened: yet was all that his labour loſt, for that ſo many of the greater ſort
and chiefeſt amongſt them had their hands therein, with whom he thought it more wiſedome
as then to diſſemble, than to fall into any tearmes of ſeueritie, without hope of doing any
good. So he reſolued in all haſt to march towards FOGARAS (whither he heard ſay the Vay-
uod was come with new forces out of VALACHIA and MOLDAVIA) and in ſix daies march M
came to CIBINIVM, where he receiued certaine newes, That the Great Chancellour of PO-
LONIA, and *Sigiſmund* (ſometime the Tranſyluanian prince) were with a ſtrong armie vpon
the frontiers of MOLDAVIA; hauing ſent before them *Moiſes* the Siculian, with about
eight thouſand of the Siculi (his ſouldiours) to what purpoſe was eaſie to bee ſeene. Which

A aduertiſement interrupted the courſe of *Baſta* his victorie, for that it ſeemed not reaſonable to purſue the enemie, and to leaue behind him a doubt of ſo great importance: and eſpecially, for that he thought he could not aſſure himſelfe of the aid of the countrey people, in caſe that *Sigiſmund* their old prince were once ſeene in TRANSYLVANIA. Wherefore he thought good to ſtay where he was, to prouide for all euents as need ſhould be; and ſo reſolued to ſend the Chiaki and one *Ladiſlaus Pithi* to parley with *Moſes*, who made a ſhew of no great moment of his good will towards the confederats. In the meane time came two meſſengers from the Vayuod, offering in his name, that he ſhould doe whatſoeuer were in the behalfe of the emperour to bee impoſed vpon him: vnto whom theſe conditions were by *Baſta* and the reſt of the counſell propounded: Firſt, that hee ſhould for euer reſigne all the claime hee had or might haue into the
B countrey of TRANSYLVANIA; then, that he together with his armie ſhould giue his oath of fidelitie vnto his imperiall majeſtie; alſo, that he ſhould forthwith through VALACHIA go with his armie vnto the frontiers of MOLDAVIA, to ſtay the Polonians from further entrance; and moreouer, to giue his wife and little ſonne in hoſtage for the performance of theſe things. With which meſſengers was ſent one *Sebaſtian Techelli*, to receiue the oath and promiſed hoſtages: vnto whom was appointed for the place of their ſafe keeping, the biſhops caſtle in ALBA IVLIA, the Vaiuod hauing before requeſted, that they might be ſo kept in TRANSYLVANIA: although *Baſta* thought it much better to haue had them kept in the vpper HVNGARIE. This agreement being made, *Baſta* kept on his way towards Fogaras, which he found alreadie poſſeſſed by the Chiaki, and ſo from thence to CORONA. After which the Vayuod diſtruſting of the articles
C agreed vpon, went directly into VALACHIA, but not at all into MOLDAVIA; not ſo much diſcomfited with the forces of the Polonians whom he went againſt (not doubting to giue them a great ouerthrow) as for the diſtruſt he had of *Moſes* the Siculian, who in the battell might ſhew himſelfe his enemie behind him. Now whether it were for the diſtruſt he had in his owne followers, or onely for feare of treaſon by the Polonians plotted, being not likely that they with ſo ſmall forces were come to fight, without ſome greater ſecret deceit; he not knowing whom to truſt or to feare, of his owne accord tooke his flight into the ſtrength of the mountaines, without any great loſſe of his people, hauing left his baggage behind him, which was aſſailed and taken by the Haiduckes and ſuch other ſharkers enured to prey, and alwaies readie in like occaſion to helpe to ſpoile and chaſe them that are alreadie running: although that afterwards in diuers
D skirmiſhes with the Turkes (who to cauſe him the rather to turne his backe vnto the Polonians, had preſumptuouſly ſcoured vp and downe the countrey) he loſt many. In fine, giuing MOLDAVIA loſt, he was now out of hope how to be able to hold only VALACHIA, his old gouernment. Euen he which but a little before commaunded aboue an hundred thouſand ſouldiors in field: he (which in deſpight of who ſaid nay) was able to commaund VALACHIA and MOLDAVIA, and happily the other countries alſo neere vnto him; as hauing receiued the commaund of TRANSYLVANIA, as gouernour for the emperour: he that made CONSTANTINOPLE to tremble, and found no empire equall to his deſignes. But it fareth oftentimes with the great, as with birds of prey, who greedily ſeeking to prey vpon others, become themſelues a prey vnto other, greater than themſelues: for they neuer contented, and attributing onely vnto their owne
E valour and wiſedome, their owne proſperous proceedings, are the true ſhoares of the vnſtable wheele of fortune: or what ſay I of fortune? being rather the very children of follie. So commonly falleth it out with princes (eſpecially the new) which in the garboiles of warre betwixt their mightie neighbours, not gouerned by their owne wiſedome, reſt themſelues only vpon the aduice of their counſellours, are by them led they wote not whither, for the great intereſt they haue in them. For had the Vayuod had but the leaſt in ſight into politicall gouernment, he might well haue vnderſtood, that amongſt ſo many mightie princes, he could not much grow, or yet well root himſelfe, without the aſſured ſtay of ſome one or other of them. He ſhould alſo haue knowne within what compaſſe a new prince ought to haue vſed ſeueritie and rigour; and that he ought to abſtaine from all offence in goods, or otherwiſe, which might any way procure
F vnto him the diſpleaſure or hatred of his ſubjects. Whereas his counſellours not ſo much reſpecting his profit as their owne, had not the power or not the will to perſuade him ſo by good meanes to plant himſelfe ſure in TRANSYLVANIA; but ſo both caſt him headlong from his high eſtate, and at the ſame time furthered the loſſe of CANISIA, a matter of important conſequence.

A reconciliation made betwixt Michael the Vayuod & Baſta.

Michael for feare of being betrayed vnto the Polonians, taketh his flight into the mountaines.

Now

Now lay *Basta* encamped in the field in TRANSYLVANIA, when a messenger came vnto G
him from the great Chancellor of POLONIA, to declare vnto him, That it was not his purpose
to trouble TRANSYLVANIA, hauing no such order from his king: albeit that he would aduise
the Transyluanians if they wished to liue in quiet, to make choice of a prince of their owne na-
tion, and such an one as the Turke should well like of, whereas otherwise they should but seeke
their owne destruction, together with their neighbours. Which his counsell was well marked of
them all, albeit that it was thought by many of the wiser sort not so much to proceed of any
good meaning he had towards the Transyluanians, as of an old grudge and inueterat hatred hee
had alwaies borne against the house of AVSTRIA: as also that he euen then countenanced the
prince *Sigismund* with his armie, to no other end, but by him to raise vp new stirres in that pro-
uince, and so to draw it from the emperours obeisance, although thereby it became againe tri- H
butarie vnto the Turke, who in all these matters had a great hand. Yea some sticked not to say,
That he couertly aimed at that principalitie for his sonne, howsoeuer he masked the same vnder
the shew of *Sigismund* the late prince. But vnto him answere was giuen by the Transyluanians in
generall (with thankes for his good will) that in all their consultations they would haue a princi-
pall regard of their owne welfare, together with the common. Which answere he hauing re-
ceiued, forthwith placed one *Simon* (the brother of *Hieremias* the Moldauian) Vayuod of VA-
The Chancelour placeth a new Vayuod in Valachia in stead of Michael, by him driuen out.
LACHIA in stead of *Michael* by him driuen out, and so leauing a conuenient number of souldi-
ors with him, returned himselfe towards POLONIA. Vnto which election so made by the Polo-
nian, the Turkes craftily gaue place, knowing well to play the foxes where they could not play
the lyons, wisely for a time comporting the injurie: and the old Chancellor as craftie as they, ha- I
uing a secret purpose by occasion of these present troubles, to preferre his sonne at length vnto
the principalitie of TRANSYLVANIA, and thereunto also to joyne the countries of MOLDA-
VIA and VALACHIA, had therein of purpose placed the aforesaid *Simon*, a man of no valour,
and of a small apprehension, whom he might again at his pleasure displace, and joyne those pro-
uinces vnto his new purchase; which he could not so well doe, if he should haue there placed a
man of greater reach and courage. So worke the heads of the great, and so trauell the braines of
the ambitious aspiring.

False rumours raised to driue terrified Basta.
Basta vnderstanding of the retiring of the Polonians, entred into consultation with the Chi-
aki and other the principall men of that prouince (which lodged with the armie in the countrey
villages thereabout) for calling together the states and people, to make choice of some such men K
as they thought meetest to be sent vnto the emperour, to know his pleasure for the gouernment
of that prouince. But now in the meane time, whilest there was no suspition of the forraine ene-
mie, began to worke certaine Malecontents, which thinking with greater libertie to liue vnder a
weake prince than vnder one of greater power, with one voice cried out, That *Sigismund* with a
great power was entered into the confines of TRANSYLVANIA; one whiles towards VALA-
CHIA, another while by the way of MOLDAVIA; and that the strength of the countrey and
others therby still resorted vnto him: with other such like inuentions, of purpose deuised to haue
made *Basta* suddenly departed, or at least wise to haue troubled the Diet or assembly called, and
the consultation also. But he well aduised of their purpose, moued not out of his quarter, but there
lay very priuatly, to declare thereby the great confidence he had in the thankefulnesse of the no- L
bilitie of the countrey, as by him deliuered from the oppression of the Vayuod: as also to make
them to vnderstand, That the gouernment to be appointed, was not to be setled in the sole power
of a tyrant, but in the fidelitie of the subjects protected vnder a most gentle, royall, and most fa-
therlike gouernment, not ambitiously sought after, but most voluntarily of themselues offered,
and (for the common good) by the emperour accepted. Beside that, he knew right well how that
Castaldo (in like case before in the yeare 1551 sent into TRANSYLVANIA with eight thousand
Almaines) left behind him his armie, and without any precedent courtesie went priuatly to AL-
BA IVLIA, where queene *Isabel* had for her defence assembled a Diet of all the states, and there
by well handling of the matter got to *Ferdinand* the emperour that kingdome, which hee could
not by the fear of his forces haue gained: for which doing, Writers attribute vnto him the name M
of great wisedome; notwithstanding that the yeare following he was enforced to abandon his
conquest, but yet not through any default in himselfe.

But it is truly said, That men pleasured, according to the occasion change their manners, as
doth the Chamelion his colour according to the place: nothing being by nature so short, nothing
of

A of leſſe life than the remembrance of a benefit with the vnthankfull, which the greater it is, the more it is repaied with vngratitude; either by making it to haue been of little worth, or to haue proceeded not of courteſie, but from ſome other more priuat and proper conſiderations of the giuer. The Diet (aforeſaid) being aſſembled, diuers broiles were there raiſed by the malecontents, as vſually it commeth to paſſe where the people haue to doe with the gouernment; apt to be moued with euerie rumour, alwaies readie to change their opinion as ſhreight glutted therewith, headſtrong, faithleſſe, all in words to no end: Some of them in that aſſembly cried out, that the Almaines might be paied, diſcharged, and thanked for the paines they had taken for them as their neighbours, with offering to doe them the like pleaſure as their occaſions ſhould require: otherſome cried to haue them all put to the ſword, ſo much they were deuoid of reaſon:
B others cried out as faſt, that they were not by any meanes to endure the gouernment of *Maximilian* the Archduke, but by ſome nominated vnto them would needs haue a prince of their owne countrey, and ſuch an one as the great Turke ſhould well like of, as the Chancellor had perſuaded them. *Baſta* for all that not diſmaied with ſo vnexpected an encounter (albeit that he began to ſuſpect that he had loſt all his labour, if he were not in ſhort time with greater forces relieued) at ſuch time as the Chiaki with other the chiefe men amongſt the people, came as their manner was euerie other day to viſit him: with couragious ſpeech and vnappauled countenance told them plainly, That he well perceiued their drift and purpoſe; and yet doubted not either of their oath of obedience giuen vnto his Imperiall majeſtie, either of the freſh remembrance of the great benefit they had from him ſo lately receiued; and in caſe it might happen them little to
C eſteeme of thoſe things (greater than which could not happen amongſt men) that yet they ſhould well know, that he was not a man to be feared with words, but fully reſolued not to ſtirre one foot thence with his forces but rather to loſe his life, which he would for all that ſell as deere as he could. Wherunto anſwere was giuen with much courteous ſpeech, That he ſhould not giue eare vnto any the ſpeeches of the light vulgar people; but to content himſelfe that the Nobilitie in whoſe hands the chiefe power of that prouince was, had not done any thing not beſeeming theſelues. So after much diſpute, were appointed three perſons according to the three eſtates (the Nobilitie, the Commons, and the State in generall) to go vnto the Emperour, to requeſt of him *Maximilian* the Archduke for their Gouernour: with ſpeciall requeſt alſo, that it would pleaſe him not to ouercharge with forrein ſoldiors that prouince alreadie ſore impoueriſhed; eſpecially
D hauing in it ſelfe people ſufficient for the defence thereof, and more nimble to encounter with the Turkes, than the heauie and ſlow Almaines and they alſo of double charge. Theſe difficulties with much adoe thus appeaſed by ſuch as ſtood faſt for the emperour, *Baſta* thought it not good againe to call any ſuch aſſembly, hoping that time and the emperors great wiſedome, would for all theſe matters find conuenient remedie. Yet ſaw he plainly the mind of the people was to reſolue to remaine for euer free, if they ſhould haue come to a ſecond conſultation; and in them a princely deſire to commaund rather than to be commaunded: Yea in that ſelfeſame Diet the Chiaki was declared Gouernour on the behalfe of the people, with authoritie in many things of himſelfe to determine without calling togither of any aſſembly of the reſt of the States: which they ſaid they did only vntill they were by his Imperiall majeſtie prouided of a Gouernour. Ne-
E uertheleſſe *Baſta* well perceiued more than a Tribunitiall power to be now joyned by the people vnto the emperours commiſsioners, knowing that this Chiaki was in great hope to haue beene proclaimed prince of the confederats, in caſe they had not beene preſently relieued againſt the Vayuod: and hauing in him yet noted ſtill his great ambition, for that marching from TORDA toward the Vayuod, he cauſed to be carried before him a ſpeare with an Hungarian cap, and a plume of feathers vpon a launce, in token of his chiefe commaund; albeit that afterwards at the complaint of *Baſta*, pretending therein a wrong to be done vnto his regiment marching vnder the Imperiall ſtandard, he tooke it downe: neither was he then a little ſuſpected to haue ſuffered his ſouldiors to haue ſacked ALBA IVLIA, as alſo to haue ſurpriſed FOGARAS, and to haue vſed diuers other meanes all tending vnto popularitie and ambitious aſpiring: wherein he dee-
F med it yet better to diſſemble than to proceed farther, and then to doe it in deed when he had power ſufficient.

The firſt ſpeech of Baſta, vnto the Chiaki and the reſt of the nobilitie of Tranſiluania.

The next day following came all the Counſell of that prouince, with the Deputies (appointed to haue gone vnto the emperour) and the people vnto the houſe of *Baſta*, requeſting him (although ſuch their manner of comming might ſeeme to exceed the bounds of requeſt) that hee would

would ſend his Germanes out of the countrey, and ſo after ſo many troubles to giue it leaue a G
little to breath: as for himſelfe, that he might ſtay at ALBA IVLIA, vntill the men deputed to
that purpoſe might go vnto his majeſtie with their requeſts. *Baſta* not a little troubled with ſuch
an imperious requeſt, and now (but not before) perceiuing the occaſion of this great diſcontent-
The errour of B. ſta. ment; ſaw himſelfe much deceiued in a moſt materiall point and the ground of all this action, by
truſting too much vnto his owne too ſmall forces, too weake for the defence of his owne perſon,
much leſſe to keepe vnder ſo populous a prouince, ſuch as before in the yeare 1552 vnder the
leading of *Caſtaldo*, had of it ſelfe ſent out 70 thouſand fighting men for the beſieging of LIP-
PA, and now vpon the ſudden twelue thouſand with a few noble men in the face of a mightie and
armed enemie; where they now held an armed conſultation with him, the Nobilitie meeting to-
gither with their great retinues; and ſo much the greater, by how much the ſuſpition was the H
more by them feared, for them to be enforced to reſolue vpon any thing contrarie to their good
liking: whereas he contenting himſelfe onely with their oath without any other hoſtages, and
ſo giuing aid vnto the confederats, had put himſelfe vpon their faith, togither with all his peo-
ple, into the middeſt of TRANSYLVANIA; a matter of far greater importance than any pledge
they were able to haue giuen him. Beſides that, of the ſix thouſand men which he had brought
with him into that countrey, three thouſand fiue hundred of SILESIA now brought to two
thouſand, could not be perſuaded longer to ſtay without their pay before hand, the pay of their
countrey being alreadie ſpent: and the reſt drawn out of the garriſons of the vpper HVNGARIE,
or elſe there preſſed, were at a certaine time to returne. Yet neuertheleſſe he attempted in ſome
ſort to ſatisfie their requeſt, for not grieuing of the countrey, by requeſting of them to deliuer vn- I
to him ſome ſtrong place, whereinto he putting his men in garriſon, they might ſo lie without
any farther charge or trouble to the countrey, liuing vpon their owne wages. Which when he
could not obtaine, and withall conſidering that if thoſe few of his people which yet remained
could be contented to ſtay with him, the retaining of them might giue occaſion vnto the deſi-
rous of new ſtirs vpon euerie the leaſt diſorder of the ſouldiors, to alter the matter at their plea-
ſure; as had happened vnto the eight thouſand Almaines of *Caſtaldo*, driuen ſometimes out of
that countrey vnder the colour of ſome inſolencie by them committed, although others had
been the chiefe doers thereof, namely about ſome twentie Polonians: he reſolued of all theſe
things to giue notice to the Court, and ſo faire and ſoftly to march with his ſouldiors vnto the
confines of that countrey; and to ſaue his eight pieces of artillerie with his other munition in Sa- K
mos Viuar caſtle, a ſtrong fortreſſe a good way within the confines, which togither with the
ſtrong caſtle of KVIVAR, *Aga Leche* an Albanoiſe and Generall of the Vaiuods horſemen de-
liuered to *Zakel* captaine of ZACCOMAR, one of his majeſties commiſsioners; who there pro-
uided for the Gouernor *Baſta* his familiar fauourit: although that the Tranſyluanians had with
great promiſes ſought to haue croſſed ſuch deliuerie of the aforeſaid caſtles, and to haue had
them in their owne power.

The diſcretion of the doer is not alwaies to be deemed by the euent of the thing done.

Wherfore *Baſta* not deceiued, but by neceſsitie enforced, yeelded that he could not hold, and
gaue that he could not ſell, making a vertue of neceſsitie; deceiued in the euent of the matter
which he had propounded vnto himſelfe from the beginning, for the aſſurance of that countrey
vnto the emperor, by an excuſable error, if it be true that ſome wiſe men ſay, Nothing to be more L
vnreaſonable than by the euent of matters to judge of their wiſedome by whom they were man-
naged; which conſiſteth not in diuining before of the certaintie of the euent, but in the reaſonable
conjecture thereof, by the meanes leading thereunto, than which nothing is more deceitfull, as
not depending from our owne actions onely, but from other mens alſo more groſſe and vnrea-
ſonable: none knowing better how much the wiſedome of man deceiueth it ſelfe, than thoſe
which are vnto themſelues true witneſſes of the euent of their owne conſultations. Neuerthe-
leſſe the matter was afterward ſo well handled by *Baſta*, *Petzen*, and others the emperours great
fauourits in TRANSYLVANIA, that in a Diet holden by the Tranſyluanians, he was with a con-
uenient guard againe by them receiued as the Emperours lieutenant, vntill further order were
by him taken for the gouernment and aſſurance of that countrey: the Chiaki and his complices M
faintly conſenting thereunto, as not greatly pleaſed therewith. Neither had *Baſta* much cauſe
to be prowd of ſuch his gouernment, hauing thereof no longer aſſurance than pleaſed that fickle
people to afford him: yet ſith no better could be had, he muſt take it as he might, deeming it
better in ſome ſort for the preſent to hold it for the emperour, than not at all: with which his

weake

A weake ſtate amongſt moe enemies than friends, we will for a while leaue him.

But whileſt things thus paſſed (as we haue ſaid) in TRANSYLVANIA and HVNGARIE (the treatie for peace betwixt the Emperour and the Turke being vaniſhed into ſmoake;) *Ibrahim Baſſa* the Turkes Generall in HVNGARIE, hauing all the laſt winter made great preparation for the inuaſion of the emperours territories, and the doing of ſome notable enterpriſe for the recouerie of his reputation ſomewhat impaired by the euill ſucceſſe of the laſt yeares warres; and euen in theſe his greateſt preparations of this yeare, not a little troubled by the mutinie of the Ianizaries and Spahi for want of their pay at CONSTANTINOPLE, as alſo with the rebellion in CARAMANIA: now at length in the latter end of Auguſt (by order from the Grand ſignior his great lord and maſter) began to ſet forward with his armie from BELGRADE, ſuppoſed to be
B aboue two hundred thouſand men ſtrong. And comming to BABOTSCA, a ſtrong fortreſſe of the Chriſtians in the nether HVNGARIE, ſat downe before it, and hauing planted his artillerie, furiouſly battered it, with purpoſe to haue the next day aſſaulted it: but the captaine of the caſtle conſidering the weakeneſſe of his garriſon to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemie, and that the wals to be alreadie ſore ſhaken with the furie of the great ordinance, came to a reaſonable compoſition with the Baſſa, and ſo deliuered vnto him the place. Which exploit done and the caſtle to him ſurrendred, he marched from thence to CANISIA, a ſtrong towne in the frontiers of STIRIA, of moſt men before ſuppoſed a place impregnable; for that it was ſituat in a very deepe mariſh, and furniſhed with a ſtrong garriſon of valiant ſoldiors, part Hungarians and part Almaines: after this ſtrong towne *Ibrahim* the great Baſſa eſpecially longed, ſo to free thoſe frontiers of the *Canisia beſieged by the Turks.*
C Turkes from the often incurſions that the garriſon ſouldiors of that place made thereinto; as alſo by the taking of that ſo ſtrong a fortreſſe from the Chriſtians, to open a more free and ſafe paſſage for the Turkes into AVSTRIA, to the endangering of other places of the empire alſo farther off. Wherefore encamping his great armie on the ſide of the mariſh which compaſſed the Iſle round whereon the towne ſtood, he began with fagots and earth to fill vp the mariſh, ſo to paſſe ouer his armie; they in the towne in the meane time not ceaſing with their thundring ſhot to diſturbe them, and to doe them what harme they might: who for all that proceeding in their worke, had brought it now almoſt cloſe vnto the iſland, where whileſt they were about to haue landed, they were by the ſouldiors of the garriſon ſo encountred, that hauing loſt a number of their men as well Ianizaries as others, with two of their beſt captaines alſo, they were by plaine
D valour enforced to retire. But preparing themſelues againſt the next day with a greater force to haue again returned vnto the aſſault of the Iſle, they ſaw the Imperiall armie now at their backs, and come ſo neere them, that with their artillerie they did them great harme; which put them in no ſmall feare, ſeeing themſelues encloſed betwixt the towne and the campe, and both out of the one and the other to receiue no ſmall hurt, as well with the ſmall ſhot as the great: beſides that out of the campe diuers whole bands ſometimes ſallied, diſcharging great vollies of ſhot euen into their trenches. In the Imperiall armie were about two and fortie thouſand horſe and foot, men of diuers nations, vnder the leading of duke *Mercurie*, now Generall of the Emperors forces in HVNGARIE; with whom were alſo the lords *Nadaſti*, *Eſdrin*, *Bacchian*, and the Gouernour of CROATIA, with diuers other famous captaines, come thither for the reliefe of CA-
E NISIA, a place of ſo great importance for the defence of that ſide of the country, and to helpe that it fell not into the power of the barbarous enemie. But *Ibrahim Baſſa* vnderſtanding by his eſpials the ſmall number of the Chriſtians; and well knowing how much he was too ſtrong for them by reaſon of his great multitude, went out againſt them, and finding them as readie as himſelfe, ioyned battell with them, with great ſlaughter of men both on the one ſide and the other: which bloudie fight (the victorie yet ſtanding doubtfull, but in all mens iudgement more enclining vnto the Chriſtians than to the Turkes) was at length by the comming on of the night broken off. At which time the Chriſtians retiring themſelues into their trenches, the Turkes ſtood all the night in the field with their weapons in their hands, as fearing to haue been againe in the night by their enemies aſſailed. Meane while the Chriſtian captaines in the campe at variance
F amongſt themſelues, and ſo not now to be commaunded by duke *Mercurie* their Generall (at ſuch time as the Turkes preſuming on their multitude dared them to battell the next day) could by no meanes be perſuaded to go out againſt them, or once to ſtirre out of their trenches. Inſomuch that the Generall of the Tartars thereupon taking courage, made an inroad into the country thereby, and meeting with two hundred wagons laden with victuals going vnto the Chri-

The battell betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks before Canſia.

ſtian campe, ſlew the conuoy that guarded them, and ſo carried them quite away. Whereby G
ſuch want aroſe in the Chriſtian campe, that hauing not what to eat, and out of hope of any
new ſupply of reliefe in time to come, they were glad by night to diſlodge and retire; which
could not ſo ſecretly be done, but that it was by the Turkes perceiued, who preſently following
after them in the taile of the armie, cut off about three thouſand of them, with certaine pieces of
great ordinance, and moſt part of the baggage; the reſt of the armie in the meane time retiring
farther off into places of more ſafetie. From this victorie the Turkes returned againe to the ſiege
of CANISIA, where after a few daies, the garriſon ſouldiors now out of hope to be in good time
relieued, ſuddenly fell into mutinie, refuſing any longer to defend the towne now hardly laied
vnto by the Turks; and the rather, for that diuers of the Hungarians were alreadie fled out of the
towne vnto the Baſſa, hauing (as it was thought) reuealed vnto him the whole eſtate of the be- H
Canisia yeelded vnto the Turks. ſieged: ſo that now there was no remedie but that the towne muſt be deliuered vnto the enemie,
although *Paradiſer* with ſome other of the captaines did what they might (as they ſaid after-
wards) to haue perſuaded the contrarie. Whereupon they came to parley with the Baſſa, and
couenanting with him that they might with bag and baggage depart, and with a ſafe conuoy be
brought ouer the riuer Mur, promiſed to yeeld vnto him the towne: all which the Baſſa gran-
ted, fearing how to haue been able to haue kept the field, if they ſhould for any long time haue
holden out, Winter now ſo faſt approaching. So the two and twentith of October the towne
was vnto the Baſſa right cowardly deliuered, and the garriſon ſouldiors with their baggage in an
hundred wagons lent them by the Turks, ſafely conducted ouer the Mur as was vnto them pro-
miſed. After the agreement made for the yeelding vp of the towne, the Baſſa in courteſie ſent I
vnto *Paradiſer* the Gouernour a verie rich gowne of cloth of gold; which albeit that he refuſed,
yet was it afterwards laid to his charge as a preſumption of ſome treacherous colluſion betwixt
him and the Baſſa for the betraying of the towne, which it was thought he might much longer
haue kept. *Ibrahim* now thus poſſeſſed of the towne he ſo much deſired, fortified it more ſtrong-
Sclavia forraged by the Turks. ly than euer it was before; and for the more aſſurance thereof, put into it a ſtrong garriſon of
foure thouſand foot and fiue hundred horſe, all old expert ſouldiors. And immediatly after with-
out reſiſtance, forraged the countrey round about CANISIA, burning all before him as he went;
the poore Chriſtian inhabitants ſtill flying as faſt as they could for ſafegard of their liues. But ha-
uing thus with the ſpoile of the countrey well pleaſed his ſouldiors, he deſirous to haue the ſame
againe in time repeopled, as thereby to yeeld vnto the Turks the more profit, ſtaied their farther K
outrage, vpon great paine forbidding the ſame; by open proclamations in euerie place ſet vp, in-
uiting the Chriſtians without feare of farther harme to returne againe into the countrey, where
ſubmitting them vnto the great Sultans obeyſance, they ſhould vnder his protection ſafely dwell,
without any tribute to be of them exacted for the ſpace of three yeares next following. Which
proclamations were in his name thus publiſhed.

Ibrahim Baſſa to the Inhabitans of the countrey about CANISIA, greeting.

Ibrahim Baſſa his proclamation *We* Ibrahim Baſſa *by the grace of God, Viſier, and Couſin vnto the moſt puiſſant and inuincible*
Sultan Mahomet, *Emperour of the Turkes, vnto all the Inhabitants of the marches about* CANI- L
SIA, *and the reſt of the countrey of* STEIRMARCK, *from the greateſt to the leaſt, greeting. Where-*
as we haue willingly heard that ſome of you willing to ſubmit your ſelues vnto the great Sultan, and to
ſweare vnto him fealtie, are againe returned vnto your old dwellings: We promiſe and aſſure you vp-
on the faith of the ſaid Emperour, that whoſoeuer ſhall be found neere vnto the fortreſſe of CANI-
SIA *now belonging vnto the great Sultan, with all reuerence ſubmitting himſelfe as his ſubiect vnder*
his gouernment, acknowledging him for his Soueraigne; ſhall enioy moe priuiledges than euer he did
before, and alſo be protected in the ſame. And for that we know that your houſes are for the moſt
part deſtroied, as alſo your poſteritie; you ſhall therefore for theſe three yeares next following be ex-
empted and free from all tributes and charges whatſoeuer, to the intent you may the better recouer
your ſelues. Of which grace if you ſhall willingly accept, we promiſe you, that neither you, your wiues, M
or children, ſhall be in any thing wronged, or your goods in any part impaired, but ſo much as in vs poſ-
ſibly is to be defended: ſo that ſo many of you as pleaſe, may in ſafetie returne vnto your owne old dwel-
lings, giuing before knowledge thereof vnto the Gouernour of this our fortreſſe. Giuen in our campe
after the conqueſt of CANISIA.

Many

A Many of theſe poore countrey people before fled for feare of the Turkes, and not knowing where to beſtow themſelues, now vpon this proclamation returned againe to their antient dwelling places, there to begin the world againe vnder the Turkiſh obeiſance. But for that Countie *Serinus* was the man whom of all others in that countrey the great Baſſa ſought after, as him whom hee moſt feared after his departure to trouble this his new conqueſt, and to ſeeke to bee reuenged; hauing in this ſo generall a calamitie of STIRIA his countrey, loſt twentie villages of his owne, quite burnt by the Turkes, and the people moſt ſlaine or els taken priſoners: the Baſſa hauing many times before ſought to haue perſuaded him to haue yeelded his obedience vnto the Turkiſh Sultan, and now in hope after ſo great a loſſe to bring him in, before he were come vnto the vtter ruine of all his fortunes (now by the loſſe of CANISIA, and the entrance of the Turkes
B into STIRIA, not a little endangered) writ vnto him as followeth:

We Ibrahim Baſſa, *chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes, and couſin vnto the moſt puiſſant Sultan* Mahomet, *to the Countie* Serinus *ſendeth greeting. We haue oftentimes heretofore written vnto thee concerning the matter thou knoweſt of: but what the cauſe is that we receiued no anſwere, we cannot tell. Yet could I not but write to thee againe, that if yet thou canſt be content to begin the matter aright, and to ſubmit thy ſelfe vnto our protection, we will be readie to receiue thee. Thou ſeeſt, that what we foretold thee, is now more than fulfilled both vpon thee and thine, which thou wouldeſt neuer beleeue. Neuertheleſſe, for the ſtaying of the further effuſion of the blood as well of thy ſubiects as ours, and to come to ſome good attonement, it is high time for thee to lay thine hand vpon thine heart, and to conſ-*
C *der how much more it concerneth thee than vs, and that the benefit thereof redoundeth more vnto thine than ours. What our affection is towards thee,* Hierome *the Vayuod can tell thee. Fare thou well from our campe after the conqueſt of* CANISIA *the ſeuenth of Nouember,* 1600.

Ibrahim Baſſa his letters vnto the Countie Serinus.

But theſe letters being alſo as the reſt anſwered with ſilence, the great Baſſa hauing diſpoſed of all as he thought beſt at CANISIA and in the countrey thereabout, returned with his armie to BELGRADE, there to Winter: hauing before fully certified the great Sultan of all his proceedings, and the ſucceſſe of this war, vaunting after his vaine manner, the next Spring to beſiege VIENNA alſo, if it ſhould pleaſe him ſo to commaund. Of all which things *Mahomet* vnderſtanding, and not a little therwith pleaſed, cauſed great triumphs to be made by the ſpace of foure
D daies at CONSTANTINOPLE, and in token of his loue and fauour ſent a rich robe of cloth of gold, with a leading ſtaffe, all ſet with pearle and pretious ſtones, vnto the Baſſa, yet lying at BELGRADE.

Ibrahim Baſſa returneth with his armie to Belgrade.

This loſſe of CANISIA much troubled all that ſide of Chriſtendome, eſpecially them of the territories belonging vnto the houſe of AVSTRIA, in a ſort diſmaied to ſee the Turkes ſo eaſily poſſeſſed of a towne, before thought almoſt impregnable, and the ſtrongeſt defence of all that countrey againſt the furious impreſsions of the Turks, to whom it was now become a moſt ſafe and ſure receptacle, all men with one voice blaming the diſcord of the captaines in the imperiall armie for ſo retiring without any good doing: but aboue all deteſting the cowardiſe of *Paradiſer*; who knowne to haue in the towne a ſtrong garriſon, with good ſtore of munition and
E victuals (as was ſuppoſed) had ſo baſely deliuered the ſame vnto the enemie, not doing the vttermoſt of his deuoir as had beſeemed him for the defence thereof: whereas if he had ſo done, happily in the meane time the cold and vnſeaſonableneſſe of the weather (though no other reliefe had beene) Winter being now come, might haue enforced the Turkes to haue raiſed their ſiege. Whereupon he was for this ſo foule a fact by the emperours commaundement apprehended and caſt in priſon at VIENNA, where after he had long line, and his cauſe oftentimes examined, he was the next yeare following condemned of fellonie and cowardiſe, and ſo the fifteenth day of October executed, hauing firſt his hand at foure ſtrokes of the executioner ſtruck off, and after that his head: with him was alſo in like manner executed his Enſigne-bearer: and after them his lieutenant, with the maior of the town, who both bound faſt to a ſtake, had firſt their tongues
F cut out, and afterwards their heads chopt off alſo.

Paradiſer executed for the yeelding vp of Caniſia to the Turkes.

Now the rebellion before raiſed in CARAMANIA by *Cuſſahin Baſſa* (as is aforeſaid) was not with his death altogether appeaſed. Alſo ORFA, a great citie of that countrey (which hauing taſted the ſweetneſſe of libertie in the time of *Cuſſahin*) yet ſtill holding out againſt *Mehemet* the great Baſſa, the Sultans lieutenant Generall there. At which time alſo a companion of *Cuſſahin*

the late rebell, called the *Scriuano*, and one of his greateſt fauourits; ſeeing how hardly not onely *Cuſſahin* himſelfe, but the reſt of his followers had beene handled by the Turkes, began to make head, and to call vnto him all ſuch as loued their libertie: vnto the ſweet name whereof, ſo many were in ſhort time come about him, as that out of them he formed ſuch an armie, as made him now dreadfull vnto the Turkes his enemies. Againſt whom, *Mehemet Baſſa* going with all his power to haue oppreſſed him, found him with thoſe his rebellious followers ſo couragious (for the deſire they all had to breake out of the *Othoman* ſlauerie, and to liue in ſuch libertie as was promiſed them by their captaine and Generall) that joyning battell with them, he receiued of them a notable ouerthrow, inſomuch that fearing to haue loſt his whole armie, he was glad to retire, and to ſend out commiſsions for the raiſing of greater forces. Sultan *Mahomet* in the meane time, whether it were for feare of this new rebellion, or for that he vnderſtood of the embaſſadours ſent from the Perſian vnto the Chriſtian princes, began to ſuſpect leaſt that king ſhould breake the league he had with him, and ſo to his farther trouble take vp armes alſo againſt him. Wherefore vpon a Turkiſh pride he ſent an embaſſadour into PERSIA, to giue the king to vnderſtand, That for the more aſſurance of the league betwixt them, he demaunded to haue one of his ſonnes ſent vnto him in hoſtage, as a pledge of his fathers faith. Which ſo proud a demaund the Perſian king tooke in ſuch diſdaine, that he commaunded in his rage the embaſſador to be forthwith ſlaine: but that his furie being by his graue counſellours ſomewhat appeaſed, he remitted the ſeueritie of that his rigorous commaund, and ſparing his life, was contented, that in deſpight and contempt of him that had ſent him, he ſhould be put to the Baſtonado onely: and ſo grieuouſly threatened, ſent backe againe vnto his maſter. Who hauing receiued this ſhamefull anſwere, and in doubt of ſome further matter from that angrie king, commaunded new and ſtrong garriſons to be put into all his ſtrong holds confining vpon the Perſian kingdome.

The Turkes embaſſadour euill entreated by the king of Perſia.

G H I

1601 This troubleſome yeare of Iubilie thus paſt, the emperour much troubled with the loſſe of CANISIA, and in doubt of worſe to come (albeit that *Ibrahim Baſſa*, whom for all that he truſted not, did afreſh entreat with him concerning peace) and ſeeing alſo the great need hee had of greater aid to withſtand the mightie power of the Turke, with great inſtancie requeſted aid of the Pope and of the other princes of ITALIE: who conſidering alſo how much it concerned the reſt of the Chriſtian commonweale, to haue the frontiers of HVNGARIE defended, condiſcended vnto the emperours requeſt: and ſo the Pope with the beginning of the Spring ſent him eight thouſand ſouldiours in pay, vnder the leading of *Io. Franceſco Aldobrandino* his nephew their Generall, who with the like charge had now ſerued euer ſince the yeare 1599: King *Philip* alſo at the inſtance of the emperour gaue order vnto the Countie *Fuentes* to ſend into CROATIA certain bands of Dutches; who by direction from him, were forthwith conducted to MILLAINE: The great duke of FLORENCE alſo ſent vnto him two thouſand ſouldiours, vnder the leading of *Franceſco del Monte*; with whom alſo by his appointment went the lord *Io. de Medices*, whom *Ferdinand* the Archduke forthwith requeſted for to be maſter of his campe: Thither came alſo the duke of MANTVA with an honourable companie both of horſe and foot, being forthwith by the Archduke made his lieutenant generall. And ſo whileſt theſe people aſſembled together into CROATIA, the emperor ſent alſo another good armie into HVNGARIE, drawne for moſt part out of GERMANIE, which vnder the leading of the Archduke *Matthias* his brother, and the duke *Mercurie* his lieutenant generall, went into thoſe parts to withſtand the Turke. A third armie he alſo made of the Imperials: which ſtrengthened with the forces of *Don Ferrant Gonzaga*, Gouernour of the vpper HVNGARIE, joyned themſelues with *Baſta*, for the recouerie of TRANSYLVANIA; out of which he had been of late driuen, as ſhall hereafter be declared.

The aid ſent out of Italie vnto the emperour.

K L

And ſo whileſt theſe armies were in preparing, many hot skirmiſhes paſſed in HVNGARIE betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks, the loſſe falling ſometime to the one ſide and ſometime to the other. But the time now come that ſouldiors might well take the field, *Ibrahim Baſſa* being now before dead at BELGRADE, whileſt he was yet entreating of a diſſembled peace, and *Haſſan* one of the Viſier Baſſaes by *Mahomet* appointed Generall in HVNGARIE in his place: yet delaying his comming, the parley for peace laied aſide (as neuer indeed by the Turkes intended, but onely by them entertained to dallie off the time to their owne more aduantage) duke *Mercurie* Generall of the emperours forces taking the offer of ſo fit an opportunitie, came with his armie from COMARA (where he had lien expecting the euent of the parley) and laied ſiege to ALBA RE-

Ibrahim Baſſa dieth at Belgrade

M

Alba Regalis beſieged by duke Mercurie.

A REGALIS, one of the chiefe and ſtrongeſt cities of HVNGARIE: which ſeated in the middeſt of a mariſh, was thought almoſt impregnable, being hardly to be approached but by the ſuburbes, which ſtrongly fortified and defended by the mariſh, ſerued the citie in ſtead of three moſt ſure bulwarkes, within which ſtood alſo the citie it ſelfe, well defended with a good wall and a ditch. This citie the duke for certaine daies continually battered, as if he had purpoſed at length to haue taken it by aſſault: but in the meane time certainely enformed by a fugitiue (but lately fled out of the citie) that the broad lake on the other ſide of the citie oueragainſt the place where he lay, was not ſo deepe, but that it was to be paſſed (contrarie to the opinion both of the Turkes captiues and of the naturall inhabitants, whom he had vpon that point examined) and that the Turkes preſuming vpon the ſtrength therof, and thinking themſelues on that ſide ſafe, had turned almoſt
B all their care and forces vnto that ſide of the citie which was now by him battered, without regard of any great perill to be from the other ſide feared: he appointed the lord *Ruſſwurm* with his ſouldiors to make proofe if the SIGETH ſuburbes (for ſo they were called) on the aforeſaid ſide of the citie ſo little regarded by the Turkes, were not to be ſurpriſed: for that theſe ſuburbes being taken, the citie could not long hold out. For the vndertaking of which enterpriſe, *Ruſſwurm* was both by the captiue Turkes and countrey people thereby dwelling, much diſcouraged, they all with one conſent affirming, That albeit he ſhould find no other difficulties in the attempting thereof, yet the lake it ſelfe was not poſsible to be paſſed: who neuertheleſſe not altogether truſting them, ſent certaine of his men ſecretly to trie the matter: who hauing ſo done, brought him
C word, That the lake was vndoubtedly though with much difficultie to be paſſed. Whereupon he with a thouſand ſelect ſouldiours with euery one of them a good faggot on his backe beſide his armes, to fill vp the deepeſt of the mariſh, by night entered the ſame; wherein he had not gone farre, but that he almoſt with the danger of his life found it much deeper and more troubleſome than the ſpies had vnto him before reported: but caried with an inuincible courage himſelfe, and his ſouldiors moued by his example, he ſtill went on, they alſo following of him. It is almoſt a thing incredible to tell what theſe aduenturous men endured, plunged in the deepe mud amongſt the flags and bulruſhes, going ſtill vp in water and mud vnto the waſt euen where the mariſh was the ſhalloweſt; where alſo if one miſſed but a ſtep, he was by and by ouer head and eares, and in danger to be drowned, if he were not by his fellowes preſently holpen: yet at length by God his helpe hauing with the loſſe but of ſix or ſeauen men a little before day got ouer, the duke by an
D appointed ſigne aduertiſed thereof, with greater ſtirre and tumult than at any time before aſſailed that ſide of the citie where he lay, as if euen then and there he had onely meant to haue engaged his whole forces for the winning thereof. When in the meane time the lord *Ruſſwurm* on the other ſide with his reſolute ſouldiours, with ladders prouided for the purpoſe ſcaled the wals of the ſuburbe, and almoſt vnperceiued, recouered the top thereof (the Turkes being at the ſame time wholly bent for the defence of the other ſide of the citie, where moſt ſtirre and apparent danger was) and ſo being got into the ſuburbes, with a great and terrible crie aſſailed the Turkes; who ſurpriſed with an exceeding feare, and not well knowing which way to turne themſelues, without any great reſiſtance fled into the citie, the Chriſtians following them at the heeles, and making of them a great ſlaughter. In which ſo great a confuſion, euen where was leaſt feared,
E the duke by other his ſouldiors tooke the reſt of the ſuburbes as he had before determined, the Turkes there alſo for feare forſaking them, and retiring with all the haſt they could vnto their fellowes in the citie, there to liue or die together. The Chriſtians in theſe ſuburbes, beſide much other rich prey, tooke alſo foureteene great pieces of artillerie, with good ſtore of ſhot and pouder. The ſuburbes (the greateſt ſtrength of the citie) thus happily taken, the duke againe ſummoned the citie, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him: whereunto the Turkes gaue no other anſwere but by their pieces, which they diſcharged vpon the Chriſtians ſo perſuading them to yeeld. Wherewith the duke much diſpleaſed, ſent them word, That he would ſend them other manner of meſſengers to morrow, and by Gods helpe ſup with them in the citie, although he were not vnto them welcome. Neither failed hee of that his promiſe: for the next day hauing
F out of the ſuburbes by the furie of his artillerie made two faire breaches into the citie, he by the ruines thereof with great ſlaughter of the enemie entered the citie, albeit that the Turkes did what they might to haue defended the ſame, by caſting downe vpon the Chriſtians as they entered, darts, wild fire, and ſuch like things, vſually prouided for ſuch purpoſe. But ſeeing now no remedie, but that they muſt needs giue place vnto the fortune of their enemies, they fledamaine into

The ſuburbes of Alba Regalis ſurpriſed by the lord Ruſſwurm.

Alba Regalis taken by the Chriſtians.

into their houſes, there to defend themſelues, or els to die: many of which houſes they had before G
of purpoſe ſo vndermined, as that they could eaſily ouerthrow them, and ſo ouerwhelme as ma-
ny as ſhould come within the danger of them: which ſo ſtrange a reſolution was by many of
them as deſperatly performed, inſomuch that the goodly church, the pallace, with many other
ſumptuous buildings, were left vnto the Chriſtians all rent and torne, not much better than rude
heapes of rubbidge and ſtones. Howbeit the Baſſa vpon promiſe of life yeelded himſelfe, and was
by the duke preſently ſent vnto the campe, the reſt of the ſouldiors being (as in ſuch caſe it com-
monly happeneth) all or moſt of them put to the ſword. The greateſt part of the prey fell vnto
the Wallons; who by heapes breaking into the richeſt houſes, not onely tooke what themſelues
light vpon, but ſtript the Germans alſo of ſuch things as they had by chance gotten, to their great
heart-burning and griefe: yea theſe rauenous and irreligious men not ſo contented, opened the H
tombes of the Hungarian kings, there long before buried, to ſpoile euen the dead of ſuch things
as had for honours ſake beene long before enterred with them (if happily any ſuch thing were
there to be found) ſhewing themſelues therein more barbarous than the Turks, who by the ſpace
of threeſcore yeares hauing had the citie in their poſſeſsion, had yet ſpared thoſe reuerend mo-
numents, and ſuffered the reliques of thoſe worthie princes to reſt in peace. Of this taking of
ALBA REGALIS, the Baſſa of BVDA long before taken priſoner, and then lying at VIENNA,
hearing, abſtained from meat with his two ſeruants a whole day proſtrate vpon his face, praying
vnto his prophet *Mahomet*, who had (as he ſaid) all this yeare ben angrie with the Turks. Which
had the ſiege of CANISIA taken the like effect, had then vndoubtedly been vnto them moſt vn-
fortunat: but God in his wiſdome ſtill tempereth the ſweet with the ſoure. I

Aſſan Baſſa commeth out of ſeaſon to haue relieued Alba Regalis.

Now in the meane while was *Aſſan* the Viſier Baſſa and Generall of the Turkes armie with
ſuch ſouldiors as were alreadie aſſembled at BELGRADE, comming to haue relieued ALBA RE-
GALIS: and albeit that he vnderſtood by the way as he marched, that the citie was by the Chri-
ſtians woon, yet held he on his entended journey: and ſo taking with him the Baſſa of BVDA,
with the other Sanzackes and commaunders of the townes and caſtles thereabout, had formed
an armie of about threeſcore thouſand ſtrong, but for moſt part raw and vnexpert ſouldiours:
with which power he ſtill held on his way towards ALBA REGALIS, as well thereby to giue
ſome contentment vnto the angrie Sultan his maſter, as in hope alſo to ouerthrow the Chriſtian
armie, or at leaſtwiſe to find the citie as yet vnrepaired, and ſo to regaine it. But vaine was that
his deſignement, eſpecially for the recouerie of the citie: for that the duke had no ſooner taken K
it, but that he forthwith cauſed the breaches to be repaired, and for the more aſſurance of it, put

The victorie of the Chriſtians ouer the Turkes.

into it a ſtrong garriſon of old expert ſouldiours: and being himſelfe about twentie thouſand
ſtrong, and hearing of the Baſſaes comming, ſet forward to meet him, and being come neere
vnto him, began an hot and bloudie skirmiſh with him. Yet the Baſſa to proſecute his entended
purpoſe for the recouerie of ALBA REGALIS, the next day ſent away part of his armie, to make
proofe if happily the citie might yet be againe recouered, and himſelfe in the meane time with
the reſt of his armie offered battell vnto the Chriſtians, ſo to buſie them, that they ſhould not be
able to trouble them whom he had ſent to ALBA REGALIS, or to relieue the citie, if it ſhould
chance to bee by them diſtreſſed. When as the duke, before enformed of the baſeneſſe of the
ſouldiors in the Baſſaes armie, and that although he were for number of men farre aboue him, L
yet that for old, hardie, and expert ſouldiors he was ſtrong ynough for him, valiantly went out
and encountered him: and ſo euen at the firſt onſet by plaine valour diſordering the formoſt
ſquadrons of the Turkes battell, enforced them to retire with the loſſe of ſix thouſand men;

The Baſſa of Buda ſlaine.

amongſt whom were the Baſſa of BVDA, ſix Sanzackes, with diuers other captaines and com-
maunders of good place and marke. At which time he alſo tooke from them diuers pieces of
great artillerie, and had vndoubtedly with a notable ſlaughter ouerthrowne all the reſt of the Baſ-
ſaes armie, had not a great ſquadron of the Tartars euen at that inſtant ſhewed themſelues at the
backes of the Chriſtians, and ſo ſtaying them, giuen leiſure vnto the Baſſa againe to reſtore his
diſordered battaile. Whereupon the duke contenting himſelfe with the victorie he had alrea-
die gotten, in good order retired againe into his trenches, hauing in this conflict not loſt aboue M
three hundred of his people. But whileſt both armies thus lay, and new ſupplies ſtill repairing
vnto them, expecting but when they ſhould come to a generall day of battaile; the Ianizaries
ſtill murmuring, that it was now no time of the yeare longer to keepe the field, by their im-
portunitie enforced the Baſſa to retire to BVDA, and there to disband his armie. In which his

retreat

A retreat many were by the Christians cut off in the tayle of his armie, and a number of prisoners taken, and amongst the rest fiftie of the French mutiners of PAPPA, whom the archduke *Matthias* at the instance of duke *Mercurie* afterwards pardoned. Neither sped they much better that were sent by the Bassa to haue attempted the taking of ALBA REGALIS; for being come neere thereunto, they were so welcomed with great shot out of the citie, and charged with often sallies by the strong garrison, that seeing no hope to preuaile, they were glad to rise and to returne againe vnto the Bassa that sent them.

About the same time that the duke began to besiege ALBA REGALIS, *Ferdinand* the archduke hauing receiued great aid from the Pope, with the other princes of ITALIE and the king of SPAINE, and so now thirtie thousand strong, by the aduise of the duke of MANTVA his lieu-
B tenant Generall, resolued to besiege CANISIA; which to haue again recouered out of the hands of the Turkes concerned much, not them of STIRIA and AVSTRIA onely, but the other prouinces adjoyning, yea and ITALIE it selfe also: whereupon hee with his armie in good order came the tenth of September and encamped before it; the duke of MANTVA and *Don Iohn di Medices* with two thousand harquebusiers and two cornets of horse, being come the day before to take view of the towne, at whom the Turkes made diuers shot, but without any harme doing. And albeit that the Turks there in garrison in number not past a thousand (accounting amongst them three hundred of the Wallons sometime of the garrison of PAPPA) with their often and gallant sallies greatly troubled the Christians, and that great bands of other Turkes came many times out of the strong towne and fortresses thereby, to skirmish with them, and to see if they
C could put any moe souldiors into the towne for the more assurance thereof: yet such was the carefulnesse of the Christian commaunders, and valour of their souldiors, that the Turkes both in the one place and the other, were to their cost still repulsed and put to flight, with the losse also of some of their small castles and forts thereabout. To approach this strong towne and to plant a batterie against it, seemed to be a matter of great difficultie, for that it was (as we haue elsewhere said) enuironed round with a marish: yet meanes was found to drie it a little, and to fill it vp on the one side, and to come so neere the towne, that hauing planted three tyre of artillerie against it, the Christians began furiously to batter it, beating downe both the wals, the houses, and other buildings therein. Yea at length they had brought their approaches so neere, that they were come with their trenches euen close vnto the towne ditch, persuading the Turks now whi-
D lest they might vpon good conditions to surrender the towne, and so to saue their liues. Whereunto their fierce and enraged minds were so farre from hearkening, that brauing the Christians, they said, That they would in despight of all their forces keepe the place for their Sultan doe what they could. Whereupon the Archduke and the duke of MANTVA, by the aduise of *Medices* and the rest of the principall captaines and commaunders in the armie, resolued to giue a generall assault vnto the towne. In the meane time newes was brought into the campe, of the winning of ALBA REGALIS, which there made great rejoycing, in signe whereof the Christians (as the manner is) in triumph many times discharged their great ordinance: and by fit men persuaded the garrison souldiors in CANISIA to yeeld, and not to cast themselues into such danger as had their fellowes at ALBA REGALIS, for that in so doing they should not onely saue
E their liues, but easily also obtaine such other good conditions as they could reasonably desire; whereas otherwise they should to their cost find the Christians strong enough to constraine them, which must needs bring with it their vtter ruine and and destruction. Whereunto the garrison souldiors (amongst whom the renegat Wallons were the chiefe) contemptuously answered, That they little feared such weake assaylants: and with great crie and scorne commaunding the messengers to depart, in token of their confidence as also not to seeme inferiour vnto the Christians, oftentimes to small purpose discharged their great ordinance, as had the Christians the day before. Now though the wals of the towne were with continuall batterie sore shaken, and the breaches almost laid open; yet was the intended assault for a while delaid, vntill the bridges might be made that were to be laid ouer the towne ditch, for the Christians to passe ouer
F vpon. But all things (as was thought) now in a readinesse, and the Florentines with some other of the Italians (whose lot it was to giue the first assault) being come forward, the bridge whereby they were to passe the towne ditch was found both too short and too weake for them to get ouer vnto the other side by: so that sincking vnder them, not the souldiors onely but euen the commaunders themselues and namely *Herberstein*, were in great danger to haue been lost. By which

Canisia besieged by Ferdinand the Archduke.

which meanes they hindred, and the enemies murthering pieces continually flanking them, and G
their musketiers ſtill playing vpon them afront, they were enforced to retire, leauing behind them
three hundred of their men ſlaine. Yet were not the Chriſtian commaunders any thing there-
with diſcouraged, but being generally reſolued not to giue ouer that they had taken in hand vn-
till they had brought it to effect, began to make ſuch prouiſion as they knew to be needfull to
preſerue their armie vnder, againſt the violence of the winter weather; as alſo to hinder that no
victuals might be brought vnto the towne, ſo by famine at length to enforce the Turkes and
Wallons to yeeld: who although they were alreadie pinched with wants, inſomuch that horſ-
fleſh was daintie cheere with them; yet for all that they nothing abated of their wonted fierce-
neſſe, but being againe required to yeeld, vouchſafed not to anſwere them one word, but in ſtead
thereof ſhooke their naked ſwords a farre off at them, in token of their vndaunted courage. But H
yet for all this reſolution of the commaunders for the continuance of the ſiege, *Aldobrandino* Ge-
nerall of the Italians being now a little before dead (of an old infirmitie he had) the Italians be-
gan at the firſt ſome few of them ſecretly to withdraw themſelues out of their quarter: but after-
ward by greater numbers to depart, and ſo to returne againe into their countrey; alleadging for
their excuſe, want both of pay and victuals. But the reſt better minded, vnderſtanding that the
Turkes were riſen from before ALBA REGALIS, and the reſt of their armie disbanded, began
to enter into new hope by ſome deuiſe or other to paſſe the ditch, and ſo by force to take the
towne: and the rather, for that they were by a French fugitiue enformed both of the weakneſſe
and wants of the beſieged. Whereupon they began afreſh to make new engines for the approa-
ching of the wals, without danger of the enemies ordinance any more to flanke them. At which I
time alſo (*viz.* the fourth of Nouember) the lord *Ruſſworm* came vnto the campe, ſent thither
from duke *Mercurie* with eight thouſand ſouldiors (after that *Haſſan Baſſa* had broke vp his ar-
mie) by whoſe comming they were alſo the more encouraged to proſecute that they had ta-
ken in hand: neither fayled the Turks in the meane time with often ſallies to trouble the Chri-
ſtians, attempting aboue all things to haue fiered their tents; for that ſo lying open in that ſo cold
a ſeaſon of the yeare, they muſt thereby of neceſsitie be enforced to raiſe their ſiege and be gone.
But the ſucceſſe of theſe their ſo great deſsignes was not anſwerable to their hopes, being ſtill to
their loſſe beaten backe into the towne by the Chriſtians: whom it behooued to looke well
about them, for that the beſieged deſperatly ſet, and all reſolued rather to die than to yeeld, ad-
uentured themſelues to all dangers, neuer ceaſing to doe what they might to put the Chriſtians K
out of hope for winning the towne. But whileſt the Turkes with doubtfull and as it were deſpe-
rat hope ſo defend the place, and the Chriſtians grown ſtronger by the comming of their friends
lay in hope to win the ſame: lo, in the latter end of Nouember the North wind accompanied
with a deepe ſnow, ſo furiouſly raged, that it ouerthrew the greateſt part of the tents and pauilli-
ons of the Chriſtians, and as it were buried their whole armie in the ſnow and iſe; in ſuch wiſe,
as that in *Ferdinand* the archdukes campe (being reaſonably well prouided for) were a thouſand
fiue hundred men, with three hundred horſes, ſtarued and frozen to death. At which time the
ſtate of them that came with the lord *Ruſſworm* was moſt miſerable, who wearied with the ſiege
of ALBA REGALIS, and as it were ſpent with the dirtie trauell of the deep way, had not brought
with them their tents or other prouiſion, and were therefore enforced to lie abroad in ſo cold and L
vnreaſonable a time: with whoſe miſeries, although their good Generall was much grieued, yet
to doe the Chriſtian common-weale ſeruice, he with them right patiently endured. In which ſo
great an extreamitie, the Archduke with the reſt of the commaunders vpon view taken, well con-
ſidering what ſmall hope there was in good time to take the towne, the vnreaſonableneſſe of the
winter weather ſtill more and more increaſing; thought it better in time to riſe, than longer to
expoſe their armie vnto moſt certaine deſtruction, either of the enemie or the cold. Which was
done with ſuch haſt and confuſed tumult, as that their riſing ſeemed rather an haſtie flight than
honourable departure; leauing behind them for haſt their great ordinance, with their tents and
baggage; a common voice ſtill running, That they were well if they might but ſaue themſelues:
ſo that the ſouldiors euery man mindfull but of himſelfe, and in feare to be purſued by the enemy, M
no man chaſing them, fled, but ſtill accompanied with ſuch furious windes, ſnow, and extreame
cold, that with all the labour they could take they could get them no heat, but fell downe to the
earth many of them frozen, and ſo once falling neuer roſe more, being vnable for want of heat to
helpe themſelues: in which caſe they were not to expect for helpe from others, euerie man ha-

The Chriſtians by tempeſt and extreamitie of weather enforced to giue ouer the ſiege of Canſia.

uing

A ning ynough to doe to looke vnto himſelfe: ſo that vpon the way whereby the armie went thus diſperſed with the weather, lay aboue fiue hundred dead of cold; beſide foure hundred others left ſicke in the forſaken trenches, who forthwith after the departure of the armie were thought to haue beene all put to the ſword by them of the garriſon of CANISIA.

But hauing thus paſſed through theſe troubles of HVNGARIE, it is time now alſo to looke backe againe into the frontier countries of TRANSYLVANIA and VALACHIA; which to haue kept in the emperours obeiſance, and ſo preſerued as a liuely member of the Chriſtian commonweale, no leſſe concerned him, than the keeping of any other his frontier territories, which are many. *Michael* the Vayuod of VALACHIA, the laſt yeare for his crueltie firſt driuen out of TRANSYLVANIA by *Baſta*, and afterwards out of VALACHIA by the Great Chancellour of
B POLONIA (as is aforeſaid) and another placed in his ſtead, as a man forſaken euen of his owne better fortunes, and not well knowing which way to turne himſelfe: thought it beſt now at laſt to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the emperour, if ſo happily by his meanes he might in ſome ſort repaire his broken eſtate, and ſo at leaſtwiſe recouer his gouernment in VALACHIA. So reſolued, he ſet forward, and in the beginning of this yeare, *viz.* the three and twentith of Ianuarie, with fiue and thirtie of his followers and ſix coaches arriued at PRAGE, where he was by the emperours appointment honourably receiued, and his coſt at the emperours charge defrayed. Vnto whom he excuſed himſelfe of the ſeueritie by him vſed in TRANSYLVANIA (the cauſe of thoſe late troubles in that countrey) as enforced thereunto by the ſtubbornenеſſe of the Tranſyluanians themſelues, whom he found ſtill enclined to rebellion, and vnwilling to be commaunded by any
C but by themſeues. Which his excuſe (as true) was well admitted, and he with all kindneſſe vſed. Now at this ſame time *Baſta* lying alſo in TRANSYLVANIA, as Gouernour for the emperour, right ſlenderly accompanied, (as is before alſo declared) the parliament at CLAVSENBVRG being ended, and all controuerſies (as was thought) well compoſed, now without feare one night the watch being ſet, went to bed to take his reſt; where he had not long lien, but that certaine of the Tranſyluanian lords, among whom the Chiaki was chiefe, came with their followers, and ſurpriſing the watch, and entering the pallace, brake into the chamber where he lay, tooke him out of his bed, and ſo kept him priſoner all that night. And the next morning going forth, about twelue miles off met with *Sigiſmund Bathor* their late prince, before ſecretly by them called in,
D whom they honourably conducted to CLAVSENBVRG, and there deliuered vnto him *Baſta*, the late gouernour for the emperour, whom he commaunded to be caſt into yrons: and ſo going to the pallace, gaue like order for the apprehending and ſafe keeping of the reſt of the nobilitie alſo, ſuch as had taken part with *Baſta* in the behalfe of the emperour. For now the Tranſyluanians were deuided into three parts: whereof the one ſtood for the emperour; the ſecond for *Iſtuan Bathor* (pretending, that vnto him belonged the ſoueraignetie of that prouince) but the third and farre the greateſt, for *Sigiſmund* their antient lord and leader, who now by means of the king of POLONIA reconciled vnto the great Turke, and in this troubleſome time by his fauourites called againe into his countrey, was by them joyfully receiued at ALBA IVLIA, CLAVSENBVRG, and the reſt of the chiefe cities of TRANSYLVANIA. Who now thereof againe poſſeſſed, for the better aſſuring of his eſtate forthwith writ vnto the emperour what had
E happened, requeſting him to content himſelfe, that he was deſirous of his loue and fauour, promiſing to be alwaies his good friend and neighbor, and for euer to keepe good amitie with him: giuing *Baſta* alſo (whom he had now at the interceſsion of certaine great friends againe enlarged) to vnderſtand, That hee was forthwith to depart from all the places belonging vnto his principalitie, as alſo to ceaſe from further moleſting of his people that were now voluntarily againe returned vnto his obedience. Which his requeſt was neither of the one nor of the other much regarded or hearkened vnto: for the emperour vpon the firſt aduertiſement of this ſo great an alteration in TRANSYLVANIA, calling vnto him *Michael* the Vayuod (not ſo much troubled with the ſtrangeneſſe of the matter, as for that his wife and ſonne, whom he had left as
F hoſtages with *Baſta*, were now come into the hands of the Tranſyluanians his mortall enemies) and ſatisfying him in many things that hee had before requeſted, tooke order with him, That with all conuenient ſpeed returning home againe into VALACHIA, where hee was now much longed for (the people generally diſliking of the ſimple Vayuod, by the great Chancellour ſet ouer them) and gathering together ſuch power as he could, he ſhould joyne himſelfe with *Baſta* his lieutenant generall, vnto whom he had alreadie ſent great companies both of horſe and foot for

Michael the Vayod ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto the emperour.

Baſta taken priſoner by the Tranſyluanians.

Sigiſmund recouereth his ſtate in Tranſyluania.

for the expulsing of *Sigismund* out of TRANSYLVANIA, and the reducing againe of that pro- G
uince vnder his obeysance. Whereupon the Vayuod forthwith returning into VALACHIA, and assembling about ten thousand of his friends, all good and expert souldiors, went to seeke for *Basta* as he had with the emperour agreed; whom he found readie in the field with about twentie thousand foot and eight thousand horse, but newly departed from VERADINVM: where mustering their armie, they with their vnited forces entered into TRANSYLVANIA, there to put in execution what the emperor had commanded. Where the Vayuod in disdaine of the people which loued him not, with fire & sword wasted all the country before him as he went: not without the great discontentment of *Basta*, to whom it seemed not good to make desolat that countrey which he was in good hope should in short time be his lord and masters the emperours. But *Sigismund* vnderstanding both of the comming of his enemies and of the harme they did in his H
countrey, rise from SOLNOCK where he lay encamped with his armie, and so to hinder their further proceeding went to meet them: howbeit being come so neere vnto them as that he might well discouer them, he would not come to the triall of a battell with them, which was by them offered; but fortified himselfe in his trenches, so seeking but to delay the time vntill the comming of the Tartars, which were to haue come vnto him from the Chancellor of POLONIA, as also of six thousand Turkes to haue been sent him from the Bassa of BELGRADE. Where hauing afterward vnderstood that the passage of the Tartars to haue been sent him, was staied by *Don Ferrante Gonzaga* the emperours lieutenant in the vpper HVNGARIE; and that the Turks staying at GIVLA would come no farther except they had their pay before hand: finding himselfe too weake with his owne power to encounter with his enemies, he rise with his armie, with pur- I
pose to haue retired a little backe, and to haue taken certaine straight passages whereby the enemie must needs passe, so by the aduantage of the place to haue holpen his owne weake strength.

Sigismund ouerthrowne by Basta and the Vayuod, flieth out of Transyluania.

But *Basta* and the Vayuod perceiuing his rising (whereinto they were still attentiue) followed him with such speed, that they ouertooke him before he could get thither, and so hardly prested him, that needs he must turne his face and joyne battell, or else suffer his people altogither like beasts to be slaine. In which doing, albeit that neither he nor his failed to doe what was by men to be done for the obtaining of a notable victorie, yet such was the valour of the souldiors of *Basta* and the Vayuod, that in a great fight hauing disordered his footmen, they put them to flight, and so cut them all in pieces. Which the prince beholding, and not able to remedie the matter, betime fled with his horsemen from the furie of his enemies, and so retired to the vttermost K
confines of TRANSYLVANIA, hauing in this battell lost ten thousand of his faithfull souldiors. Whereupon CLAVDIOPOLIS with diuers other cities and townes of that countrey, returned againe vnto the emperours obeysance.

In the prosecuting of this victorie, the Vayuod to satisfie the hatred he had of long borne against the Transyluanians, did what spoile he could, vtterly wasting all the places whereby he passed: which *Basta* not liking, requested him to vse his victorie with more modestie, and to haue more respect to what he did, especially vnto such places or persons as of themselues returned vnto the emperours obeysance. Whereunto he prowdly answered, That he would doe what he thought good without his appointment or the emperors either, especially in that countrey which he had now with his owne sword twise conquered: and that therefore *Basta* might L
commaund them that were by him to be commaunded, as for himselfe he acknowledged no soueraignte that either *Basta* or the emperour had ouer him. Vnto which his so presumptuous a speech *Basta* replied not, but yet much therewith discontented, began to enter into a great suspition from what ground those his haughtie conceits (easily by his words to be gathered) might grow. And so from that time better obseruing his proceedings, perceiued him to haue intelligence with the Turkes, with purpose to joyne hands with them, that so by their helpe chasing the Imperials out of TRANSYLVANIA, he might hold it to himselfe as tributarie to the *Othoman* emperour, of all others best able to defend him. Which to be true (beside diuers other strong presumptions) he certainly vnderstood by certaine letters of his written to that purpose, intercepted by his souldiors and brought vnto him: whereupon he became verie pensiue and M
heauie, for the great power the Vayuod was of in those countries, as also for the great strength he had euen then present about him, and wherewith he was as it were then guarded. So consulting with certaine of his Colonels and chiefe commaunders of his armie, what were best to be done in that so dangerous a case, whereof so much depended? a Wallon captaine offered himselfe

himselfe to go into the Vayuod his campe, and there in his owne tent to kill him as a traitour. Which his offer well liked of, and he as readie to performe as he was to promise, going into the Vayuods campe accompanied with some threescore men, and finding him in his tent, boldly stepping to him, willed him to yeeld himselfe the emperours prisoner: Wherat he being about to lay his hand vpon his scimitar, the Wallon captain with an holbard thrust him into the breast, at which verie instant another with a sword at one blow claue his head downe to the shoulders. An vnworthie death for so worthie a captaine, had not ambition the torment of great spirits carried him too high with the wings of immoderat desire, beyond the bounds of loyaltie and reason. But there he lieth now dead among his friends, whom the great Turke sometime more feared euen in his pallace at CONSTANTINOPLE, than he did all the rest of the emperors commaunders: Presently vpon his death a great tumult and hurly burly was raised by the souldiors in his campe: but *Basta* forthwith shewing himselfe with all his souldiors in armes, and withall producing the letters declaring the treason by the Vayuod contriued with the Bassa of TEMESVVAR against the emperour, all was againe appeased: but especially for that his souldiours now saw themselues without an head, and too weake also for the Imperials there present and alreadie in armes. In the Vayuods tent were also other letters found, so plainly declaring his secret collusion with the Turke, and treason against the Emperour, that the Walachians who at the first were wonderfully mooued with his death, and hearing the same read, rested not now onely contented, but said moreouer that he was worthely slaine, and that if they had knowne him to haue had any such traiterous purpose, they would themselues long before haue taken of him deserued punishment. Now vnto his souldiors *Basta* offered, at their choise, either to depart whither they would without danger; or else taking the oath of obedience vnto the emperour to enter into his pay, which most part of them did. The tumult appeased, the dead bodie of the Vayuod was laid out a whole day for the souldiors to gaze vpon, and so afterward buried. So lieth he, that but of late and many times before, had so fortunatly ouerthrowne his enemies; vnhappie man himselfe now ouerthrowne by his owne ambition and vnconstancie.

Michael the Vayuod slaine.

Basta now deliuered of the great feare he had before of the Vayuod, what by force, what by agreement, in short time tooke in most part of the country: for that the Transyluanians seeing the small power of *Sigismund*, and well comforted with the death of *Michael* the Vayuod so much of them hated; as also to auoid the dangers euen presently hanging ouer their heads from the Imperials, if they should in any thing shew themselues obstinat against them, submitted themselues wholly to the courtesie of *Basta*, so that the places were but few that yet held out for the prince *Sigismund*: who in the meane time was doing what he might for the raising of a new armie (hauing not altogither with this late ouerthrow forthwith also lost his hope) by the helpe of the Turkes, Tartars, and Polonians, to recouer againe the possession of his state, and by force of armes to chase out the Imperials. But he being brought to so low an ebbe, and almost the countrey of TRANSYLVANIA possessed by *Basta*; who would not haue thought but that now after so long trauels it would haue remained wholly at the emperours deuotion? and so many that thought themselues to see much, said assuredly it would. But see the change, and what small assurance euen the greatest haue of the constancie of the vaine multitude: neuer more like themselues, than in disliking to morrow what they best liked to day, foolish, senceless, improuident, rash, headstrong, violent, and aboue all things mutable and vnconstant. So now for all that *Basta* had done for the assurance of this countrey vnto the emperour (being so much as most men thought to haue been sufficient, and indeed as much as was possible for him to doe) euen in the winding vp of this yeare 1601, the Transyluanians vnderstanding that *Sigismund* with a great armie of Polonians, Turkes, and Tartars, was now comming against the Imperials, most part of them presently tooke vp armes in his fauour, saying, That their first oath voluntarily giuen vnto him as their naturall prince and Gouernour, was more to be respected than any other afterwards by force extorted from them by a forrein prince. Insomuch, that *Basta* perceiuing with what a tempest he was like euen presently to be ouerwhelmed; to saue himselfe and his people from the rage thereof, withdrew himselfe with his followers vnto a strong towne in a corner of that countrey: from whence he with all speed sent vnto the emperour for greater aid, as well for the defence of the place he yet held, as for the subduing againe of that rebellious people. After whose departure, *Sigismund* without resistance entring the countrey, was of the people in generall joyfully

The Transyluanians submit themselues vnto Basta.

The Transyluanians reuolt againe vnto Sigismund their old prince.

Basta flieth.

joyfully receiued as their moſt lawfull prince and ſoueraigne, and all the honour done vnto him that was by them poſsible: in which his ſo princely, but dangerous eſtate, now twiſe in leſſe than the ſpace of one yeare by him regained, and yet thereof no whit aſſured, we will for a while leaue him to joy therein with his ſubjects. G

The Ianizaries in mutinie at Conſtantineple.

But whileſt the ſtate thus turneth vpſide downe in TRANSYLVANIA, the Baſſa of AGRIA going out with ten thouſand Turkes in hope to haue ſurpriſed TOCCAIE (a ſtrong hold of the Chriſtians in the vpper HVNGARIE) was encountred by *Ferrant Gonzaga* the emperours lieutenant there, and by him ouerthrowne, and with great ſlaughter of his Turks chaſed to the gates of AGRIA.

Now was *Mahomet* the Turkiſh emperour this yeare alſo, no leſſe troubled with the proceedings of the *Scriuano* in CARAMANIA and NATOLIA, than with the euill ſucceſſe of his affaires in TRANSYLVANIA and HVNGARIE. For the *Scriuano* by his laſt yeares victorie growne into great credit with the common people, and ſtill by them more and more followed; to maintaine the reputation of his credit, came now againe this yeare with a great power into the field, to meet with *Mahomet* the great Baſſa and Generall of the Turkes armie: who with fiftie thouſand good ſouldiors (a power thought ſufficient to haue repreſſed him) was readie to encounter him. With whom the *Scriuano* joyning battell, in a great fight cut in ſunder a great part of the Baſſaes armie, and ſo became maſter of the field, forraged all the countries adjoyning almoſt as farre as ALEPPO, ſtill calling the people vnto libertie; and cauſing himſelfe to be proclaimed the true defender of the Mahometane faith, and of the liberties of thoſe countries with him combined: in ſuch ſort, as that it now ſtood the great Turke vpon to ſend an other great armie to the aid of *Mahomet* the diſcomfited Baſſa. With whom alſo the *Scriuano* (preſuming of his former fortune) comming to a day of battell, and ouercharged with the multitude of his enemies, was at the firſt encounter with his people put to the worſe: but forthwith by his good direction hauing repaired his diſordered battell, and thereby giuen as it were new courage to his fainting ſouldiors, he with a great ſlaughter diſordered alſo the Baſſaes armie. Yet hauing not any other firme ſtate or ſtay to reſt vpon, more than the fauour and reputation he held with theſe his rebellious followers, of whom he had now loſt a great many, he thought it not beſt to aduenture too far (not knowing how preſently to repaire his loſſes) but contenting himſelfe with that he had alreadie done, retired with his armie into the ſtrength of the mountaines, there that Winter to liue vpon the ſpoile of the countries adjoining, and the next yeare to do more harme than euer he had done before. H I K

The Baſſa of Agria ouerthrowne by Ferrant Gonzaga.

Beſide all which former troubles, the plague alſo this yeare ſore raged both in CONSTANTINOPLE and many other places of the Turkiſh empire, At which time alſo the Ianizaries at CONSTANTINOPLE hauing receiued ſome diſgrace by ſome of the great Sultans fauourits, and with great inſolencie requiring to haue their heads, cauſed their Aga well accompanied preſumptuouſly to enter into the Seraglio to preferre this their requeſt: Whom *Mahomet* to the terrour of the reſt, cauſed for his preſumption to be taken into the middeſt of the Spahi, and ſo by them to be cut in pieces; which was not done without the great ſlaughter of the Spahi themſelues alſo, ſlaine by the Ianizaries. Whereupon the other Ianizaries ariſing vp in armes alſo, and euen now readie to haue reuenged the death of their captaine, were yet by the wiſedome of *Cicala Baſſa* beſtowing amongſt them a great ſumme of money, againe appeaſed without farther harme doing. Which their ſo great inſolencie *Mahomet* imputing vnto their exceſsiue drinking of wine, contrarie to the law of their great Prophet; by the perſuaſion of the Muftie, commaunded all ſuch as had any wine in their houſes in CONSTANTINOPLE or PERA, vpon paine of death to bring it out and to ſtaue it, except the embaſſadours of the Queene of ENGLAND, the French king, and of the State of VENICE: ſo that (as ſome report) wine for a ſpace ran down the channels of the ſtreets in CONSTANTINOPLE, as if it had been water after a great ſhower of raine. L

1602 *Sigiſmund* the Tranſyluanian prince now of late againe poſſeſſed of TRANSYLVANIA (as is before declared) could not yet well aſſure himſelfe of the keeping thereof: for that he with the Tranſyluanians of his faction alone, was not able to withſtand the force of *Baſta*; who ſtill ſtrengthened with new ſupplies both of men and all things elſe neceſſarie for the warres from the Emperour, was now with a great power alreadie entred into TRANSYLVANIA: the Polonians buſied in the warres of SVEVIA, and the Turkes with their other greater affaires, neither M

A ther of them ſending him their promiſed aid, the greateſt hope and ſtay of himſelfe in that newneſſe of his ſtate. Wherefore ſeeing himſelfe euerie day to looſe one place or other, and fearing alſo leaſt his ſouldiors for want of pay ſhould in ſhort time quite forſake him and go ouer to *Baſta*: he thought it beſt betimes and whileſt he had yet ſomething left, and was not yet altogither become deſperat, otherwiſe to prouide for his eſtate, eſpecially hauing ſmall truſt in the Turkes, to whom he had before been ſo great an enemie. Wherefore he dealt with *Baſta* for a truce or ceſſation from armes, vntill embaſſadours might be ſent vnto the emperour, to entreat with him for ſome good attonement. Wherewith *Baſta* being content, and the embaſſadours ſent, the matter was ſo handled with the Emperour, that *Sigiſmund* to make an end of all theſe troubles, was contented to the behoofe of his Imperiall majeſtie, to reſigne vnto *Baſta* his lieutenant all
B ſuch places as he yet held in TRANSYLVANIA, vpon much like conditions he had about three yeares before made with him: and ſo in all and for all, to ſubmit himſelfe vnto his majeſtie. Which intended ſurrender of the princes being bruted in TRANSYLVANIA, *Zachell Moiſes* his lieutenant (and now in field with the princes forces) not able to endure or to heare that that noble prouince ſhould againe fall into the hands of the Germanes; encouraging his ſouldiors, went vpon the ſudden to aſſaile *Baſta*, in hope to haue found him vnprouided, and ſo diſcomfiting his armie, to haue driuen the Imperials quite out of TRANSYLVANIA: But he an old and expert commaunder, perceiuing euen the firſt mouing of the Tranſyluanians, with great ſceleritie put his armie in good order, and ſo joyned battell with them: wherein hee with the loſſe of ſome
C fiue hundred men ouerthrew *Moiſes*, with his armie of Tranſyluanians, Turkes, and Tartars, hauing ſlaine aboue three thouſand of them, and put the reſt to flight: *Moiſes* himſelfe with ſome few others being now glad to take their refuge into the frontiers of the Turkes territories towards TEMESVVAR. But when *Sigiſmund* vnderſtood what his lieutenant had without his knowledge done, he in token of his owne innocencie went himſelfe vnto the Imperiall campe, accompanied only with certaine of his Gentlemen, and there vnto *Baſta* excuſed himſelfe of that which was by his lieutenant againſt his will, and without his priuitie done; frankly offering to performe whatſoeuer was on his part to be performed, according to the agreement made betwixt the Emperour and him. And ſo preſently calling his garriſons out of all ſuch ſtrong places as were yet for him holden, he ſurrendered them to *Baſta*; and ſo forthwith honourably accompanied, put himſelfe vpon his way towards the emperour. After whoſe departure out of
D TRANSYLVANIA, all that prouince voluntarily and without more adoe yeelded to *Baſta* as to the emperours lieutenant: who preſently called an aſſembly of all the Nobilitie of the countrey, taking of them an oath for their obedience and loyaltie vnto the emperor. Thus by the wiſedome and proweſſe of this worthy commaunder, is the countrey of TRANSYLVANIA once againe brought vnder the emperours obeyſance; a matter of far greater importance, than to haue woon the ſtrongeſt citie the Turke holdeth in HVNGARIE.

Zachell Moiſes ouerthrowne by Baſta.

But whileſt things thus paſſed in TRANSYLVANIA, great troubles ariſe alſo in VALACHIA (the country next adjoyning) for that the people of that prouince not able longer to endure the great inſolencie of the Turks (who after the death of *Michaell* had by their power made one *Hieremias* Vayuod there) by a generall conſent tooke vp armes, and proclaiming one *Radol* (a fa-
E uourit of the Emperours) Vayuod, chaſed *Hieremias* (before placed by the Turkes) quite out of the countrey: who flying vnto *Simon* Palatine of MOLDAVIA, his friend, by his meanes and the helpe of the Turkes returning into VALACHIA, draue out thence *Radol* againe: who being now at this preſent with *Baſta*, with about ten thouſand Valachians his followers, earneſtly requeſted of him (now that hee was ſo quietly poſſeſſed of TRANSYLVANIA) to helpe him with his forces for the recouerie of VALACHIA. And *Baſta* well conſidering how much it concerned the quiet and ſure keeping of the poſſeſsion of TRANSYLVANIA for the Emperour, to haue that ſo neere a prouince to friend, eaſily yeelded to his requeſt; and gaue him a great regiment of his old approoued ſouldiors, and ſo ſent him away to recouer his eſtate: with whom (at his entrance into VALACHIA) the Moldauian meeting with a great
F power both of his owne and of the Turkes, come thither in the fauour of *Hieremias*, there was fought betwixt them a moſt terrible and bloudie battell, the glorie whereof fell vnto *Radol*, he carrying away the victorie. In which battell two of the Turkes Baſſaes were there ſlaine, with a great numbers of others both of the Moldauians and Turkes. After which victorie *Radol* recouered againe the ſoueraignetie of VALACHIA, for which he was beholden to *Baſta*: and ſhortly after

Great troubles in Valachia.

after with the ſame aid cut in peeces a great power of the Tartars, that were comming to haue aided the Moldauian. G

Troubles in Hungarie.

Now in the meane time in HVNGARIE alſo paſſed many an hot skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turkes, whoſe garriſons at BVDA and other places in the lower HVNGARIE, attempting to haue ſurpriſed ALBA REGALIS, and diſcouered by the Chriſtians, were with great ſlaughter enforced to retire. At which time alſo, Countie *Serinus* vnderſtanding by his eſpials, that the Turkes with two hundred waggons with munition and victuals were going to CANISIA; vpon the ſudden ſet vpon them, and hauing ſlaine and put to flight the conuoy that guarded them, carried the waggons with all that was in them away with him. And ſhortly after the free Haiduckes of COMARA in a great partie going out towards BVDA to ſeeke after bootie, and haning taken threeſcore Turkes priſoners, and ſo with them about to haue returned H home; vnderſtanding by the way, that *Ali* ſometime the Baſſa of BVDA, and now gouernour of PESTH, was with a ſmall retinue about to come downe the riuer Danubius from BVDA towards BELGRADE, there to meet the Viſier Baſſa, but then comming into HVNGARIE, they ſlew all their priſoners; and hauing got two ſmall boats, about fifteene miles beneath BVDA lay in wait for the Baſſa: who accoſding to their expectation comming downe the riuer, was by theſe aduenturers fiercely aſſailed, and of his thirtie followers hauing foureteene ſlaine, being himſelfe alſo ſhot in two places of his bodie, was there with a great bootie taken, and ſo brought to COMARA, and ſhortly after preſented vnto *Matthias* the archduke at VIENNA: who amongſt other things certainely enformed him, that *Haſſan Baſſa* was with a great armie by the commaundement of the great Sultan *Mahomet* comming to beſiege ALBA REGALIS, and that he I was now vpon his way as farre as BELGRADE; preſently ſent thither the Countie *Iſolan* gouernour thereof, who with much adoe got into the citie, the Turkes hauing alreadie taken all the paſſages, to haue hindered the Chriſtians from putting either men or munition, more than was therein alreadie. Howbeit the Countie now got in there, and being no leſſe good enginer than a valiant commaunder, cauſed all them in the citie to labour vpon the rampiers: ſo that beſide the naturall ſituation thereof, which was very ſtrong, hee had in ſhort time ſo fortified it, as that in moſt mens judgement it ſeemed a place almoſt impregnable. This *Alli Baſſa* was ſometime the Great Turkes butler, but after the taking of AGRIA made Baſſa of BVDA; which great place he held but three moneths, being by the enuie and ambition of ſome, but eſpecially of *Amurath Baſſa*, remoued thence, and made gouernour of PESTH: from whence now going downe K the riuer to BELGRADE, it was his fortune to be thus taken by the Haiduckes, vnto whom hee offered for his ranſome three hundred thouſand Sultanines; and had with him when he was taken ſeuentie thouſand duckats.

Ali Baſſa taken priſoner.

A great ranſome offered by Ali Baſſa.

Mahomet the great Sultan not a little troubled with the loſſe of ALBA REGALIS (taken from him by the Chriſtians the laſt yeare) and now reſolued for the recouerie of the ſame to engage if need ſhould be a great part of his forces; had cauſed an armie of aboue an hundred thouſand ſtrong to meet together at HADRIANOPLE, for that purpoſe, vnder the leading of *Mahomet Baſſa* (otherwiſe called *Sardar Baſſa*, an Albanois, and one of the chiefe Viſiers) to bee ſent into HVNGARIE. Who by the way of BELGRADE comming to BVDA, and from thence to ALBA REGALIS, there the twelfth of Auguſt encamped (as he had oftentimes before threatened) with the multitude of his tents couering all the countrey round about, as if it had beene a white ſnow: where hauing well entrenched himſelfe, and planted his artillerie, he began a moſt terrible and furious batterie, in ſuch ſort as if he had not meant to haue made a breach onely, but to haue beaten the citie euen from the face of the earth, which ſeemed now to tremble vnder his feet, and the clouds to rent with the thundering of his great ordinance: and for that the mariſh and deepe ditches were a great let vnto his men for to come vnto the aſſault, he cauſed them with the number of his pioners to be filled vp, a worke thought almoſt impoſsible, and ſo brought on his men to aſſault the counterſcarſe, which the gouernour had cauſed to be made before the citie for the better defence thereof: which aſſault coſt him much bloud, by reaſon of the wonderfull valour of the defendants: yet in the end the great number of the Turkes preuailing, the Chriſti- M ans were enforced to forſake it and to retire into the citie. But ſhortly after ſallying out againe, they with ſuch force aſſailed the Turkes now got within the counterſcarſe, that hauing ſlaine moſt part of them that were entered, they forced the other out againe: at the brute whereof, an alarum being raiſed throughout the campe, infinit numbers of the barbarous enemies came running

Alba Regalis beſieged by the Turks.

A ning thither with ſuch beaſtly furie, that without regard of their liues they as deſperat men preſ-
ſing ſtill on, fell twice as many as before: inſomuch that the Chriſtians wearie of that long and
bloudie fight, and on euery ſide charged or rather ouerwhelmed with the enemies ſhot, were
glad againe, but not without great loſſe, to abandon the place. With which skirmiſhes and di-
uers others that they had, the number of the defendants was greatly deminiſhed: yet was not
the courage of the valiant Gouernour any whit therewith abated, but by his letters gaue the
Archduke *Matthias* to vnderſtand in what caſe things ſtood with them in the citie, requeſting
him with all ſpeed to ſend them reliefe, for that otherwiſe the citie would be in danger to be loſt;
as well for that many of the garriſon ſouldiors were alreadie ſlaine in the defence thereof, as alſo
that diuers of the Hungarians forſaking the wals, daily fled vnto the Turks campe: promiſing yet
B neuertheleſſe himſelfe to doe the vttermoſt of his deuoire. Vpon the receit of which letters, the
Archduke gaue order vnto the lord *Ruſſworm* (maſter of his campe) to goe forthwith to COMA-
RA, and there with ſuch forces as were from diuers places come thither, to go forth and to proue
if by any meanes the weake garriſon of ALBA REGALIS might ſo be relieued, by putting in
ſome good ſupplie of freſh ſouldiors. According vnto which commaund, *Ruſſworm* comming
thither, without delay tooke the field with twelue thouſand men which he found there, to ſee if
he might with them put into the citie the deſired reliefe. But whileſt the matter was in the per-
formance thereof too long delaied, by diſcord ariſing betwixt him and the other colonels, about
the commaund, the Baſſa had time to effect his purpoſe: who the eight and twentith of the *A long and ter-*
ſame moneth of Auguſt, after a long and terrible batterie, cauſed a generall aſſault to be giuen *rible aſſault.*
C vnto the citie: which the Turkes from time to time renewing, continued all that day and the
next night, with ſome part of the day following alſo, without intermiſsion: ſo that the defen-
dants now brought to a ſmall number, and they alſo ſo wearied or wounded, as that they were
not well able to make any longer reſiſtance (and the Countie himſelfe, who gaue as it were life
vnto them all, being now alſo carried away, dangerouſly hurt in the thigh with a musket ſhot)
gaue vnto the enemie a ſigne of their yeelding. Whereupon the furie of the aſſault being ſtaied, *Alba Regalis by*
whileſt they were yet talking with the enemie from the wall about the conditions of their yeel- *the Turks woon.*
ding, a renegate Chriſtian which knew the citie well, in the meane time conducted a great ſqua-
dron of the Turkes vnto a place but weakely defended; who forcing the wals, entered the citie,
and with a great crie gaue ſignes of their enterance vnto the reſt of the armie on the other ſide:
D who thereupon breaking off the parley, preſently renewed the aſſault, and by force gained the
wals: where the few Chriſtians that were left, now both before and behind encloſed with their
fierce enemies, were there valiantly fighting for the moſt part ſlaine, the Countie onely with
ſome few others found wounded in their lodgings (the furie ouerpaſt) being taken priſoners
and ſpared. So the Baſſa hauing in eighteene daies taken ALBA REGALIS (now being eleuen
moneths poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians) cauſed the breaches he had made to bee againe repaired,
and the citie well prouided for both of victuals and munition, leauing therein a ſtrong garriſon
of ſix thouſand good ſouldiours: and with his people hauing ouerrun all the countrey as farre
as STRIGONIVM, riſe with his armie, and retired againe to BVDA: where as he was making
a bridge of boats ouer the Danubius betwixt BVDA and PESTH, for the more eaſie tranſport-
E ting of victuall, and better relieuing of the one the other as need ſhould require; and hauing
brought that worke to paſſe, and was about to haue gone to the ſiege of STRIGONIVM, com-
maundement came from the great Sultan, That he ſhould with all ſpeed returne to CONSTAN-
TINOPLE; for that *Mahomet* accounting of him as of a moſt valiant man, was now minded
to employ him in his warres againſt his rebels in NATOLIA, where things now went not well
(as ſhall hereafter be declared.) Vpon which commaundement the Baſſa gaue leaue to all ſuch
in his armie as had charge of any place, forthwith to returne to their ſeuerall places of gouern-
ment: appointing ſome others with thirtie thouſand ſouldiors in the companie of *Zachael Moi-*
ſes (but of late prince *Sigiſmund* his lieutenant) to goe with him into TRANSYLVANIA; who
after the ouerthrow he had there receiued by *Baſta*, was come vnto this great Baſſa, offering vn-
F to him (with ſuch an aid as was now appointed for him, and the helpe of ſuch other his friends
as he had in TRANSYLVANIA) to chaſe *Baſta* with his Germanes from out thence, and to re-
duce that prouince againe vnto the deuotion of the *Othoman* emperours, as it had in former
time beene. And ſo by the way of BELGRADE haſted himſelfe with the reſt of his armie to-
wards CONSTANTINOPLE: which hee was thought the more willingly to doe, for that the

great Sultan before his ſetting forth had put him in good hope to marrie one of his aunts, a woman of great wealth and honour, if by the winning againe of ALBA REGALIS he ſhould make himſelfe worthie ſo honourable a match, after which he now longed. G

Theſe Neſſadies are a certaine kind of boats which the Hungarians vſe vpon the riuer of Danubius.

But long it was not after his departure, but that the Imperials now at laſt aſſembled together at COMARA, to the number of about thirtie thouſand men, with twelue * Naſſadies and two gallies, ſome by water, ſome by land, marched downe alongſt the riuer to STRIGONIVM; where were alſo twentie other ſhips readie to receiue them, and ſo all embarked, were by the lord *Ruſſworm* and other the imperiall captaines conducted to BVDA, there with ſome notable enterpriſe to redeeme the diſgrace by them before receiued in not relieuing of ALBA REGALIS. Whoſe comming was ſo ſudden and ſo vnlooked for of the Turkes there, as that they had no time to take in any greater helpe or prouiſion, than was alreadie in the citie. And for as much as H the Chriſtians knew the good ſucceſſe of this their enterpriſe taken in hand, not ſo much to depend of their ſtrength, as of their politicke proceeding and ſpeedie diſpatch of the matter begun, they thought it not good to vſe any long delay, or to ſpare for any labour, but ſo ſoone as they might by taking of the Water citie (or as ſome call it the Iewes ſuburbes) ſo to cut off the paſſage of them of BVDA to PESTH: as alſo from thence to trouble them in the caſtle and the vpper citie of BVDA. Which their entended exploit they happily attempted and brought to paſſe in this ſort: The citie of PESTH ſtanding right ouer againſt BVDA, is (as we haue oftentimes beforeſaid) deuided from the ſame with the great and ſwift riuer of Danubius: ouer which the Turkes vpon boats had with great labour and coſt of late built a moſt eaſie and commodious bridge, for paſſage or carriage of things from the one citie to the other: this bridge the Imperials thought neceſſarie firſt to breake, the more eaſily to beſiege either the one or other citie; and I for that purpoſe had by a ſtrange deuice built a ſhip, which by the force of the ſtreame carried downe the riuer, and reſting vpon the bridge, ſhould by a wonderfull power breake the ſame.

The lower citie of Buda taken by the Chriſtians.

Which ſhip the Turks ſeeing comming downe the riuer with the reſt of the fleet after her, they ran by heapes eſpecially out of the Water citie to the bridge, for the defence thereof: where whileſt they were thus buſied, Countie *Sultze* on the other ſide by land with a Petarde blew vp one of the gates of the citie, and ſo entering, and killing all ſuch as he light vpon, came vnlooked for vpon the backes of the Turkes at the bridge, of whom ſome he ſlew, ſome he draue into the riuer, who there periſhed; the reſt in number not many, by ſpeedie flight retiring themſelues into the citie: whereupon he had now brought ſuch a generall feare, that they all as well the ſouldiors as the citiſens, with the Chriſtians at their heeles, with as much haſt as they could tooke their refuge into the vpper citie of BVDA, much ſtronger and better fortified than was the lower citie. At which time the bridge was by them vpon the riuer broken alſo, ſo that now the one citie could no more thereby relieue the other as before. K

The Water citie thus woon, and the bridge broken, the next was for the Imperials to beſiege either the one or the other citie. But for that they of PESTH might with their great ordinance much annoy them in the beſieging of the caſtle and the vpper citie of BVDA, they thought beſt to begin with it firſt: which they did in much like ſort as they had before done at the lower citie of BVDA, the ſame deuice againe well proſpering in their hand. For the lord *Ruſſworm* with the fleet vpon the riuer making a great ſhew, as if hee would euen preſently on L that ſide haue entered, had with the ſtirre by him raiſed, drawne downe moſt part of the garriſon ſouldiors vnto that ſide of the citie where moſt ſhew of danger was: whileſt in the meane while Countie *Sultze* with the gouernour of ALTHEM (before vndiſcouered) vpon the ſudden

The citie of Peſth taken by the Chriſtians.

by land ſcaled the other ſide of the citie, and gained the wals, the Turkes yet dreaming of no ſuch matter. But hereupon began a great outcrie, the Turkes ſtanding as men aſtonied, eſpecially now feeling the Chriſtians weapons in their bodies before they knew they were got into the citie. In this ſo great an amaſement, ſuch of them as could, fled into the ſtrongeſt towers; the reſt hid themſelues in cellars and other the moſt ſecret corners they could find, out of which they were afterwards by the Chriſtians drawne and ſlaine. They which were retired alſo into the towers and other ſtronger places of the citie ſeeing the great ordinance in euery place bent M vpon them, and now out of all hope of reliefe, offered to yeeld, requeſting onely, that they might with their wiues and children with life depart; promiſing for that fauour ſo ſhewed them, to perſuade them of BVDA alſo in like manner to yeeld: Vpon which promiſe, that their poore requeſt was graunted, and the lord *Nadaſti* with certaine other captaines ſent with ſome of theſe

A theſe citiſens of PESTH with their wiues and children to BVDA: who comming thither, according to their promiſe moſt earneſtly requeſted them of BVDA to yeeld, for that they were not now to expect any further helpe, and that by their fooliſh obſtinacie they ſhould bee the cauſe of the death of them, their friends, their wiues, and children. Vnto whom alſo, to mooue them the more, the lord *Nadaſti* promiſed in the name of the Generall, That they ſhould all, excepting ſome few of their chiefe commaunders, in ſafetie depart: howbeit, they of BVDA would not hearken thereunto, but ſtood ſtill vpon their guard. In this citie of PESTH, well inhabited with Turkiſh marchants, the Chriſtians found great ſtore of wealth, which all became a prey vnto the ſouldiors, with a thouſand horſes for ſeruice, many great pieces of artillerie, and much other warlike prouiſion.

B PESTH thus woon, and a ſtrong garriſon left therein, they returned againe ouer the riuer to beſiege the caſtle and vpper citie of BVDA: which they attempted by vndermining the ſame, as alſo by batterie; hauing placed ſome of their great ordinance ſo high, that they could at their pleaſure ſhoot into the middeſt of the ſtreets of the citie, wherewith they much troubled the Turkes, not a little before diſcouraged with the loſſe of PESTH; thundering alſo at the ſame time with their other batteries in diuers places at the wals both of the caſtle and of the citie. Where vnderſtanding, that the Turkes garriſons of the frontier townes and caſtles thereabouts (hearing of the ſiege) were comming to the reliefe of their diſtreſſed friends, they ſent out their horſemen with ſome part of their footmen againſt them: who meeting with them, gaue them a great ouerthrow, and ſo with victorie returned againe vnto the reſt of the ar-
C mie lying at the ſiege, being ſtill in hope either by force or compoſition to become maſters of the citie.

The vpper citie and caſtle of Buda beſieged by the Chriſtians.

But whileſt they lay in this hope, and hauing the twelfth of October brought their approaches neerer vnto the wals, had there planted certaine notable pieces of batterie, with purpoſe the next day with all their power to haue aſſaulted the citie: behold, the Viſier Baſſa hearing (by the way as he was going to BELGRADE, and ſo to CONSTANTINOPLE) that PESTH was woon, and BVDA beſieged; changing his mind, returned in haſt with ſuch forces as hee had yet left, and ſo vnlooked for, came and ſat downe before PESTH, being not then aboue fiue and twentie thouſand ſtrong, but thoſe all or for the moſt part old and expert ſouldiors. But whileſt the Baſſa thus lay at the ſiege of PESTH on the one ſide of the riuer, and the Im-
D perials at the ſiege of BVDA on the other, diuers braue attempts were in both places giuen both on the one ſide and the other. The Chriſtians beſieged by the Turkes in PESTH, hauing amongſt them diuers braue captaines, and deſirous of honour, one day vnder their conduct ſallied out of the citie to skirmiſh with the Turkes; and comming with them to the ſword, by plaine valour diſordered them, and enforced them to flie; and ſo allured with the ſweetneſſe of the victorie, purſued them euen to their trenches: from whence a great ſquadron of the Turks horſemen and harquebuſiers at the ſame inſtant iſſuing out, and with their multitude ouercharging the Imperials, conſtrained them of force to retire: in which retreat, Countie *Maximilian Martinengo* (one of theſe aduenturers) doing what hee might both with his valour and direction to haue ſtayed the diſordered retreat of the Chriſtians, was with many others ſlaine:
E wherewith the reſt diſcouraged, tooke their refuge towards the citie. Which they of the garriſon beholding, ſent out certaine companies to relieue them; by whoſe comming out, the furie of the Turkes was not onely repreſſed, but they alſo euen vnto their trenches againe repulſed. Shortly after which hot skirmiſhes, the lord *Ruſſworm* with the other Chriſtian captaines on the other ſide of the riuer, hauing with continuall batterie made ſuch a breach into the caſtle as that the ſame ſeemed to be now ſaultable, in good order came on with certaine companies of their footmen appointed for that ſeruice, and ſo couragiouſly aſſailed the breach: where the Turkes, who before had expected this aſſault, hauing in beſt ſort they could repaired the breach and on both ſides thereof placed diuers murthering pieces, with great ſtore of dangerous fireworkes, at ſuch time as the firſt companies of the Chriſtians ſought couragiouſly to haue en-
F tered the breach, ouerwhelmed them with that deadly fire, and ſo rent them with their murthering ſhot, that they no ſaſter entered, but that they were forthwith cut off and ſlaine: with the ſight whereof, they which were appointed to ſecond them, nothing diſcouraged, but ſeeking deſperatly to haue entered, and with the taking of the caſtle and ſlaughter of the Turkes to haue requited the death of their fellowes, were themſelues in like ſort welcommed. So that now a thou-

A notable skirmiſh betwixt the Chriſtians and the Turks.

a thouſand of them being loſt, the captaines conſidering how much the loſſe of ſo many braue G
ſouldiors concerned the whole enterpriſe taken in hand, and that the breach could not be gained without the loſſe of the greateſt part of them, they cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and ſo the aſſault for that time to be giuen ouer.

But long it was not that the Viſier Baſſa (thus retired as aforeſaid) had lien before PESTH, but that by reaſon of his ſo ſudden returne, great wants began to ariſe in his campe; his ſouldiors for want of food being glad to eat their dead horſes, a pound of bread being ſold for two Hungarian duckats, and a buſhell of oates for fiue, and yet hardly ſo to bee gotten: which wants in that ſo waſted a countrey ſtill more and more encreaſing, and many of his ſouldiours ſecretly ſtealing away from him, he had much adoe by all the meanes he could vſe, to perſuade them there to ſtay eight dayes longer. Which time expired, and nothing more done, than ſome H
few weake attempts giuen, and ſome light skirmiſhes made, rather for faſhions ſake than for
The Viſier Baſſa raiſeth his ſiege. any hope of preuailing, and the want of all things ſtill encreaſing; he with the reſt of the commaunders fearing ſome ſudden miſchiefe to bee done them by the hungrie and diſcontented ſouldiours, the ſecond of Nouember cauſing his baggage to bee truſſed vp in the dead time of the darke and ſilent night, riſe with his armie, and ſo in haſt retired directly to BELGRADE, leauing behind him in his campe three hundred dead horſes, not yet eaten by his hunger-ſtarued ſouldiors. Immediately after whoſe departure, the lord *Nadaſti* and ſome other of the commaunders in the armie, with fiue thouſand ſouldiors and certaine great pieces of artillerie, ſome by land, ſome by water, went downe alongſt the riuer to ADOM, a faire well built towne vpon the banke of Danubius, about foure Hungarian miles from BVDA, and ſeruing as it were I
for a ſtore-houſe for the garriſon there: which towne *Nadaſti* ſummoned by his Huſſars ſent before, requiring to haue it deliuered vnto him. Which they of the towne at the firſt refuſed to doe: but afterwards ſeeing a farre greater power come, prouided of great ordinance and all things els requiſit for a ſiege, they with the ſight thereof diſcouraged, without more adoe offered to yeeld the towne, ſo that they might with bag and baggage in ſafetie depart: which they did, the Chriſtians conducting them as farre as FELDVVAR, which caſtle was alſo at the firſt ſummons, by the perſuaſion of them of ADOM deliuered vnto them: for they of the caſtle, by them enformed of the great ſtrength of the Chriſtians, and of the ſtore of great ordinance they had brought with them, and that they ſtaied therewith but faſt by, were eaſily perſuaded to hearken to their friends, and ſo yeelded. Which done, the free Haiduckes the ſame night ſurpriſed K
alſo the caſtle of Pax: from whence the Chriſtians ſtill marching on alongſt the riuer, tooke in alſo the citie of TOLNA.

But whileſt *Nadaſti* with the reſt were thus buſied in taking theſe caſtles and townes alongſt the South ſide of Danubius, they in the campe at BVDA were aduertiſed of the new deſignes of the Turkes lieutenants and captaines thereabouts, for the reliefe of the beſieged: as that the Baſſa of BOSNA, with the Gouernours of CANISIA, SIGETH, and others, had aſſembled an armie of thirtie thouſand for the raiſing of the ſiege. Wherefore the Chriſtians doubting as they lay at the ſiege diſperſed, to be by them oppreſſed; leauing their tents in their trenches, gathered themſelues together into the Water citie: which the Turkes out of the vpper citie quickly perceiuing, as feeling themſelues now at ſome more libertie, preſently ſallying out, tooke L
both the trenches and the tents ſo left, with no ſmall ſlaughter of ſuch as were left for the keeping of them: and ſo poſſeſſed of the trenches and tents, held them by the ſpace of two houres, vntill they were by ſtrong hand by the Chriſtians beaten out, and ſo with ſome loſſe enforced againe to retire into the citie. The lord *Nadaſti* alſo, with the reſt that had taken the aforeſaid caſtles and townes vpon the ſide of Danubius, making a rode towards ALBA REGALIS, in their returne within a mile of BVDA light vpon a thouſand Turkes there gathered together, moſt part of whom they ſlew, and hauing put the reſt to flight, tooke ſome fiftie of them priſoners. At which time alſo another of the Imperiall colonels meeting with certaine other companies of the Turkes comming to the reliefe of the beſieged, not farre from BVDA, ſlew moſt part of them, tooke an hundred and threeſcore of them priſoners, with a number of horſes and M
much other rich bootie, all which he brought into the campe. Neither were they at the ſiege in the meane time idle, their great artillerie ſtill thundering againſt the wals both of the caſtle and the citie: ſo that by the furie of the cannon hauing beaten downe a ſtrong towne next vnto the Danubius, not farre from the kings ſtable, they were a little before night about to haue

there

A there entered, when ſuddenly ſuch a tempeſt of wind and raine ariſe, as that they could not poſ-
ſibly vſe their pieces, or well any other weapon: ſo that the heauens as it were then fighting for
the enemie, they were enforced for that time to giue ouer the aſſault begun. Which ſtorme
was no ſooner ended, but that two thouſand of the Turkes both horſe and foot, to keepe the
Chriſtians otherwiſe buſied, ſuddenly iſſuing out of the citie, charged vpon the Stirian horſe-
men; who preſently relieued by the men at armes, ſo welcommed them, that hauing loſt an
hundred and threeſcore of their men, they were glad with more ſpeed to retire than they came
out. But ſeeing ſome of the Chriſtians that ſo hardly purſued them, ſome ſlaine and ſome hurt
from the wals, taking heart againe, the next day (being the eleuenth of Nouember) they ſallied
out againe; where albeit that a great number of them were ſlaine, yet fell they out againe the
B third day alſo, and were againe by the Countie *Thurn* with great loſſe of their men beaten backe
into the citie: where in purſuing of them, the Chriſtians were by certaine Ianizaries (laid cloſe
for that purpoſe) ſuddenly aſſailed and dangerouſly gauled, the Countie himſelfe being hurt
in his left arme, and ſome other captaines ſlaine. In all which ſallies, although the Turkes
were ſtill put to the worſe, yet thereby they gained time in ſome good ſort to repaire againe
their breaches.

Shortly after, the Imperials thus lying at the ſiege, certainly enformed that a world of the
fierce and rude Tartars by the incitement of the Turke (hauing made themſelues way through
VALACHIA) were comming as farre as TEMESVVAR to relieue BVDA; thought it not beſt (eſ-
pecially now that Winter was come) to abide the comming of that ſo great a Northern tem-
C peſt, but betimes whileſt they had yet ſpace, to raiſe their ſiege and be gone: Which they did the
ſixteenth of Nouember, leauing the Water-citie, with all that they had got about BVDA againe
vnto the enemie: onely PESTH they furniſhed with victuals and all things elſe neceſſarie, lea-
uing therein almoſt ten thouſand ſouldiors in garriſon, for the defence thereof againſt the Barba-
rous enemie. As for ADOM, it was ſtrengthened with a garriſon of Hungarians only, with their
wages offered to be paid before hand; which for all that they refuſed to accept, alleadging that for
the great danger this place was expoſed vnto aboue others, they could not ſafely take their oath
for the defence thereof: yet offering withall to vndertake the charge, and to doe what beſeemed
valiant ſouldiors, in ſuch ſort, as that all men ſhould well vnderſtand, that nothing euill ſhould
happen thereunto through their default or negligence.

The ſiege of Buda for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Chriſtians.

D The ſiege of BVDA for feare of the Tartars thus giuen ouer, and the Imperials departed and
gone, the Turkes forthwith came downe out of the higher citie into the lower, declaring their
ioy for the recouerie thereof, by the often thundring of their great ordinance, with diuers other
ſignes of triumph. But whileſt in their jollitie they ſpared not by the mouth of the cannon to
ſend commendations to them of PESTH, they from them againe receiued the like; but in ſuch
rude manner, that the Turkes wearie of ſuch greetings, requeſted them to ſpare their ſhot and
powder, and quietly to liue by them as became neighbours for that Winter vntill the next
Spring, at which time it was to be thought that this ſtrife ſhould be ended by their Emperours,
the weaker yeelding vnto the ſtronger either the one or the other citie. Yet for all this their
great ioy, their cheere in BVDA was not great, victuals by this ſiege being become ſo ſcarce, that
E it was by the Turks feared, That if the Chriſtians had there longer lien, they ſhould for verie
want haue been enforced to haue yeelded the citie. Of which their need their friends not igno-
rant, and hauing made what prouiſion they were able for their reliefe, were with a great conuoy
bringing the ſame towards BVDA: whereof the garriſons of COMARA and STRIGONIVM
hauing intelligence, went preſently out, and meeting with the Turkes in the midway be-
twixt ALBA REGALIS and BVDA, ouerthrew the conuoy, and carried away all that prouiſi-
on of victuall, like vnbidden gueſts making themſelues merrie with that which was neuer pro-
uided for them.

Mahomet much troubled with the Scriuano.

Theſe doubtfull warres of HVNGARIE with the generall reuolt of TRANSYLVANIA,
much troubled *Mahomet* the great Sultan, but nothing like vnto the wrres he had in ASIA
F againſt the *Scriuano* and the rebels his followers: the euill ſucceſſe whereof (as moſt dangerous
to his ſtate) ſo much tormented his haughtie mind, as that it would ſcarce ſuffer him to thinke
of any thing elſe. For the rebell encouraged with the ſucceſſe of the late yeares warres, and ſtill
growing ſtronger and ſtronger (by reaſon of the great number which allured with the ſweet
name of Libertie, hope of prey, or the good entertainment by him giuen, daily more and more
reſor-

reſorted vnto his campe) had this yeare ouerrun a great part of the Turkes dominions in ASIA, G
putting all to fire and ſword that ſtood in his way, ranſacking alſo diuers walled and fenced cities by the way as he went: Which hee might the more eaſily doe, for that the Ianizaries of ALEPPO and DAMASCO, with many other their partakers and fauourits which might greatly haue hindered his proceedings, were at the ſame time alſo vp in armes and togither by the eares amongſt themſelues, to the great benefit of the *Scriuano*: who in the middeſt of the courſe of

The death of the Scriuano.

theſe his deſired fortunes, fell ſicke of a naturall diſeaſe and ſo died. By whoſe death the rebellion was no whit appeaſed (as commonly in like caſe it falleth out, and as was then of many expected) but in ſhort time grew to be both farre greater and more dangerous than before: for the

The Scriuano his younger brother taketh vpon him the leading of the rebels in his brothers ſtead.

Scriuano was no ſooner dead, but that a yonger brother of his, no leſſe warlike and couragious than himſelfe (to the great contentment of the rebellious) ſtept vp in his place, fiercely proſecu- H
ting the warres his brother had before him taken in hand. Againſt whom *Haſſan Baſſa* by commaundement from the Grand ſignior with a great armie ſetting forward, with hope in that newneſſe of his commaund to haue oppreſſed him, and ſo to haue quenched that ſo ſpreading a

Haſſan Baſſa ſlaine, and his armie ouerthrowne by the rebels.

fire: at length met with him that was eaſie enough to be found, and joyning battell with him, was by him in a great and bloudie fight ouerthrowne and ſlaine togither with his whole armie, except ſuch as by ſpeedie flight ſaued themſelues from the furie of their fierce enemies. So that *Mahomet* the great Sultan now enforced to employ his beſt commaunders and ſouldiors into thoſe parts for the ſubduing of him, hath for that cauſe called *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of HVNGARIE, to ſerue againſt this new rebell: but with what ſucceſſe, I leaue it to be here- I
after told by my ſelfe, if God giue life, or by ſome other that better can, as time ſhall reueale the ſame. The rebell in the meane time following the courſe of his victorie, made hauocke of all as he went, taking vnto his owne vſe all ſuch tribute as was in thoſe countries and others alſo further off, due vnto the great Sultan; hauing of late exacted onely of the citie of ANCYRA and the countrey thereabout, three hundred thouſand duckats: ſo by exacting of great ſummes of money from the country people (ſuch as be his enemies) heaping vp great treaſures for the maintenance of his warres.

Diuers incurſions of the Tartars into the frontiers of the emperour territories, and much harme by them there done.

Now though *Mahomet* the Turkiſh emperour had called home *Mahomet* the Viſier Baſſa out of HVNGARIE to goe againſt the rebels into ASIA (as is aforeſaid) yet had hee before prouided, that for the better aſſurance of his townes and territories in HVNGARIE, the Tartar *Han* with a great power of his Crim Tartars ſhould euen againſt that time come downe into K
that countrey. Which rough and needie people (dwelling neere vnto the fennes of MEOTIS) for pay or prey, alwaies readie to doe the *Othoman* emperours ſeruice, ſetting forward vnder the leading of their great *Han* himſelfe, and of his two ſonnes; and by plaine force breaking through VALACHIA, though not without great loſſe of their men (being fought with by the Valachians and free Haiduckes a whole day) were now in the latter end of December with their huge companies come into HVNGARIE; the *Han* himſelfe with fortie thouſand to QVINQVE ECCLESIÆ, and his ſonnes with twentie thouſand moe into POSSEGA (a fertile countrey lying betweene the great riuers Sauus and Drauus:) where they ſpoiled as well the Turkes as the other poore Chriſtians, pretending all that frontier countrey with the whole commaund thereof to be giuen vnto them by the Turkiſh emperour in reward of their ſeruice. But long L
they lay not there quiet, but that to ſhew for what they came, they enforced the Chriſtians thereabout to victuall CANISIA for the Turkes: and ſo breaking into STIRIA, not farre from CORAMANT, the neereſt fortreſſe of the Chriſtians towards CANISIA, carried away aboue two thouſand Chriſtians captiues: and ſhortly after ſurpriſing KETSCHEMET, a great and populous towne, ſlew moſt part of the inhabitants, and carried away the reſt priſoners. Otherſome of them alſo at the ſame time making an inrode to SHARVAR, and hauing burnt twentie countrey villages downe to the ground, carried away thence about a thouſand ſoules into moſt miſerable captiuitie and thraldome. They alſo at their firſt comming relieued them of BVDA, the lord *Nadaſti* with his Huſſars, who before kept them from victuals, not being able (for the great number of them) now longer ſo to doe. By them alſo the Turkes encouraged, M
tooke and burnt certaine places poſſeſſed by the Chriſtians neere vnto BVDA, putting them all to the ſword that they found therein. So that the poore countrey of HVNGARIE (neuer to be ſufficiently pitied) with the reſt of the countries and prouinces belonging vnto the houſe of AVSTRIA, and confining vpon the Turke, were not ſo much eaſed by the calling home of the

A the Viſier Baſſa with his armie, as they were now annoyed by the comming of theſe roagiſh Tartars, a people wholly euen from their infancie giuen to the ſpoile. Againſt whom for all that, the Chriſtians beſides their ordinarie garriſons began now euen in the depth of Winter to oppoſe ſome other of their forces alſo: the Palatine of RHENE ſending ten companies of horſemen to POSSONIVM from thence to be ſent to SHARVAR, for the defence of STIRIA: and *Collonitz* (but lately knighted by the emperour) for his part raiſing foure hundred horſe, a thouſand Huſſares, and three thouſand of the free Haiduckes, for the repreſsing of thoſe Tartars: the duke of BRVNSVVICKE alſo at that time for the ſame ſeruice ſending thither a thouſand horſe, with two thouſand foot, againſt thoſe ſworne enemies of the Chriſtian Religion.

B The troubles of this yeate thus ouerpaſt, ALBA REGALIS being by the Chriſtians loſt, 1603
PESTH with ſome other places woon, TRANSYLVANIA recouered, BVDA beſieged, the Vi- *A great froſt.*
ſier Baſſa returned, and the Tartars come into HVNGARIE: Ianuarie with a ſharpe froſt began to open the next yeare (euen this which now is, *viz.* 1603) by force whereof the riuers in many places, but eſpecially in thoſe more Eaſterly countries, were not onely froſen ouer, but ſeemed rather wholly turned into yſe, Danubius that great riuer (for all his ſwift courſe) being then alſo (as it is often) ſo hard froſen, that men and carts might ſafely paſſe too and fro thereupon. In which ſo hard a ſeaſon, the Turkes in garriſon at BVDA hauing once vpon the froſen riuer braued the Chriſtians in PESTH, and the two and twentith of Ianuarie comming out the ſecond time in like brauerie, were by two hundred of the Chriſtian ſouldiors of PESTH
C put to flight: vpon whom the Turkes in greater number returning, chaſed them likewiſe backe againe euen to the bridge whereby they were to haue paſſed the ditch into the citie; which now drawne vp, for feare of greater harme from ſuch a number of the Turkes as were now come out, the poore ſouldiors ſo ſhut out, and too weake for ſo great a power of their enemies, were there all euery man ſlaine, the Turkes themſelues with little harme returning to BVDA. But within a few daies after, one *Lehner* (a captaine of the Chriſtian garriſon) grieued more than the reſt with this ſo great a diſhonour, and certainly vnderſtanding that certaine of the chiefe of the Turkes of BVDA, with two captaines and a great traine of gallant gentlewomen were for their pleaſure gone to the hoat bathes neere vnto BVDA; taking with him threeſcore muskitiers, went in haſt ouer the riuer vpon the iſe to ſalute them in their bath, and to wiſh it might be vnto
D them wholeſome: who comming ſuddenly vpon them, as they were merrie and bathing of themſelues, and not dreaming of any ſuch danger, ſlew all the men except one boy; the gentlewomen in the time of the conflict naked as they were, running as faſt as they could vnto the citie, feare hauing in them ouercome the modeſtie of their ſex. Which exploit done, the captaine leauing the Turkes ſlaine in the bath, now become red with their bloud, returned with his ſouldiors the ſame way he came to PESTH: after whom they of BVDA (ſtirred vp with the crie of the fearefull women) ſent out certaine of their garriſon after them, but to no purpoſe, for why they were in ſafetie before got home. By continuance of this froſt, by reaſon that victuals could not be ſent downe the riuer, the ſouldiours in garriſon at PESTH were driuen to ſuch wants, as that dogs and cats were accounted good meat amongſt them.

E About this time alſo, the Ianizaries and Spahi, the Turkes beſt ſouldiours, perceiuing the warres againſt the rebels in ASIA not to haue beene ſo well managed as they could haue wiſhed, and as in truth they might haue beene, many of their captaines and commaunders (as it was thought) ſecretly fauouring and furthering the rebels proceedings, whereby much of their bloud had beene ſpilt, and many a good man through their careleſneſſe loſt, to the ſmall good of their Sultan; riſe now vp in a tumult, and ſo as men enraged, beſet the houſe of the chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes. Who much diſmaied therewith, and vnderſtanding the cauſe of their diſcontentment, went in haſt vnto *Mahomet*, requeſting him for the ſpeedie appeaſing of ſo dangerous a ſedition to haue the hearing of the matter himſelfe, and with exemplare puniſhment to chaſtiſe ſuch as were by thoſe his worthie ſouldiors ſuſpected. Who forthwith called (as they
F were by them named) were without more adoe in their preſence beheaded, and others placed in their ſtead: who with what fortune they haue for theſe fiue moneths laſt paſt managed the aforeſaid warre, Time (which all reuealeth) ſhall in ſhort time make knowne. *The Ianizaries and Spahis raiſing a ſedition in Conſtantinople, againe appeaſed.*

The Tartars alſo, beſide the great harme by them before done, this moneth breaking into the leſſer WARDINIA, ranſackt and ſpoiled fiue and twentie countrey villages, carrying away with them *Great harmes done by the Tartars in the frontiers of the Chriſtians.*

them a great bootie both of men and cattell, no man reſiſting of them. At which time alſo another companie of them at diuers inrodes by them made into Countie *Serinus* his iſland, and ſo to RACKENSPVRGE, carried away ten thouſand men priſoners. For remedie of which miſchiefes, *Collonitz* hauing gathered an armie of ten thouſand ſtrong, came at length into the frontiers of HVNGARIE, to haue a ſight of theſe Tartars, and to welcome them: who not willing to come to any ſet battell with him, would in no place abide his comming, but went ſtill pricking vp and downe the countrey, as the manner of their ſeruice is, alwaies fitter to ſpoile than to fight. The dead time of this yeare (vnfit for great armies to keepe the field) thus paſsing, *Pogranius* (one of the emperours great commaunders) hauing before ſent out diuers ſpies to BELGRADE, TEMESVVAR, and ſuch other places, to take view of the Tartars forces, was by one of them (which was ſent to TEMESVVAR, and had ſerued the Tartar three yeare) in March certainely enformed, That the Tartar *Han* had with him about fiue and fortie thouſand Tartars, beſide others which lay here and there diſperſed vpon the frontiers: and that *Zachelk Moiſes* hauing requeſted of him fifteene thouſand horſemen for the fortraging of TRANSYLVANIA, could obtaine of him but ten thouſand onely, the *Han* himſelfe purpoſing with the reſt as occaſion ſhould ſerue to make an inrode into AVSTRIA, expecting ſtill for the comming of a new ſupplie of threeſcore thouſand Tartars moe, which he daily looked for.

Buda victualled. This moneth alſo they of BVDA making ſhew as if they would haue made an expedition towards ADOM, vnder the colour thereof, receiued into their citie a conuoy of fiue hundred waggons laden with victuals and munition. And thereupon in great jollitie with their thundering ſhot ſaluted their ouerthwart neighbours at PESTH: in which doing, fire by chance falling into their pouder, did themſelues much more harme, than had they with their ſhooting done their enemies. And ſhortly after, the ſame garriſon ſouldiours of BVDA going forth, thought to haue vpon the ſudden ſurpriſed PALOTTA; but being in good time diſcouered, were deceiued of their hope, and with great loſſe enforced to retire: vnto whom the captaine of the caſtle, by a countrey peaſant before ſworne to doe the errand, ſent a ſaucer full of ſalt, and a bottle of wine, willing them in deriſion with that ſalt to ſalt the fleſh they had gotten at his caſtle, to keepe it from putrifying, and of that bottle of wine in kindneſſe to drinke an health vnto him. *Collonitz* alſo much about the ſame time, *viz.* the one and twentith of March, going betimes in a morning with his armie towards CANISIA, lay cloſe in a wood about a mile from the towne with his ſcouts, conueniently placed halfe a mile neerer; vpon whom fiue of the Turkes comming out of the towne by chance lighting, were three of them ſlaine, the fourth taken, the fift by good hap eſcaping through the mariſhes backe againe into the towne: Who telling there what had happened, told withall, That they were but certaine ſtragling Haiduckes that lay there in the wood in hope of ſome bootie: for the oppreſsing of whom, foure hundred of the Turkes there in garriſon, going out, and entering into the wood, fell before they were aware, into the danger of *Collonitz* his armie, and were there two hundred of them ſlaine, and an hundred and thirtie of them moe taken, the reſt by ſpeedie flight ſauing themſelues.

Foure hundred of the Turkes garriſon in Canizia intercepted by the Chriſtians.

The Concluſion. THus with many ſharpe skirmiſhes (the common exerciſes of the Turks, and thoſe warlike people in HVNGARIE and the other frontier countries) paſſed the dead time of the yeare, with a good part of this laſt Spring alſo; no great armie either of the Chriſtians or of the Turkes (more than the roaming Tartars, and ſuch ſmall forces as the Chriſtians had, as is aforeſaid, oppoſed againſt them) yet appearing in the field. Since which time what hath happened, eſpecially in theſe two or three moneths laſt paſt; or what is euen at this preſent in doing (being the time of the yeare that the Turkes vſe commonly to ſet forth with their great armies, and to vndertake their greateſt exploits in) is not as yet come to my knowledge. So that hauing farre beyond my hope and the ſtrength of my weake and ſickly bodie, by the power of the Almightie paſſed through the Hiſtorie of this the greateſt Monarchie now on earth, I muſt

A muſt now here needs make an end: beſeeching his omnipotent majeſtie, for his onely Sonne our Sauiour Chriſt his ſake, in mercie to turne the hearts of this mightie and froward people vnto the knowledge of his Sonne crucified, and the loue of his truth: or otherwiſe in his juſtice (for the more manifeſting of his glorie) to root out their moſt bloud-thirſtie and wicked empire, with all the reſt of the blaſphemous Mahometanes; ſo by proofe to confirme the truth of that hath long agoe been foretold, and for many ages beleeued; as alſo by the Turkes themſelues not a little feared, That the Mahometane ſuperſtition, by the ſword begun, and by the ſword maintained, ſhall at length by the Chriſtian ſword alſo be deſtroied: in ſuch ſort, as that the name of *Gog* and *Magog* be no more heard of vnder heauen, but that all may be one bleſſed flocke vnder one great ſhepheard Chriſt Ieſus: At the greatneſſe of which worke all the
B world wondering, may with joy ſing

Vnto him in Trinitie, and Trinitie in Vnitie, be all honour and glorie world without end.

C

A briefe diſcourſe of the greatneſſe of the Turkiſh empire: as alſo wherein the greateſt ſtrength thereof conſiſteth, and of what *power the bordering princes, as well Mahometanes as Chriſtians are in compariſon of it.*

D THe Hiſtorie of the Turkes (being indeed nothing els but the true record of the wofull ruines of the greater part of the Chriſtian commonweale) thus as before paſſed through, and at length brought to end; and their empire (of all others now vpon earth farre the greateſt) as a proud champion ſtill ſtanding vp as it were in defiance of the whole world: I thought it good for the concluſion of this my labour, to propoſe vnto the view of the zealous Chriſtian, the greatneſſe thereof; and ſo neere as I could to ſet downe the bounds and limits within the which it is (by the goodneſſe of God) as yet contained, together with the ſtrength and power thereof, as alſo in what regard it hath the neighbour princes bordering or confining vpon it, with ſome other particularities tending vnto the ſame purpoſe. All or moſt part whereof, although it be by the conſiderat well to be gathered out of the whole courſe of the Hiſtorie before going, yet ſhall it more plainely here together in
E the full thereof appeare, than by the long and particular conſideration of the riſing and encreaſe thereof be perceiued: not much vnlike the ouergrowne tree, at the greatneſſe whereof euery man wondereth, no man in the meane time either perceiuing or marking how by little and little in tract of time it grew vp to that bigneſſe, as now to ouertop all the reſt of the wood. The imperiall ſeat of this ſo great and dreadfull an empire, is the moſt famous citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, ſometime the glorie of the Greeke empire, but now the place where *Mahomet* the third of that name, and thirteenth of the *Othoman* emperours, acknowledging no man like vnto himſelfe, triumpheth ouer many nations: a citie fatally founded to commaund, and by the great conquerour *Tamerlan* of all others thought to be the beſt ſeated for the empire of the world. In which citie (taken from the Chriſtians by *Mahomet* the ſecond, by the Turkes ſurnamed the
F Great, and the Greeke empire by him ſubuerted) as the *Othoman* emperours haue euer ſince ſeated themſelues, ſo haue they wonderfully euen to the aſtoniſhment of the world, out of the ruines of that ſo glorious a State encreaſed both their ſtrength and empire, almoſt altogether fixed euen in the ſelfeſame kingdomes, countries, and regions, as was ſometimes that; though not as yet (God be thanked) able to attaine to the vttermoſt bounds that that empire ſometimes had,

Conſtantinople the ſeat of the Turks Empire.

eſpecially in EVROPE; albeit that it haue oftentimes in pride thereof moſt mightily ſwolne, and in ſome few places thereof ſomewhat alſo exceeded the ſame. Amongſt the reſt of the *Othoman* emperours, this great Monarch of whom we ſpeake (namely *Mahomet* the third, which now raigneth in that moſt ſtately and imperiall citie) hath at this preſent vnder his commaund and empire, the chiefe and moſt fruitfull parts of the three firſt knowne parts of the world: onely AMERICA remaining free from him, not more happie with the rich mines thereof, than in that it is ſo farre from out of his reach. For in EVROPE he hath all the ſea coaſt from the confines of EPIDAVRVS (the vttermoſt bound of his empire in EVROPE Weſtward) vnto the mouth of the riuer Tanais, now called Don, with whatſoeuer lieth betwixt BVDA in HVNGARIE, and the imperiall citie of CONSTANTINOPLE: in which ſpace is comprehended the better part of HVNGARIE, all BOSNA, SERVIA, BVLGARIA, with a great part of DALMATIA, EPIRVS, MACEDONIA, GRÆCIA, PELOPONESVS, THRACIA, the ARCHIPELAGO, with the rich iſlands contained therein. In AFRICA he poſſeſſeth all the ſea coaſt from VELEZ (or as ſome call it BELIS) DE GOMERA, or more truly to ſay, from the riuer Muluia (the bounder of the kingdome of FEZ) euen vnto the Arabian gulfe or red ſea Eaſtward, except ſome few places vpon the riuage of the ſea holden by the king of SPAINE, *viz.* MERSALCABIR, MELILLA, ORAN, and PENNON: and from ALEXANDRIA Northward vnto the citie of ASNA, called of old SIENE, Southward: in which ſpace are contained the famous kingdomes of TREMIZEN, ALGIERS, TVNES, and ÆGIPT, with diuers other great cities and prouinces. In ASIA all is his from the ſtraits of Helleſpontus Weſtward, vnto the great citie of TAVRIS Eaſtward: and from DERBENT neere vnto the Caſpian ſea Northward, vnto ADENA vpon the gulfe of ARABIA Southward. The greatneſſe of this his empire may the better be conceiued by the greatneſſe of ſome parts thereof: the meere of MEOTIS, which is all at the Turkiſh emperours command, being in compaſſe a thouſand miles; and the Euxine or Blacke ſea in circuit two thouſand and ſeuen hundred; and the Mediterranean coaſt which is ſubject vnto him, containing in compaſſe about eight thouſand miles. But to ſpeake of his whole territorie together, he goeth in his owne dominion from TAVRIS to BVDA, about three thouſand two hundred miles. The like diſtance is from DERBENT vnto ADENA. From BALSERA vpon the Perſian gulfe vnto TREMISENA in BARBARIE, are accounted little leſſe than foure thouſand miles. He hath alſo in the ſea the moſt noble iſlands of CYPRVS, EVBŒA, RHODVS, SAMOS, CHIOS, LESBOS, and others of the ARCHIPELAGO. In this ſo large and ſpacious an empire are contained many great and large countries, ſometime moſt famous kingdomes, abounding with all manner of worldly bleſsings and natures ſtore: For what kingdome or countrey is more fruitfull than ÆGYPT, SYRIA, and a great part of ASIA? What countrey more wealthie or more plentifull of all good things than was ſometime HVNGARIA, GRÆCIA, & THRACIA? In which countries he hath alſo many rich and famous cities, but eſpecially foure, which be of greateſt wealth and trade: namely CONSTANTINOPLE, CAIRE, ALEPPO, and TAVRIS. CONSTANTINOPLE for multitude of people exceedeth all the cities of EVROPE; wherin are deemed to be aboue ſeuen hundred thouſand men: which if it be ſo, is almoſt equall to two ſuch cities as PARIS in FRANCE. ALEPPO is the greateſt citie of SYRIA, and as it were the centre whereunto all the marchandiſe of ASIA repaire. TAVRIS of late the royall ſeat of the Perſian kings, and one of the greateſt cities of that kingdome, from whom it was in this our age taken by *Amurath* the third, hath in it aboue two hundred thouſand men. CAIRE amongſt all the cities of AFRICA is the chiefe, leauing all others farre behind it (although that ſome make the citie CANO equall vnto it in greatneſſe) being as it were the ſtore-houſe not of ÆGYPT onely and of a great part of AFRICA, but of INDIA alſo; the riches whereof being brought by the red ſea to SVES, and from thence vpon cammels to CAIRE, and ſo downe the riuer Nilus to ALEXANDRIA, are thence diſperſed into all theſe Weſterne parts: albeit that this rich trade hath of late time beene much empaired, and ſo like more to be, the Chriſtians (eſpecially the Portingals) trafficquing into the Eaſt Indies, and by the vaſt Ocean tranſporting the rich commodities of thoſe Eaſterne countries into the Weſt, to the great hinderance of the Grand ſignior his cuſtomes in CAIRE.

The bounds of the Turks Empire in Europe, Africa, & Aſia.

The greatneſſe of the Turkes Empire.

The foure chiefe cities for trade in the Turkiſh Empire.

The *Othoman* gouernment in this his ſo great an empire is altogether like the gouernment of the maſter ouer his ſlaue, and indeed meere tyrannicall: for the great Sultan is ſo abſolute a lord of all things within the compaſſe of his empire, that all his ſubjects and people be they neuer ſo great, doe call themſelues his ſlaues and not his ſubjects: neither hath any man power ouer himſelfe,

The Othoman gouernment meere tyrannicall.

A ſelfe, much leſſe is he lord of the houſe wherein he dwelleth, or of the land which he tilleth, except ſome few families in CONSTANTINOPLE, vnto whom ſome few ſuch things were by way of reward and vpon ſpeciall fauour giuen by *Mahomet* the ſecond, at ſuch time as he woon the ſame. Neither is any man in that empire ſo great or yet ſo farre in fauour with the great Sultan, as that he can aſſure himſelfe of his life, much leſſe of his preſent fortune or ſtate, longer than it pleaſeth the Grand ſignior. In which ſo abſolute a ſoueraignetie (by any free borne people not to be endured) the tyrant preſerueth himſelfe by two moſt eſpeciall meanes: firſt by taking of all arms from his naturall ſubjects; and then by putting the ſame and all things els concerning the ſtate and the gouernment thereof into the hands of the Apoſtata or renegate Chriſtians, whom for moſt part euery third, fourth, or fift year (or oftener if his need ſo require) he taketh in their child-
B hood from their miſerable parents, as his tenths or tribute children. Whereby he gaineth two great commodities: firſt, for that in ſo doing he ſpoileth the prouinces hee moſt feareth of the flower, ſinewes, and ſtrength of the people, choice being ſtill made of the ſtrongeſt youths and fitteſt for warre: then, for that with theſe as with his owne creatures he armeth himſelfe, and by them aſſureth his ſtate: for they in their childhood taken from their parents laps, and deliuered in charge to one or other appointed to that purpoſe, quickly and before they be aware become Mahometanes; and ſo no more acknowledging father or mother, depend wholly of the great Sultan, who to make vſe of them, both feeds them and foſters them, at whoſe hands only they looke for all things, and whom alone they thanke for all. Of which frie ſo taken from their Chriſtian parents (the onely ſeminarie of his warres) ſome become horſemen, ſome footmen, and ſo in
C time the greateſt commaunders of his ſtate and empire next vnto himſelfe, the naturall Turkes in the meane time giuing themſelues wholly vnto the trade of marchandiſe and other their mechanicall occupations: or els vnto the feeding of cattell, their moſt auntient and naturall vocation, not intermedling at all with matters of gouernment or ſtate. So that if vnto theſe his ſouldiors, all of the Chriſtian race, you joine alſo his fleet and money, you haue as it were the whole ſtrength of his empire: for in theſe foure, his horſemen, footmen, his fleet, and money, eſpecially conſiſteth his great force and power: whereof to ſpeake more particularly, and firſt concerning his money, it is commonly thought that his ordinarie reuenue exceedeth not eight millions of gold. And albeit that it might ſeeme, that he might of ſo large an empire receiue a farre greater reuenue, yet doth he not, for that both he and his men of warre (in whoſe power all things are)
D haue their greateſt and almoſt onely care vpon armes, fitter by nature to waſt and deſtroy countries than to preſerue and enrich them: inſomuch, that for the preſeruation of their armies, and furtherance of their expeditions (euery yeare to doe) they moſt grieuouſly ſpoile euen their own people and prouinces whereby they paſſe, ſcarce leauing them neceſſaries wherewith to liue; ſo that the ſubjects deſpairing to enjoy the fruits of the earth, much leſſe the riches which by their induſtrie and labour they might get vnto themſelues, doe now no further endeuour themſelues either to husbandrie or traffique than they muſt needs, yea then very neceſsitie it ſelfe enforceth them: For to what end auaileth it to ſow that another man muſt reape? or to reape that which another man is readie to deuour? Whereupon it commeth, that in the territories of the *Othoman* empire, yea euen in the moſt fruitfull countries of MACEDONIA and GREECE are ſeene
E great forreſts, all euery where waſt, few cities well peopled, and the greateſt part of thoſe countries lying deſolate and deſert: ſo that husbandrie (in all well ordered commonweales the princes greateſt ſtore) decaying, the earth neither yeeldeth her encreaſe vnto the painefull husbandman, neither he matter vnto the artificer, neither the artificer wares to furniſh the marchant with, all together with the plough running into ruine and decay. As for the trade of marchandiſe, it is almoſt all in the hands of the Iewes, or the Chriſtians of EVROPE, *viz.* the Raguſians, Venetians, Genowaies, French, or Engliſh; the naturall Turkes hauing therein the leaſt to doe, holding in that their ſo large an empire no other famous cities for trade, more than the foure abouenamed, *viz.* CONSTANTINOPLE, TAVRIS, ALEPPO, and CAIRE: whereunto may be added CAFFA and THESSALONICA in EVROPE, DAMASCVS, TRIPOLIS, and ADEN in
F ASIA: ALEXANDRIA and ALGIERS in AFRICKE. In our countries here in this Weſt part of EVROPE, of the abundance of people oftentimes ariſeth dearth; but in many parts of the Turkes dominions, for want of men to manure the ground: moſt part of the poore countrey people drawne from their owne dwellings, being enforced with victuals and other neceſſaries to follow their great armies in their long expeditions, of whom ſcarcely one of ten euer returne

The meanes whereby the Turkiſh Emperours preſerue themſelues in ſo abſolute a ſoueraignetie.

Foure things wherein the greateſt ſtrength of the Othoman empire conſiſteth.

The Turks ordinarie reuenewes, and why they are no greater.

home to their dwellings againe, there by the way periſhing, if not by the enemies ſword, yet by G
wants, the intemperatneſſe of the aire, or immoderat paines taking. But to come neerer vnto
The Turks caſualties more than his ordinarie reuenewes. our purpoſe, although the great Turkes ordinarie reuenewes be no greater than is aforeſaid, yet are his extraordinarie eſcheats to be greatly accounted of, eſpecially his confiſcations, forfeitures, fines, amercements (which are right many) his tributes, cuſtomes, tithes and tenths of all preyes taken by ſea or land, with diuers other ſuch like, far exceeding his ſtanding and certaine reuenew: his Baſſaes and other his great officers like rauening Harpies as it were ſucking out the bloud of his poore ſubjects, and heaping vp ineſtimable treaſures, which for the moſt part fall againe into the Grand ſignior his coffers. *Ibrahim* the Viſier Baſſa (who died but the laſt yeare) is ſuppoſed to haue brought with him from CAIRE to the value of ſix millions: and *Mahomet* another of the Viſiers was thought to haue had a farre greater ſumme. His preſents alſo amount vnto a great H
matter: for no embaſſadour can come before him without gifts, no man is to hope for any commodious office or preferment without money, no man may with emptie hands come vnto the preſence of him ſo great a prince, either from the prouince he had the charge of, or from any great expedition he was ſent vpon; neither vnto ſo great and mightie a prince are trifles preſented. The Vayuods of MOLDAVIA, WALACHIA, and TRANSYLVANIA (before their late reuolt) by gifts preſerued themſelues in their principalities, being almoſt daily changed, eſpecially in WALACHIA and MOLDAVIA: for thoſe honours were by the Grand ſignior ſtill giuen to them that would giue moſt; who to performe what they had offered, miſerably oppreſſed the people, and brought their prouinces into great pouertie. In briefe, an eaſie thing it is for the great tyrant to find occaſion for him at his pleaſure to take away any mans life, together with his I
wealth, be it neuer ſo great: ſo that he cannot well be ſaid to lacke money, ſo long as any of his ſubjects hath it. Neuertheleſſe, the late Perſian warre ſo emptied the moſt couetous Sultan *Amurath* his offers, and exhauſted his treaſures, that all ouer his empire the value of his gold was beyond all credit enhaunſed, inſomuch that a Checcine was twice ſo much worth as before: beſide that, the mettall whereof his gold and ſiluer was made, was ſo embaſed, that it gaue occaſion vnto the Ianizaries to ſet fire vpon the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE, to the great terrour not of the vulgar ſort onely, but of the Grand ſignior himſelfe alſo. And in the citie of ALEPPO onely were in the name of the great Sultan threeſcore thouſand Checcines taken vp in preſt of the marchants there, which how well they were repayed, we leaue for them to report.

The Turkes Timariots of greater value than his reuenewes. Now albeit that the Turks reuenewes be not ſo great as the largeneſſe of his empire and the K
fruitfulneſſe of his countries might ſeeme to affourd, all the ſoile being his owne; yet hath he in his dominion a commoditie of greater value and vſe than are the reuenewes themſelues: which is the multitude of the Timariots or pentioners, which are all horſemen, ſo called of *Timaro*, that is, a ſtipend which they haue of the great Sultan, *viz.* the poſſeſsion of certaine villages and townes, which they hold during their life, and for which they ſtand bound for euery threeſcore duckats they haue of yearely reuenew to maintaine one horſeman, either with bow and arrowes, or els with targuet and launce; and that as well in time of peace as warre: for the *Othoman* emperours take vnto themſelues all ſuch lands as they by the ſword win from their enemies, as well Mahometanes as Chriſtians, all which they deuide into Timars, or as we may call them Commendams, which they giue vnto their ſouldiors of good deſert for tearme of life, vpon condition, that they ſhall (as is aforeſaid) according to the proportion thereof keepe certaine men and horſes fit for ſeruice alwaies readie whenſoeuer they ſhall be called vpon. Wherein conſiſteth the greateſt pollicie of the Turks, and the ſureſt meane for the preſeruation of their empire. For if by this meanes the care of manuring the ground were not committed vnto the ſouldiors, for the profit they hope thereof, but left in the hand of the plaine painefull husbandman, all would in that ſo warlike an empire lie waſt and deſolate; the Turks themſelues commonly ſaying, That whereſoeuer the Grand ſignior his horſe ſetteth his foot, the graſſe will there no more grow: meaning, the deſtruction that their great armies bring in all places where they come. The inſtitution of theſe Timariots, and the taking vp of the Azamoglans (for ſo they call thoſe children which are taken vp from their Chriſtian parents to be brought vp for Ianizaries) are the two M
chiefe pillars of the Turkes empire, and the ſtrength of their warres: both which ſeeme to be deuiſed vnto the imitation of the Romanes, as are diuers things moe in the Turkiſh gouernment; for the Romane emperours vſed their owne ſubjects in their warres, and of them conſiſted the Prætorian armie, which neuer departed from the emperours ſide, but were ſtill to guard his perſon,

The two chiefe pillars of the Othoman empire

A ſon as doe the Ianizaries the great Turke. And in the Romane empire lands were giuen vnto ſouldiors of good deſert for them to take the profit of during their liues, in reward of their good ſeruice and valour, which were called *Beneficia*, and they which had them, *Beneficiarij*, or as wee tearme them, Benefices, and Beneficed men. *Alexander Seuerus* graunted vnto ſuch ſouldiors heires that they might enjoy thoſe lands and commendams, vpon condition alſo, that they themſelues ſhould ſerue as had their fathers, otherwiſe not. *Conſtantine* alſo the great gaue vnto his captaines that had well deſerued of him, certaine lands for them to liue vpon during the tearme of their life. The like fees in FRAVNCE which they called *Feuda*, were of temporaries made perpetuities by theſe their late kings. Theſe Timariot horſemen in the Turkiſh empire ſerue to two great and moſt notable purpoſes: whereof the firſt is, that by them the Grand ſig-

B nior as with a bridle keepeth the reſt of his ſubjects in euery part of his great empire in awe, ſo that they cannot ſo ſoone moue, but that they ſhall haue theſe his Timariots as faulcons in their neckes; for to that purpoſe they are diſperſed all ouer his dominions and empire: The other vſe of them (and no leſſe profitable than the former) is for that out of them he is alwaies able at his pleaſure to draw into the field an hundred and fiftie thouſand horſemen well furniſhed, readie to goe whether ſoeuer he ſhall commaund them: with all whom he is not at one farthing charge. Which ſo great a power of horſemen cannot be continually maintained for leſſe than fourteene millions of duckats yearely. Wherefore it is to be maruelled, that ſome comparing the Turkes reuenewes with the Chriſtians, make no mention of this ſo great a part of the *Othoman* emperours wealth and ſtrength, ſeruing him firſt for the ſuppreſsing of all ſuch tumults as might ariſe

C in his empire, and then as a moſt principall ſtrength of his continuall warres, alwaies readie to ſerue him in his greateſt expeditions. The number of theſe Timariot horſemen is now growne very great, taking encreaſe together with the Turkes empire. It is reported that *Amurath* the third, father to this *Mahomet* that now raigneth, in his late warres againſt the Perſian, ſubdued vnto himſelfe ſo much territorie as ſerued him to erect therein fortie thouſand Timariots: and appointed at TAVRIS a new receit, which was yearly worth vnto him a million of gold. Theſe Timariots are in all accounted to bee ſeuen hundred and nineteene thouſand fighting men: of whom two hundred fiftie ſeuen thouſand haue their abode and dwelling in EVROPE; and foure hundred ſixtie two thouſand in ASIA and AFRICKE. Beſide theſe Timariots, the Grand ſignior hath a great number of other horſemen alſo vnto whom he giueth pay, which are his Spahi,

D Vlufagi, and Carapici of his Court, being indeed the nurſeries and ſeminaries of the great officers and gouernours of his empire: for from among them are ordinarily choſen the Sanzacks, which afterwards through their good deſerts or the Sultans great fauour, become Viſiers, Beglerbegs, and Baſſaes, the chiefe rulers of that ſo mightie a Monarchie. He hath alſo ſtill in his armies a great multitude of other horſemen called Acanzij, being indeed but rurall clownes, yet for certaine priuiledges which they haue are bound to goe vnto the warres, being euen of the Turkes themſelues accounted of ſmall worth or value in compariſon of the Timariots. He receiueth great aid alſo from the Tartars in his warres, as alſo from the Valachians and Moldauians (vntill that now of late by the example of the Tranſyluanians they haue to the great benefit of the reſt of the Chriſtian commonweale reuolted from him:) all which are to be accounted as the

E Romanes Auxiliarij, that is to ſay, ſuch as come to aid and aſsiſt him. And thus much for his horſemen.

The great vſe of the Timariot horſemen in the Turks Empire.

The number of the Timariots.

The Spahi, Vlufagi and Carapici, ſeminaries of the great offices in the Turkes Empire.

The Acanzij.

Another great part of his ſtrength conſiſteth in his footmen, and eſpecially in his Ianizaries: in whom two things are to be conſidered, their Nation, and Dexteritie in arms. Concerning their Nation, ſuch of the Azamoglans as are borne in ASIA, are not ordinarily enrolled in the number of the Ianizaries, but ſuch as are borne in EVROPE: for they of ASIA are accounted more effeminate, as they haue beene alwaies, more readie to flie than to fight: whereas the people of EVROPE haue euen in the Eaſt beene accounted for better and more valiant ſouldiours, hauing there to their immortall glorie ſet vp the notable trophees of their moſt glorious victories. The ſouldiors of ASIA be called Turkes after the name of their nation, and not of their countrey (no

F countrey being indeed ſo properly called) and they of EVROPE Rumi, that is to ſay, Romani or Romanes, as the country eſpecially about CONSTANTINOPLE, is called by the name of RVMILI, that is to ſay, the Romane countrey, as it was in auntient time of the notable Romane colonies therein, knowne by the name of ROMANIA. Now as concerning their Dexteritie, ſuch male children are culled out from the Chriſtians, as in whom appeareth the greateſt ſignes of

The Ianizaries the ſecond ſtrength of the Turkes Empire.

What manner of children are taken vp to make Ianizaries of.

ſtrength, actiuitie, and courage: for theſe three qualities are in a ſouldior eſpecially required. This choice is made euery third yeare, except neceſsitie enforce it to be made ſooner, as it happened in the late Perſian warre: wherein not onely oftener choice was made, but they were glad to vſe the Azamoglans alſo, a thing neuer before by them done. For thoſe youths, the children of Chriſtian parents, being by them that haue taken them vp brought to CONSTANTINOPLE, are taken view of by the Aga of the Ianizaries, who cauſeth to be regiſtred the name of the youth, with the name of his father and countrey wherein he was borne: which done, part of them are ſent into the leſſer ASIA (now called NATOLIA) and other prouinces, where learning the Turkiſh language and law, they are alſo infected with the vices and maners of them with whom they liue, and ſo in ſhort time become right Mahometanes. Another part of them, and thoſe of the moſt towardlieſt, is deuided into cloiſters which the Grand ſignior hath at CONSTANTINOPLE and PERA, of whom the faireſt and moſt handſome are appointed for the Serraglio of the great Sultan himſelfe. All the time that theſe youths thus ſent abroad, liue in the leſſer ASIA or other the Turkes prouinces, they are not appointed to any certaine exerciſes, but ſtill kept buſied ſome at husbandrie, ſome in gardening, ſome in building, ſome in other domeſticall ſeruices, neuer ſuffered to be idle, but alwaies occupied in painefull labour; where after certaine yeares they haue beene thus enured to labour and paines taking, they are called thence into the cloyſters of the Azamoglans (for ſo they are called all the time vntill they bee enrolled into the number of the Ianizaries) and are there deliuered vnto certaine ſpeciall gouernours appointed to take charge of them: who keepe them ſtill exerciſed in painefull worke and labour, entreating them euill ynough, as well in their diet, as in their apparell and lodging: they ſleepe together in large roumes like vnto the religious Dormitories, wherein are lampes ſtill burning, and tutors attending, without whoſe leaue they may not ſtirre out of their places. There they learne to ſhoot both in the Bow and Peece, the vſe of the Scimitar, with many feats of actiuitie: and being well trained in thoſe exerciſes, are enrolled amongſt the Ianizaries or Spahi: of whom, the Ianizaries receiue not leſſe than fiue aſpers, nor more than eight for their daily pay, and the Spahi ten. Being recorded among the Ianizaries, they are either ſent away into the warres, or into ſome garriſon, or els attend at the Court. Theſe laſt haue for their dwelling three great places like vnto three monaſteries in the citie of CONSTANTINOPLE: there they liue vnder their gouernours, to whom they are deputed, the younger with great obedience and ſilence ſeruing the elder in buying of things for them, in dreſsing of their meat, and ſuch like ſeruices. They that be of one ſeat or calling, liue together at one table, and ſleepe in long walkes. If any of them vpon occaſion chance to lie all night abroad without leaue, the next euening hee is notably beaten, with ſuch nurture and diſcipline, that after his beating he like an Ape kiſſeth his gouernors hands that ſo corrected him. Theſe Ianizaries haue many large priuiledges, are honoured, although they be moſt inſolent, and are feared of all men, yea euen of the great Sultan himſelfe, who is ſtill glad to make faire weather with them. In their expeditions or trauell they rob the poore Chriſtians cottages and houſes, who muſt not ſay one word to the contrarie. When they buy any thing, they giue for it but what they liſt themſelues. They can be judged by none but by their Aga: neither can they be executed without danger of an inſurrection, and therefore ſuch execution is ſeldome done, and that very ſecretly. They haue a thouſand royalties: ſome of them are appointed to the keeping of embaſſadours ſent from forraine princes: otherſome of them are aſsigned to accompanie ſtrangers, trauellers, eſpecially them that be men of the better ſort, to the intent they may ſafely paſſe in the Turkes dominions, for which ſeruice they are commonly well rewarded. They haue made choice of their prince, namely of *Selymus* the firſt, his father *Baiazet* yet liuing; neither can any the Turkes Sultans account themſelues fully inueſted in their imperiall dignitie, or aſſured of their eſtate, vntill they be by them approued and proclaimed. Euery one of their Sultans at his firſt comming to the empire doth giue them ſome great largeſſe; and ſometime the better to pleaſe them, encreaſeth alſo their pay. In euery great expedition ſome of them goeth forth with their Aga or his lieutenant, and are the laſt of all that fight. There is no office among the Turkes that moe enuie at, than at the office of the Aga of the Ianizaries, for the greatneſſe of his authoritie and commaund: onely he and the Beglerbeg of GRÆCIA chuſe not their owne lieutenants, but haue them nominated vnto them by the Grand ſignior. Vnto this great man the Aga of the Ianizaries, nothing can portend a more certaine deſtruction, than to be of them beloued, for then is he of the great Sultan ſtraightway fea-

The Azamoglans are ſuch vntrained youths as are taken vp to become Ianizaries, but yet are not of their order.

The manner of their bringing vp.

The daily pay of the Ianizaries and Spahi.

The Ianizaries inſolent.

Their great priuiledges and royalties.

red

A red or miſtruſted, and ſo occaſion ſought for to take him out of the way. The number of the Ianizaries of the Court is betwixt ten and foureteene thouſand. This warlike order of ſouldiors is in theſe our daies much embaſed: for now naturall Turkes are taken in for Ianizaries, as are alſo the people of ASIA; whereas in former times none were admitted into that order, but the Chriſtians of EVROPE onely: beſide that, they marrie wiues alſo, contrarie to their antient cuſtome, which is not now forbidden them. And becauſe of their long lying ſtill at CONSTANTINOPLE (a citie abounding with all manner of pleaſure) they are become much more effeminate and ſlouthfull, but withall moſt inſolent, or more truly to ſay intollerable. It is commonly reported the ſtrength of the Turkiſh empire to conſiſt in this order of the Ianizaries, which is not altogether ſo, for albeit that they be indeed the Turks beſt footmen and ſureſt guard of the great
B Sultans perſon, yet vndoubtedly the greateſt ſtrength of his ſtate and empire reſteth nothing ſo much in them, as in the great multitude of his horſemen, eſpecially his Timariots. Beſide theſe Ianizaries, the Turkiſh emperour hath a wonderfull number of baſe footmen, whom the Turkes call Aſapi, better acquainted with the ſpade than with the ſword, ſeruing rather to the wearying of their enemies with their multitude, than the vanquiſhing of them with their valour: with whoſe dead bodies the Ianizaries vſe to fill vp the ditches of townes beſieged, or to ſerue them for ladders to climbe ouer the enemies wals vpon. But as the Romanes had both their old Legionarie, and other vntrained ſouldiors, which they called Tirones; of whom the firſt were the chiefe ſtrength of their warres, and the other but as it were an aid or ſupplie: euen ſo the Turke accounteth his Timariot horſemen the ſtrength of his armie, and the Acanzij (which is another
C ſort of baſe and common horſemen) but as an acceſſorie: and ſo amongſt his footmen he eſteemeth of his Ianizaries, as did the Romanes of their Prætorian legions, but of his Aſapi as of ſhaddowes. The Ianizaries are by none to be commaunded, more than by the great Sultan himſelfe, and their Aga; as for the Baſſaes, they much regard them not, but in their rage oftentimes foule entreat euen the greateſt of them. The Aſapi as they are but baſe and common ſouldiours, ſo haue they alſo their ordinarie captaines and commaunders, men of no great place or marke.

The order of the Ianizaries in our time much embaſed.

The Turkes Aſapi in what ſmall regard they are had.

The whole ſtate of the great empire of the Turkes is commaunded by the great Sultan, by the graue aduice and counſell of his Viſier Baſſaes, which were not wont to be in number aboue foure, ſo prouiding for the ſecrecie of his high deſignes or important reſolutions, hardly by a
D greater multitude to be concealed: howbeit that the Sultans of later times haue had ſometimes moe, ſometimes fewer, as their pleaſure was. Theſe men are of all others in that empire the greateſt, and for their high places moſt honoured: vnto them euen the greateſt princes that haue any thing to doe in the Turkes Court, ſue and ſend their honourable preſents. By their aduice the great Sultan taketh his warres in hand, neither without them concludeth he any peace. They giue audience vnto the embaſſadours of forraine princes, and from them receiue their diſpatch. The greateſt honours and preferments (which are many in that ſo great and large an empire) are all by their meanes to be obtained: which maketh them of all others to be ſought vnto. Some one or other of them are ſtill Generals ouer the great armies of the Turkes, eſpecially in theſe their late wars, their three laſt emperours neuer themſelues going forth into the field (excepting once
E that this *Mahomet* which now raigneth for the maintenance of his credit with his men of warre, came downe into HVNGARIE, and there woon the citie of AGRIA:) which leading of ſuch mightie armies is ſtill with great emulation and ambition of the Viſier Baſſaes amongſt themſelues ſought after, as well for the great profit thereby vnto them ariſing, as for the honour thereof, which is of all other the greateſt. But leauing theſe great ones, the chiefe counſellours for his ſtate: the whole bodie of his ſo large and mightie an empire (all in the hands of martiall men) is gouerned by other great Baſſaes, whom they by a moſt proud barbarous name call Beglerbegs, that is to ſay, Lords of Lords, euery one of them hauing vnder him certaine Begs or Sanzackes, who are lords and rulers alſo ouer ſome particular cities and countries, with the Timariots therein; yet all ſtill at the commaund and becke of their Beglerbeg. In auntient time there was wont
F to be but two of theſe proud Beglerbegs in all the Turkes empire: the one commaunding ouer all the prouinces the Turke had in EVROPE: and the other ouer all that he had in the leſſer ASIA, now of the Turkes called NATOLIA. But the Turkiſh empire greatly augmented in ASIA by *Solyman* his ſonne, the number of the Beglerbegs were by him encreaſed, and in ſome part alſo changed:

The great commaunders of the Turkiſh empire.

The great authoritie of the Viſier Baſſaes.

The great authoritie of the Beglerbegs.

ged: who although that they be all Beglerbegs, and that one of them (eſpecially in time of peace) in the managing of his ſouldiors and affaires of his countrey, is not ſubject to any other, but is onely at the commaund of the great Turke; yet notwithſtanding in time of warre, where the Beglerbeg of ROMANIA is, all are obedient vnto him, as the chiefeſt of the reſt: inſomuch that none of them but onely he and the Baſſa of NATOLIA are called by the ſtately name of Beglerbegs, the others being then onely called the Baſſaes of ſuch and ſuch places, as of BVDA, ALEPPO, and ſuch like, although indeed they are in nature Beglerbegs, and ſo written in their records. For the more manifeſting of which their gouernment, as alſo that they which come hereafter, may by comparing of that which is here written, with the ſtate that then ſhall be, ſee how much this great empire in the mean time encreaſeth or deminiſheth: I haue thought good here briefely to ſet downe all the ſaid Beglerbegs with their Sanzackes and Timariots, and as neere as I could (either by reading or the credible relation of others well trauelled in thoſe countries) together, and as it were at one ſhew ſet forth the whole ſtrength and power of this ſo mightie an empire, as alſo in what countries and prouinces the ſame is eſpecially placed. G H

The Beglerbegs or great Commaunders of the Turkes Empire in EVROPE.

I *The Beglerbeg of Romania chiefe of the Beglerbegs of the Turkes Empire in Europe.*

The firſt and chiefeſt of all the Beglerbegs in the Turkiſh empire, is the Beglerbeg of ROMANIA or GRÆCIA, called of the Turkes RVM-ILI (or as wee ſay, the Romane countrey) the principall reſidence of whoſe Beglerbegſhip, is at SOPHIA, a citie of BVLGARIA; ſo appointed for the commodious ſituation thereof, for the better commaund of the reſt of the prouinces of EVROPE: howbeit that he for the moſt part or rather altogether abideth at the Court, which the other Beglerbegs cannot doe, for that they are bound not to depart from the gouernment of their prouinces: in which charge they ordinarily continue but three yeares only, the great Sultan ſtill changing and altering them at his pleaſure. This Beglerbeg hath vnder his owne enſigne and commaund fortie thouſand Timariots alwaies readie at his call, vnder the conduct of theſe one and twentie Sanzackes following, namely, the I

Sanzacke of
1 *Sophia* in *Bulgaria*.
2 *Nicopolis*.
3 *Cliſſe*, or *Quadraginta Eccleſiæ*.
4 *Vyza* in *Thracia*.
5 *Kirmen*
6 *Stliſtria* } all in *Macedonia*.
7 *Giuſtandill*
8 *Bender*, neere vnto the Euxine.
9 *Acherman*, in the confines of *Moldauia*.
10 *Vſcopia*.
11 *Priſrem*
12 *Salonichi* } all in *Theſſalia*.
13 *Trichala*
14 *Miſitra*, of old called *Sparta*, in *Morea*.
15 *Palæopatra*, in the ſame prouince.
16 *Ioannina* in *Ætolia*.
17 *Deluina* } both in *Achaia*.
18 *Elbaſſan*
19 *Auelona* or *Aulona* in *Albania*.
20 *Ducagin* in *Epirus*.
21 *Iſcodra* or *Scodra* in *Albania*. K

2 *The Beglerbeg of Buda.*

The Beglerbeg of BVDA, who there reſideth in the frontiers of the Turkiſh empire, hauing vnder his charge eight thouſand Timariots, beſide twelue thouſand other ſoldiors, which in continuall pay lie ſtill readie in garriſon in the confines of HVNGARIE, CROATIA, STIRIA, and other places bordering vpon the Chriſtians, but eſpecially the territories belonging to the houſe of AVSTRIA. He had of late vnder his enſigne and commaund theſe fifteene Sanzacks, *viz.* the L

Sanzacke of
1 *Nouigrad*.
2 *Filek*.
3 *Zetſchen*.
4 *Zolnock*.
5 *Gran* or *Strigonium*.
6 *Segedin*.
7 *Alba Regalis*.
8 *Sexard*.
9 *Simontorna*.
10 *Copan*.
11 *Muhatz*.
12 *Zigeth* or *Saſwar*.
13 *Petſchen* or *Quinque Eccleſiæ*.
14 *Sirmium*.
15 *Semendria*. M

Of which, FILEK, ZETSCHEN, and STRIGONIVM are in theſe late warres woon from the Turkes by the Imperials, and ſo yet by them holden: as was alſo ALBA REGALIS, which but the laſt yeare was by the Turkes againe recouered.

The

A The Beglerbeg of TEMESVVAR in HVNGARIE, who there hath his abode, hauing vnder his commaund ſeuen thouſand Timariots, with theſe eight Sanzacks, the 3 *The Beglerbeg of Temeſwar.*

Sanzacke of
1 *Temeſwar.*
2 *Mudaua.*
3 *Vilaoſwar.*
4 *Tſchianad.*
5 *Wtſchitirni.*
6 *Iſwornick.*
7 *Vidin.*
8 *Lipa.*

The Beglerbeg of BOSNA, who lieth at BAGNIALVCA, hath vnder him theſe Sanzacks, the 4 *The Beglerbeg of Boſna.*

Sanzacke of
1 *Bagnialuca.*
2 *Poſchega.*
3 *Cliſſa.*
4 *Hertzegouina.*
5 *Lika.*
6 *Sazeſchna.*
7 *Giula.*
8 *Briſrem.*
9 *Allatſchia chiſſar.*

B

The Beglerbeg of COFFE or CAPHA, who there reſideth in TAVRICA CHERSONESVS, and beſide the countrey thereabout, commaundeth ouer all the Sanzacks neere vnto the great riuer Tanais, and the fennes of Mœotis. It was at firſt but a Sanzackeſhip, ſubject to the Beglerbeg of GRÆCIA, and is in truth rather a Beglerbegs place in name than in ſtrength and power. 5 *The Beglerbeg of Coffe or Capha.*

The Beglerbegs or great Commaunders of the Turkes Empire in ASIA.

C

The Beglerbegs of the Turks empire in Aſia.

1 *Anatolia*, who hath his reſiance in *Cutaie*, the metropoliticall citie of the greater *Phrigia* (called of auntient time *Catyai*) and hath vnder his enſigne and commaund thirtie thouſand of the Timariot horſemen, with twelue Sanzacks.

2 *Caramania* who hath his abode at *Caiſaria* (in auntient time called *Cæſaria*) a citie of *Cilicia*, and hath vnder him ſeuen Sanzackes, with twentie thouſand Timariots.

3 *Siuas*, who hath his abiding at *Sebaſtia*, a citie of the leſſer *Armenia*, and hath vnder his gouernment ten thouſand Timariots.

4 *Tocatun*, who reſideth at *Amaſia*, the metropolis of *Capadocia*, and hath vnder him fiue Sanzackes.

D

5 *Dulgadir*, ſometime part of the kingdome of *Aladeules*, and commandeth ouer foure Sanzackes.

6 *Halep* commonly called *Aleppo*, a citie of *Syria*, and one of the moſt famous marts of the Eaſt, who hath vnder his regiment fiue and twentie thouſand Timariots.

7 *Sham*, otherwiſe called *Damaſco*, a moſt famous citie of *Syria*, who commandeth ouer fortie thouſand Timariots.

The Beglerbeg of

8 *Tarapolos* or *Trapolos*, commonly called *Tripolis*, another famous citie of *Syria*.

9 *Maras*, a citie vpon the great riuer Euphrates, betwixt *Aleppo* and *Meſopotamia*, who hath vnder his commaund ten thouſand Timariots.

E

10 *Diarbekir*, otherwiſe called *Meſopotamia*, who maketh his abode at the citie of *Amida*, or as the Turkes call it, *Cara-hemid*; who commaundeth ouer twelue Sanzackes, and thirtie thouſand Timariots.

11 *Bagdat* (or new *Babylon*) where he reſideth, not farre from the ruines of old *Babylon*, who hath vnder him fortie thouſand Timariots.

12 *Balſara*, not farre from *Bagdat* vpon the Perſian gulfe, who hath vnder his rule or gouernment fifteene thouſand Timariots.

13 *Laxa*, towards *Ormus*, and neere vnto the Perſian, hath vnder his regiment ten thouſand Timariots.

F

14 *Gemen* and *Aden*, two famous cities in *Arabia Fœlix*, vpon the coaſt of the red ſea, who hath vnder him thirtie thouſand Timariots.

15 *Chebetz* or *Zebet* vpon the coaſt of the Arabian gulfe, neere vnto the kingdome of the great Æthyopian king *Preianes*, commonly (but corruptly) called *Presbiter Iohn.*

16 *Cyprus,*

16 *Cyprus*, who lieth at *Nicoſia* or *Famagusta*, commaunding ouer all that great iſland, ſometime of it ſelfe a kingdome. G

17 *Scheherezul* in *Aſſyria*, bordering vpon the Perſian, who hath vnder his gouernment ten thouſand Timariots.

18 *Wan*, a citie in the confines of the greater *Armenia* towards *Media*, who hath vnder him twelue thouſand Timariots.

19 *Artzerum* or *Erzerum*, in the borders of *Armenia* towards *Capadocia*, about foure daies journey from *Trapezonde*, who commaundeth ouer twentie thouſand Timariots.

20 *Tiflis*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Muſtapha Baſſa*, Generall of *Amurath* the third his armie againſt the Perſian, in the yeare 1578. H

21 *Siruan* or *Media*, erected by the ſame *Muſtapha*, and at the ſame time, commaundeth ouer all that great countrey, ſometime a famous kingdome.

22 *Temir-Capi* or *Derbent*, neere vnto the Caſpian ſea, taken by *Oſman Baſſa* the ſame yeare 1578, who hauing ſlaine *Schehemet Chan* his father in law, reduced that countrey into the forme of a Beglerbegſhip.

The Beglerbeg of

23 *Cars*, a citie of *Armenia* the greater, diſtant from *Artzerum* foure daies journey, by *Muſtapha Baſſa* made a Beglerbegſhip in the yeare 1579.

24 *Tſchilder* or *Tzilder* in the confines of the Georgians, erected by the ſame Generall *Muſtapha* the ſame yeare 1579.

25 *Faſſa* or *Phaſis* in *Mengrelia*, neere vnto the Georgians, erected by *Vluzales* the Turkes Admirall the ſame yeare 1579. I

26 *Sochum*, in the borders of the Georgians, erected by the great Baſſa *Sinan* in the yeare 1580.

27 *Batin*, there erected alſo by the ſame *Sinan Baſſa*.

28 *Reiuan*, erected by *Ferat Baſſa*, Generall of the Turkes armie, taken from *Tocomac Chan* the Perſian in the yeare 1582, whereof *Cicala Baſſa* was the firſt Beglerbeg.

29 *Somachia*, in the countrey of *Media*, erected by *Oſman Baſſa* in the yeare 1583.

30 *Tauris*, a moſt famous citie of *Armenia* the greater, ſometime the regall ſeat of the Perſian kings, but of late taken from them by *Oſman Baſſa*, and conuerted into a Beglerbegſhip in the ſame yeare 1583, as it is by them yet holden. K

But theſe late erected honours, namely the Beglerbegſhips of TIFLIS, SIRVAN, TEMIR-CAPI, CARS, TSCHILDER, FASSA, and the reſt gained by *Amurath* from the Perſians and the Georgians, although they containe a great territorie, are not of themſelues any of them worthie of thoſe proud titles, or yet able to maintaine the ſame, SIRVAN, REIVAN, and TAVRIS onely excepted: but were by the great Baſſaes, *Muſtapha*, *Sinan*, *Ferat*, and *Oſman*, *Amurath* his lieutenants, for their owne greater honour, and the encouraging of them which were to defend thoſe their new conqueſts, erected; being indeed nothing either in power or ſtrength comparable with the other more auntient Beglerbegs either in EVROPE or ASIA. But hauing thus paſſed through the great kingdomes and prouinces by the Turkes holden in EVROPE and ASIA, with their proud honours therein, let vs goe forward toward the South, to ſee what great kingdomes and territories they at this preſent hold in APRICKE alſo. L

The Beglerbegs or great Commaunders of the Turkes Empire in APRICKE.

The Beglerbeg of

1 *Miſsir*, who ſtill making his abode at the great citie of *Caire*, hath vnder his commaund all the kingdome of *Ægipt*, with ſixteene Sanzackes, and an hundred thouſand Timariots. M

2 *Ceſair* (in auntient time called *Iulia Cæſaria*) but now commonly *Algiers*, where the Beglerbeg ſtill reſiding, commaundeth ouer all that kingdome, wherein are fortie thouſand Timariots.

3 *Tunis*,

A The Beglerbeg of
3 *Tunis*, where he ſtill remaining as a Viceroy commaundeth all that great and large kingdome.
4 *Tripolis*, the ſeat of his Beglerbegſhip, by *Sinan Baſſa* taken from the knights of *Malta* in the yeare 1551.

There are beſide theſe other two kingdomes in AFRICKE enrolled in the Turkes records as their owne, although they be not as yet by them brought into the forme of Beglerbegſhips: namely the kingdomes of FES and MAROCO, but are as yet holden by them as their tributaries and vaſſales.

But hauing thus as it were taken view of the greatneſſe and forces of this ſo mightie a monarchs Empire by land, and ſo in ſome ſort bounded it out: let vs conſider alſo his power by ſea.
B With the great Ocean he much medleth not, more than a little in the gulfes of PERSIA and ARABIA: moſt of his territories lying vpon the Mediterranean & Euxine ſeas, or els more inwardly into the heart of ASIA, neere vnto no ſea. Now for theſe ſeas, no prince in the world hath greater or better meanes to ſet forth his fleets than hath he: for the ouergrowne woods of EPIRVS and CILICIA; and more than they, thoſe of NICOMEDIA and TRAPEZONDE, are ſo great and ſo thicke, and ſo full of tall trees fit for the building of ſhips and gallies of all ſorts, as is almoſt incredible. Neither wanteth he ſtore of ſhipwrights and other carpenters for the framing of that ſo great ſtore of timber, large pay drawing euen the Chriſtian skilfull carpenters and workemen into his Arſenals at CONSTANTINOPLE, SINOPE, CALLIPOLIS, and others. For proofe whereof it is worth the noting, that *Selymus* the ſecond in our freſh remembrance, the next yeare
C after that notable ouerthrow by him receiued at the ECHINADES (commonly called the battell of LEPANTO) rigged vp a fleet wherwith *Vluzales* his Admirall was not afraid to face the whole power of the confederat Chriſtian princes at CERIGO. Neither hath the Turke euer wanted good ſtore of expert ſeamen, after the manner of thoſe ſeas: for beſide thoſe he hath in ſtore at CALLIPOLIS and SINOPE, out of his gallies which he hath alwaies in readineſſe in LESBOS, CHIOS, RHODVS, CYPRVS, and ALEXANDRIA, and from the pyrats which he continually receiueth into the ports of TVNIS, BVGIA, TRIPOLIS, and ALGIERS, he can and doth from them when need is chuſe captaines, marriners and rowers ſufficient for the manning and ſtoring of his fleet. What he is able to do in thoſe ſeas, was well ſeene in our time, by thoſe fleets which he had at MALTA, CYPRVS, the ECHINADES, and GVLETTA. He hath beſide of all neceſſarie and
D warlike prouiſion abundant ſtore, and of great ordinance to furniſh himſelfe withall both by ſea and land an infinit quantitie. Out of HVNGARIE he hath caried away aboue fiue thouſand great pieces, out of CYPRVS fiue hundred, and few leſſe from GVLETTA, not to ſpeake what he hath more got from the Chriſtians in diuers other places alſo. What ſtore he hath of ſhot and pouder, he ſhewed at MALTA, where he diſcharged aboue 60000 great ſhot; at FAMAOVSTA, where he beſtowed 118000; and at GVLETTA, where in the ſpace of 39 daies he by the furie of his great ordinance ouerthrew the fortifications which the Chriſtians had been 40 years in building. So that to returne againe vnto our purpoſe, the great Turke ſo well prouided of men, mony, ſhipping, and great ordinance, and hauing done ſo great matters at ſea as is before rehearſed, is not in reaſon otherwiſe to be accounted of than as of a moſt mightie and puiſſant prince, as well by ſea as land:
E which to be ſo, the greatneſſe of his Denizi Beglerbeg or great Admirall (commonly called *Capitan Baſſa*, of whom we haue not yet ſpoken) well declareth. This great man hauing charge of all the Grand ſignior his ſtrength at ſea, is alwaies one of the Viſier Baſſaes, not bound ſtill to follow the Court, as the other Viſier Baſſaes be, but alwaies or for moſt part reſiant at CONSTANTINOPLE or CALLIPOLIS, ſo to be the neerer vnto his charge. He that now hath this honorable place, is called of the Turks *Cigala Baſſa*, deſcended of an honorable familie of that name in GENVA: who commonly reſiding at CONSTANTINOPLE or CALLIPOLIS, hath vnder him fourteene Sanzacks, all of them great commaunders and men of great place, namely, the

F Sanzacke of
1 *Gallipolis*, or *Callipolis*.
2 *Galata*, or *Pera*.
3 *Nicomedia*.
4 *Limnos*, or *Lemnus*.
5 *Mitylene*, or *Lesbos*.
6 *Chios*, or *Sio*.
7 *Nexia*, or *Naxus*.
8 *Negropont*, or *Eubœa*.
9 *Rhodus*.
10 *Cauala* in the frontiers of *Macedonia*.
11 *Napoli di Romania*.
12 *Lepanto*, or *Naupactus*.
13 *S. Maura*.
14 *Alexandria*.

Thegreat power of the Turke in the Mediterranean and Euxine ſeas.

From whence he hath his chiefe ſea-men.

6
The Denizi Beglerbeg, the Turks great Admirall, to be accounted firſt of the Beglerbegs in Europe.

The

The princes as well Mahometanes as Chriſtians, vpon whom the great Empire of the Turke confineth, and of what power they be in compariſon of the Turke.

The greatneſſe, wealth, and ſtrength of this ſo mightie an Empire, as well by ſea as land, G
thus in ſome ſort declared: let vs now ſee vpon what princes it alſo confineth, and of what
power euery one of them is in compariſon of it, ſo great and ouergrowne a State. The Turkes
toward the Eaſt border vpon the Perſians, according to a right line, drawne by imagination
from TAVRIS to BALSARA: vpon the Portingals at the Perſian gulfe, and ſo there likewiſe
toward the South: at the red ſea, vpon the great Æthyopian king *Preianes*, commonly called
Preſter Iohn: towards the Weſt, in AFRICKE vpon the king of MAROCO: and in EVROPE
vpon the kingdome of NAPLES, with ſome part of the Venetian ſignorie: towards the North
vpon the Polonians, and the territories of the houſe of AVSTRIA. Now to begin with the

The Perſian too weake for the great Turke.

Perſian, the great Turke no doubt is in field too ſtrong for him, as by proofe hath beene of-
tentimes ſeene: For *Mahomet* the Great in plaine battell ouercame the valiant *Vſun-Caſſanes*: H
Selymus the firſt, and after him *Solyman* his ſonne, put to flight the noble *Hyſmaell* and *Tamas*,
the two great and famous Perſian kings: and now of late in our time *Amurath* the third by
his lieutenants hath taken from the Perſians all MEDIA, with the greater ARMENIA, both
ſometimes famous kingdomes, together with the regall citie of TAVRIS. That the Turke ſo
preuaileth, is by reaſon of his footmen, which the Perſian wanteth; and of his great ordinance,
whereof the Perſian hath neither ſtore nor vſe: and although the Perſians by valour of their
horſemen hath ſometime in open field foiled the Turke, yet haue they ſtill loſt ſome part of
their countrey, *Solyman* taking from them MESOPOTAMIA; and *Amurath* MEDIA and AR-
MENIA. Neither did the Perſians alone feele that harme, and looſe their owne, but vndid their
confederats alſo: *Selymus* the firſt ſpoiling the Mamalukes of ÆGYPT and SYRIA, and vtter- I
ly rooting them from off the face of the earth; and *Amurath* by his lieutenants hauing brought
to a low ebbe the warlike Georgians, both of them the Perſian kings friends and confederats.

The Portingals too ſtrong for the Turk in the Eaſt Indies.

Now is not the Turke ſo much too ſtrong at land for the Perſian, but that hee is as much too
weake at ſea for the Portingals: in thoſe ſeas I meane where their forces haue more than once
to the Turkes coſt met together in the Eaſt Indies. The Portingals hauing in thoſe rich but re-
mote countries many ſure harbours and ports, yea faire countries and territories abounding
with victuals and all prouiſion neceſſarie for ſhipping, with ſome alſo of thoſe great Eaſterne
princes their allies and confederats: whereas the Turke on the other ſide hath nothing in the
Perſian gulfe ſtrong, beſide BALSARA; the ſea-coaſt of ARABIA, which might ſtand him in
beſt ſtead, hauing no more but foure townes, and thoſe but weake and of ſmall worth. So that K
there, as alſo in the red ſea, it is a matter of exceeding charge and difficultie for him to ſet out
any great fleet into thoſe ſeas: for that thoſe countries are vtterly deſtitute of wood fit to make
ſhips of. For which cauſe, thoſe few times that he prepared his fleets in the red ſea (to haue cut
off the Portingals trade into the Eaſt Indies) being not able to performe the ſame in the Perſi-
an gulfe, he was enforced to bring the timber for the building of his gallies out of the ports of
BITHYNIA and CILICIA (out of another world as it were) vp the Nile vnto CAIRE, and
from thence vpon cammels by land to SVES, where he hath his Arſenall, a thing almoſt incre-
dible. And yet hauing done what he could, as oft as he hath made any expedition againſt them,
he neuer gained any thing but loſſe and diſhonour: as in the yeare 1538 at the citie of DIVM;
and in the yeare 1552 at the iſland of ARMVZ; and after that at MOMBAZA, where foure of L
the Turkes gallies with one galliot which by the fauour of the king of MOMBAZA had thought
to haue ſtaied in thoſe ſeas, were by the Portingals taken: who ſtill haue an eſpeciall regard
and care that the Turkes ſettle not themſelues in thoſe ſeas, but as ſoone as they perceiue them
to prepare any fleet, they forthwith ſet vpon them, and to that end oftentimes without reſi-

Preſter Iohn too weake for the great Turke.

ſtance enter into the red ſea. *Preſter Iohn* of whom although men ſpeake much, yet is he no-
thing in ſtrength to be compared vnto the Turke, but farre inferiour vnto him both for com-
maunders and ſouldiors, as alſo for weapons and munition: for that great prince hath a great
kingdome without fortification, and a multitude of ſouldiors without armes: as appeared by
the ouerthrow of *Barnagaſſo* his lieutenant towards the red ſea; who hauing loſt all that ſea-

The king of Maroco and the Turke both in doubt of the king of Spaine.

coaſt vnto the Turkes, was brought to that extremitie, that to haue peace with them, he yeel- M
ded to pay vnto them a yearely tribute of a thouſand ounces of gold. In AFRICKE the Turke
hath moe territories than hath the king of MAROCO, otherwiſe called the Xerife: For he poſ-
ſeſſeth all that there lieth betwixt the red ſea and the kingdome of FES; but the Xerife hath the
better part, the richer, ſtronger, and more vnited: yet dare neither of them well make war vpon
the

A the other, for the neereneſſe of the king of SPAINE, enemie vnto them both. Now then there remaineth the reſt of the Chriſtian princes bordering vpon the Turke: and firſt the king of POLONIA. What theſe two princes can doe the one againſt the other, hath beene ſeene in ſome former expeditions, wherein the Polonian had ſtill the worſe. Yet it ſhould ſeeme that of late time the Turke hath not beene greatly deſirous to moue the Polonian too farre: For that being prouoked by diuers occaſions (namely in the raigne of *Henry* the third, in the warres that *Iohn* the Vayuod of VALACHIA had with the Turkes, many Polonian horſemen ſerued the ſaid Vayuod, though not indeed ſent from the king: and in the time of *Sigiſmund* the third, which now raigneth, the Polonian Coſſackes haue with diuers incurſions not a little troubled them: beſide the late motions of *Iohn Zamoſchi* the great Chancellour and Generall of the Po-
B lonian forces, for the ſtaying of the Tartars by the Turke ſent for) he hath been content to comport the ſame, and not with his wonted pride ſought to be thereof reuenged, as hee hath for farre leſſe vpon ſome other princes. And on the other ſide the Polonians ſince the vnfortunat expedition of king *Ladiſlaus*, neuer tooke vpon them any warres againſt the Turkes: neither gaue ſuch aid as they ſhould vnto the Valachians their confederats, but ſuffered to bee taken from themſelues, whatſoeuer they had towards the Euxine or Blacke ſea: a thing imputed rather vnto the want of courage in their kings, than in the nobilitie of that kingdome. *Sigiſmund* the firſt being by Pope *Leo* the tenth inuited to the warres againſt the Turkes, anſwered him in theſe few words: Set you the Chriſtian princes at vnitie amongſt themſelues, and I for my part will not be wanting. *Sigiſmund* the ſecond ſo abhorred the warres, that he not onely de-
C clined the Turkes, but prouoked by the Muſcouites, neuer ſought to reuenge the ſame. King *Stephen* (by the commendation of *Amurath* choſen king of POLONIA) an indifferent eſteemer both of his enemies forces and his owne, thought it a moſt dangerous thing to joine battell with the Turke: and yet in priuat talke with his friends would oftentimes ſay, That with thirtie thouſand foot joyned vnto his Polonian horſemen, he durſt well to vndertake an expedition againſt the Turke: which hee was ſuppoſed oftentimes to haue thought vpon. The Emperour with the reſt of the princes of the houſe of AVSTRIA, are by a longer tract of ground joyned vnto this great Empire of the Turkes, than any one other prince of the world, and beſtow in fortifications and the maintenance of their garriſons (wherein they haue continually aboue twentie thouſand horſe and foot) the greateſt part of their reuenewes euen in the time
D of peace, much more in theſe their long warres: and with the Germane forces joyned vnto their owne, are more carefull how to defend that they yet haue left, than how to recouer that they haue alreadie loſt, or to enlarge their Empire. The Emperour *Ferdinand* with greater force than ſucceſſe vndertooke the vnfortunate expeditions of BVDA and POSSEGA: which ſo euill fell out, not for that his forces were not ſufficient or ſtrong ynough; but for that they wanted agilitie and dexteritie. The truth is, thoſe his armies were ſtrong ynough, and ſufficiently furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, but conſiſted for the moſt part of Germanes and Bohemians, ſlow and heauie people, vnfit to encounter with the Turkes, a more readie and nimble kind of ſouldiors. The Venetians alſo confrontier the Turkes by many hundred miles both by ſea and land, and defend themſelues rather by peaceable policie than by force of
E armes: notably fortifying their ſtrong holds vpon their frontiers, declining by all meanes the dangers and charges of warre, by embaſſages and rich preſents; leauing nothing vnattempted (their libertie and State preſerued) rather than to fall to warres. To ſay the truth of them, although they had both coyne and warlike prouiſion ſufficient, yet want they men and victuals anſwereable to ſo great a warre againſt ſo puiſſant an enemie. There remaineth onely the king of SPAINE of all other the great princes either Chriſtians or Mahometanes (bordering vpon him) the beſt able to deale with him; his yearely reuenewes ſo farre exceeding thoſe
F of the Turkes, as that they are alſo probably thought to counteruaile the greateſt part of his Timariots: and his great dominions in SPAINE, PORTINGALL, NAPLES, SICILIA, MILLAINE, SARDINIA, and the Low Countries (if they were with him at vnitie) able to affourd vnto him ſo great and powerfull a ſtrength both by ſea and land, as might make him dreadfull euen vnto the Great Turke when he ſwelleth in his greateſt pride: But conſidering how his forces are diſtracted for the maintenance of his warres at once in diuers places; as alſo for the neceſſarie defence and keeping of his ſo large and diſperſed territories, not all the

The king of Polonia vnwilling to vnitie with the Turke, or the Turke with him.

The Emperour with the reſt of the princes of the houſe of Auſtria, together with the aid of the Germanes haue much adoe to defend themſelues againſt the Turke.

The Venetians by policie rather than by force maintaine their ſtate againſt the Turke.

The king of Spain of all other princes that border vpon the Turke beſt able to wage war with him.

the beſt of themſelues affected to the Spaniſh gouernment, he is not to be thought of himſelfe G
ſtrong ynough againſt the ynited forces of the great Turke, whenſoeuer they ſhould chance to
be emploied vpon him. So that by this we haue alreadie ſaid is eaſily to be gathered how much
the Turke is too ſtrong for any one the neighbour princes, either Mahometanes or Chriſtians,
bordering vpon him, and therefore to be of them the more feared. Yet leaſt ſome miſtaking me,
might thinke, What, is then the Turke inuincible? Farre be that thought from me, to thinke
any enemie of Chriſt Ieſu (be his arme neuer ſo ſtrong) to be able to withſtand his power, either
Why the Turke is not to bee thought inuincible, neither his power ſo ſtrong, as it in ſhew ſeemeth to be.
quite to deuour his little flocke, rage he neuer ſo much about it. As for the Turke, the moſt
dangerous and profeſſed enemie of the Chriſtian commonweale, be his ſtrength ſo great, yea
and happily greater too than is before declared (the greatneſſe of his dominions and empire
conſidered) yet is he not to be thought therefore either inuincible, or his power indeed ſo great H
as it in ſhew ſeemeth for to be: his Timariot horſemen (his greateſt ſtrength) diſperſed ouer his
whole Empire, being neuer poſsibly the one halfe of them by him to be gathered into the bo-
die of one armie: neither if they ſo were, poſsible in ſuch a multitude long to be kept together,
liuing vpon no pay of his, but vpon ſuch ſtore and prouiſion only as they bring with them from
their Timari, neuer ſufficient long to maintaine them. Beſides that, the policie of his ſtate hard-
ly or neuer ſuffereth him to draw aboue a third part of his Timariots out of his countries where
they dwell, for feare leaſt the reſt of the people by them ſtill kept vnder, ſhould in their abſence
take vp armes againſt him in defence of themſelues and their auntient libertie: whereafter the
greateſt part of thoſe poore oppreſſed ſoules, as well Mahometanes as Chriſtians in euery pro-
uince of his Empire awaiting but the opportunitie, moſt deſirouſly longeth: ſo that more than I
two parts of them being alwaies to bee left at home for the neceſſarie defence of the ſpacious
borders of his ſo large an Empire, as alſo for the keeping in obedience of ſo many diſcontented
nations; it is a great matter, if hee euen in his greateſt warres draw together of theſe kind of
ſouldiors the full number of an hundred and fiftie thouſand ſtrong, making vp the reſt of his
huge multitude with his Acanzij, liuing of no pay of his, but vpon the ſpoile of the enemie on-
ly, the fift part whereof they pay vnto him alſo. All which put together, what manner of men
they be, and of what valour, not onely the ſmall armies of the Chriſtians vnder the leading of
their worthie chiefetaines *Huniades*, *Scanderbeg*, king *Matthias*, and others, haue to their im-
mortall glorie in former times made good proofe: but euen in this our age, and that as it were
but the other day, the Tranſyluanian prince with diuers other valiant captaines and commaun- K
ders yet liuing, haue done the like alſo: as well witneſſeth the late battell of AGRIA, wherein
the Chriſtians, in number not halfe ſo many as the Turkes, by plaine valour draue the great Sul-
tan *Mahomet* himſelfe (with *Ibrahim Baſſa* his lieutenant Generall) out of the field, and had of
him had the moſt glorious victorie that euer was got againſt that enemie, had they not by too
much careleſneſſe and vntimely deſire of ſpoile, themſelues ſhamefully interrupted the ſame.
But thus to let his horſemen paſſe, the chiefe ſtrength of his footmen are his Ianizaries, neuer in
number exceeding twelue or foureteene thouſand, yea ſeldome times halfe ſo many euen in
his greateſt armies, except he himſelfe be there in perſon preſent in the middeſt of them: who
beſide the ſmall number of them, in the time of theſe their late voluptuous and effeminate em-
perours corrupted with the pleaſures of CONSTANTINOPLE, and for want of their wonted L
diſcipline, haue together with their auntient obedience and patience loſt alſo a great part of
their former reputation and valour: all the reſt of his footmen filling vp the great bodie of his
populous armie, being his Aſapi, rather pioners than ſouldiors, men of ſmall worth, and ſo ac-
counted of both of the Turkes and their enemies alſo. So that all things well conſidered, his
beſt ſouldiors being the leaſt part of his greateſt armies, and they alſo farre vnlike their prede-
ceſſours, the ſterne followers of the former *Othoman* kings and emperours, but men now gi-
uen to pleaſure and delight: it is not otherwiſe to be thought, but that he bringeth into the field
farre moe men than good ſouldiours, more brauerie than true valour, more ſhew than worth,
his multitude being his chiefeſt ſtrength, his ſuppoſed greatneſſe the terrour of his neighbour
princes, and both together the very majeſtie of his Empire. Which although it be indeed very M
ſtrong (for the reaſons before alleadged) yet is it by many probably thought to bee now vpon
The ſignes of the declining of the Turks Empire.
the declining hand, their late emperours in their owne perſons farre degenerating from their
warlike progenitors, their ſouldiors generally giuing themſelues to vnwonted pleaſures, their

auntient

A auntient diſcipline of warre neglected, their ſuperſtition not with ſo much zeale as of old regarded, and rebellions in diuers parts of his Empire of late ſtrangely raiſed, and mightily ſupported: all the ſignes of a declining ſtate. Which were they not at all to be ſeene, as indeed they be very pregnant, yet the greatneſſe of this Empire being ſuch, as that it laboureth with nothing more than the weightineſſe of it ſelfe, it muſt needs (after the manner of wordly things) of it ſelfe fall, and againe come to nought, no man knowing when or how ſo great a worke ſhall be brought to paſſe, but he in whoſe deepe counſels all theſe great reuolutions of empires and kingdomes are from eternitie ſhut vp: who at his pleaſure ſhall in due time by ſuch meanes as he ſeeth beſt accompliſh the ſame, to the vnſpeakeable comfort of his poore afflicted flocke, in one place or other ſtill in danger to bee by this roaring lyon deuoured. Which worke of ſo
B great wonder, he for his ſonne our Sauiour Chriſt his ſake, the glorie of his name, and comfort of many thouſand oppreſſed Chriſtians fed with the bread of carefulneſſe amidſt the furnace of tribulation, in mercie haſten, that we with them, and they with vs, all as members of one bodie, may continually ſing, Vnto him be all honour and praiſe world without end.

FINIS.

A TABLE OR INDEX, POINTING vnto all the moſt notable things in the Hiſtorie of the Turkes before written, wherein ſuch directorie letters as are ſet without numbers, are to be ſtill referred to the next number of the page precedent.

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Abas Mirize by the practiſe of Mirize Salmas brought into ſuſpition with Mahomet his father the Perſian king. 946 i. by his embaſſadours purgeth himſelfe of the ſuppoſed treaſon. 964 g

Abdilcheraie with his Tartars commeth into Siruan. 838 k. taketh Ares Chan. 939 a. ſpoileth Genge, is himſelfe ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by the Perſian prince. 940 g. beloued of the Perſian queene. k. ſlaine in the Court. 941 a

Abedin Baſſa with a great armie ſent by Amurath to reuenge the death of Meſites ſpoileth Valachia, and ſo entereth into Tranſyluania. 271 a. encourageth his Turkes. 273 b. in a great and mortall battell ouerthrowne by Huniades at Vaſcape. 274 l

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Achmetes the great Baſſa his notable ſpeech to Mahomet, to diſſuade him from any more aſſaulting of Scodra. 423 f. landeth with his armie in Apulia. 432 i. by Baiazet made Generall of his armie againſt his brother Zemes. 438. l. his death contriued by Iſaack Baſſa. 443. b. in danger to haue beene put to death, deliuered by the Ianizaries. 444. h. ſuddenly ſlaine. k.

Achmetes Baſſa with his armie ouerthrowne by the Mamalukes, taken, and ſent priſoner vnto Caytbeius at Caire. 448 i

Achomates polliticke and valiant, but too much giuen to pleaſure. 478 k. diſcontented, 487 e. threateneth the Cadeleſcher ſent vnto him by his father. 488 g. entereth with his ſonnes into rebellion. h. killeth his fathers embaſſador, proclaimed traitor. 489 f ſecretly fauoured by diuers great men in Selymus his armie. 503 a. ouerthrowne in battell, taken, and by the commaundement of his brother Selymus ſtrangled. 504 i

Achomates the great Baſſa appeaſeth the ſouldiors, vp in armes for the vnworthie death of Muſtapha. 764 h. his miſerable end. 765. c.

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Aladeules his kingdome. 519 a. the battell betwixt him and Selymus. e. he flieth into the mountaines. 520 g. taken by Sinan Baſſa, and brought to Selymus, is put to death. l. his head ſent to Venice for a preſent, and his kingdome brought into the forme of a prouince. m.

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Amurath the first succeedeth his father Orchanes in the Turkish kingdome. 189 c. inuadeth Europe. d. taketh Hadrianople. f. maketh his roiall seat in Europe. 191 b. beginneth the order of the Ianizaries. e. returneth into Asia. 192 g. marrieth his son Baiazet vnto Hatune, the daughter of the prince Germean, with a great dowrie. 193 c. purchaseth the principalitie of Amisum, of Chusen Beg. d. inuadeth Seruia, and taketh Nissa, the metropoliticall citie thereof. e. imposeth a yearely tribute vpon the countrey of Seruia. f. in a great battel ouerthroweth Aladin the king of Caramania his sonne in law with the other Mahometane princes his confederates. 196 g. by his captaines winneth and spoileth a great part of Bulgaria. 199 a. in a great & mortall battell ouerthroweth Lazarus the Despot of Seruia, with his confederats in the plaines of Cossoua. 200 i. slaine. k. buried at Prusa. 201 b.
Amurath the second placed in his fathers seat. 255 c. afraid to goe against the rebell Mustapha. 256 h. in vaine besieged Constantinople. 258 g. strangleth his brother Mustapha. l. winneth Thessalonica. 260 g. taketh vnto himselfe the greatest part of Ætolia. i. enforceth the princes of Athens, Phocis, and Beotia to become his tributaries. h.
falsifieth his faith with Iohn Castriot prince of Epirus, and poysoneth his three eldest sonnes his hostages. l. oppresseth the Mahometane princes in Asia. 261 c. spoileth Hungarie. d. contrarie to his faith inuadeth Seruia, and subdueth it. 262 g. putteth out the eyes of the Despots sons, his wiues brethren. g. besiegeth Belgrade. 263 c. dealeth subtilly with the embassadors of king Vladislaus. 264 g. notably encourageth his souldiors to the assault of Belgrade. h. shamefully repulsed. 266 h. his sullen answere vnto the embassadours of king Vladislaus. i. sendeth Mesites Bassa to inuade Transyluania. 267 f. grieued with the losse of Mesites and his armie, sendeth Abedin Bassa to reuenge his death. 270 l. in despaire about to haue slain himselfe. 289 a. by the mediation of the Despot of Seruia obtaineth peace of king Vladislaus for ten yeares. b. inuadeth Caramania. d. wearie of the world, committeth the gouernment of his kingdome to his sonne Mahomet, and retireth himselfe vnto a monasticall life. e. at the report of those preparations of the Hungarians, and request of his Bassaes, forsaketh his solitarie life, and raiseth a great armie in Asia. 296 k. by the Genowaies transported with his armie into Europe. l. ioyneth battell with K. Vladislaus at Varna. 297 b. about to haue fled, reproued of cowardise by a common souldiour. c. prayeth vnto Christ. e. in danger to haue beene slaine. 298 h. wisheth not many times so to ouercome as he did at the battell of Varna. m. to performe his vow, resigneth his kingdome to his sonne Mahomet, which he shortly after resumeth againe. 299 b. his craftie letters to Scanderbeg. 300 g. his passionate speech in his rage against Scanderbeg. 302 i. breaketh through the Hexamylum, & imposeth a yearly tribute vpon them of Peloponnesus. 304 b. after three daies hard fight with great slaughter of his men ouercommeth Huniades in the plaines of Cassoua. 309 b. inuadeth the Despot. 310 k. his graue letters of aduice to Mustapha, concerning his inuading of Epirus. 311 e. commeth with a great armie to Sfetigrade. 316 l. in vaine with great furie giueth many a desperat assault vnto the citie. 319 b. in one assault looseth seuen thousand of his Turks. 320 i. by great promises seeketh to corrupt the garrison of Sfetigrade. l. by the practise of one man hath the citie of Sfetigrade yeelded vnto him. 321 e. hauing lost thirtie thousand

thousand of his Turks at the siege of Sfetigrade, returneth to Hadrianople. 322 b. with a great armie commeth againe into Epirus, and besiegeth Croia. 323 c. in two assaults looseth eight thousand of his souldiors. 326 k. content to buy the life of one Christian with the losse of twentie of his Turks. 327 a. seeketh by great gifts to corrupt Vranacontes the Gouernour of Croia. 328 i. ouercome with melancholie tormenteth himselfe. 330 g. by his embassadours offereth Scanderbeg peace. b. his last speech vnto his sonne Mahomet concerning such things as at his death gricued him most. k. dieth. 331. b. buried at Prusa. 332 g

Amurath the sonne of Achomates flieth vnto Hysmael the Persian king. 504 k marrieth his daughter. 505 a. spoileth Cappadocia, and for feare of his vncle Selymus retireth. d.

Amurath the third taketh vpon him the Turkish Empire. 919 c. pacifieth the Ianizaries, and augmenteth their priuiledges. d. strangleth his fiue brethren. e. his letters vnto the nobilitie of Polonia in the behalfe of Stephen Bathor Vayuod of Transyluania. 920 i. attentiue to the stirs in Persia. 923 f. enformed thereof by Vstref Bassa of Van. 924 m. resolueth to take the Persian warre in hand. 925 d. by Mustapha aduertised of the successe of the Persian warres. 938 g. consulteth of his proceeding therein. 941 e. discharged Mustapha of his Generall ship, and calleth him home to Constantinople. 946 l. appointeth Sinan Generall for the Persian warres. 951 b. in despight of Sinan appointeth Mahamet Bassa Generall for those wars in his stead. 957 e. circumciseth his eldest sonne Mahomet. 957 a. displaceth Sinan Basha, and casteth him into exile. 962 l. appointeth Ferrat Generall for his warres in Persia. 665 d. sendeth for Osman Bassa into Siruan. 974 h. maketh him chiefe Visier and Generall of his armie into Persia. 976 k. in disporting himselfe with his Muts, take with a fit of the falling sickneße. 977 d. causeth great triumph to be made throughout his Empire for the winning of Tauris. 996 h maketh choice againe of Ferrat Bassa to succeed Osman Bassa, dead in the Persian warres. 999 b. concludeth a peace with the Persian king. 1005 b. his answere to the letters of Sigismund the third king of Polonia. 1004 h. glad himselfe to yeeld to the insolencie of the Ianizaries. 1005 f. his letters to Elizabeth Queene of England. 1006 k. perswaded by his Visier Bassaes to take some new warre in hand. 1007 c. in doubt whom first to begin withall. 1008 k. resolueth to make warre vpon the Emperour, with the reasons leading him thereunto. 1014 k giueth leaue to Hassan Bassa of Bosna as it were without his knowledge to picke quarrels with the Emperour, and so to disturbe the peace. m. sendeth home the bodie of the Persian hostage dead in his Court. 1015 c. proclaimeth warre against the Emperour. 1023 f. the proud and blasphemous manner of his denuntiation of warre. 1024 h. he dreameth. 1028 l. sick of the falling sickneße. 1048 h. dieth. 1053 d

Andrew king of Hungarie maketh an expedition into the Holy land. 88 k. bathing himselfe in the riuer Iordan, returneth with all his power. l.

Andronicus aspireth to the Empire. 43 d. ouerthroweth Angelus sent against him with a great power by Alexius the great President. 44 l. encampeth ouer against Constantinople. 45 a. taketh vpon him the gouernment, and tyrannizeth. 47 b. causeth Mary the daughter of Emanuell the Emperour with her husband Cæsar to be poysoned. e. causeth Xene the faire Empreße to be vniustly condemned and strangled. 48 k. by his fauourits and flatterers ioyned in the fellowship of the Empire with Alexius the young Emperour. 49 c. depriueth Alexius of the Empire, and causeth him to be strangled. 50 b. destroieth the Nobilitie, to establish his estate. i. seeketh in vaine to appease the people, in a tumult risen vp against him. 52 h. forsaken of his flattering fauourits, flieth, is taken, and brought backe in chaines to Angelus. 53 c. committed to the furie of the people, who with extreame crueltie put him to most shamefull death. 54.

Andronicus Palæologus the younger exceedingly beloued by old Andronicus his grandfather. 158 b. by the perswasion of Syrgiannes conspireth against his aged grandfather. 159 f. being sent for, commeth vnto him secretly armed, with purpose to haue slaine him. 160 k. secretly flieth out of Constantinople. 161 b. proclaimed traitour, and proscribed. c. stirreth vp the people of Thracia to rebellion. d. reconciled to his grandfather. 164 i. crowned fellow in the Empire with his grandfather. m. againe conspireth against his grandfather. 165 b. his craftie speech vnto his grandfathers embassadours. 167 c. seeketh in vaine by night to haue beene receiued into Constantinople. 169 e. is receiued into Thessalonica. 170 g. taketh in the greatest part of Macedonia and Thracia. m. by treason entereth into the citie of Constantinople. 171 e. forbiddeth his captaines and souldiors to violate the maiestie of the old Emperour or any about him. 172 i. humbleth himselfe vnto his grandfather. 173 a. euill perswaded, committeth him to straight keeping. 174 g. wounded in the battell with Orchanes at Philocrene. 180 m. by his owne departure from his campe discomfiteth his whole armie. 181 a

Andronicus Palæologus the old Emperour in restoring againe the Greeke ceremonies, by his father before altered, falleth into great troubles. 146 b. sparing to maintaine his naue, weakeneth his Empire. k. suspitious of his brother Constantine. l. by taking him away, leaueth the East side of his Empire to be spoiled by the Turks. 147 e. reposing more trust in forraine aid than in his owne subiects, greatly hurteth his state. 149 b. immoderatly fauoureth his nephew Andronicus. 158 h. setteth Syrgiannes to obserue his doings. 159 a. sendeth embassadours vnto him. 161 d. in his trouble as of an heauenly Oracle asketh counsell of the Psalter, and so maketh peace with his nephew. 164 h. enformed of the euill meaning of his nephew forbiddeth him to come into the citie. 166 g. his notable speech vnto the Patriarch and the rest of the bishops and Nobilitie concerning the young Emperour his nephew. 168 k. forsaken of the Patriarch and some others of the Bishops. 169 b. reposeth his whole trust in God. 172 i. his pitifull request vnto the young Emperour his nephue. l. by him depriued of his imperiall dignitie. 174 g. falleth blind. h. against his will made a Monke, and called Anthonie. k. his notable answere vnto the catching question of the proud Patriarch. l. enforced to sweare, neuer againe to resume vnto himselfe the Empire. 175 d dieth. 176 g. his death by many prodigies foreshowne. h.

Antioche described 18 b. by the Patriarch betraied to Saladin. 65 a

Apulia spoiled by the Turks. 671 f

Ares Chan hanged. 939 a

Artillerie of exceeding greatneße made by Mahomet at the siege of Scodra. 418 g.

Asam-Beg with his armie ouerthrowne & taken prisoner by Scanderbeg. 383 f

Asmebe-

Asmehemedi iustly rewarded for his trecherie. 478 k

Assan Aga deridеth the meßengers *sent vnto him from Charles the Emperour.* 719 *b. taketh the Spaniards to mercie* 724 *k.*

Auria with his fleet doth the Turkes great harme in Peloponnesus. 626 *b. beſiegeth Corone, and hath it yeelded vnto him.* 627 *a. taketh and ranſacketh Patras, with the caſtles of Rhium and Molycreum. c. returneth to Genua. e. troubleth the Turks fleet, and taketh twelue of their gallies full of Ianizaries and of Solymans other beſt ſouldiors.* 672 *l. braueth Barbaruſſa in the bay of Ambracia.* 688 *g. ſhamefully flieth with his fleet.* 689 *e. dieth.* 787 *c*

Auſtria ſpoiled by the Turke. 616 *i. Altenburg taken. k.*

Auſtria ſore waſted by Caſon. 621.

Axalla a Chriſtian in great fauour with Tamerlan, and his lieutenant Generall in his warres againſt the Turke. 214 *b. taketh Baiazet the great Turke priſoner.* 219 *d. without reſiſtance taketh Pruſa.* 221 *b. ouerthroweth one of the Turks Baßaes with the ſlaughter of thirtie thouſand Turks.* 235 *d*

B

Babylon taken and ſacked by the Tartars. 113 *b. with the countries of Meſopotamia and Aßyria yeelded to Solyman.* 651 *a*

Baiazet the firſt why ſurnamed Gilderun or lightning. 195 *f. ſucceedeth his father Amurath in the Turkiſh kingdome.* 203 *b. inuadeth Seruia. c. by Feriſes his lieutenant ſpoileth Valachia. f. oppreſſeth moſt of the Mahometane princes, the ſucceſſors of Sultan Aladin in the leſſer Aſia.* 204 *k. inuadeth Valachia, ouerthroweth the Vayuod, and cauſeth him to become his tributarie.* 205 *a. beſiegeth Conſtantinople eight yeares. c. in a great battell at Nicopolis ouerthroweth Sigiſmund king of Hungarie with his confederats.* 206 *g. returneth againe to the ſiege of Conſtantinople. k. marrieth Deſpina, the faire daughter of Lazarus the Deſpot.* 207 *a. pretily reproued by his ieaſter. d. in battell ouercommeth Aladin the Caramanian king, and deliuereth him priſoner to Temurtaſes his lieutenant.* 208 *m. ſubdueth the Caramanian kingdome.* 209 *a. hath the great cities of Amaſia and Sebaſtia yeelded vnto him. a. oppreßeth the Mahometane princes of the leſſer Aſia. d. vnciuilely entertaineth the embaſſadours of Tamerlan ſent vnto him in the behalfe of the poore princes by him oppreßed.* 211. *accounteth a ſhepheard more happie than himſelfe.* 216 *k. ioyneth a great and mortall battell with Tamerlan.* 219 *b. forſaken of his owne ſouldiors. c. ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by Axalla. d. brought to Tamerlan.* 220. *ſhut vp in an yron cage like a wild beaſt. m. dieth miſerably.* 227 *b. his iſſue, as alſo his immediat ſucceſſour vncertaine.* 231 *c. his true poſteritie.* 232 *g*

Baiazet the ſecond excluded from the ſucceßion in the Turkiſh Empire by his ſonne Corcutus, commeth to Conſtantinople. 437 *e. by the mediation of the great Baſſaes obtaineth the kingdome of Corcutus.* 438 *g. goeth againſt his brother Zemes, vp in rebellion againſt him. i. in doubt to haue been betraied by his ſouldiors.* 441 *c. reuiled by the Ianizaries.* 444 *h. putteth ſome of them to death.* 445 *a. purpoſeth their vtter deſtruction. b. glad to diſſemble his purpoſe, and to reconcile himſelfe vnto them. f. ſendeth Dantius his embaſſadour to Alexander biſhop of Rome.* 451 *d. glad to heare that diuers of the Chriſtian princes had combined themſelues againſt the French king.* 456 *i. in danger to haue been ſlaine by a Dermiſtar or Turkiſh Monke.* 463 *c. Baiazet by nature peaceable. d. his children.* 476 *k. ſendeth embaſſadours with preſents vnto his ſonne Selymus.* 480 *i. ſeeking to preferre Achomates his eldeſt ſonne to the empire, himſelf yet liuing, is mightily withſtood by the ſouldiors of the Court, before corrupted by Selymus.* 481 *b. he forbiddeth Selymus to come vnto him, and threateneth him.* 482 *b fearing to looſe Conſtantinople, departeth from Hadrianople. i. his reſolute ſpeech vnto the Ianizaries and other ſouldiors of the Court.* 484 *l. in plaine battell ouercommeth his ſon Selymus at Tzurulum.* 485 *d. willing the ſecond time to haue reſigned his Empire vnto Achomates, is againe withſtood by his men of warre.* 487 *b. his reſolute anſwer vnto Muſtapha and the other traiterous Baßaes, after that Selymus was by their practiſe by the ſouldiors of the Court ſaluted Emperour.* 494 *k. poyſoned by Hamon his phiſition a Iew.* 495 *f. dieth.* 496 *g.*

Baiazet Solyman his younger ſonne ſeeketh to aſpire vnto the Empire, his father yet liuing. 768 *b. ſetteth vp a counterfet Muſtapha to make an head to his intended rebellion. k. the ſubtile and craftie dealing of the ſuppoſed Muſtapha to deceiue the people. l. forſaken of his followers, is taken and brought to Solyman at Conſtantinople.* 770 *g. ſecretly with his complices drowned. h. Baiazet ſent for by his father, goeth vnto him in feare. l. in few words comforted by his mother.* 771 *a. ſharply for his diſloyaltie reprooued by his father, and ſo by him pardoned. b. returneth againe to his charge. d. after the death of Roxolana, his mother, raiſeth new ſtirs. e. admoniſhed of his dutie by his father.* 772 *b. vnwilling to go to Amaſia, the prouince appointed him by his father, ſeeketh delaies.* 773 *k. by a Chiaus requeſteth his father not to intermeddle betwixt his brother and him.* 774 *b. making ſhew as if he would go to Amaſia, ſtayeth at Ancyra, and there raiſeth his forces. l. his quarrell generally fauoured of the ſouldiors.* 775 *b. his purpoſe. d. he goeth againſt his brother towards Iconium. e. fighteth a bloudie battell with his brother Selymus, wherein were fortie thouſand Turks ſlaine.* 776 *g. put to the worſe, retireth, and ſo goeth to Amaſia. h. more commended by the ſouldiours in his ouerthrow, than was his brother in his victorie. i. ſeeketh againe for his fathers fauour.* 777 *f. diſpairing thereof, flieth into Perſia, deceiuing by the way the Baßaes of Sebaſtia and Erzirum.* 778 *k. at the firſt well entertained by the Perſian king.* 779 *e. his followers by the cunning of the fearefull Perſian diſperſed and ſlaine.* 780 *k. he himſelfe with his ſonnes impriſoned. l. his miſerable eſtate in priſon.* 781 *f. with his foure ſonnes at the inſtance of his father by the Perſian ſtrangled.* 782 *b*

Baiazet Baßa ſent by Amurath againſt Muſtapha the rebell, forſaken of his ſouldiors yeeldeth. 255 *e. vpon a falſe ſurmiſe executed. f.*

Baldwin Countie of Edeſſa, and brother to Godfrey ſecond king of Ieruſalem. 25 *a. winneth Caſaria from the Infidels. b. ouerthroweth the Turks hard by Rama. c. beſiegeth Ptolemais, and in retiring thence is mortally wounded. e. beſiegeth it againe, & hath it by compoſition yeelded vnto him. e. after many ſharp aſſaults winneth Berythus.* 26 *b. taketh Sidon by compoſition, and in vaine beſiegeth Tire. i. maketh an expedition into Ægipt, and necre vnto Laris dieth. m.*

Baldwin, surnamed Brugensis, countie of Ediſſa, beſiegeth Carras, and there taken priſoner, after fiue years captiuitie redeemeth himſelfe. 25 d. after the death of Baldwin the firſt choſen king of Ieruſalem, and called Baldwin the ſecond. 27 a. ouerthroweth the Turks and ioyneth the principalitie of Antioch to his owne kingdome. d. by Balac the Perſian Sultan ouerthrowne and taken priſoner: after eighteene months captiuitie for the ranſome of an hundred thouſand duckats ſet at libertie. 28 l. in three notable battels ouerthroweth the king of Damaſco. 29 a. dieth. b.

Baldwin the third of that name crowned king of Ieruſalem. 31 a. hardly diſtreſſed by Noradin the Turke. b. he fortifieth Gaza, and taketh Aſcalon by compoſition. 34 i. in a ſet battell ouerthroweth Noradin the king of Damaſco at the caſtle of Sueta. 35 f. falleth ſicke and dieth. 36 h

Baldwin the fourth of that name, ſeuenth king of Ieruſalem. 58 l. with a great ſlaughter ouerthroweth Saladin inuading his kingdome. 59 d. putteth him with his great armie againe to flight. 60 k. reſigneth the gouernment of his kingdome to Guy Luſignan, countie of Ioppa and Aſcalon. 61 b. ſendeth embaſſadours vnto the Chriſtian princes of the Weſt, and immediately after dieth. 62 i

Baldwin the fift of that name, yet but a boy, was crowned eight king of Ieruſalem, and within ſeuen months after dieth. 62 i

Baldwin countie of Flaunders and Hainault, choſen by the Latins Emperour of Conſtantinople, and ſo ſolemnely crowned. 83 c. ſubdueth Thracia, and beſiegeth Hadrianople. 85 a. ouerthrowne in battell by the Scythians, and taken priſoner, is by the commandement of their barbarous king moſt cruelly put to death. d.

Baldwin the ſecond of that name, fift and laſt Emperour of the Latines in Conſtantinople. 97 a. pawneth his ſonne vnto the Bruges marchants for money. 112 m. flieth out of the citie of Conſtantinople, being ſurpriſed by Alexius Strategopulus ſent from Michaell Palæologus the Greeke Emperour. 114 m

Ballabanius ſent by Mahomet againſt Scanderbeg. 395 b. put to flight, taketh diuers of Scanderbegs beſt captaines priſoners at Alchria. 396 g. with his armie ouerthrowne at Oronycheum. l. the third time ouerthrown in the battell at Sfetigrade. 397 b. ouerthrowne by Scanderbeg the fourth time in the battell at Valcha. 389 a. left by Mahomet to continue the ſiege of Croia. 400 l. ſlaine. c.

Barbaruſſa ſucceedeth his brother Horruccius in the kingdome of Algiers. 636 i. his wonderfull ſucceſſe. k. ſent for by Solyman. l. enuied in the Turks Court. 637 b. by Solyman himſelfe reiected to Abraham the great Baſſa. d. trauelleth by land vnto him into Syria, and by him commended to Solyman. e. his ſpeech to Solyman, to perſuade him to inuade the kingdome of Tunes. 638 g. he is made Solymans great Admirall. 639 d. ſpoileth the coaſts of Italie. 640 m. paſſeth ouer into Affricke, and hath Biſerta yeelded vnto him. 643 b. commeth to Guletta, deceiueth the citiſens, and is receiued into Tunes. f. diſcomfiteth the citiſens riſen vp againſt him. b. hath the citie of Tunes yeelded vnto him. 645 c. is much diſcouraged with the comming of Charles the Emperour into Affricke. 656 h. in his rage executeth Aloyſius Preſenda. i. encourageth his ſouldiors. l. his chiefe captaines. 657 b. the countie of Sarne his head and right hand by Salec ſent vnto him for a preſent. 658 l. his fleet taken by Charles the Emperour at Guletta. 661 a. he rageth. b. calmed by Sinan the Iew. c. in field with his army againſt Charles the Emperour. 665 e. flieth to Tunes. 666 g. diſſuaded by Sinan the Iew from killing the Chriſtian captiues, who ſhortly after breaking priſon, driue the Turks out of the caſtle of Tunes. 666 l. flieth to Hippona, and there comforteth his ſouldiors. 668 k. eſcapeth to Algiers. 669 b. ſent by Solymã againſt the Venetians. 687 a. repulſed in Crete. b. reproued of cowardiſe by one of the Turks Eunuchs. 688 h. ieaſteth at the flight of Auria. 689 e. braueth the Chriſtians at Corcyra 690 g. ſuffereth ſhipwrack vpon the Acroceraunian rocks. k. with a great fleet ſent by Solyman to aid the French king againſt Charles the Emperour. 735 a. burneth Rhegium, and taketh the caſtle. b. becommeth amorous of the captaine of Rhegium his daughter. c. maketh them afraid in Rome. d. commeth to Marſeiles. f. for lacke of imploiment groweth diſcontented. 742 l. with the French beſiegeth Nice in Prouence. 743 c. rageth againſt the French, and threateneth Polinus. 784 h. giueth ouer the ſiege of the caſtle of Nice, and ſetteth fire on the citie. i. derided by the Turks captaines, ſharpely anſwereth their taunts. 744 l. rewarded and diſcharged by the French king, departeth out of Prouince. 749 d. requeſteth of Appianus Gouernour of Elba to haue a ſonne of Sinan the Iewes there priſoner, deliuered vnto him. e. ſpoileth the iſland, and hath the yong man deliuered vnto him. 750 g. in his return to Conſtantinople doth much harme vpon the coaſt of Italy. m. dieth. 751 c

Barbadicus the Venetian Prouiditour a notable man. 874 l ſlaine in the battell of Lepanto. 680 g

Barbarous crueltie. 909 e

the Barbaroui manner of the Turkiſh Sultans, to murther their brethren in the beginning of their raigne, when and by whom firſt begun. 201 a

Bare ſhift for mony. 345 e

the Baſſa of Boſna and his brother ſlain. 1002 i.

the Baſſa of Temeſwar ouerthrowne by the Raſcians and ſlaine. 1138 k

the Baſſa of Buda taken priſoner. 1110 i

the Baſſa of Boſna ſlaine. 1110 k.

the Baſſa of Natolia taken priſoner by the prince of Sarcan. 217 c. his ſtout anſwer to Tamerlan. d. by Tamerlan ſet at libertie, and rewarded. e.

the Baſſa of Buda ſlaine. 1136 l

the Baſſa of Agria with ten thouſand Turks ouerthrown by Ferrant Gonzaga, and chaſed to the gates of his citie. 1141 g.

Baſilicus a faithfull man vnto his prince. 170 b.

Battels.

A cruell Battell fought betwixt Solyman the Turke and the Chriſtian princes going towards the Holy land. 16 l. an hundred thouſand Turks ſlaine in the battell neare vnto Antioch, betwixt Corbanas the Perſian Sultans lieutenant and the Chriſtian princes. 20 h. an hundred thouſand Turks and Saraſins ſlain in the great battell not farre from Aſcalon fought betwixt Godfrey of Buillon and the Turks and Saraſins. 24 l. the great battell betwixt Amurath the firſt and Lazarus the Deſpot fought in the plaines of Coſſoua. 200 i. the battell of Nicopolis betwixt Baiazet the firſt and Sigiſmund king of Hungarie. 206 g. the great and mortall battell betwixt Baiazet and the great Tamerlan. 219 b. the battell of Vaſcape betwixt Huniades and Abedin Baſſa. 273 e. the wofull battell of Varna betwixt king Vlad ſlaus and Amurath the ſecond. 297 b. the great battell of Coſſoua fought three daies together betwixt Amurath & Huniades. 307 d.

the battell betwixt Vſun-Caßanes the Perſian king and Mahomet the great. 410 l. the battell of Tzurulum betwixt Baiazet and his ſonne Selymus. 485 d. the great battell betweene Selymus and Hyſmael. 510 m. the battell of Singa betwixt Selymus and Campſon. 529 e. the battell betwixt Sinan Baßa and Gazelles. 535 e. the great battell of Rhodania betwixt Selymus and Tomombeius. 539 e. the great & dreadfull battell of Caire fought two daies together betwixt the Mamalukes and the Turks. 545 e. the battell of Mohatchz, betwixt Solyman and king Lewis. 602 k. the battell of Toccaie betwixt the armies of king Iohn and king Ferdinand. 606 h. the memorable battell of Lepanto betwixt Haly Baßa and Don Iohn. 878 h. the battell of Sancazan betwixt the Perſian prince and the Turks, Oſman their Generall then lying ſicke. 994 m. the battell of Alba Regalis betwixt the Imperials and the Turks. 126 h. the battell of Strigonium. 1068 h. the battell of Agria betwixt Mahomet the third and Maximilian the Archduke the Emperours brother. 1097 d

Bedredin the counterfeit prophet hanged. 251 d

Begum the Perſian queene made away. 941 a.

Belgrade beſieged by Amurath the ſecond. 263 c. notably defended by the Chriſtians. 266 g. againe beſieged by Mahomet the Great. 357 b. woon by Solyman. 569 b

Belgrade in the confines of Epirus beſieged by Scanderbeg. 370 h

Bloudie precepts left by Selymus vnto his ſonne Solyman. 563 b

Bodo conſtant to king Iohn. 606 k

Boſna of a kingdome conuerted to a prouince of the Turks Empire. 365 b

Boſna with ſome part of Seruia taken from the Turks by Matthias king of Hungarie. 404 k

Bragadinus gouernour of Famagußa encourageth his ſouldiors. 864 i. yeeldeth vnto the requeſt of the citiſens of Famagußa, in time to deliuer vp the citie, not now longer to be defended. 866 k. entreth into parley with the Turks. l. comming to the falſe Baſſa Muſtapha vpon his faith for his ſafetie before giuen, is by him moſt ſhamefully and horribly murthered. 867 a

Buda beſieged by the lord Rogendorff, king Ferdinand his lieutenant. 702 i. ſurpriſed by Solyman. 710 k. beſieged, and the lower citie taken by the lord Palſi. 1105 c. the caſtle by him battered, vndermined, and in vaine aßaulted. 1105 c. the lower citie of Buda againe taken by the Chriſtians. 1146 i. the vpper citie and caſtle beſieged. 1147. b. in vaine aßaulted. f. the ſiege for feare of the Tartars giuen ouer by the Chriſtians. 1149 c

C

Caffa with the country of Taurica Cherſoneſus ſubdued by the Turks. 412 l

Caire deſcribed. 542 m. taken by Selymus. 546 i

Calo Ioannes after the death of Alexius his father ſucceedeth him in the Empire. 27 c. he taketh Tarſus in Cilicia, beſiegeth Antioch, and vpon compoſition raiſeth his ſiege. 30 g. wounded with a poyſoned arrow dieth. k.

Calcis the chiefe citie of Eubœa beſieged by the Turks. 405 d. taken by the Turks. 406 b

Callipolis taken by the Turks. 186 g

Caly Baſſa diſſuadeth Mahomet from the ſiege of Conſtantinople. 344 l. Caly Baſſa cruelly executed. 350 g

Calybeus Baßa and Cherſeogles after a long and mortall battell taken by Vſbeg, and ſent priſoners to Caytbeius. 450 b.

Campſon Gaurus with what cauſes mooued to fall out with Selymus. 522 g. his moderat and happie gouernment. 524 l. his anſwer vnto the embaſſadours of Selymus. 525 a. perplexed. 527 b. ſlaine. 530 i. his dead bodie laid out to be ſeene of all men. 531 a

Canalis the Venetian Admirall doth the Turks great harme. 405 a. with his whole familie exiled. 406 l

Caniſia beſieged by the Turks. 1131 c. cowardly yeelded. 1132 h. beſieged by Ferdinand the Archduke. 1137 b. the ſiege by reaſon of tempeſt and extremitie of weather giuen ouer. 1138 k

Capcapus Gouernour of Damaſco reuolteth from the Tartars to the Turks. 1261.

Caraſina yeelded vnto Orchanes. 184 h.

Caraguſa a Turke offereth a challenge vnto any of the ſouldiors in Scanderbegs army. 312 h

Caragoſes Baſſa Beglerbeg of Aſia, in a great battell ouerthrown by Techellis. 472 b. taken priſoner. 473 a. horribly empaled by the high waies ſide. 474 g

Caramania by Baiazet vnited to the Othoman Empire. 447 e

Caracoza the famous pyrat ſlaine. 881 e

Carazies Baſſa ſlaine. 357 d

Cardinall Bathor taketh vpon him the principalitie of Tranſyluania. 1109 f in a great battell ouerthrown by Michaell the Vayuod. 1113 c. his head ſent for a preſent vnto the Emperour. e.

Caſſan Baſſa ſlaine. 510 m

the Caſtle of Buda by the garriſon ſouldiors without the conſent of their captaine yeelded to Solyman. 610 g

Caßanes the Tartar inuadeth Syria. 125 c. in a great battell ouerthroweth Melcenaſer the Ægiptian Sultans lieutenant. d. repaireth Ieruſalem, and giueth it to the Chriſtians, hath Damaſco yeelded vnto him. e.

Caſtronouum taken from the Turks, and by the Imperials vniuſtly detained from the Venetians. 690 g. recouered againe by Barbaruſſa. 691 d

the Catalonians entertained by Andronicus the Emperour, for want of pay ſpoile his ſubiects. 151 a. take the ſpoile of Callipolis, and there fortifying themſelues, doe great harme both by ſea & land. d. aided by the Turks, ouerthrow Michaell the Emperour in plaine battell. 152 k. ſpoile a great part of Thracia. 153 a. ſeat themſelues in the cities of Athens and Thebes. 154 i

Caytbeius the Ægiptian Sultan ſendeth embaſſadors to Baiazet in the behalfe of Zemes. 440 l. dieth. 450 i

Cayerbeius Gouernor of Comagena bearing a grudge to Campſon, hath intelligence with Selymus. 528 k. plaieth the cunning traitor. 529 d. by Selymus made Gouernour of Caire and Ægipt. 554 b

Cazianer Generall of king Ferdinands army againſt the Turks. 677 e. beſiegeth Exek. 680 i. to retire with more haſt, would haue broken his great ordinance. 681 c. a generall feare in his campe. 682 i. his diſhonorable flight. 683 e. generally hated. 685 f. breaketh priſon. 686 b. ſhamefully murthered, and his head ſent to king Ferdinand. i.

Cephalenia taken from the Turks by the Venetians. 460 k.

Chamuzes Baſſa and Catabolinus the Turks ſecretarie hanged by Wladus. 361 d

Charles the French king inuadeth the kingdome of Naples. 453 d. receiued into the citie of Naples. 455 d.

Charles the Emperour his great preparation againſt Solyman. 616 b. his power at Vienna. 622 l. after the departure of Solyman returneth into Italie. 626 g. his great preparation for the inuaſion of Tuues. 654 m. he paßeth ouer into Affricke. 656 g. landeth his armie at Guletta. 657 e. deſer-

deserueth the Oken garland. 663 c. he marcheth towards Tunes. 664 i. content to be commanded by his lieutenant. 665 d. putteth Barbarussa to flight. f. hath Tunes yeelded vnto him. 667 c. restoreth it to Muleasses, now become his tributarie. 669 d. returneth to Italie. e. with the Venetians and the bishop of Rome entereth into a confederation against Solyman. 686 l. inuadeth Algiers. 718 i. sendeth a messenger to Assan Aga Gouernour of Algiers for Barbarussa. m. his messenger and message scorned by Assan Aga the eunuch. 719 b. his notable courage in staying the flight of his armie. 721 e. most part of his fleet lost by tempest. 722 h. the miserie of his armie. 723 a. horses good meat in his campe. c. raiseth his siege and departeth from Algiers. d. drowneth his horses of great price, to make roume for his common soldiors. 724 h. after many troubles arriueth at length at new Carthage in Spaine. 725 a. resigneth his Empire vnto his brother Ferdinand, and shortly after dieth. 783 a.

Charles counte Mansfelt sent by the king of Spaine out of the Low countries with two thousand horse and six thousand foot to aid the Emperour in his warres against the Turke. 1061 c. by the Emperour appointed lieutenant Generall of his armie in the lower Hungarie vnder Matthias the Archduke, and created one of the princes of the Empire. 1061 c. with seueritie appeaseth the mutinous Germanes. 1064 g. remoueth suddenly with his armie from Dotis to Strigonium. 1065 b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Bassa of Buda comming to the reliefe of Strigonium. 1068 i. dieth at Komara. 107 k

Chars in three and twentie daies fortified by the Turks. 943 f

Chasan Chelise and Schach-Culi, two hypocriticall Persians, authors of the sect of the Cuselbassas or Red heads among the Turks. 465 e. stirre vp a great rebellion. 469 e. Chasan Chelise slaine. 474 i

Chendemus Bassa by many graue reasons dissuadeth Selymus from inuading the Persian. 506 h. he is by the commaundement of Selymus vnworthily slaine. 507 b

Cherseogles Bassa what he was, and why he turned Turke. 484 g. a fauorer of learning. i. the onely great man faithfull to Baiazet, perswadeth him to giue battell vnto his rebellious sonne Selymus. 483 d

Chios taken by the Turks. 819 c

Chiroche dissuadeth the Bassaes Partau and Haly from giuing battell vnto the Christians at Lepanto. 875 b. encountreth with Contarenus. 880 i. slaine, and his gallie taken. l.

Christians fight against Christians, to the confusion of themselues, and benefit of the Turke. 340 k. in seeking too greedily after the spoile, ouerthrowne and discomfited in the battell at Karesta. 1098 g.

Cicala Bassa by the appointment of Osman the Visier Bassa commaundeth the Turks great armie after his death in the returne thereof from Tauris. 995 c. discharged the armie at Van. 996 h. afraid to giue aid to Giaffer Bassa at Tauris. 998 l. restoreth the battell before lost at Karesta. 1098. with a great fleet commeth to see his mother the ladie Lucretia at Messina. 1107 b.

Columnius the Popes Admirall interposeth himselfe as a mediatour betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall, and so well appeaseth the matter. 874 g

Comparison betwixt Baiazet and Tamerlan. 227 c

Confederation hard to trust vpon. 840 h

Conrade Marques of Montferrat slaine by two desperat ruffians. 71 d

Conrade the third Emperour of Germanie taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land. 31 c. cannot be suffered to enter into Constantinople, but is treacherously dealt withall by the Greeke Emperour. 32. with a notable speech encourageth his souldiours to aduenture the riuer Meander. 33 a. with a great slaughter ouerthroweth the Turks. 34 g. besiegeth Iconium, and so returneth. h.

Constantine prince of Bulgaria with the Tartars inuade the territories of Palæologus the Greeke Emperour, and spoileth Thracia. 117 b

Constantine the Despot sent by the old Emperour Andronices his brother against young Andronicus his nephew. 163 a. taken prisoner at Thessalonica, and miserably vsed. f.

Constantine the Greeke Emperour in vain craueth aid of the other Christian princes. 340 b. at the winning of Constantinople by the Turks, troden to death. 347 b

Constantinople built by Pausanias, destroied by Seuerus, reedified by Constantine the Great. 341 a. how seated. 340 a. taken and spoiled by the Latines. 83 a. recouered from the Latines by Alexius Strategopulus. 115 d betraied vnto the young Emperour Andronicus. 171 d. in vaine besieged by Amurath the second. 257 f. again besieged by Mahomet the great. 340 k. assaulted by the Turks. 346 k. woon. 347 c

Contarenus the Venetian Admirall slain. 413 e.

Corcutus saluted Emperour before his father Baiazet. 437 d. kindly resigneth the Empire to his father. 438 g. giuen to the studie of Philosophie, and therefore not beloued of the Ianizaries. 478 k. commeth to Constantinople. 491 d. his notable speech vnto his father, to perswade him to resigne vnto him the Empire before the comming of his brother Selymus. 491 e. comforted by his father, and put in hope of the Empire. 492 m. flieth to Magnesia. 495 a. sought after by Selymus, hideth himselfe in a caue. 501 f. is found and taken. 522 g. by the commaundement of Selymus strangled. h.

Cortug-Ogli the pyrat perswadeth Solyman to besiege the Rhodes. 570 g

Corone, Pylus, and Crissæum, cities of Peloponesus belonging to the Venetians, yeelded vnto the Turke. 460 b

Corone besieged by the Turks. 627 f. relieued by Auria. 629 d. abandoned and forsaken by the Spaniards. 631 c.

Cornca and Serbellio two auntient Spanish captaines perswade the giuing of battell vnto the Turkes at Lepanto. 872 i.

Costly dishes. 745 d

Cowardise punished. 1093 e

Crete described. 868 b

Croia besieged by Amurath the second. 323 b. in vaine assaulted. 324 k. besieged by Mahomet the great. 400 i relieued. 401 c. againe besieged by Mahomet. 402 h. the third time besieged. 413 d. yeelded to the Turks. 417 a.

Cubates Selymus his embassadour commeth to Venice. 839 f. but homely entertained there. 840 f. his speech in the Senat of Venice. k. for feare of the people secretly conueied away. 842 g

Curzola forsaken by the men, defended by women. 869 c

Cusabin Bassa of Caramania riseth vp in rebellion against Mahomet the third. 1114 k. ouerthroweth the Sanzackes sent to haue oppressed him. l. at the comming of Mehemet the Visier Bassa sent against him, flieth. 1115 b. forsaken of his followers, is taken and tortured to death at Constantinople. d.

the Cuselbassas, when and how they began amongst the Turks. 465 f

Cyprus described. 843 b. how that kingdome

dome came to the Venetians. e. taken from them by Selymus the ſecond. 867 f.
Cyrene yeelded vnto the Turks. 852 i
Czarnieuiche corrupted, giueth the Turks paſſage ouer the Danubius into Valachia. 911 d. reuolteth vnto the Turks. 912 k

D

DAmaſco betraied to Saladin Sultan of Ægipt. 58 m. taken and ſacked by the Tartars. 113 e. yeelded to Selymus. 532 m
Damiata, and the deſcription therof. 89 a. taken by the Chriſtians, being before vnpeopled by the plague. 92 m
Dandulus Admirall of the Venetian fleet. 85 a.
Dauid and Alexius Comneni, nephewes to Andronicus the Emperour, erect vnto themſelues a new Empire in Trapezonde. 84 l
Dauid the laſt Emperour of Trapezonde put to death by Mahomet the Great, and that Empire ſubuerted. 36 m
Daut Chan for his good ſeruice rewarded by Amurath the third. 996 i
Dearth in the Turks armie at Triala. 970 b.
Debreas ſlaine, and his armie ouerthrown by Scanderbeg. 367 c
Dedeſmit the Georgian widdow with her ſonne Alexander ſubmit themſelues to Muſtapha the great Baſſa. 937 e
Delimenthes with fiue thouſand Perſians purſueth the Turks armie. 652 k. aſſaileth their campe by night, and maketh of them a great ſlaughter. m.
Demetrius ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto Mahomet the Great. 355 b
Demetrius the Rhodian traitour ſlaine. 329 a.
Deſdrot Gouernour of Stelluſa to the terrour of the Turks in Sfetigrade before their faces executed. 287 a
Didymotichum yeelded vnto the Turks. 189 c.
Diogenes the Emperour diſcomfiteth the Turks. 8 b. himſelfe by the treaſon of Iohn Ducas by them againe ouerthrowne. 9 e. taken priſoner. 10 g. honourably vſed by the Turks Sultan. h. ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by Andronicus, hath his eyes put out, whereof he dieth. m.
Diſſention among the Turks about the ſucceſſion, after the death of Mahomet the Great. 437 b
Diſſention betwixt Don Iohn and Venerius the Venetian Admirall. 873 e
Dium a caſtle of the Venetians in the East Indies in vaine aſſaulted by the Turks. 670 l
Doganes Aga of the Ianizaries whipt and diſplaced. 339 b
Dotis taken by the Turks. 1099 c
Dragut a moſt famous pyrat of the Turks, by Auria driuen out of the citie of Africa in the kingdome of Tunes. 752 i. commeth to the ſiege of Malta. 797 b. his ſouldiors enforced ſhamefully to retire. 799 a. ſlaine. 801 b.
Dracula Vayuod of Valachia diſſuadeth king Vladiſlaus from farther proceeding in his wars againſt Amurath. 205 e. aideth him with his ſonne and foure thouſand horſe. 296 b. his laſt farwell vnto the king. i.
the Druſian people what they are. 982 i.
Dulcigno, Antiuari, and Budua, ſtrong townes of the Venetians vpon the coaſts of Epirus and Dalmatia yelded to the Turke. 869 a
the duke of Muſcouie his letters and preſents ſent vnto the Emperor. 1071 a.
Duke Mercurie Generall of the Emperors forces in the lower Hungarie, commeth in vaine to relieue Caniſia. 1131 e. in retiring looſeth three thouſand of his men with certaine pieces of great ordinance and his baggage. 1132 g. beſiegeth Alba Regalis. 1134 m. winneth it. 1135 f. enforceth Aßan the Turks Generall with the loße of ſix thouſand of his Turks to retire. 1136 l.
Dyrrhachium now called Durazo taken by the Turks. 461 c

E

EArthquake moſt terrible in Conſtantinople. 476 b
Edward, eldeſt ſonne to Henry the third king of England, taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land, and arriueth at Tunes. 119 c. arriueth at Ptolemais. 120 g. taketh Nazareth, and putteth the Turks to flight. h. by a deſperat Saraſin dangerouſly wounded with an enuenomed knife. k. cured of his wound, maketh peace with the Sultan and returneth into England. 121 a.
the Ægiptians diuerſly affected towards the Mamalukes. 542 i
Eiuaſes Baßa hath his eyes burnt out. 258 m.
Elpis the Ægiptian Sultan beſiegeth Tripolis and taketh it by force. 122 l. winneth Sidon and Berythus, and raſeth them, taketh Tyre by compoſition, and winneth all the ſtrong holds in Syria and Paleſtine, from the Chriſtians, except onely the ſtrong citie of Ptolemais. 122 m. maketh peace with the remainder of the Chriſtians. m.
Emanuell the Greeke Emperour with a great power inuadeth the dominions of the Sultan of Iconium. 38 b. looſeth a great part of his armie. 39 c. in danger to haue been taken, notably defendeth himſelfe. 40 l. in his greateſt diſtreſſe hath peace offered him by the Sultan, which he gladly accepteth. 42 i. he vanquiſheth Atapack the Sultans Generall. m. falleth ſick and dieth. 43 a
Emanuell the Greeke Emperour vpon hard conditions obtaineth peace of Baiazet the Great Turke, and becommeth his tributarie. 206 l. by his embaſſadours offereth his Empire vnto Tamerlan, & ſo to become his vaſſale. 221 d. commeth himſelfe vnto him at Pruſa. 222 b. honourably entertaineth him comming in priuat ouer to Conſtantinople. i.
Embaſſadours ſent from Tamas the Perſian king to Selymus. 836 b. honorably entertained by the Turks at Hadrianople. 837 b. the Perſian embaſſadour in going to viſit Muhamet the Viſier Baßa, in danger to haue been ſlaine. d. the rich preſents by him giuen to Selymus. 838 g
Emir Hamze the Perſian prince commeth into Siruan. 939 c. killeth Caitas Baßa and recouereth Eres. d. ouerthroweth the Tartars, and taketh Abdilcheray. 940 g. recouereth Sumachia. i. returneth to Casbin. k. ouerthroweth the vauward of the Turks armie. 990 l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Cicala Baßa and the Baſſa of Caraemit. 993 b. dareth Oſman the Turks Generall battell. c. with his owne hand killeth the Baſſa of Caraemit. f. killeth alſo the Baßa of Trapezond, with twentie thouſand Turks moe. 994 g. ouerthroweth twentie thouſand of the Turks in the battell of Sancazan. 995 b. ouercommeth the rebellious Turcomans, and executeth their leaders. 998 b. ſacketh Salmas. 1000 k. putteth the Baßa of Reiuan to flight. l. ſlaine by one of his Eunuchs. 1002 b
Emir Chan hauing his eyes put out, dieth miſerably in priſon. 973 c
the Emperour, the French king, and the king of Polonia entangled in their leagues with the Turke, refuſe to giue aid vnto the Venetians againſt him. 842 k.
the Empire of Trapezond ouerthrown and ſubuerted by Mahomet the Great. 361 a.
Ertogrul with his brother Dunder and foure

foure hundred families of the Turks stay in their returne toward Persia. 133 f. by his good seruice obtaineth of Sultan Aladin a place at Suguta for himselfe and his Turks to dwell in. 434 k. taketh the castle of Cara-Chisar from the Christians. 135 a

Eubœa taken from the Venetians by Mahomet the Great. 406 k

Eurenoses his rich present vnto Amurath at the marriage of his sonne Baiazet. 193 b

Eudocia the Empresse contrarie to her oath desirous to marrie, dealeth cunningly with the Patriarch to dispence with her oath. 7 d. marrieth Diogenes Romanus, a prisoner condemned to die, and maketh him Emperour. f. she is deposed by the traitours, Iohn Ducas, Psellus, and others, and thrust into a Monasterie. 101 i

Eustace Gouernour of the kingdome of Ierusalem, discomfiteth the Sarasins in a great battell neere vnto Ascalon, and not long after dieth. 28 i

F

Famagusta besieged by the Turks. 852 k. hath a new supply put into it by Quirinus. 855 c. described. 863 b. the number of the defendants in it. c. twice assaulted and notably defended by the Christians. d. e. vndermined. 865 a. furiously by the Turks assaulted, and valiantly by the Christians defended. b. a great part of the wall blowne vp, and the citie againe assaulted. 866 g. yeelded vp to the Turks. m.

Famine in Scodra. 426 g

Faulconers and Huntsmen in great number in the Turks Court. 338 k

Ferat Bassa sent by Solyman against Alis Beg the mountaine prince. 600 i. treacherously murthereth him and his foure sonnes. l.

Ferat Bassa by Amurath chosen Generall of his armie against the Persians in stead of Sinan. 965 d. in the space of fifteene dayes buildeth a fort at Reiuan, as he was by Amurath commaunded. 966 i. breaketh vp his armie at Erzirum. 967 d. raiseth a new armie. f. fortifieth Lori. 968 k. buildeth a fort vpon the strait of Tomanis. 969 a. reprooueth Veis Bassa of Aleppo. 970 k. is himselfe reuiled by the Ianizaries and Spahi. l. by them disobeied and threatened. 971 d. his stout answer to his mutinous souldiors. f. his tents ouerthrowne and he againe threatened. 972 g. disgraced, breaketh vp his armie at Ardachan. k. grieuously complained of to Amurath. 973 e. by Amurath againe made Generall against the Persians. 999 b. commeth to Van. 1000 g. putteth succours into Tauris. 1001 d. taketh Genge. 1004 m. sent by Mahomet Generall of his armie into Hungarie. 1060 l. disgraced at his first comming to the armie. m. ouerthrowne in Valachia. 1062 b. sent for to Constantinople, and there strangled. 1073 b.

Ferdinand king of Bohemia laieth claime to the kingdome of Hungarie. 605 b. taketh Buda. e. crowned king of Hungarie. 606 k. seeketh for the fauour of Solyman. 608. is by him reiected and threatened. k. persuaded by the Hungarian fugitiues to inuade Hungarie. 698 g. dissuaded by Lascus. k. sendeth Lascus to Solyman and other embassadours to the queene of Hungarie to demaund of her that kingdome. 699 b. he inuadeth Hungarie. 700 g. taketh Pesth and Vacia, and besiegeth Buda. h. dieth. 791 d.

Filek taken by the Christians. 1027 c

Foscarus a graue Senatour. 693 f. vnworthily disgraced by the multitude. 694 g.

Foureteene wagons loaded with the heads of the slaine Christians. 1017 c

Francis the French king the more to trouble the Emperour, sollicited Solyman to inuade his territories. 725 c

Francus Acciauoli duke of Thebes by the commaundement of Mahomet murthered. 354 l

Fredericke the Emperour taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land. 66 b

Fredericke duke of Sueuia the Emperours sonne, in his fathers stead chosen Generall of the Christians armie. 66 m. hath Antioch deliuered vnto him. 67 d dieth of the plague, and is buried by his father in the Cathedrall Church at Tire. 68 g

Fredericke the Germane Emperour vndertaketh an expedition into the Holy land. 98 l. crowned king of Ierusalem, which is by him repaired. 99 e

the Frenchmen and Wallons in mutinie at Pappa. 1116 k. compact with the Turks to deliuer to them the towne. 1117 a. seeking secretly to haue fled, are most of them slaine, and the rest that were taken, put to most horrible tortures. 1119 b

Friuli part of the Venetian territorie miserably spoiled by the Turks. 414 l. againe spoiled by Scander Bassa and the Turks. 458 h

the Frontiers of the Emperours territories grieuously spoiled by the Tartars. 1150 k.

the Frugalitie of the Turks. 713 f

Fulke Countie of Thurin, Mayne, and Anion, taketh vpon him an expedition into the Holy land. 29 b. dieth of a fall off his horse in hunting, and is buried at Ierusalem. 30 m

Fuscarinus in his absence by the generall consent of the Venetian Senat chosen Admirall. 887 f. encourageth the confederats to giue the Turks battell. 890 l. in vaine persuadeth the confederats to take the aduantage of the Turks dispersed fleet. 893 a. earnestly dissuadeth Don Iohn and the Spaniards from returning without giuing the Turks battell. 899 a

G

Galliley spoiled, and the castle of Burie taken by the Turks. 601 i

Garzias of Toledo, Viceroy of Silicia, after long delay at last setteth forward with his fleet to relieue the besieged at Malta. 814 k. by tempest driuen into the island Æguſa. 815 e. arriueth at Malta, and landeth his men. 816 i

Gazelles his wholesome counsell vnto Campson, for protracting the war against Selymus. 527 c. comming to haue oppressed Sinan Bassa at Gaza, is by him himselfe ouerthrown. 534 i. his notable speech in submitting himselfe to Selymus. 546 m. by Selymus made Gouernour of Syria. 560 l. rebelleth against Solymã. 568 h. slain. l.

Gaza yeelded vnto Sinan Bassa. 534 g

George the Despot of Seruia a man of no religion. 356 i. driuen out of his kingdome by Amurath. 262 g. restored by king Vladislaus. 289 b. denieth passage vnto Scanderbeg through his country. 295 b. glad to craue aid of Huniades, whom he had before euill entreated. 310. his death. 356 i

George bishop of Veradium a notable man 697 c. murthered in his owne house. 756 i.

Georgiron the phisition notably deludeth the Ianizaries and Spahi of the Court. 252 k.

George Bassa by the Emperour appointed lieutenant Generall for his warres in the vpper Hungarie. 1104 m. commaunded by Matthias the Archduke to giue aid vnto Michaell the Vayuod against the Transyluanians, aideth them against him. 1124 b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Vayuod. 1126 b. his stout speech to the Chiaki and

and the reſt of the nobilitie of Tranſyluania. 1129 b. his error. 1130 g. receiued by the Tranſyluanians as the Emperours lieutenant, vntill further order were by him taken for the gouernment of that prouince. l. ſuddenly taken priſoner by the Tranſyluanians. 1139 c. ſet at libertie and aided by Michaell the Vayuod, with a great ſlaughter ouerthroweth Sigiſmund the Tranſyluanian prince, and driueth him out of his country. 1140 i. conſpireth the death of Michaell the Vayuod. 1141 a. taketh in moſt part of the countrey of Tranſyluania for the Emperor. c. for feare of Sigiſmund and the Tranſyluanians flieth. f. in battell ouerthroweth Zachell Moiſes the Tranſyluanian princes lieutenant, and bringeth that countrey againe vnder the Emperors obeiſance. 1143 c

Geruaiſe Rogers an Engliſhman commended for his good ſeruice at the ſiege of the Rhodes. 430 k

Geraſimus the Patriarch dealeth vnfaithfully with the old Emperour Andronicus. 161 b

Giaffer captaine of the Ianizaries ſlaine. 659 f.

Giaffer the Eunuch Baſſa of Tripolis by Oſman Baſſa with a garriſon of twelue thouſand ſouldiors left Gouernour of Tauris. 994 i. beſieged by the Perſian prince. 997 e. prayeth aid of Cicala Baſſa. 998 k. put to flight. 197 a.

Godfrey duke of Lorraine with other the Chriſtian princes with an armie of three hundred thouſand fighting men vndertaketh the firſt expedition into the Holy land. 14 i. concludeth a league with Alexius the Greeke Emperour. 15 a. beſiegeth Nice and taketh it. 16 g. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sultan Solyman with his Turks, taketh Antiochia in Piſidia, Iconium, and Heraclea, winneth Cilicia, Armenia, and Capadocia. 17 a. c. putteth the Turks to flight at the riuer Orontes. 18 g. after long ſiege taketh Antioche in Syria. 20 m. winneth Ieruſalem by aſſault. 22 d. is choſen king of Ieruſalem. 23. his letters to Bohemund king of Antioche. 24 i. in a great & mortall battell ouerthroweth the Turks at Aſcalon. 24 l. crowned king of Ieruſalem, and dieth of the plague. m.

the Gouernour of Alba Regalis taken. 824 k. his ſharpe anſwere vnto a Spaniard. l.

Great treaſure found by the Turks at the winning of Conſtantinople. 347 e

a Greeke prieſt his notable ſpeech perſuading the Great Maſter of the Rhodes to yeeld vp the citie. 594 b. with the moſt reſolute anſwere of a common ſoldior to the contrarie. 595 a. and that his ſpeech notably reſelled by a Greek, and the yeelding of the citie vrged. e.

the Greeke Church by Michaell Palæologus the Emperour ſubiected to the Church of Rome, and why. 144 l

the Greekes careleſſe of the Turks firſt ſmall footing in Cherſoneſus, ieaſt thereat. 185 f

the Guiſe, Lord Grand Prior of the knights of S. Iohns in Fraunce, Admirall of Malta, taketh certaine of the Turks gallies. 767 d

Gulletta how ſituated. 657 c. beſieged by Charles the Emperour. 658 g. furiouſly battered. 660 k. aſſaulted and woon. 661 a. beſieged by the Turks. 914 l. taken from the Chriſtians. 915 a.

Guy Countie of Ioppa and Aſcalon, the ninth and laſt king of Ieruſalem. 62 l. in battell ouerthrowne and taken priſoner by Saladin. 63 e. ſet at libertie, beſiegeth Ptolemais, and fighteth a great battell with Saladin. 65 f

H

Haalon, brother to Mango the great Cham of Tartaria with a great armie inuadeth the Turks. 113 a. his great victories againſt the Turks. c. d.

Hadrianople yeelded vnto the Turks. 189 f. by Amurath the firſt made the royall ſeat of his kingdome in Europe. 191 b

Haider marrieth Martha the daughter of the great king Vſun-Caſſanes by Deſpina, and hath by her Hyſmaell, afterwards king of Perſia. 464 l

Haider murthered by Iacup the Perſian king. 485 a

Haly Baſſa ſlaine. 881 c. his two ſonnes taken in the battell of Lepanto. f. the Greeke that ſlew him honourably rewarded. 884 g

Hamon the Iew for his trecherie iuſtly rewarded by Selymus. 496 i

Hardeck Gouernour of Rab corrupted, yeeldeth the citie vnto the Turkes. 1044 l. executed at Vienna. 1046 b

Haſſan Baſſa relieueth the diſtreſſed Turks in garriſon at Teflis. 944 l. breaketh promiſe with Aliculi Chan. 945 c. rewarded for his good ſeruice. 946 g. ſent by Ferrat Baſſa to the reliefe of Teflis. 967 a. againe rewarded by Amurath. b. left by Ferat with a garriſon of eight thouſand ſouldiors in the new fort at Tomanis. 970 b. Generall of Sultan Mahomets armie in Hungarie, commeth out of ſeaſon to reliene Alba Regalis. 1136 i

Haſſan Baſſa the queenes Eunuch ſent Gouernour to Caire. 980 b. caſt in priſon at Conſtantinople, and his euil gotten goods confiſcated. 981 d. his life ſpared at the interceſſion of the queene, and he ſet at libertie. e.

Haſſan Baſſa of Boſna inciteth Amurath to make warre vpon the Emperour. 1014 l. taketh Wihitz, the metropoliticall citie of Croatia. 1015. lodeth ſix waggons with the heads of the ſlaine Chriſtians. 1016 g. ſpoyleth Turopolis. l. deceiued by the Abbot of Siſeg. 1021 c. his threatening letters vnto the Abbot. d. beſiegeth Siſeg. 1022 g. in a great battell ouerthrowne. 1023 a. drowned. b.

Hatwan beſieged by the Chriſtians. 1093 d. taken by aſſault. 1094 g. againe forſaken by the Chriſtians. i.

Henry brother to Baldwin choſen ſecond Emperour of the Latines in Conſtantinople. 85 f

Henry duke of Saxonie with a great armie ſent into the Holy land by Henry the ſixt Emperour of Germanie, goeth accompanied with many great princes. 73 e. falling ſicke of a feuer, dieth. 74 h

Henry the French king by his embaſſadour ſolliciteth Solyman to inuade the king of Spaine his territories. 767 c

Heraclius the Greeke Emperour by the helpe of the Arabians recouereth Siria and the holy citie from Choſroe the Perſian king. 22 g

Hoccata the Tartar by his captaines ſubdueth Armenia the greater, Cholchis, and Iberia. 76 i. ſucceeding his father Zingis, inuadeth the Eaſt and Weſt part of Aſia, ſubdueth the Eaſt Indies, and buildeth Cambalu. 75 c. driueth the Turks out of Perſia, and ſubdueth many countries. 76 g

Horruccius and Hariadenus hew they of baſe pyrats aſpired to the kingdome of Algiers. 635 c. Horruccius his ſucceſſe. f. ſlaine, and his head in triumph carried about in Spaine. 636 b

Hungarie deuided into two factions vpon the choice of Vladiſlaus king of Polonia. 163 a. againe deuided vpon the diſſention betwixt king Ferdinand and king Iohn. 605 c. becommeth a prey vnto Solyman, and by him conuerted into the forme of a prouince of the Turkiſh Empire. 713 a

Huniades by king Vladiſlaus made Vayuod of Tranſyluania. 266 l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Iſa Beg Amurath his lieutenant in Seruia. 267 d. ouerthroweth Meſites Baſſa, and

and killeth him with twentie thousand Turks moe. 269 e. of the spoile of the Turks sendeth a present vnto king Vladislaus and the Despot of Seruia. 270 g. his most Christian speech to encourage his souldiours against the Turks. 271 d. in a great and mortall battell ouerthroweth Abedin Bassa with his armie at Vascape. 274 l. with ten thousand horsemen ouerthroweth a great armie of the Turks by night. 277 f. eight times repulseth the Turks pursuing him in his retreat downe the mountaine Hemus. 279 d. with a great slaughter discomfiteth Carambey the Bassa of Romania, and taketh him prisoner. 280 k. flying out of the battell of Varna, taken prisoner by Dracula Vayuod of Valachia. 298 i. by generall consent chosen Gouernour of Hungarie in the minoritie of king Ladislaus. 304 l. goeth against the Turke. 305 b. with a notable speech encourageth his souldiours against the Turkes. 306 i. fighteth three daies together with Amurath in the plaines of Cossoua. 307 d. ouercome, flieth. 309 b. falleth into the hands of two notable theeues. e. in doubt of a shepheard, is by him relieued. 310 g. taken prisoner by the false Despot. g. set at libertie, reuengeth himselfe vpon him. i. requested, giueth him aid against the Turks. 311 a. his most Christianlike death. 358 l.

Hysmaell after the death of his father Haider flieth to his fathers friend Pyrchales. 465 b. his behauiour in the time of his exile. 466 g. recouereth his inheritance. k. taketh Sumachia. l. obtaineth Tauris. 467 b. ouercommeth Eluan the Persian king and killeth him. 468 g. peaceably receiued into Scyras. b. preacheth his fathers doctrine. i. putteth Moratchamus to flight, and obtaineth the kingdome of Persia. 469 b. the inscription of his coyne. d. commeth to his army at Coy. 508 m. sendeth an herauld vnto Selymus. 509 b. with thirtie thousand Persians giueth battell to Selymus with three hundred thousand Turks. 510 i. wounded, retireth. 512 g. the cause why he came with so small an armie against Selymus. 517 d. his large territories. 518 h. the reason why he inuaded not Selymus, wholly busied in the Ægiptian wars. 560 h.

I

Iacup Arnaut slaine, and his army discomfited by Scanderbeg. 399 d

the Ianizaries first instituted by Amurath the first. 191 e. stand vpon their guard, and reuiling Baiazet their Emperour, refuse to receiue him amongst them. 445 f. in mutinie against Selymus. 512 m. vp in armes against Solyman for the vnworthie death of the noble Mustapha. 764 i. vnwilling to goe in the quarrell of Selymus against his brother Baiazet. 773 f. their insolent and threatening speech vnto Ferat Bassa their Generall. 970 l. in a tumult at Constantinople. 1005 d. in an vprore with the Spahi. 1104 b. threaten the deposing of their Emperor. 1115 c. in mutinie at Constantinople. 1142 k

Iathatines Sultan of Iconium succeedeth his father Aladin. 86 i. besieging Antiochia, is slaine by Theodorus Lascaris the Greeke Emperour. 87 c

Iathatines the second of that name Sultan of Iconium, maketh great preparations against the Tartars. 109 b. ouerthrowne, flieth to the Greeke Emperour Theodorus for aid. e. maketh peace with the Tartars, and yeeldeth them a yearely tribute. 109 f. againe by them oppressed, flieth to Palæologus the Emperour at Nice. 114 l. dieth in exile. 117 c

Ibrahim Bassa by Amurath made Gouernour of Caire. 980 l. oppresseth the people, and enricheth himselfe. 981 e. goeth against the Drusians. 982 g. spoileth the country of Man-Ogli the Drusian lord. 986 h. with fire and sword destroyeth the countrey of Seraphadin. 987 a. createth Aly Ebnecarsus Bassa of the Drusians. b. the rich presents by him giuen to Amurath and the ladies of the Court. 988 h. in danger to haue been taken. 1095 d. flieth out of the battell of Agria. 1097 e. sent againe Generall into Hungarie. 1104 l. commeth to Buda. 1112 h. purposing war, entreateth of peace. i. with a great armie besiegeth Canisia. 1131 b. hath the towne yeelded vnto him. 1132 b. his letters vnto Countie Serinus. 1133 b. returneth with his army to Belgrade. c dieth. 1134 l

Imailer what men they be among the Turks. 477 b

Imirza stirreth vp Solyman against his brother Tamas the Persian king. 751 d betrayed to his brother Tamas, and by him murthered in prison. 752 g

Innocencie of great force. 782 i

Iohn Batazes made Emperour of the Greeks in Asia. 97 d. taketh in many islands of the Ægeum, and forrageth the countrey of Thracia euen to the gates of Constantinople, being very aged dieth. 108 g

Iohn Countie de Brenne by Innocentius the Pope appointed king of Ierusalem. 87 e. in derision called, Roy sans ville. 88 g.

Iohn Castriot prince of Epirus for feare giueth his foure sonnes in hostage vnto Amurath. 260 l

Iohn Sepusius Vayuod of Transyluania chosen and crowned king of Hungarie. 605 a. after the battell of Toccay flieth into Polonia. 606 i. by Lascus his embassadour craueth aid of Solyman. 607 e. commeth to Solyman at Belgrade. 609 b. by him restored to the kingdome of Hungarie. 614 l. in his old yeares marrieth Isabella the daughter of king Sigismund. 695 d. dieth. 696 k

Don Iohn of Austria Generall of the confederat princes forces. 860 k. in a terrible fight encountreth with Haly Bassa in the battell of Lepanto. 881 b killeth him. c. delaieth the Venetians. 889 d. in doubt whether to send them aid or not. 890 k. sendeth word vnto the confederats to meet him at Zacynthus. 893 f. faileth them. 894 i. meeteth them at Corcyra. 895 a. offereth the Turks battell. d. refuseth to follow the counsell of the Venetian Admirall. 896 k. breaketh promise with him, and returneth to Messana. 901 a

Iohn the Vayuod of Moldauia falleth into suspition with the Turks. 906 g. his notable speech vnto his nobilitie and subiects concerning the Turks demaund. 907 a. in vaine craueth aid of the king of Polonia. 908 g. with a great slaughter ouerthroweth the Palatine and the Turks. 909 a. giueth the Turks a second ouerthrow. 910 b. betrayed by Czarnieuiche. 911. ouerthrowne by the Turks. 912 m. shamefully and perfidiously by them murthered. 913 e

Ionima, Ballabanus his brother and Hedar his sonne taken prisoners by Scanderbeg. 401 b

Ionuses Bassa sent against Techellis, putteth him to flight. 475 e. hurt at the winning of Caire. 545 f. enuieth at the vnworthie preferment of Cayerheius. 554 l. is himselfe secretly hated of Selymus. 555 b. put to death. 556 i

Irene the faire Greeke beheaded by Mahomet the Great. 353. 353 d

Isa after the captiuitie of his father Baiazet seizeth vpō the citie of Prusa. 232 b ouerthrowne in battell by his brother Mahomet. 238 i. with a great armie sent by his brother Solyman against Mahomet. 240 i. burneth Prusa. l. dieth in obscuritie. 241 c

Ismaell

Ismaell last of the Isfendiars yeeldeth his principalitie of Castamona and Sinope to Mahomet the Great. 359 f
Isbender Bassa ouerthrowne by Aladeules, taken, and sent prisoner to Caytbeius to Caire. 383 f
Islan of a prisoner made a King. 975 e
Ismaell the sonne of King Tamas saluted King of Persia. 922 l. murthereth eight of his younger brethren, altereth the Persian religion, & tyrannizeth. m. by the deuice of his sister Periaconcona himselfe murthered. 921 b
the Italians left by the Emperour for the aid of King Ferdinand in his wars in Hungarie arise in mutinie. 623 f. eight thousand of them forsake their captaines and returne into Italie. 625 d.
Iulia Gonzaga a faire ladie of Italie put in great feare by Barbarussa. 641 c
Iulian the Cardinall sent by Pope Vrban to appease the dissention in Hungarie, and to stirre vp the Hungarians against the Turks. 275 d. his effectuall speech in parliament to perswade the warre. e. cunningly perswadeth King Vladislaus to breake the honourable and solemn league he had before made with Amurath. 290 k. disanulleth the league, absoluing the King and the rest from their oath before giuen to Amurath. 291 i. himselfe slaine. 298 k

K

the Kingdome of Hungarie by Solyman conuerted into a prouince of the Turkish Empire. 713 a
the Knights of Malta craue aid of Garzias the Viceroy of Sicilia. 805 a. his cold answere. b.
Komara besieged by Sinan Bassa. 1045 b.
Koppan surprised by the Christians. 1002 l.

L

Ladislaus a child crowned King of Hungarie at Alba Regalis. 263 a
Lazarus Despot of Seruia becommeth tributarie vnto Amurath the first. 193 e. purposing to make war against Amurath, craueth aid of the King of Bosna 197 c. in a mortall battell ouerthrowne in the plaines of Cossoua and slaine. 200 i
Lepanto yeelded to the Turks. 459 c
Lewis the eight of that name, the French King, making an expedition into the Holy land, is by the mallice of Emanuell the Greeke Emperour therein much hindered. 34 m. he besiegeth Damasco, where by the enuie of the other Christian princes he was enforced to raise his siege, and so to returne home into his countrey. 35 b
Lewis the ninth the French King making an expedition towards the Holy land arriueth at Damiata. 102 m. taketh the citie forsaken by the Turks. 113 b with his whole armie ouerthrowne, and himselfe taken prisoner. 115 e. vndertaketh a second expedition toward the Holy land with his sons and most of his nobilitie 118 k. ouerthroweth the Moores, and besiegeth Tunes. 119 a. falleth sicke of the bloudie flix, and dieth. b.
Lewis the eleuenth the French King giueth aid vnto the Venetians against the Turks. 461 c
Lewis King of Hungarie with an armie of fiue and twentie thousand fondly goeth against Solyman, being two hundred and sixtie thousand strong. 602 h. ouerthrown, in his flight drowned in a ditch. 603 a
Liscanus the couetous Spaniard dealeth vncourteously with Perenus. 732 k. is himselfe in like sort serued and meerely stripped of his wealth by Halis captaine of the Ianizaries. 738 l
Lissa taken by the Turks, and the bones of Scanderbeg digged vp, and by them worne for iewels. 425 e
Lodronius encourageth his soldiors. 684 h ieasted at by an old souldior. k. slaine and his head with the heads of two other captaines in a siluer bason presented to Solyman at Constantinople. 685 e.

M

Mahomet the first sendeth spies into Tamerlan his campe. 232 l. becommeth famous in Tamerlans Court. 234 i. in battell ouerthroweth his brother Isa. 238 i. honourably burieth the bodie of his father Baiazet at Prusa. l. againe ouerthroweth his brother Isa, supported by his brother Solyman. 240 m. giueth him a third ouerthrow, together with the other Mahometane princes his confederats. 241 c. besieged by his brother Solyman in Amasia. 242 i. vpon report of his brother Musa his euill gouernment, goeth against him into Europe. 246 k. ouerthrowne, flieth backe againe into Asia. 247 a. commeth againe into Europe. 248 g. besiegeth Hadrianople. h. ouerthroweth his brother Musa in battell, and causeth him being taken prisoner to be strangled. 249 c. wholly possesseth the Othoman kingdome both in Europe and Asia. d. oppresseth Orchanes his brother Solymans sonne, and putteth out his eyes. 250 b. taketh the Caramanian King and his sonne prisoners. k. enforceth the Valachian prince to become his tributarie. l. dieth at Hadrianople. 251 f. his death cunningly concealed by the three great Bassaes. 252 g. he worthily accounted the reflorer of the Othoman kingdome, almost quite ouerthrowne by Tamerlan. l.
Mahomet the second, surnamed the Great, an Atheist, of no religion. 337 d murthereth his brethren. 338 g. reformeth the Turks commonweale. i. subdueth Mentesia. 339 b. winneth Constantinople. 347 b. solemniseth his feasts in Constantinople with the bloud of the Grecian nobilitie. 348 k. notably dissembleth his hatred against Cali Bassa. 349 d. first Emperour of the Turks. 350 i. amorous of the faire Greeke Irene. l. with his owne hand striketh off her head. 353 d. besiegeth Belgrade. 357 b. wounded and caried away for dead. 358 i. falsifieth his faith with Dauid the Emperour of Trapezonde. 360 i. seeketh to entrap Wladus prince of Valachia. 361 b. in danger to haue beene slaine by Wladus Dracula his Ganymede. 363 b. his letters to Scanderbeg. 384 k. sueth to Scanderbeg to haue the league renewed betwixt them. 390 b. commeth himselfe in person to the siege of Croia. 400 i. forsaketh the siege of Croia. 402 i. breaketh his faith with Paulus Ericus Gouernour of Chalcis. 406 i. he is no lesse troublesome vnto the Mahometane princes than to the Christians. 408 i. commeth himselfe to the siege of Scodra. 417 c. notably encourageth his captaines and souldiors to a generall assault. 418 m. melancholie for the repulse of his men. 420 l blasphemeth. 423 d. curseth Epirus, and so returneth to Constantinople. 425 e. by Mesites Palæologus, one of his great Bassaes, besiegeth the Rhodes. 429 b. inuadeth Italie, and by Achmetes his great captain taketh Otranto. 432 i. going against the Caramanian King, dieth by the way at Geiuisen in Bythinia, not without suspition of poyson, and lieth buried at Constantinople. 433 a
Mahometes one of the Visier Bassaes by the mutinous Ianizaries slaine. 437 c.

Mahome-

Mahomethes the ſonne of Caytbeius with foure Sultans moe one after another ſlaine by the Mamalukes. 450 l
Mahometes Solymans ſonne, diſguiſed goeth to ſee his brother Achomates. 477 c as a ſea-faring man commeth diſguiſed to Conſtantinople, and ſo into his fathers Court. e. by the commaundement of his ſuſpitious father poyſoned, dieth. 478 i
Mahometes Gouernour of Belgrade aided by the other Sanzackes, maketh head againſt Cazzianer, Generall of King Ferdinands armie. 677 f. wiſely refuſeth battell offered him by Cazzianer, and by temporiſing, diſtreſſeth the armie of the Chriſtians. 680 k. troubleth the Chriſtians in their retreat. 682 g. giueth them a great ouerthrow. 684 l. commeth to the reliefe of Belgrade. 705 e. his vehement Oration vnto Solyman, to perſuade him to take the kingdome of Hungarie into his owne hands, and ſo to vnite it vnto his own Empire. 711 c
Mahomet the Tartar King with his two ſons ſtrangled by Oſman Baſſa. 975 f
Mahamet Baſſa in deſpight of Sinan ſent Generall of his armie for the reliefe of his garriſons in Chars & Teflis. 957 e diſcomfited by the Georgians, and his prouiſion of money and victuals taken from him. 959 a. with his diſcomfited armie arriueth at Teflis. b. his heauie Oration in the caſtle of Teflis. c. maketh a puiſe for the reliefe of the diſtreſſed garriſon. 960. plotteth the death of Manucchiar the Georgian. m. himſelfe in danger to haue been by the Georgian ſlaine. 961 d
Mahomet the third ſaluted Emperour of the Turks. 1056 i. murthereth his brethren, and cauſeth certaine of his fathers wiues and concubines to be drowned. k. with much adoe appeaſeth the mutinous Ianizaries. l. ſendeth embaſſadours vnto the Tranſyluanian prince. 1062. carefull of Strigonium, beſieged by the Chriſtians. 1066 h. perplexed. 1087 e. cauſeth the continuation of his wars againſt the Emperour and the Tranſyluanian to be proclaimed in Conſtantinople. 1089 a. commeth to Buda with an armie of two hundred thouſand men. 1094 h. beſiegeth Agria. l. furiouſly aſſaulteth it. 1095 a. hath it yeelded vnto him. 1096 h. with Ibrahim the great Baſſa flieth out of the battell of Kareſta. 1097 e. by the Tranſyluanians and Valachians troubled in his returne to Conſtantinople. 1098 m. his embaſſador cruill intreated by the Perſian King. 1134 h
the Mahometane princes of the leſſer Aſia oppreſſed by Baiazet, diſguiſed, flie vnto Tamerlan for reliefe. 210 h
Malta deſcribed. 795 b. inuaded by the Turks. 796 k
Mamalukes the beginning of their kingdome in Ægipt. 524 g. their imperious gouernment in Ægipt, Iudea, and Syria. 523 c. their kingdome vtterly ſubuerted by Selymus. 554 b. the Mamalukes in priſon at Alexandria, by the commaundement of Selymus murthered. 553 f
Manto cruelly ſlaine by her iealous husband Ionuſes. 557 d
Man-Ogli his letters to Ibrahim Baſſa. 983 f. ſendeth him priſoner. 985 b
Manucchiar his ſpeech to Muſtapha the Viſier Baſſa. 931 f. with his brother Alexander by Muſtapha ſent to Amurath. 938 h. turneth Turke, and hath his elder brothers principalitie giuen him. 941 l. in danger to haue been betraied by Mahamet Baſſa. 960 l. notably reuengeth himſelfe of the trecherie by the Baſſa intended againſt him. 961 c. reuolteth from the Turks, and doth them great harme. 667 a.
Marqueſe S. Crucis taketh one of the Turks gallies in ſight of their whole fleet. 897 d
the Maſſagets entertained by Andronicus againſt the Turks, ſpoile his countries in Aſia. 149 e. in their returne homeward, themſelues ſpoiled by the Catalonians and Turcopuli. 152 l
Maſut the Sultan of Iconium deuideth his kingdome amongſt his three ſons. 36 k
Matthias the Archduke, the Emperours lieutenant taketh Nouigrad from the Turks. 1030 l. beſiegeth Strigonium. 1033 c. raiſeth his ſiege. 1037 d. ſhamefully put to flight by the Turks. 1043 b.
Matthias Coruinus of a priſoner choſen K. of Hungarie. 394 k. at the requeſt of the Senat taketh a great part of the Venetian territorie into his protection againſt the Turks. 394 m. relieueth the Vayuod of Tranſyluania. 426 m. no leſſe dreadfull vnto the Turks than was his father Huniades. 404 l
Maximilian choſen King of the Romans, and after crowned King of Hungarie. 789 a. he and Solyman both deſirous of peace. 829 a. beſendeth embaſſadors to Solyman. f. preſents giuen by the embaſſadours vnto the Baſſa of Buda. 830 k. his embaſſadours honorably receiued by the Turks at Conſtantinople. 831 c. preſents giuen by the embaſſadours vnto the great Baſſaes. e. preſents ſent to Selymus. 832 i
a homely feaſt giuen to the embaſſadours followers in the Turks Court. 833 c. the embaſſadours brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainement of them and their followers. 834 g. a peace concluded betwixt Maximilian and Selymus. 835 e.
Maximilian the Archduke by the Emperour his brother appointed Generall of his armie in Hungarie. 1093 c. marcheth but ſlowly to the reliefe of Agria. 1095 c. flieth out of the battell of Kareſta. 1098 i
Maylat trecherouſly taken priſoner by Peter the Moldauian. 716 i
Meligalus a notable traitour perſuadeth Mahomet to beſiege the Rhodes. 427 c his worthie death. e.
Meledin Sultan of Ægipt, and Corradin Sultan of Damaſco, ſend embaſſadors for peace to the Chriſtian princes at the ſiege of Damiata. 90 m. recouereth Damiata, before taken by the Chriſtians. 95 e. ouerthroweth the Chriſtians and raſeth Ieruſalem. 101. dieth. 103 c
Melechſala Sultan of Ægipt ouerthroweth Robert Earle of Arthoiſe the French kings brother. 104 l. taketh Lewis the French King priſoner, and ouerthroweth his armie. 105 e. maketh peace with the French King, and is ſuddenly ſlain by two Mamalukes. 106.
Melech the Ægiptian Sultan inuadeth Syria, and winneth Damaſco from the Tartars. 114
Melechſares the Ægiptian Sultan determining to root out all the Chriſtians in Syria and the land of Paleſtine, is by ſudden death taken away. 122 k
Melechſala, Sultan of Damaſco, by the treaſon of his nobilitie diſpoſſeſſed of his kingdome. 58 m
Meſites Baſſa ſent by Amurath to inuade Tranſyluania. 267 f. he with twentie thouſand Turks moe ſlaine by Huniades. 269 e
Michaell Ducas the Greeke Emperour by Nicephorus Botoniates depoſed of his Empire, after he had raigned ſix years and ſix months. 11 e
Michaell Palæologus flieth to the Sultan of Iconium. 109 a. called home again by the Emperour Theodorus, and made great Conſtable. f. aſpireth, and by common conſent made tutor vnto the young Emperour. 111 e. himſelfe proclaimed Emperour and crowned. 112 b by Alexius Cæſar his lieutenant ſurpriſeth Conſtantinople. 115 e. repaireth the decaied citie. 116 h. cauſeth the young Emperours eyes to be put out. 117 a. his armie ouerthrowne by the

a homely feast giuen to the embassadours followers in the Turks Court. 833 c. the embassadours brought in vnto Selymus, with the manner of the entertainement of them and their followers. 834 g. a peace concluded betwixt Maximilian and Selymus. 835 e.

Maximilian the Archduke by the Emperour his brother appointed Generall of his armie in Hungarie. 1093 c. marcheth but slowly to the reliefe of Agria. 1095 c. flieth out of the battell of Karesta. 1098 i

Maylat trecherously taken prisoner by Peter the Moldauian. 716 i

Meligalus a notable traitour persuadeth Mahomet to besiege the Rhodes. 427 c his worthie death. e.

Meledin Sultan of Ægipt, and Corradin Sultan of Damasco, send embassadors for peace to the Christian princes at the siege of Damiata. 90 m. recouereth Damiata, before taken by the Christians. 95 e. ouerthroweth the Christians and raseth Ierusalem. 101. dieth. 103 c

Melechsala Sultan of Ægipt ouerthroweth Robert Earle of Arthoise the French kings brother. 104 l. taketh Lewis the French King prisoner, and ouerthroweth his armie. 105 e. maketh peace with the French King, and is suddenly slain by two Mamalukes. 106.

Melech the Ægiptian Sultan inuadeth Syria, and winneth Damasco from the Tartars. 114

Melechsares the Ægiptian Sultan determining to root out all the Christians in Syria and the land of Palestine, is by sudden death taken away. 122 k

Melechsala, Sultan of Damasco, by the treason of his nobilitie dispossessed of his kingdome. 58 m

Mesites Bassa sent by Amurath to inuade Transyluania. 267 f. he with twentie thousand Turks moe slaine by Huniades. 269 e

Michaell Ducas the Greeke Emperour by Nicephorus Botoniates deposed of his Empire, after he had raigned six years and six months. 11 c

Michaell Palæologus flieth to the Sultan of Iconium. 109 a. called home again by the Emperour Theodorus, and made great Constable. f. aspireth, and by common consent made tutor vnto the young Emperour. 111 e. himselfe proclaimed Emperour and crowned. 112 b by Alexius Cæsar his lieutenant surpriseth Constantinople. 115 e. repaireth the decaied citie. 116 b. causeth the young Emperours eyes to be put out. 117 a. his armie ouerthrowne by the Turks in Paphlagonia. 118 g. submitteth the Greeke church vnto the Latine, and for what cause. 144 l. persuadeth his subiects to accept of the alteration of their religion and ceremonies. 145 a. raiseth persecution in the Greeke Church. c. hindered by domesticall troubles, hath no leisure to attend vnto the danger arising from the Turks in Asia. d. obscurely buried. e.

Michaell Cossi by Othoman taken prisoner, by him againset at liberty. 136 m father of the honourable familie of the Michaell-Oglies among the Turks. 137 a. discouereth vnto Osman the treason intended against him. 140 l. enforced rather than persuaded by Othoman, turneth Turke. 144 b

Michaell the yong Emperour ouerthrown by the Catalonians and Turks, in danger to haue been taken. 152 k. againe ouerthrowne by the Turks at Chersonesus. 155 e

Michaell Horwat by Amurath created Vayuod of Valachia. 1051 a. persuaded by the Transyluanian prince, reuolteth from the Turke, and killeth all the Turks and Iewes in his countrey. 1052 b. killeth one of the Turks proud Emirs with all his followers. 1053 b. doth the Turks great harme. c. suffereth the Turks embassadours vnto the King of Polonia by his subiects to be slaine. 1060 k. spoileth the Turks frontiers. 1061 a. yeeldeth his obeisance againe vnto the Turke, yet refuseth to aid him against the Christians. 1099 d. wearie of the Turk, submitteth himselfe with his people to the Emperours protection. 1100 l. sacketh Nicopolis. 1107 d. with a great armie entreth into Transyluania. 1112 l in a great battell ouerthroweth the Cardinall Bathor. 1113 c. sendeth his head for a present to the Emperour. f. hath the gouernment of Transyluania by the Emperour confirmed vnto him. 1120 i. receiueth presents from the Turke. l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sigismund the late Transyluanian prince, with the Vayuod of Moldauia. 1122 i. tyrannizeth in Transyluania. 1123 a. enforced by the Transyluanians to flie, craueth aid of George Bassa the Emperors lieutenant in the vpper Hungarie. b. by Bassa and the Transyluanians in a great battell ouerthrowne at Mirislo. 1126 b. reconcileth himselfe to Bassa. 1127 a. for feare of being betraied vnto the Polonians, taketh his flight into the mountains. d. by Zamoschie the great Chancelour driuen out of Valachia, and another Vayuod there placed in his stead. 1128 b. submitteth himselfe vnto the Emperor. 1139 b. returning into Valachia, giueth aid vnto Bassa against Sigismund the Transyluanian. 1140 g. hauing with Bassa driue the prince out of Transyluania, with great insolencie vseth his victorie. k. his presumptuous speech to Bassa. l. suddenly slaine in his owne tent. 1141 a.

the Miserie of the captiue Constantinopolitanes. 348 b

Mitylene yeelded vnto the Turke. 364 g

Modon taken by the Turks. 460 g

Moses Golemus corrupted, reuolteth vnto the Turke. 372 b. with an armie of the Turks by Mahomet sent into Epirus against Scanderbeg. k. ouercome & put to flight by Scanderbeg. 374 g contemned of the Turks, flieth from Constantinople, & againe submitteth himselfe to Scanderbeg. m. he with diuers others of Scanderbegs best captaines by Ballabanus taken prisoners, and by Mahomet slaine quicke. 396 i

Muhamet and Partau, two of the Visier Bassaes, by the insolent Ianizaries foulely entreated. 823 f. Muhamet for feare of them for a time refraineth to come into the Diuano. 824 g. dissuadeth Selymus from the inuading of Cyprus. 839 b. as a secret friend vnto the Venetians putteth them in hope of peace. 857 b. cunningly dissuadeth Selymus from the massacring of the Christians, filling his head with more necessarie considerations. 886 b. strangely murthered. 950 l

Mu'easses King of Tunes cruell and vnthankefull. 642 g. for feare of Barbarussa flieth out of Tunes. 643 e. sumptuous in his fare. 745 d. commeth to Charles the Emperour. 661 d his speech vnto the Emperour. e. his behauiour. 662 b. his opinion concerning the present warre. l. three things by him especially lamented, in the spoile made by the Christians in the castle of Tunes. 668 b. seeing the comming of Barbarussa, departeth from Tunes into Italie, to craue aid of Charles the Emperour. 745 c. shut out of his kingdome in the meane time by his sonne Amida. e. returneth into Affricke to Guletta. 746 g. going to Tunes is by the way ouerthrown, take prisoner, and hath his eyes put out by his vnnaturall son. 747 d. at the request of Touares is sent to Guletta. 748 l. by Charles the Emperour sent into Sicilie, there to be kept of the common charge. 749 b. refuseth to kisse the Popes foot. c.

Muſtapha Baſſa perſuadeth Solyman to the beſieging of the Rhodes. 569 e. vpon the euill ſucceſſe of the ſiege falleth into diſgrace with Solyman. 585 c. in danger with Pyrrhus Baſſa to haue beene executed. 588 k. made Gouernour of Caire. 589 d. by Solyman ſent as Generall of his armie to Malta. 794 l. landeth at the port Marza Siroc in the iſle of Malta. 796 k. beſiegeth the caſtle S. Elmo. 797 a. aſſaulteth the caſtle. e. in vain giueth a ſecond aſſault. 798 g. with loſſe aſſaulteth it the third time. m. in moſt furious manner battereth it by the ſpace of eighteene dayes, and aſſaulteth it the fourth time. 799 c. with great furie giueth the fift and moſt terrible aſſault vnto the caſtle. 801 a. with all his power giueth the ſixt and laſt aßault. 802 i. winneth the caſtle. 803 a. exerciſeth moſt barbarous crueltie vpon the bodies of the ſlaine knights. b. in vaine aßaulteth the caſtle S. Michael. 809 e. at one time aſſaulteth the new citie and the caſtle S. Michael. 810 i. he by meſſengers certifieth Solyman of the ſucceſſe of the ſiege. 811 a. leaueth nothing vnattempted. 812 i. at once aßaulteth the townes S. Angelo and S. Michael, and in both places notably repulſed. 813 a. giueth afreſh aßault and entereth the new citie. 814 g. with a great ſlaughter driuen out againe. i. deſperately aßaulteth the towne of S. Michaell. 815 c. repulſed, raiſeth his ſiege. 817 a. put to flight by the Chriſtians. c. hauing loſt about foure and twentie thouſand of his Turkes at the ſiege, departeth from Malta. d. he with Piall Baſſa impugneth the counſell of Muhamet, the chiefe of the Viſier Baſſaes, and perſuadeth Selymus to inuade Cyprus. 839 c. for his hatred againſt the Chriſtians made Generall of his armie for the inuaſion of Cyprus. 846 g. his letters vnto the Venetians in the iſle of Cyprus. i. he landeth his armie in Cyprus. m. beſiegeth Nicoſia. 848 c. in vaine perſuadeth them of Nicoſia to yeeld. 850 k. he encourageth his ſouldiors, and giueth a moſt terrible aſſault. 851 a. winneth the citie. e. beſiegeth Famaguſta. 852. raiſeth his ſiege. b. returneth againe to the ſiege. 862 m. after many aſſaults hath the citie by compoſition yeelded vnto him. 866 m. ſhamefully and contrarie to his faith before giuen murthereth the valiant Gouernor Bragadinus. 867 b tyranniſeth vpon his dead bodie. d. by Amurath made Generall of his army againſt the Perſians. 929 d. commeth to Erzirum. e. muſtereth his armie, in number an hundred and ten thouſand ſtrong. 930 g. relieueth his ſouldiors diſtreſſed by the Perſians. 931 c. maketh a bulwarke of the heads of the ſlaine Perſians. d. he ſurueyeth his armie at Archichelec, and lacketh fortie thouſand of his men. 932 k. fortifieth Teflis. 933 a. looſeth ten thouſand of his forragers. 934 h. reuengeth their death. l. his notable anſwere vnto his mutinous ſouldiours. 935 b. looſeth eight thouſand of his men in paßing the riuer Cannac. c. famine in his hoaſt. e. he fortifieth Eres. 936 g. ſendeth Oſman Baſſa to take in Sumachia and Derbent. h. relieueth his diſtreſſed garriſon at Teflis. m. his armie in great miſerie in paßing the ſtraits of Georgia. 937 c. commeth to Erzirum, and diſchargeth his armie. 938 g. maketh preparation for the next yeares warres. 942 k. aſſembleth his armie at Erzirum. 943 d. in three and twentie daies fortifieth Chars. f. ſendeth ſuccours to Teflis. 944 c. returneth to Erzirum, & there diſchargeth his armie. 945 d. diſcharged of his Generallſhip, and called home to Conſtantinople. 946 l. maligned by Sinan. 949 a. dealeth warily with the meßengers ſent of purpoſe to haue ſtrangled him. d. appeaſeth the diſpleaſure of Amurath. e. dieth ſuddenly. 952 k

Muſtapha, Solyman his eldeſt ſonne, in great eſtimatiō with the people. 757 b ſent Gouernour into Caramania. d. maligned by Roxolana. e. in danger to haue been poyſoned. 760 k. ſent for by his father, & warned of his preſent danger. e. conferreth with his doctor. 762 g. troubled with his melancholie dreame. k. commeth to his fathers tent. 763 a. in the ſight of his father moſt cruelly ſtrangled. c. his ſon Mahomet ſtrangled alſo. d. a prouerbe taken from his death. 765 c

Mutius Tortona a Spaniſh captaine raiſeth a mutinie in the Chriſtian fleet at Paxo. 873 c. Tortona and his Ancient hanged. d.

Muzalo by Theodorus the Emperour appointed Gouernour to his young ſonne Iohn. 100 g. enuied by the nobilitie, is traiterouſly murthered in the Church. 111 a

N

Naupactum, otherwiſe called Lepanto, in vaine beſieged by the Turks. 413 b. yeelded to Baiazet. 459 c.

Neapolis the firſt regall citie of the Othoman kings. 143 b

Negligence ſeuerely puniſhed. 856 g

Neocaſtron built by Mahomet the Great. 339 d.

Neritos, now called S. Maura, taken by the Venetians. 462 k

Nice taken by the Turks. 142 k. recouered by the Chriſtians. 180 g. againe ſurpriſed by the Turks. 181 c. by Orchanes made the regall ſeat of his kingdome. 183 e

Nicholaus Cataluſius prince of Mitylene turneth Turke, and is executed. 364 k

Nicholas Keretſchen corrupted, betrayeth Giula to the Turks. 824 i. the traitor iuſtly rewarded. k.

Nicephorus Botoniates diſplaceth his maſter the Emperor Michaell Ducas, and taketh vpon him the Empire. 11 e

Nicomedia yeelded vnto the Turks. 183 c

Nouigrade yeelded vnto the Chriſtians. 1030 l.

O

Othoman of greater courage and ſpirit than his other brethren, the ſonnes of old Ertogrul. 135 d. amorous of Malhatun a countrey maid. f. in danger for his loue. 136 k. by generall conſent choſen Gouernour of the Oguzian Turks. 137 d. ſurpriſeth the caſtle of Calce. 138 h. fighteth a battell with the Chriſtians at Opſicium. k. winneth the caſtle of Cara-Chiſar, and killeth the captaine. m. ſetteth in order his little commonweale. 139 c. killeth the captaine of Cupri-Chiſar. e. his death contriued by the captaine of Bilezuga. 140 i. turneth the trecherie deuiſed againſt himſelfe vpon the head of the captaine that deuiſed it, whom he killeth, and ſurpriſeth his caſtle. 141 e. ſurpriſeth the caſtle of Lar-Chiſar. e. taketh the caſtle of Eimegioll, and cruelly executeth the captaine. 142 g. by the good adminiſtration of iuſtice ſtrengtheneth his gouernment. h. taketh the citie of Nice. k. taketh vpon him the honour of a King or Sultan. 143 a. maketh Neapolis his regall ſeat. b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Chriſtians. 143 c. beſiegeth Pruſa. d. whileſt the Greekes are at diſcord among themſelues, layeth the foundation of the great Othoman empire that now is. 162 g. 166 k. dieth, and lieth buried at Pruſa. 177 a. the wealth he left vnto his ſons Orchanes and Aladin. 179 c

Orcha-

Orchanes, his father Othoman yet liuing, manageth the Turks kingdome. 179 c.
surpriseth the castle of Tzupri-Chisar. 180 g. fighteth a doubtfull battell with Andronicus the Greeke Emperour at Philocrene. m. surpriseth Nice. 181 e. hath Nicomedia yeelded vnto him. 183 c. committeth the gouernement thereof vnto his son Solyman. e. first of the Turks that built monasteries. e. subdueth the country of Carasina. 184 b. dieth. 187 b

Orchanes & Mahometes two of Baiazet his nephewes ouerthrowne by Chelife and Techellis the rebels. 471 c

Osman Bassa by Mustapha made Gouernour of Siruan, taketh Sumachia. 936 b. hath Derbent yeelded vnto him. i. by the Persian prince driuen out of Sumachia, flieth to Derbent. 940 b. killeth Sahamall his father in law. 941 d. is by Amurath sent for into Siruan. 974 b. laid in wait for by Mahomet the Tartar king. 975 b. ouercommeth the Tartars lying in wait for him. c. by Amurath made chiefe Visier and Generall of his wars against the Persians. 976 k. raiseth a great armie. 989 c. wisely appeaseth his mutinous souldiors, vnwilling to goe for Tauris. 990 g. commeth to Tauris. 991 b. taketh the citie. e. in thirtie daies buildeth there a strong castle. 992 i. giueth the citie to be spoiled by his souldiors. k. leaueth Giaffer the Eunuch Bassa of Tripolis with a garrison of twelue thousand souldiors gouernour of Tauris. 994 i. dieth. 995 c. much lamented for at Constantinople. 996 b

P

Palæapolis by Sultan Aladin giuen to Othoman. 138 l

Palotta yeelded to the Turks. 1025 d

Pantogles with the Turks fleet commeth to the siege of Constantinople. 342 l. displaced. 344 k

Paphlagonia and Pontus, with a great part of Cappadocia woon by Mahomet the Great. 360 l

Partan the Visier Bassa sent by Solyman against the supposed Mustapha, bringeth him to Constantinople. 769 e sent by Solyman to haue brought Baiazet to Amasia, is by him with good words sent backe againe. 773 e. standeth indifferent for giuing or not giuing of battell vnto the Christians at Lepanto. 875 e. encourageth his souldiors. 876 i. flieth himselfe out of the battell. 879 c

Paradiser executed for yeelding vp of Canisia vnto the Turks. 1133 e

Peace concluded betwixt king Vladislaus and Amurath the second. 289 b. by the persuasion of Iulian the Cardinall vnfortunately broken by Vladislaus. 295 d.

Peace concluded betwixt Mahomet and Scanderbeg. 386 i. betwixt Baiazet and Caytbeius. 450 i. betwixt Baiazet and the Venetians. 463 a. betwixt the Venetians and Solyman. 694 l. betwixt the Venetians and Selymus the second. 904 k. betwixt Amurath the third and Mahomet the Persian king. 1005 b

Peloponesus described. 353 e. made tributarie to the Turke. 354 h. subdued by the Turks. 355 e

Pera yeelded vnto the Turks. 349 c

Perenus the noble Hungarian vpon the suspition of aspiring, apprehended. 732 k. matters surmised against him. 733 a. he, Valentinus, and Maylat, three of the chiefe of the Hungarian nobilitie vnworthily kept in perpetuall prison. 734 b

Persecution in the Greeke church for matters of Religion. 145 c

Persians better horsemen than the Turks. 517 b.

Pesth taken by Cason Admirall of the Turks fleet vpō the Danubius. 709 a. besieged by the marqueße of Brandenburg. 729 e. in vaine assaulted. 731 c. the siege giuen ouer. 732 b. taken by the Christians. 1146 e

Peter a French Hermit going on pilgrimage to Ierusalem, obserueth the miserie of the Christians vnder the Turks and Sarasins. 12 l. in the counsell of Claremont deliuereth his meßage in the behalfe of the poore oppreßed Christians. 14 g. he with Gualter Sensauier the first that set forward in the great expedition of the Christians into the Holy land. 14 k. looseth greatest part of his armie. 15 d. discouraged, about to haue stolne home, brought back, and enforced to take a new oath for his fidelitie and perseuerance in the warre. 18 k

Peter Damboyse Grand Master of the Rhodes a carefull Gouernour. 427 e. his cheerefull speech vnto the rest of his knights and souldiors. 428 b

Peter Emus for his barbarous crueltie beheaded at Venice. 978 l

Petralba yeelded to Scanderbeg. 285 d

Petrella yeelded. 285 c

Petrinia taken by the Christians. 1074 k

Philaretus the Greeke Emperours lieutenant put to flight by the Turks. 8 l

Philadelphia taken by Baiazet. 204 b

Philes a deuout man, but no souldior, vndertaketh the defence of the Greeke Empire against the Turks. 156 i. in plaine battell ouerthroweth them. 157 c.

Philip the second of that name the French king in going towards the Holy land, suffereth shipwracke vpon the coast of Sicilia. 681 i. arriueth at Ptolemais. m. his speech vnto Richard king of England and the other Christian princes in his sickenesse. 701 i. he sweareth vnto King Richard, not to inuade his territories in France, and so returneth home. k.

Phocas by killing of Mauritius the Emperour with his children, possesseth himselfe of the Greeke Empire. 22 g. slaine afterwards by them of his owne guard. g.

Piall Bassa Solymans Admirall sent to remoue the Christians out of Zerbi. 784 b. in disgrace with Solyman, shunneth to come to Constantinople. 787 a. by Selymus the second sent against the Venetians. 845 e. in vaine attempteth the iland of Tenos. 846 g.

Pisaurius the Venetian Admirall doth very great harme vnto the Turkes. 460 l.

Plague and famine among the Turks. 1060 m.

Plague in the Venetian fleet. 849 a

Polinus the French embassadour with presents from Francis the French king, meeteth Solyman comming from Buda. 725 d. his request to Solyman. e. returneth into Fraunce. 726 g. sent backe againe to Solyman, by the way solliciteth the Venetians to take vp armes against Charles the Emperor. h. grieued, not to find the Turke soreadie to send his fleet in the aid of the King his master as he had before hoped. m. is sharply shaken vp by Solyman Bassa. 727 c. brought to the speech of Solyman himselfe. 728 i. by him reiected vntill the next Spring. k. setteth forward with Barbarussa and the Turks fleet. 735 a. by his letters from Ostia comforteth the Popes Legat in Rome. d.

Podolia and Ruscia inuaded by the Turks. 457 a

the Pope and the King of Spaine fearing least the Venetians should make peace with the Turke, haslen their confederation with that State, long before by them delaied. 859 a. a perpetuall league concluded betwixt the Pope, the King of Spaine, and the Venetians. 860 b. the league proclaimed. m.

the Popes letters vnto the king of Polonia, to dißuade him from inuading of Moldauia, to the trouble of the Transyluanian prince. 1081 b
Preianes commeth to the Rhodes. 581 c
Presents of great valour sent by the Persian king vnto Selymus. 837 f
Prince Ciarcan slaine. 219 b
Princes of Germanie ioyne their forces with king Ferdinand against the Turke in Hungarie. 728 l
Prusa yeelded vnto the Turks. 176 l. burnt by Isa. 240 l. repaired by Mahomet. 241 a. againe burnt by the Caramanian king. 249 f

Q

Queene Isabella with child. 695 e. deliuered of a sonne. 696 i. that sonne by the name of Stephen crowned king of Hungarie. 697 a. her answer vnto the embassadour of king Ferdinand, demanding of her the kingdome of Hungarie. 699 d. inuaded by king Ferdinand, craueth aid of Solyman. 701 b. by the commaundement of Solyman departeth with her young sonne out of Buda. 713 e. yeeldeth vp to king Ferdinand all the right she had in Transyluania & Hungaria. 756 h
Quinque Ecclæsiæ yeelded vnto the Turks 736 h.
Quinsay in the prouince of Mangi, of all the cities in the world the greatest. 75 f

R

Rab besieged by Sinan Bassa. 1041 b. battered and assaulted. 1044 h. by treason yeelded vnto the Bassa. l. notably againe surprised by the Christians. 1103 b
Rama forsaken of the Turks. 21 l
Ramadan Bassa slaine by the insolent Ianizaries. 978 m
Rayschachius for sorrow of his sonne slain by the Turks, suddenly dieth. 760 k
Rhodes by the knights hospitalers recouered from the Turks in the year 1308. 162 h. besieged by Mesites Palæologus. 428 l. for feare of the Turks the Rhodians destroy their suburbes and places of pleasure without the citie. 578 l. the Rhodes described. 581 d. besieged by Solyman. 584 g. in fiue places at once by the Turks assaulted. 587 b. the distressed estate of the Rhodians, and their resolution therein. 592 g. the Rhodes yeelded vnto Solyman. 600 i
Richard the first, king of England, setteth forward toward the Holy land. 68 h. reuengeth the iniuries done to him by the Cypriots, & taketh prisoner Isaack Comnenus their king. 69 a. arriueth at Ptolemais. c. causeth all the Turks his prisoners in the sight of Saladins armie to be executed. 71 a. giueth Cyprus to Guy in exchange for the titular kingdome of Ierusalem. f. with great slaughter ouerthroweth Saladin in plaine battell. 72 h. returning homeward, taken prisoner by Leopold duke of Austria. 73 b
Rodolp the Emperour prayeth aid of the Germane princes against the Turks. 1017 e. his embassadour shut vp close in his house at Constantinople. 1018 l. his letters to Amurath. 1019 a. his letters to Sinan Bassa. d. presented with the spoile of the Turks ouerthrow at Alba Regalis. 1029 b. requesteth aid of the great duke of Muscouia, the king of Polonia, and of the prince of Transyluania. 1031 b. holdeth a Diet of the Empire at Ratisbone for the withstanding of the Turks. 1038 m. receiueth aid from the Pope, the king of Spaine, and the princes of Italie. 1134 k
Robert duke of Normandie by generall cõsent chosen king of Ierusalem, which honour he refuseth. 22 f
Robert sonne of Peter fourth Emperour of the Latines in Constantinople. 96 l goeth to Rome, and in his return dieth in Achaia. 97 a
Rogendorff his name terrible vnto the Turks. 613 e. with king Ferdinands armie entereth into Hungarie, and besiegeth Buda. 702 i. threateneth the queene. k. derided by the bishop. l. in vaine assaulteth Buda. 703 d. in raising of his siege by night receiueth a great ouerthrow. 708 k. conueyed vp the riuer to Komara, there dieth. 709 b.
Ronzerius, sometime a notable pyrat, entertained by Andronicus the Emperour against the Turks. 150 k. relieueth Philadelphia. l. for lacke of pay spoileth the Emperours territories in Asia. 151 a. suddenly slaine. c.
Roscetes riseth against his brother Muleasses king of Tunes. 642 l. flieth to Barbarussa, and by him carried to Constantinople. 643 a
Rouerius robbeth Dantius, Baiazet the great Turks embassadour to Pope Alexander. 451 e
Roxolana conspireth with Ruslan Bassa against the noble Mustapha, and faineth her selfe religious. 758 g. sent for by Solyman, refuseth to come. i. plotteth the confusion of Mustapha. 759 f bringeth him into suspition with his father. 760 g. she with Ruslan put Solyman in feare of his life and Empire by his sonne Mustapha. 761 a. loueth her younger sonne Baiazet better than her eldest sonne Selymus. 768 g entreateth Solyman for Baiazet, and obtaineth his pardon. 770 i. comforteth him going in feare vnto his father. 771 a
Ruslan Bassa a man of a mischieuous nature. 757 e. furthereth the deuices of Roxolana for the destruction of the noble Mustapha. 760 g sent by Solyman with an armie into Asia, to haue taken or slaine Mustapha. 761 c. returneth in hast, and with false suggestions stirreth vp Solyman himselfe against his sonne. d. his exceeding trecherie at the comming of Mustapha to his fathers campe. 762 i. disgraced by Solyman, flieth to Roxolana at Constantinople. 765 a. by her meanes restored againe vnto his former honours, dieth afterwards of a dropsie. 765 e.

S

Sahib after the death of Sultan Aladin his master taking vpon him the gouernment, is by the nobilitie thrust out, and the Turks kingdome in Asia rent in sunder amongst them. 127 c
Sahamall the Georgian cutteth off the head of Aider. 922 i. submitteth himselfe to Mustapha the great Bassa. 936 k. slaine by Osman Bassa his sonne in law. 941 d
Saladin the Turke chosen Sultan of Ægipt killeth the Caliphe and all his posteritie. 57 e. inuadeth the kingdome of Ierusalem, & by Baldwin suddenly sallying out of Ascalon ouerthrowne. 59 d. besiegeth Beritus both by sea and land, taketh Edessa and Carras. 60 l. spoileth the holy land at his pleasure. 61 c. in vaine besiegeth Ptolemais. 63 b. besiegeth Tiberias, and by the treason of the countie of Tripolis ouerthroweth Guy the king, comming to the relefe thereof, and taketh him prisoner. 63 c. winneth Ierusalem with all the other cities and townes in the holy land, except Tripolis, Tire, and Antioch. 64 g. besiegeth Tire, and with the losse of his best souldiors and of his tents retireth. l. taketh Antioch, with all the prouinces and townes thereunto belonging. 65 a. putteth to death the Christian captiues. 71 a. dieth, and forbiddeth any funerall pompe to be vsed at his buriall. 73 c

Saluagus a worthie knight. 797 c

Salazar a Spanish captaine goeth as a spie into the Turks campe at the siege of Malta. 811 d

Sanguin the Turke ouerthroweth king Fulke, comming to the reliefe of the castle of Mont Ferand, and hath the castle yeelded vnto him. 30 h. taketh Edessa, and there vseth all manner of crueltie against the Christians. 31 a. besieging Cologenbar, is there stabbed by one of his own friends, and slain. b.

Sarmentus slaine. 691 d

Sarugatin Osmans brother slain, and accounted of the Turks for a saint. 138 k

Scanderbeg with his brethren by their father Iohn Castriot giuen in hostage vnto Amurath. 260 l. wisely dissembleth his desire for the deliuerie of himselfe and his countrey. 283 d. by great pollicie recouereth the citie of Croia out of the hands of the Turks. 284 i. hath the strong cities of Epirus yeelded vnto him. 285 c. spoyleth Macedonia. 287 c. in a great battell ouerthroweth Alis Bassa with two and twentie thousand of his Turks. 288 l. going to the aid of king Vladislaus, is by the faithlesse Despot denied passage through Scruia. 295 b. spoileth the Despots countrey, and so returneth into Epirus. 299 c. his resolute answere vnto Amurath his melancholie letters. 301 d. putteth Ferises to flight. 302 l. ouerthroweth Mustapha the second time, and taketh him prisoner. 313 b. carefully setteth all things in order against the comming of Amurath. 314 g. his effectuall speech vnto the souldiours and citizens of Sfetigrade to encourage them against the comming of the Turke. 315 b. cunningly entrappeth some of the forerunners of Amuraths armie. 316 l. troubleth his great campe. 319 a. with his owne hand killeth Feri Bassa. 320 g. troubleth Amurath his great armie at the siege of Croia. 324 l. in danger to haue been slaine or taken. m. deceiueth Mahomet the young prince in his own deuice. 326 h. flieth by night into Epirus. 371 c. his answer by letters vnto the letters of Mahomet. 385 c. his answer vnto Mahomets letters concerning the renuing of the league. 391 a. in danger. 398 b. Scanderbeg dieth. 402 m. buried at Lissa. 403 a. his bones digged vp by the Turks, and of them greatly honoured. 404 b

Scodra besieged by Solyman Bassa. 411 e. relieued by Matthias king of Hungarie. 412 b. a yearely fee appointed by Mahomet to one, to put him daily in mind of the siege of Scodra. i. Scodra the second time besieged by Mahomet the great. 415 c. sore battered. 418 i. the fourth time assaulted. 419 e. twelue thousand Turks slaine in this last assault. 420 m. most furiously the fift time assaulted by the Turks. 421. by composition yeelded vnto the Turk. 426 k.

the Scriuano rebelleth against the Turke in Caramania, and giueth Mehemet Bassa a notable ouerthrow. 1134 g. in a great battell ouerthroweth him againe the next yeare with an armie of fiftie thousand Turks. 1142 h. hauing ouerrun a great part of the Turks dominions in Asia, dieth. 1150 g. his younger brother steppeth vp in his stead, and in a great battell ouerthroweth Hassan Bassa, and killeth him. 1150 b

Selymus ambitious and of a turbulent spirit, and therefore of the Ianizaries and men of warre better beloued than his other brethren. 478 l. aided by Mahometes the Tartar king, riseth against his aged father. 479 b. coloureth his rebellious purpose with the inuasion of Hungarie. 480 g. marcheth with his armie towards Hadrianople. 481 e. in a great battell ouerthrowne and put to flight by his father Baiazet at Tzurulum. 486 h. by the persuasion of the Bassaes by his father sent for home. 491 c. chosen Generall by his father to go against his rebellious brother Achomates, is by and by after by the Ianizaries saluted Emperour. 494 g. causeth his father to be poysoned. 495 d. putteth three of his fathers pages to death, for mourning for their master. 496 h. bountifully rewardeth the souldiours of the Court. 499 c. murthereth fiue of his brothers sonnes. 500 g. causeth Corcutus his brother to be strangled. 502 h. treason intended against him, discouered. 503 a. craueth aid of Aladeules and the other mountaine princes against the Persians. 507 c. Selymus perplexed. 508 i. receiueth great losse in passing the riuer Euphrates. 513 c. he and Hysmaell compared together. 515 d. Selymus with a great armie entereth into Armenia, and taketh Ciamassum a city of the Persian kings 518 k. vanquisheth Aladeules the mountaine king, putteth him to death, and conuerteth his kingdome into the forme of a prouince. 520 l. inuadeth Hungarie. 521 b. sendeth his embassadours with presents to Campson the Ægiptian Sultan. 525 f. encourageth his souldiors to go against the Mamalukes. 526 b. passeth the mountaine Amanus, and commeth into Comagena. l. in the battell of Singa ouerthroweth the Mamalukes. 530 g. in doubt least Sinan Bassa had been lost, becommeth exceeding melancholie. 536 k. meeteth with Sinan Bassa at Gaza. 537 c. passeth the sandie deserts, and meeteth with Tomombeius at Rhodanus. 538 c. giueth him battell and putteth him to flight. 540 m. encourageth his souldiors to the winning of Caire. 544 l. fighteth a great and mortall battell with the Mamalukes in the citie of Caire. 545 b. causeth the citie to be set on fire. e. putteth Tomombeius and the Mamalukes to flight, and so taketh the citie. 546 i. his embassadors sent to Tomombeius slain by the Mamalukes. 548 k. ouerthroweth Tomombeius againe at the riuer of Nilus. 550 b. causeth him being taken to be tortured and put to death. l. cunningly reduceth the Arabians to his obedience. 553 b. purposing to turne his forces vpon the Christians, is strucke in the backe with a canker. 561 a. his death concealed by Ferat Bassa. 567 c

Selymus the second by the Ianizaries saluted Emperour. 827 c. appeaseth the tumultuous Ianizaries. 828 g. sendeth Cubates his embassadour to Venice to demaund Cyprus of the Senat. 841 c. rageth to haue it denied him. 842 m. he inuadeth the Venetians. 845 e. in his rage about to haue put to death all the Christians in his dominions. 885 f. sendeth out Vluzales his Admirall with two hundred gallies against the Christians. 888 l. desirous of peace, concludeth the same with the Venetians. 904 k. by his Bassaes taketh Guletta from the Spaniards, and the citie of Tunes. 915 d. dieth. e.

Serinus Gouernour of Sigeth. 821 e. his comfortable and resolute speech vnto his souldiours. 822 g. burneth the new towne, not now to be longer defended, and retireth into the old. i. his last speech vnto his souldiors. 823 d. slaine, and his head sent to Countie Salma. f.

the Seruians in mutinie amongst themselues, are with a great slaughter ouerthrowne by the Turks. 192 i

Seruia becommeth tributarie vnto the Turks. 192. wholly yeelded vnto the Turks. 356

Sfetigrade besieged by Amurath. 316 l. in vaine diuers times by the Turks assaulted. 319 b. by the working of a traitor Amurath hath the strong citie yeelded vp vnto him. 321 f

Sigismund King of Hungarie with the Christian princes his confederats with a great armie inuadeth the Turks dominions. 205 *b. his proud speech vpon the greatnesse of his armie. d. in a great battell ouerthrowne by Baiazet at Nicopolis.* 206 *h. hardly escapeth himselfe by flight. i.*

Sigismund prince of Transyluania in danger by his owne subiects to haue beene betrayed vnto the Tartars. 1046 *l. the conspirators apprehended and executed.* 1047 *d. giueth his subiects leaue to spoile the Turkes. e. entereth into a confederation with the Emperour.* 1048 *k. persuadeth Michaell the Vayuod of Valachia, and Aaron the Palatine of Moldauia to reuolt from the Turk.* 1049 *e. sendeth Aaron the Palatine with his wife and sonne prisoners to Prage.* 1062 *l. marrieth Maria Christina the late Archduke Charles his daughter.* 1072 *k. ouerthroweth thirtie thousand Turks comming as vnbidden guests to his marriage. l. in a great battell ouerthroweth Sinan Bassa with his Turks.* 1073 *e. receiueth the Zaculians into his protection, and hath from them great aid.* 1074 *m. putteth Sinan Bassa to flight.* 1075 *d. by force taketh Tergouista from the Turks. f. taketh also Bucarest a.* 1076 *i. goeth vnto the Emperour at Prage.* 1088 *g. besiegeth Temswar.* 1092 *g. with eighteene thousand men commeth to the aid of Maximilian the Archduke going to haue relieued Agria.* 1096 *l. doubting the power of the Turke, resigneth his principalitie of Transyluania vnto the Emperour.* 1100 *k. repenting himselfe, returneth again into Transyluania and taketh vpon him the gouernment.* 1106 *g. by his embassadours offereth againe his principalitie vnto the Emperour.* 1109 *d. in a great battell ouerthrowne together with the Moldauian by Michaell the Vayuod of Valachia.* 1122 *h. by the fauour of the Nobilitie recouereth his state again in Transyluania.* 1139 *d. in battell ouerthrowne by Basta and Michaell the Vayuod, flieth out of Transyluania.* 1140 *i. by the fauor of his subiects and countenance of the Polonians recouereth againe his state.* 1142 *g. doubting how to be able to hold it against the Imperials, yeeldeth it by composition vnto Basta the Emperours lieutenant, and goeth himselfe vnto the Emperour.* 1143 *c*

Sigismund King of Polonia his letters vnto Amurath. 1003 *c*

Simon Countie of Montfort sent by Philip the French King into the Holy land, represseth the furie of the Turks, and so concludeth a peace with them for ten yeares. 74 *k*

Sinan Bassa the Eunuch ouerthrowne by Achomates. 503 *c. restoreth Selymus his battell against Campson, before almost lost.* 530 *g. by Selymus sent before into Iudea.* 533 *c. hath Gaza yeelded vnto him.* 534 *g. discomfiteth Gazelles, comming to haue oppressed him at Gaza.* 535 *c. slaine in the battell at Rhodania.* 540 *g*

Sinan the Iew his short answere to Barbarussa. 661 *b*

Sinan Bassa by Amurath chosen Generall for the Persian warres. 951 *b. relieueth Teflis.* 954 *l. looseth seuen thousand of his souldiors.* 955 *b. derided of his own souldiors.* 956 *g. his proud answere to Amurath.* 962 *h. displaced, and cast into exile. l. againe receiued into fauour.* 1003 *d. ouerthrowne in the vpper Hungarie.* 1006 *h. his letters vnto the Emperor.* 1020 *g. sent Generall of the Turks armie against the Emperour.* 1023 *f. taketh Vesprinium.* 1025 *c. hath Palotta yeelded vnto him. d. with an armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand men commeth againe into Hungarie.* 1040 *i. taketh Dotis & S. Martins. l. besiegeth Rab.* 1041 *b. in assaulting thereof looseth twelue thousand of his men.* 1044 *h. by corrupting of the Gouernour hath the citie yeelded vnto him. l. besiegeth Komara.* 1045 *b. raiseth his siege, and breaketh vp his armie. d. craftily seeketh to trie the Emperours mind concerning peace.* 1058 *l. sent for home to the Court.* 1060 *l. by Sultan Mahomet appointed Generall of the warres against the Emperour.* 1073 *b. inuadeth Valachia. d. in a great battell ouerthrown by the prince of Transyluania. e. in flying, in danger to haue beene drowned. f. with a great armie commeth againe into Valachia.* 1075 *b. seeing the generall feare of his armie vpon the comming of the Transyluanians, flieth. d. for feare delayeth his comming to Constantinople, vntill his peace were made, and there shortly after dieth.* 1087 *d*

Siseg by the Turks besieged. 1022 *g. notably relieued.* 1023 *a. againe besieged and taken by the Turks.* 1024 *l*

Solyman, Orchanes his sonne, by his father made Gouernour of Nicomedia. 183 *c. taketh the castle of Zembenic in Europe.* 185 *b. he the first that brought the Turks ouer into Europe, with purpose there to conquer and inhabit. d. taketh the castle of Maditus. e. winneth Callipolis.* 186 *g. dieth.* 187 *a*

Solyman the vnfortunat, Baiazet his eldest sonne, by the great Bassaes set vp in his fathers stead at Hadrianople. 221 *b. goeth ouer with a great armie against his brother Mahomet.* 241 *e. by pollicie taketh the castle of Prusa.* 242 *i. besiegeth his brother in Amasia. i. returneth into Europe to appease the stirres there raised by his brother Musa, and recouereth Hadrianople.* 244 *h. in his excesse regardeth not the approch of his brother Musa. k. forsaken of his souldiors flieth. l. taken prisoner, is by the commaundement of his brother Musa strangled.* 245 *a.*

Solyman the Eunuch Bassa dealeth treacherously with the Kings of Arabia. 670 *m.*

Solyman hardly persuaded that his father was dead. 567 *d. saluted Emperour by the Ianizaries. f. his letters to Valerius Great Master of the Rhodes.* 571 *b. his Oration to his men of war declaring his purpose for the besieging of the Rhodes. e. he maketh great preparation for the siege.* 573 *a. his threatening letters vnto them of the Rhodes.* 578 *h. commeth himselfe in person to the siege.* 583 *b. his ehollericke Oration to his souldiors. d. displaceth his Admirall, and punisheth him like a slaue.* 589 *a. about to haue forsaken the siege. b. comforteth his discouraged soldiors, persuading them with patience to continue the siege. f. his letters to the Great Master and the Rhodians, sent by their owne embassadours.* 593 *d. his speech vnto the Great Master at his comming to yeeld vp the citie.* 598 *l. he entreth into the Rhodes vpon Christmasse day in the yeare* 1522. 600 *i. Solyman vpon the discord of the Christian princes and disordered state of Hungarie, taketh occasion to inuade that kingdome.* 601 *b. commeth into Hungarie against King Lewes with an armie of two hundred thousand men. c ouerthroweth him in battell at Mohatz.* 602 *k. commeth to Buda.* 603 *a*

Solyman in the quarrell of King Iohn against King Ferdinand, cõmeth into Hungarie with an armie of an hundred and fiftie thousand men. 609 *a. without resistance entreth into Buda, and besiegeth the castle.* 609 *d. laieth siege to Vienna.* 610 *k. without ransome releaseth certaine Christian prisoners.* 612 *g. looseth his great ordinance vpon the Danubius. k. burieth*

eight

eight thousand of his Turks in the mines. l. hauing lost foureſcore thouſand of his Turks, raiſeth his ſiege, and returneth to Buda. 614 i. he reſtoreth the kingdome of Hungarie vnto King Iohn. k. returneth himſelfe to Conſtantinople. 615 a. maketh great preparations for the ſubduing of the territories belonging to the houſe of Auſtria, as alſo for the conqueſt of Germanie, with the ſhort time he preſined vnto himſelf for the performance thereof. 615 c. Solyman with a mightie armie commeth againe into Hungarie. 618 e. beſiegeth Gunza. i. his proud letters vnto Charles the Emperour and his brother King Ferdinand m. ſhunneth to meet with Charles the Emperour at Vienna, and ſo turneth out of the way into Carinthia. 621 a. the cauſes mouing him ſo to doe. b. returneth towards Conſtantinople. 623 d. Solyman perſuaded by Abraham Baſſa, reſolueth to goe againſt the Perſians. 649 a. commeth with his armie to Tauris. f. followeth Tamas the Perſian King into Sultania. 650 g. his armie ſtrangely diſtreſſed by tempeſt. k. hath Babylon with the countries of Meſopotamia and Aſſyria yeelded vnto him. 651 a. he ranſacketh Tauris. f. diſcouraged by the harme done him by Delymenthes, giueth ouer his warres in Perſia, and returneth to Conſtantinople. 653 c. he with a wonderfull charge prepareth a great fleet at Suetia againſt the Portingals in the Eaſt Indies. 670 b. Solyman by the French embaſſador incited to inuade Italie with an armie of two hundred thouſand men, commeth to Aulona. 671 c. ſendeth Lutzis Baſſa and Barbaruſſa with his fleet before him into Italie. d. conuerteth his forces prepared for Italie againſt the Venetians. 673 b. in danger to haue beene ſlaine in his tent in the middeſt of his armie. 173 d. inuadeth Corcyra. e. carrieth away a boue ſixteene thouſand priſoners, and doth good iuſtice vpon ſuch Turks as had violated their faith at Caſtrum. 674 k. Solyman angrie with the ſecret confederation betwixt King Ferdinand and King Iohn. 695 c. promiſeth to protect the queene and her ſonne. 701 c. with a great armie commeth to Buda. 709 b. ſendeth for the young King into his campe. e. courteouſly receiueth him. 710 h. craftily ſurpriſeth the citie of Buda. i. detaineth the Nobilitie of Hungarie. l. diuerſly perſuaded by his Baſſaes for the diſpoſing of that kingdome. 711 b. he ſacrificeth after the Mahometane manner in Buda. 712 m. pronounceth the doome of Hungarie, and conuerteth it from a kingdome into a prouince of his Empire. 713 a. his proud anſwer vnto King Ferdinand his embaſſadours. 714 k. he returneth to Conſtantinople. 715 b. ſendeth his fleet by Barbaruſſa his Admirall to aid the French King againſt the Emperour. 734 k. Solyman with a great armie commeth againe into Hungarie. 736 g. taketh Strigonium. 738. entereth into the citie, and there ſetteth vp the Mahometane ſuperſtition. m. winneth Alba Regalis. 742 b. returneth to Conſtantinople. k. by the inſtigation of Dragut the pyrat ſendeth out Sinan Baſſa with a great fleet to reuenge the wrong done vnto him by Auria. 752 l. Solyman amorous of Rozolana. 757 c. manumiſeth her. 758 b. marrieth her. l. by her perſuaded, reſolueth to put to death his eldeſt ſonne, the noble Muſtapha. 761 d. goeth himſelfe with a great armie into Aſia to kill his ſonne. e. ſendeth for Muſtapha, who comming, is cruelly ſtrangled in his ſight. 763 c. his ſtout ſpeech vnto the Ianizaries, vp in arms for the vnworthie death of Muſtapha. 764 k. he glad to yeeld vnto the Ianizaries. m. Solyman deſirous with as little ſtirre as might be to appeaſe the grudges betwixt his two ſonnes Selymus and Baiazet, ſendeth Partau and Mehemet two of his Viſier Baſſaes to bring them to the prouinces by him appointed for them. 773 d. maketh preparation againſt Baiazet, and ſendeth aid to Selymus. e. for countenancing of Selymus, goeth himſelfe in perſon with his armie ouer into Aſia. 776 l. diſſembleth with Baiazet. 778 g. ſeeketh to ſtop his flight into Perſia, deceiued of his purpoſe, procureth to haue him and his foure ſonnes ſtrangled in priſon in Perſia. 791 d. Solyman by his embaſſadour Abraham Strotza confirmeth his league with Ferdinand the Emperor for eight yeares. 789 b. his proud letters vnto the Emperour Ferdinand. c. his preſents ſent vnto the Emperour. 791 d. he maketh preparation againſt the knights of Malta. 793 a. his Oration vnto his captaines for the inuaſion of Malta. b. his fleet arriueth at Malta. 795 a. with ſhame returneth. 817 c. Solyman purpoſing now the ſeuenth time himſelfe in perſon to inuade Hungarie, cauſeth a bridge of a mile long with incredible labor to be made ouer the great riuer Sauus and the deepe ſennes toward Sigeth. 821. beſiegeth Sigeth. e. commeth himſelfe with a great power into the campe. 822 h. winneth the old towne. l. falleth ſicke and dieth of the bloudie flix at Quinque-Eccleſiæ. 822 m. his death by Muhamet Baſſa concealed, and the ſiege continued. 813 a. his bodie with great ſolemnitie by his ſonne Selymus buried at Conſtantinople. 828 b

the Spaniards reioycing at the ouerthrow of the Italians by Salec, are themſelues foyled by Tabacces. 658 m

Stelluſa with Deſdrot the Gouernor therof deliuered to Scanderbeg. 285 f

Stephen Rozwan in ſtead of Aaron by the Tranſyluanian prince placed Vayuod of Moldauia. 1062 l. thruſt out by Zamoſchie Chancelour of Polonia. 1080 g. taken priſoner and put to death. 1081 a

Stephen Vayuod of Tranſyluania vpon the commendation of Amurath choſen King of Polonia. 921 a

Stiria forraged by the Turks. 1132

Strigonium in vaine beſieged by King Iohn. 616 k. beſieged by Solyman. 736 i. diuers times by the Turks in vaine aſſaulted. c. the ſtrength therof by a fugitiue Chriſtian diſcouered. d. yeelded vnto the Turke. 738 b. beſieged by the Chriſtians. 1033 c. fiue times in vain aſſaulted, with the loſſe of fiue thouſand men. 1034 l. the ſiege by Matthias the Archduke giuen ouer. 1037 d. beſieged by countie Mansfelt. 1065 b. twice in vaine aſſaulted. e. the lower towne taken. 1070 g. yeelded vnto the Archduke Matthias. 1072 b

Suguta by Sultan Aladin giuen to Ertogrul. 134 k

Sumachia taken by Uſman Baſſa. 936 b recouered by the Perſian prince. 940 i

Swartzenburg by two Italian priſoners flying out of Rab, is informed of the ſtate of the towne. 1102 g. conſulteth with the lord Palfi. b. ſurpriſeth that ſtrong town. 1103 b. in vain attempteth to haue ſurpriſed Buda. 1110 b commeth to Pappa to appeaſe the French and Wallons there in mutinie. 1117 a. beſiegeth the towne. 1118. ſlaine. i.

Syrgiannes appointed by Andronicus the Emperor to obſerue the doings of yong Andronicus his nephew, trecherouſly diſcouereth the ſame vnto him. 159 c. cunningly colloureth his treaſon. 160 b contemned of the yonger Andronicus, reuolteth again vnto his grandfather. 162 l. apprehended, impriſoned, and his houſe raſed. 164 l

Tamas

T

TAmas the Persian King hearing of the comming of Solyman to Tauris, flieth into Hircania. 651 d. in feare of Baiazet, killeth his followers, and imprisoneth him with his sonnes. 780 l. sendeth embassadors with presents to Solyman. 781 a. the cause why he would not by any meanes let Baiazet goe out of his hands. d. his answere vnto the Venetian embassadour, persuading him to take vp armes against the Turke. 862 k

Tamerlan his reasonable and modest answer vnto the other Mahometane princes, craving his aid against Baiazet. 210 k. in their behalfe sendeth embassadours with presents to Baiazet. l. prouoked by the proud answer of Baiazet, the sollicitation of the oppressed princes, and the persuasion of Axalla resolueth to make war vpō him. 211 b his honourable parentage and aunce-stours. 212 i. the causes why some report him to haue beene a shepheard or heardsman. k. he himselfe not delighted in blood. m. marrieth the daughter and heire of the Great Cham of Tartarie, the ground of his greatnes. 213 a. setteth forward against Baiazet. 214 k. his great campe still like vnto a well gouerned citie. 215 b. the number of his great armie. c. he taketh Sebastia, and burieth all the people quicke. 216 b. staieth the comming of Baiazet. 217 a. disposeth of the order of his battell. 218 k fighteth a great and mortall battell with Baiazet. 219 b. taking him prisoner, causeth him like a wild beast to be shut vp in an yron cage. 220 m. refuseth the Empire of Constantinople, offered him by Emanuell the Emperors embassadors. 221 e. goeth priuatly himselfe to Constantinople. 222 i. much delighted with the situation and pleasures of that citie. k. spoileth the Turks dominions in Asia. l. restoreth vnto the poore Mahometane princes oppressed by Baiazet all their auntient inheritances. 223 b. in a great battell ouerthroweth the Sultan of Ægipt neere vnto Aleppo. c. winneth Damasco. d. commeth to Ierusalem. f. taketh Damiata. 224 b. assaulteth Caire. 225 a driueth the Sultan out of Caire. d. pursueth him to Alexandria. 226 g. chaseth him into Lybia. h. leaueth Calibes to gouerne the countries of Ægipt and Syria. l. conquereth Mesopotamia and Babylon, with the kingdome of Persia. 227 a. returneth to Samarcand. b. the great power he continually kept. 235 c. his death. e.

Tangrolipix the Turke sent to aid the Persian Sultan. 4 g. by consent of the souldiours chosen Sultan of Persia. l. first Sultan of the Turks. m. hauing slaine Pisasiris Caliph of Babylon in battell ioyneth his dominions vnto his owne. 5 b. inuadeth the Greeke Emperours dominions. f. putteth to death his brother Habramie. 6 i

Tancred created prince of Galliley, winneth Apamea and Laodicea. 25 c. after the death of young Bohemund created King of Antioch. 26 i

Tarsus in Cilicia yeelded vnto Baiazet. 446 m.

Tartar Han his letters vnto the King of Polonia. 1083 c

Tauris yeelded to Selymus. 512 c. who contrarie to his promise exacteth a great summe of money from the Taurisians, and so departeth. 513 a. sacked by Solyman. 651 f. taken by the Turks. 991 d. hath a new castle therin built by the Turks in six and thirtie daies. 992 i. miserably spoiled. l.

Taurica Chetsonesus, with the Tartars Precopenses and Destences subdued by the Turks. 412 m

Techellis inuadeth the Turks dominions. 469 c. ouerthroweth Orchanes and Mahometes, Baiazet his nephewes. 471. discomfiteth Caragoses the Viceroy of Natolia. 472 i. killeth Alis Bassa. 474 l. flieth into Armenia. 475 e. robbeth a Carauan of marchants, and therefore burnt at Tauris. 476 h.

Temeswar taken by the Turks. 756 g

Temurtases, Baiazet his lieutenant in Asia, taken prisoner by Aladin the young King of Caramania. 208 k. againe set at libertie, hangeth the Caramanian King. m.

Teufenbach taketh Sabatska. 1026 k. winneth Filck. 1027 c. besieged Hatwan. 1032 g. ouerthroweth the Bassa of Buda. h. giueth the same Bassa a second ouerthrow. 1037 f

Theobald King of Nauarre maketh an vnfortunat expedition into the Holy land. 99 f. with Lewis the French King goeth against the Moores. 118 k. in his returne dieth of the plague in Sicilia. l.

Theodorus Lascaris flieth into Bythinia, and possessing himselfe of many countries, taketh vpon him the name of the Greeke Emperour at Nice. 84 l. he killeth Iathatines the Turkish Sultā. 87 c

Theodorus Lascaris, son to Iohn Batases, chosen Emperour. 108 m. aideth the Sultan of Iconium. 109 c. falleth sicke and dieth. 110 g

Theupulus Earle of Paphos vnworthily hanged by the faithlesse Bassa Mustapha. 867 d

Thracia spoiled by the Turks. 156 g

Tomombeius by the generall consent of the Mamalukes chosen Sultan of Ægipt. 533 d. maketh great preparation against the Turks, and seeketh to entrap them. 538 g. his deuices discouered. i. he fighteth a great battell with Selymus, and is put to the worse. 540 m. raiseth new forces at Caire. 541 c. fortifieth Caire. 542 k. fighteth a great battell in the citie. 545 b. ouercome, flieth. 546 h. driuen out of Caire, raiseth new forces in Segesta. 547 d. distresseth the Turks in passing the bridge made ouer Nilus. 549 b. giueth a notable attempt to haue gained the bridge. f. repulsed and put to flight. 550 i. taken and brought to Selymus. l. tortured, and shamefully put to death. m.

Trapezond yeelded to Mahomet the Great. 360 k.

Transyluania giuen by Solyman to the child King Iohn his sonne. 716 l

Tripolis in Barbarie besieged by Sinan Bassa. 753 a. battered. b. the weakest places thereof and fittest to be battered, by a fugitiue Christian discouered to the Turks. d. vpon hard conditions yeelded to the proud and faithlesse Bassa. 755 d

Tunes besieged by Lewis the French king. 119 a. yeelded to Charles the Emperour. 667 c. by him vpon an easie tribute againe restored to Muleasses. 669 d. againe yeelded to the Turks. 915 d.

Turks their originall beginning diuersly reported. 1 c. discended from the Scythians. 2 b. the causes why they left their auntient and naturall seats in Scythia, to seeke for other in countries more Southerly. 2 l. where they first seated themselues in Asia, after their departure out of Scythia. 3 b. their first kingdome erected in Persia by Tangrolipix their first Sultan. 4 l. the Turks first called into Europe by the Catalonians. 152 g. they differ not from the Persian about the interpretation of their law, but about the true successor of their false prophet Mahomet only. 462 i.

Turqueminus chosen Sultan of Ægipt. 106 b.

Tzihanger refuseth the noble Mustapha his brothers wealth & treasure offered him by his father Solyman, and for sorrow killeth himselfe. 763 e

V

VAlachia, when firſt ſpoiled by the Turks. 204 g. *inuaded by Mahomet the Great.* 362 g. *oppreſsed by the Turks.* 1050 h. *in great troubles.* 1143 d

Valmes fortified by Mahomet the Great. 402 g.

Valetta the Grand maſter of Malta aduertiſed of Solymans purpoſe for the inuaſion of him & his knights. 793 f. *his effectuall ſpeech vnto his knights.* 794 g. *his great preparation againſt the Turks comming.* k. *his whole ſtrength.* 796 g. *he certifieth Garzias of Toledo, Viceroy of Sicilia, of his eſtate.* l. *ſendeth a new ſupplie into the caſtle S. Elmo, twice before aſſaulted by the Turks.* 798 g. *diſappointed of a ſupplie to haue beene brought him by his owne gallies.* h. *his letters to Garzias the Viceroy of Sicilia.* 800 g. *he ſendeth three of his knights to know the ſtate of them in the caſtle S. Elmo.* 801 e. *encourageth his ſouldiors after the loſſe of the caſtle.* 803 c. *his Chriſtianlike letters to the Gouernor of the citie of Melita.* e. *his reſolute anſwere to the meſſengers ſent vnto him from the great Baſſa.* 804 i. *he receiueth a ſmall ſupply from Sicilia.* 805 f. *maketh hard ſhift to ſend newes of his diſtreſſe to the Viceroy of Sicilia.* 808 l. *his comfortable ſpeech vnto his ſouldiors, at ſuch time as the Turks were entered the new citie.* 814 h. *his great carefulneſſe.* 817 e. *his letters to the Grand Prior of Almaine concerning the manner of the Turks proceedings in the ſiege of Malta.* 818 g

Venerius the Venetian Admirall and Barbadicus their prouiditor perſuade the reſt of the Chriſtian confederats to giue battell vnto the Turks at Lepanto. 871 d. *comming to the reliefe of Don Iohn, is encountered by Partau Baſſa.* 879 a. *in danger.* b. *at the requeſt of the Spaniards diſplaced, but not diſgraced.* 887 e

the Venetians with a great fleet ſpoile the coaſts of Lycia, Pamphilia, and Cilicia. 19 a. *in the deuiſion of the Greeke Empire amongſt the Latines had for their ſhare all the rich iſlands of the Ægeum and Ionian, with the famous iſland of Candie or Crete.* 84 h. *enter into confederation with other Chriſtian princes againſt the Turke.* 389 e. *they with their confederates doe the Turks great harme.* 407 d. *receiue a great ouerthrow from the Turks at the riuer of Sontium.* 414 k. *their marchants in Syria impriſoned by Campſon Gaurus the Ægiptian Sultan.* 471 b. *their Senatours diuerſly affected towards the confederation with the Emperour and the French King againſt Solyman.* 693 d. *they refuſe to yeeld vp Cyprus vnto Selymus, demanding the ſame.* 841 e. *make great preparation for their own defence, and craue aid of the other Chriſtian princes.* 842 k. *what princes promiſed them aid.* l. *wearie of the delaies and croſſe dealings of the Spaniards their confederats, conclude a peace with Selymus without their knowledge.* 904 k.

Veradinum beſieged by the Turks. 1106 h *relieued by the lord Baſta.* l.

Veſprinium taken by the Turks. 1025 c

Vſegi Baſſa taken priſoner. 500 l. *put to death.* 501 b

Vicegrade taken by the Chriſtians. 1072 i

Victor Capella with a notable ſpeech perſuadeth the Venetians to take vp arms againſt Mahomet the Great. 387 a

Vienna by Solyman beſieged. 610 k. *badly fortified.* 611 a *the wals blown vp.* 612 m. *thrice aſſaulted.* f. *worthily defended.* 614 g. *Solyman glad to forſake the ſiege.* i.

Villerius choſen Great Maſter of the Rhodes. 569 d. *his letters to Solyman.* 571 d. *his carefull prouiſion for defence of his citie.* 573 b. 575 e. *his notable ſpeech vnto the Rhodians.* 576 g. *his worthie commendation.* 581. *in vain craueth aid of the Chriſtian princes.* b. *recouereth the Spaniſh bulwarke taken by the Turks.* 588 g. *his reſolute opinion concerning Solymans demaund for the yeelding vp of the Rhodes.* 594 g. *his anſwere vnto Solyman, offering vnto him moſt honourable entertainement.* 599 b. *he departeth from the Rhodes with his knights vpon New yeares day.* 600 g

Vladiſlaus King of Polonia choſen alſo King of Hungarie. 262 i. *ſendeth embaſſadours vnto Amurath lying at the ſiege of Belgrade.* 263 e. *goeth himſelfe in perſon againſt the Turks.* 277 b. *taketh Sophia.* c. *ſpoileth Bulgaria.* d. *highly commendeth Huniades for his good ſeruice.* 278 i. *enforced with the difficultie of the paſſage of the mountaine Hemus, retireth with his army.* 279 b. *by the perſuaſion of Huniades and others retireth, and in vaine ſeeketh to haue opened the mountaine paſſage.* 281 d. *in his retreat much troubled with the Turks.* 282 b. *in great triumph returneth to Buda.* m. *vpon moſt honourable conditions concludeth a peace with Amurath for ten yeares.* 289 b. *by ſolemne oath confirmeth the league he had made with Amurath.* e. *abſolued of that his oath by Iulian the Cardinall of S. Angell, reſolueth for the proſecution of his wars againſt the Turke.* 292 i. *by his embaſſadours and letters craueth aid of Scanderbeg.* 293 a. *ſetteth forward againſt the Turks.* 295 e. *fighteth the great and vnfortunat battell at Varna.* 297 b. *is there himſelfe ſlaine.* 298 b

Vluzales in the battell of Lepanto taketh twelue of the Venetian gallies. 882 i. *ſeeing the reſt of the Turks fleet diſcomfited, flieth himſelfe.* m. *is by Selymus the next yeare ſent out with two hundred gallies againſt the Venetians and their confederats.* 888 l. *meaning nothing leſſe, maketh ſhew of battell.* 892 b. *cunningly retireth.* i. *flieth from Nauarinum into the bay of Modon.* 895 c. *returneth with his weake fleet to Conſtantinople.* 902 m

Vranacontes by Scanderbeg appointed Gouernour of Croia againſt the comming of Amurath. 322 l. *with chearfull ſpeech encourageth his ſouldiors.* e. *reiecteth Amurath his preſents, and threatneth the Baſſa by whom they were ſent.* 329 d

Vſtref Baſſa of Van inciteth Amurath to make warre againſt the Perſians. 925 a. *by Amurath commaunded to begin the warre, which he readily performeth.* 926 b

Vſun-Caſſanes the Perſian King ſendeth embaſſadours with preſents to Mahomet the Great. 359 b. *marieth Deſpina, the daughter of Calo Ioannes, Emperour of Trapezond.* 409 b. *in a great battell ouerthroweth Zenza the Perſian king, and killeth Cariaſuphus his ſonne, the laſt of the poſteritie of the mightie Tamerlan.* 409 g. *in a great battell ouerthrowne by Mahomet the Great.* 410 l. *his death.* 411 a

W

WAlpo trecherouſly yeelded vnto the Turks, and the traitours iuſtly rewarded. 736 h

Warres by Amurath the third proclaimed againſt the Emperour Rodolph. 123 f

Waſwood, an old Ianizarie, his preſumptuous ſpeech vnto Mahomet the great Sultan. 1063 b. *taken out of priſon by the reſt of the Ianizaries.* e.

Water deare ſold. 665 b

Wihitz the metropoliticall citie of Croatia taken by the Turks. 1015 e

William King of Sicilia inuadeth the tyrant Andronicus his dominions, taketh the citie of Dyrrhachium, paßeth through Macedonia, and ſpoileth the countrey, meeteth with his fleet at Theßalonica, which he alſo taketh by force and ſpoileth. 51 b
William Long-eſpie Earle of Sarisburie with a band of tall ſouldiours goeth into the Holy land. 102 l. his ſtout anſwere vnto Earle Robert the French Kings brother. 104 k. valiantly fighting, is ſlaine. 105 a
Wladus prince of Valachia putteth Mahomet the Great in feare. 362 k. Wladus cruell. m dieth in battell againſt the Turks. 363 e
Wine for a ſpace running down the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, as if it had beene water after a ſhower of raine. 1142 l
Wolfgangus Hoder vpon the Danubius doth good ſeruice againſt the Turks. 612 k.

X

Xaycus, paymaſter of the Rhodes entrapped by the Turks, and ſent priſoner to be tortured at Conſtantinople. 575 c
Xene the faire Empreſſe, the young Emperour Alexius his mother maliciouſly accuſed of treaſon, and ſo wrongfully condemned. 407 ſ. by the commaundement of Andronicus ſtrangled in priſon, and ſo poorely buried. 48 k.
Xiphilinus by Alexius ſent ouer to Andronicus, dealeth vnfaithfully in his meſſage. 45 c

Y

Yoland daughter to king Iohn crowned queene of Ieruſalem, and after by her father giuen in marriage to Fredericke the Emperour. 96 g

Z

Zacharias Groppa fighteth a combat with Ahemaze a Turke. 373 a
Zachell Moiſes the Tranſyluanian princes lieutenant in battell ouerthrowne by Baſſa. 1143 c. flieth vnto the Turks. 1145 e.
Zacynthus, Neritus, and Cephalenia taken by Achmetes Baſſa. 426 l
Zamoſchie the great Chancellor of Polonia ſtaieth the Tartars from the inuading of Moldauia. 1079 c. inuadeth Moldauia himſelfe. 1080 g. his letters vnto Clement the Pope that now is, in defence of himſelfe and of that he had done in Moldauia. 1084 k. drieueth Michaell the Vayuod out of Valachia, & placeth another in his ſtead. 1128 b
Zanius the Venetian Admirall with a fleet of an hundred and ſeuenteene ſaile commeth to Corcyra. 849 b. he with the confederats ſetteth forwards towards Cyprus. d. vpon the foule diſagreement of the great commaunders returneth. 853 e. diſcharged of his office and ſent in bonds to Venice. 854 b
Zembenic caſtle the place where the Turks firſt began to ſettle themſelues in Europe. 185 b
Zemes riſeth in rebellion againſt his elder brother Baiazet. 438 h. ouerthrowne in battell by his brother, flieth to Caytbeius the Sultã of Ægipt. 439 b he with the Caramanian King goeth againſt his brother Baiazet. 441 b. flieth to ſea. 442 g. deliuered vnto Pope Innocent the eight. 446 h. by Pope Alexander deliuered to Charles the French King. 452 h. dieth within three daies after being before by the Pope poyſoned, as is ſuppoſed. his dead bodie ſent to Conſtantinople, and honorably afterwards buried at Pruſa. 452 k.
Zenza the Perſian king in a great battell ouerthrowne and ſlaine by Vſun-Caſſanes. 409 e
Zerbi iſland inuaded by the Chriſtian fleet ſet forth for the recouerie of the citie of Tripolis in Barbarie. 783 e. the caſtle of Zerbi yeelded vnto the Spaniards. f. a great part of the Chriſtian fleet oppreſſed at Zerbi by the ſudden comming of Piall Baſſa the Turks Admirall. 784 m. the caſtle of Zerbi beſieged by the Turke. 785 b. yeelded vnto the Turks. d. the Turks in triumph returne with victorie to Conſtantinople. 786 g
Zingis paſſing ouer the mountaines Caucaſus and Taurus conquereth the Turks dominions. 75 c
Zoganus Baſſa by the deuice of a wicked Chriſtian bringeth ſeuentie of the Turks gallies eight miles ouerland into the hauen of Conſtantinople. 343 f. perſuadeth Mahomet to continue his ſiege. 345 a
Zolnock a ſtrong fortreſſe of the Chriſtians in the vpper Hungarie taken by the Turks. 756 g

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The Errata.

PAge 132. line 32. for and, read, or. page 133. line 46. for Turconians, read, Turcomans. page 133. line 54. for Arterum, read, Artzerum. 136. 28. Iburn, r. Itburn. 166. 12. citie. r. cities. 173. 41. they, r. he. 484. 51. great, r. dread. 192. 36. ouer Callipolis, r. ouer to Callipolis. 208. 15. there, r. other. 214. 30. Oraza, r. Ozara. 233. 1. Lysia, r. Lycia. 244. 32. do not trouble, r. trouble. 248. 53. father, r brother 269. 28. in, r. into. 270. 12. this, r. his. 286. 23. diuers, r. aduerse. 286 26. preſcribe, r. preſcribed. 301. 39. to be able, r not to be able. 302 42. Mouea, r. Mocrea. 346. 11. eight r. eighteene. 364. 36. the, r. their. 388. 23 manner, r. manners. 405. 14. Nigrophonte, r. Nigropont 407. 4. Alymbeius, r. Aſymbeius. 412. 16. portion, r. pention. 468. 18. this, r. the. 479. 16. parts r. ports. 487. 51. his, r. hie. 421. 52. his great Mahometane, r his great knowledge in the Mahometane. 322. 5. eaſe and, r. to eaſe. 525. 39. citie Euphrates, r. riuer Euphrates. 536. 17. drawne, r. driuen. 568. 48 enuying, r. enuaying. 619. 3. end quarrell, r. end that quarrell. 628. 54. Hungarian fleet, r. Chriſtian fleet. 629. 27 Ioſuphius and old captaine, read, Ioſuphus an old captaine. 630. 12. excepted, r. accepted. 631. 45. returne, r. turne. 634. 28. homage, r. honour. 655. 16. Viſinus, r. Vrſinus. 656. 25. tooken, r. taken. 664. 2. he, r. they. 710. 11. in, r. vnto. 714. 3. ſuperſtitious, read, ſuſpitious 717. 15. not ſo euill, r. not ſo well. 721. 19. were fled. r. were led. 736. 30. Soctoſia, r. Socloſia. 750 14. Tuſcunie, r. Tuſcanie. 766. 37. peopled, r. people. 767. 15. Faurinum, r. Iauarinum. 769. 7. miſchantments, r. inchantments. 770. 2. readie, r. alreadie come. 770. 5. pretended, r. preuented. 770. 49. father, r. fauour. 788. 42. As Genua me begat, r. As Genua did me beget. 788. 45. by force, r. my force. 793. 13. him, r them 840. 3. from Venice, r. to Venice. 862. 17. for, r. of. 863 1. two thouſand, r. two hundred thouſand. 886. 52. carefulneſſe, r. careleſneſſe. 892. 1. gallies, r. galeaſſes. 903. 9 lying, r. dying. 909. 50. hands, r. heads. 911. 49. Veremias, r. Ieremias. 919. 23. September, r. December 924. 16. Hari, r Heri. 933 8. Ginſuf, r. Ginſuf, 936. 31. Sirua, r. Siruan 945. 16 pid, r. did. 953. 13 ſubſiſted, r. ſubſtituted. 994. 27 a Baſſa, r. the Baſſa 1008. 10. being doing. r. be doing. 1008. 35. leſſe, r. leaſt. 1015 41. Yna, r. Vna. 1018. 32 part, r. parts. 1035. 27. from the came, r. from the campe. 1064. 36. ſat before, ſat downe before. 1065. 17. with reſiſtance, r. without reſiſtance. 1074. 23. Varuinar, r. Varuiuar. 1079. 19. his, r. this. 1089. 25. vearing, r. hearing. 1094. 18. heart, r. Hart. 1122. 13. their, r. his. 1148. 54. towne, r. tower.

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